A history of contestations over natural resources in the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, c.1850-1960.

by

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

This study explores hunting in the Lower Tchiri Valley as an arena in which African and white hunting interests as well as conservation policies precipitated insurgence and accommodation, collaboration and conflict. Precolonial Magololo hunters, having supplanted Mang'anja hunting as a result of the superiority of their hunting technology by 1861, found themselves in competition with white sport hunters over game animals. Unequal power relations between the Magololo hunters and the white hunters, who formed part of the colonial administration in Nyasaland from the 1890s, saw the introduction of game laws that led to wild animals and their sanctuaries becoming contested terrains. Colonial officials and some whites enjoyed privileges in hunting game whose declining populations were blamed on Africans in general and the Magololo in particular. Some Africans and certain whites devised hunting strategies that brought them into conflict with the colonial state. In the Lower Tchiri Valley, the tsetse-game controversy led to game being slaughtered on an unprecedented scale in the Elephant Marsh region. The Game Ordinance of 1926, intended to prevent such wanton destruction, was protested by settlers, planters, white hunters and even missionaries who claimed to represent the interests of the "natives". The colonial state and the Colonial Office in London quelled the protests, proclaiming Lengwe and Tangadzi as game reserves. As the state was consolidating the game preservation economy and establishing the game reserves from the 1930s to 1960, opposition continued. The implementation of international conservation trends locally, particularly after 1945, served to entrench illicit hunting and the position among some white settlers that game should be exterminated as it was incompatible with agricultural "progress." The Nyasaland Game Department increased its efforts to ensure that killing game for crop protection was confined to Game Guards, one of whom, an African named Biton Balandow, became a local "hero". Despite this, by 1960 game populations in the Lower Tchiri Valley reserves were still declining. Together with oral testimonies collected in the communities neighbouring the reserves (or former hunting grounds), the fresh perspectives rendered in this thesis derived from a systematic use of reports, original research papers, colonial administrative correspondence and autobiographical works of big-game hunters-turned preservationists. Specific material for the Lower Tchiri Valley hunting economies from these primary sources allowed this thesis to transcend the often generalised analyses necessitated by macro-overviews in Malawian historiography, and offer a more nuanced study of local contestations

between state and subject, between competing individuals, between groups, races and generations and, enduringly, between human and animal.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie ondersoek jagaktiwiteite in die Laer Tchiri-vallei van Malawi as ‘n gebied waar swart en wit jagtersbelange, asook bewaringsbeleid, teenstand en aanvaarding, sowel as samewerking en konflik ontketen het. Pre-koloniale Magololo-jagters, wat Mang’anja-jagters teen 1861 as gevolg van hulle superieure jagtegnologie verdring het, het toe met wit sportjagters om wild begin kompeteer. Ongelyke magsverhoudinge tussen die Magololo- en wit jagters, wat sedert die 1890’s deel uitgemaak het van die koloniale administrasie in Nyassaland, het tot die daarstelling van wildwetgewing gelei. Op sý beurt het die wildwetgewing en wildbewaringsgebiede betwiste terreine geword. Koloniale amptenare en sekere blankes het jagvoorregte geniet waarvoor die daarmee gepaardgaande blaam vir dalende wildpopulasies op swartes in die algemeen en die Magololo in die besonder geplaas is. Sommige swartes en wittes het jagstrategieë ontwikkel wat hulle in konflik met die koloniale staat gebring het. In die Laer Tchiri-vallei het die tseste-wild-twispunt daartoe gelei dat wild op ‘n ongekende skaal in die Olifant-moerasgebied uitgeroei is.

Wit setlaars, boere en jagters, selfs sendelinge wat daarop aanspraak gemaak het dat hulle die belange van die “naturelle” verteenwoordig het, het egter beswaar gemaak teen die Wild Ordonnansie van 1926, wat veronderstel was om sulke ongebreidelde vernietiging te voorkom. Die koloniale staat en die Colonial Office in Londen het die besware onderdruk deur Lengwe en Tangadzi as wildreservate te proklameer. Van die 1930’s tot 1960, toe die staat besig was om die wildbewaringsekonomie te konsolideer en wildreservate te vestig, het teenstand daarteen voortgeduur. Die plaaslike implementering van internasionale bewaringstendense, veral ná 1945, het egter daartoe bygedra om onwettige jagaktiwiteite te verskans. Dit het ook die standpuntinname van sommige wit setlaars, dat wild uitgeroei moes word omdat dit onversoenbaar met landbou “vooruitgang” was, versterk.

Die Nyassaland Departement van Fauna het pogings verskerp om te verseker dat die doodmaak van wild, ter wille van oesbeskerming, tot wildbewaarders beperk bly. Een van hulle, ‘n swartman genaamd Biton Bandalow, het ‘n plaaslike “held” geword. Maar ten spyte van hierdie maatreëls was die wildpopulasies in die Laer Tchiri-vallei wildreservate teen 1960 steeds aan die afneem. Hierdie proefskrif bring nuwe insigte aangaande jagaktiwiteite en wildbewaring in die Laer Tchiri-vallei na vore. Die bronne daarvoor is mondelinge getuienis wat in die gemeenskappe aangrensend aan die wildreservate (of voormalige jaggebiede) versamel is. Daarby is verslae, oorspronklike argivale dokumente, koloniale

administratiewe korrespondensie en outo-biografiese werke van grootwildjagters wat wildbewaarders geword het, ook sistematies nagevors. Deur middel van spesifieke inligting aangaande die Laer Tchiri-vallei jagtersekonomie wat uit die primêre bronne verkry is, bring hierdie proefskrif nuwe perspektiewe na vore wat in teenstelling staan tot die dikwels geykte analises wat in makro-historiese oorsigte van Malawiese historiografie voorkom. Derhalwe is die proefskrif ‘n meer genuanseerde studie oor plaaslike wedywerings tussen staat en onderdaan, tussen wedywerende indiwidue, tussen groepe, rasse en generasies en op ‘n blywende basis ook tussen mens en dier.

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List of Abbreviations

ALC	African Lakes Company (and from1893, Corporation)
ASR	African Studies Review
AHR	American Historical Review
BCAG	British Central Africa Gazette
BCAP	British Central Africa Protectorate
BCA	British Central Africa
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CJAS	Canadian Journal of African Studies
CAT	Central African Times
DNPW	Department of National Parks and Wildlife
FPS	Fauna Preservation Society
FZS	Fellow of the Zoological Society
FRGS	Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society
GVH	Group Village Headman
IHR	International History Review
IJAHS	International Journal of African Historical Studies
IUCN	International Union for the Protection of Nature
JAH	Journal of African History
JICH	Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History
JPS	Journal of Peasant Studies
JSH	Journal of Social History
MNA	Malawi National Archives
MRG	Monthly Record of Geography
NFPS	Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society
NJ	Nyasaland Journal
NT	Nyasaland Times

RAS	Royal African Society
RGS	Royal Geographical Society
SSC	Secretary of State for the Colonies
SML & A	Society of Malawi Library and Archive
SPFE	Society for the Preservation of Fauna of the Empire
SPWFE	Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire
STA	Sub Traditional Authority
TA	Traditional Authority
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VH	Village Headman
ZSL	Zoological Society of London

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction, Literature Review and Methodology

Introduction

This study explores hunting in the Lower Tchiri Valley (previously known as the Lower Shire Valley), in Malawi, as both cultural and economic activity, in which competition, collaboration and conflicts occurred over natural resources between African communities, colonial officials, white settlers and the colonial state in pre-colonial and colonial periods.[1] The Mang'anja people, of the Maravi who previously occupied the central and southern region of Malawi, southeast Zambia and northwest Mozambique, were (semantically and materially) lakeshore dwellers, in an area extending from the southern shore of Lake Malawi to the Lower Tchiri. As pre-colonial Mang'anja hunting regimes shifted radically with the invasion and subsequent settlement of the Magololo (previously Makololo or Kololo) in the Valley from the early 1860s, European 'free-lance' sport hunters and hunters attached to hunting institutions (such as the African Lakes Company) came to engage the hunting expertise of the Africans – particularly the Magololo. This not only gave rise to competition between the Europeans and Africans over hunting, but continued to widen the gulf of intra-African competition over game animals.

Partly as a result of the benefits that the European hunters enjoyed in hunting in the Valley and other parts of Nyasaland, and partly due to influences of the politics and legal processes that guided hunting in Europe, game laws and game preservation areas were gradually instituted in Nyasaland with the result that the hunting interests of the European sportsmen were consolidated, as explained in Chapter Two and elaborated upon in Chapter Three. The regulation of hunting and the establishment of sacrosanct game preservation areas were contested by both white hunters and Africans. They raised and defended protracted economic and ecological arguments, some of which evolved into internationally supported institutions to "save game" as part nature conservation, as this thesis will show. However, forms of

[1] In this study the names British Central Africa (Protectorate) and Nyasaland, rather than Malawi, are used to a large extent because Malawi was firstly designated as British Central Africa, and later Nyasaland up until the day of Independence on 6th July 1964. As for the name Lower Tchiri Valley, rather than Lower Shire Valley, this study adopts it from Elias Mandala who prefers to use this version on the basis that the local people in the Valley are not very familiar with the Anglophone, 'Shire.' On why Lower Tchiri, See also Elias Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1859-1960* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), v, where he says 'Why Tchiri and Not Shire?' and quotes Harry Johnston, 1894, as wondering 'Shire' I would state is absolutely unknown as a native name….".

protest against the regulations and these institutions came to buttress traditional forms of game poaching up until 1960.

Understanding contestations over hunting, game and game reserves in the Lower Tchiri Valley necessitated a socio-environmental approach to unlock the dynamics and nuances that were inherent in the conflicts involving the colonial state, European sport hunters, European planters and African cultivators (who also reared livestock), and, of course, the game animals themselves. Beinart and Coates argue that environmental history 'deals with the various dialogues over time between people and the rest of nature, focusing on reciprocal impacts' and in the process offering a fresh perspective that 'recognises that humans themselves are part of, as well as apart from, nature.'[2] They draw on William Cronon's description of environmental history as:

> [A] history which extends its boundaries beyond human institutions—economies, class and gender systems, political organisations, cultural rituals— which provide the context those institutions…such a history inevitably brings to centre stage a cast of non-human characters which usually occupy the margins of historical analysis if they are present in it at all.[3]

This study demonstrates that in the Lower Tchiri Valley, as was the case elsewhere in southern Africa and parts of the British Empire, hunting was one of the major ways in which nature was exploited for purposes of financing different forms of colonial expansion, and in defence of 'property.' This thesis will show that even when maize was adopted as one of the staples, large scale hunting was conducted in covert and sophisticated ways in the context of crop protection to supplement the trapping of birds, which ravaged standing crops such as sorghum and millet. Mary Henninger-Voss offers justification for investigating the hunting economies of the Lower Tchiri Valley through the environmental lens[4]. She suggests that approaches to animals and their interactions with humans may be popular, scientific and even economic because by using the animal as a lens, it is possible to:

> [R]efocus our awareness of the ways in which humans have allotted resources, gathered knowledge, and structured families. If animals are a "mirror of nature" …, their image in human society must also be a mirror of the culture which defines itself with respect to nature. The treatment of animals is often a road to a story about the treatment of people, while the perceived "stewardship" of humans over animals has helped shape the broader environment which both human and nonhuman animals share.[5]

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[2] William Beinart and Peter Coates, *Environment and History: The Taming of Nature in the United States and South Africa* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 1.
[3] See Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*, 1. Refer also to William Cronon, *Changes in Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), vii.
[4] Mary J. Henninger-Voss, "Introduction", in Mary J Henninger-Voss (ed.), *Animals in Human Histories: The Mirror of Nature and Culture* (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2002), x.
[5] Henninger-Voss, "Introduction", x. On writing animals into histories such as social history as part of the culture, nature and nurture debate in human-animal relationships, see also Sandra Swart, "Suggestions and

The evidence marshalled in this study demonstrates that the animals, whose habitats were the Elephant Marsh, a wetland in southern Malawi, and Mwabvi (formerly, Tangadzi or Tangasi) hunting grounds and later reserves in the Lower Tchiri (present day, Nsanje) district; and those of Lengwe and Majete in Chikwawa district, functioned as objects of popular conception, scientific understanding and commercial exchange. Interactions with animals, especially hunting, provided a basis for social, political and economic differentiation as the animals functioned as creatures valued for their meat and other products and were marketed for human as well as scientific (trophy) consumption.

Historical Ethnographies and Historiographies of Hunting

This study draws on previous studies on contestations regarding access and control of natural resources such as game animals to provide a context in which environmental history functions as a fertile ground for examination of often neglected areas of historical studies with the use of data sources that are seldom considered as worth of historical exploitation. Donald Worster affirms this by asserting that 'environmental history is about the role and place of nature in human life.'[6] Environmental history as an emerging sub-discipline[7] also demonstrates that there are important historical processes that occurred globally or regionally with regard to natural resource exploitation that are worth examining at microcosmic levels in both the pre-colonial and colonial period as is the case with this present study on the Lower Tchiri Valley. As Jane Carruthers argues: 'Whether African environments were 'degrading' and 'declining' as so often stated … historians have begun to unpack what these have meant in specific places at specific times.'[8] Echoing Beinart's call for the struggle to free historiography (and social studies) from the narrative of dependence, victimhood and romanticism, Carruthers asserts that environmental history should challenge the view that the

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Debates: "The World the Horses made": A South Africa Case Study of Writing Animals into Social History", *InternationaaI Instituut voor Sociale Geschiesdenis (IRSH)*, 55 (2010), 241-263. On the issue of the interactions and responses between humans and the natural environment in terms of ecology, production and cognition in which humans adapt to ensure survival and propagation of the human race by exploiting environmental resources see, Arthur F. McEvoy, "Toward an Interactive Theory of Nature and Culture: Ecology, Production, and Cognition in the California Fishing Industry", Donald Worster (ed.), *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 211-229.

[6] Donald Worster, "Appendix: Doing Environmental History", in Worster (ed.), *Ends of the Earth*, 292.

[7] It is shown that although environmental history is evolving into a discipline on its own, its precursors and antecedents, from which it draws its fresh perspectives, include historical geography, human ecology, frontier history, the total history of the French *Annales* school and even African history and anthropology. For details see, Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*, 1. See also Worster, "Appendix: Doing Environmental History", 290-293.

[8] Ibid.

colonizer and colonized were in a relationship that did not recognize change over time or specific historical context[9]. This thesis accepts the challenge.

Donald Worster corroborates Carruthers, by asserting that environmental history is largely part of a revisionist effort to render historical narrative more inclusive than they traditionally have been[10]. Worster elaborates that in doing this, environmental history 'rejects the conventional assumption that human experience has been exempt from natural constraints, that people are a separate and "supernatural" species, that the ecological consequences of their past deeds can be ignored.'[11] It is in the light of the foregoing characterizations of environmental history that this study joins what Sandra Swart describes as 'the long conversation historians need to have to understand the changing and pivotal relationship between animals and the human society and the impact that their relationship has had on their environment.'[12]

Brian Morris utilized ethnographic evidence to suggest that although hunting and animals are associated with men and agriculture and plants with women, customarily, in Malawi both men and women enjoyed meat.[13] Oral testimonies from the Lower Tchiri Valley describe the ways in which Chiefs, clan obligations, and the colonial state ensured that meat from animals killed in different forms of hunting was distributed to different households. Corroborating these testimonies is autobiographic writings of white or European big-game hunters who documented their hunting exploits dating back to the 1860s in the Lower Tchiri Valley and other hunting grounds in Nyasaland with the purpose of informing prospective white hunters, settlers and planters on the existing hunting opportunities. These oral testimonies and the autobiographic writings are further enlightened by some autobiographical oral testimonies

[9] Ibid.
[10] See Worster, "Doing Environmental History", 290 and Jane Carruthers, "Africa's Environmental History", *IHDP Update: Newsletter of the International Human Dimensions Programme (IHDP) on Global Environmental Change*, Focus: Environmental History, 2 (2005), 9.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Sandra Swart, *Riding High: Horses, Humans and History in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2010), xiii-xiv.
[13] Brian Morris, "Animals as Meat and Meat as Food: Reflections on Meat Eating in Southern Malawi (1994)", *Wildlife and Landscapes in Malawi: Selected Essays on Natural History* (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2009), 187-190. In the same collection of essays, see also, Brian Morris, "Hunting and the Gnostic Vision", 281-283 and 287-291.

collected by the author from surviving members of hunting families in the Lower Tchiri Valley.[14]

The next section extends the analysis of the potential of environmental history to promote a revisionist agenda (perhaps, arguably, even an 'activist' role) in reclaiming African agency by interrogating perspectives of African environmental issues that continue to 'reflect an inaccurate and pessimistic perception of African inaction, inertia and helplessness' suggesting that the interaction between Europeans and Africans was too diverse to be extrapolated monolithically.[15] As will be shown, the experiences were informed by global forces through processes of imperialism and exchanges of knowledge, expertise and hunting experiences among colonies in British colonial Africa. In fact Beinart and Hughes assert that hunting is one of the lenses through which Southern Africa's colonial processes can be analysed because hunting was essential to indigenous societies as well as traders and settlers who took advantage of the fact that 'Southern Africa was home to an extraordinary range of large mammals.'[16]

Re-thinking Environmental History in the Lower Tchiri Valley

Elias Mandala argued that the economy of the Lower Tchiri Valley has – since the 1860s – been undergoing important changes as part of responses to political crises, droughts and famines, floods and periods of seasonal hunger[17]. He showed how agrarian and ecological management in the Lower Tchiri valley reflected local choice shaped and circumscribed by global and sub-regional developments. Mang'anja communities (as part of the Maravi state

[14] See, for example, interviews conducted by the author with Mai Agilesi Alindiamawo, GVH Alindiamawo, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 18 April 2013; Mr Frazer Jenisoni Alindiamawo, Senior GVH Kanyimbi, TA Tengani, Nsanje, dated 18 April, approx.. 85 years old; Mai Agna Magalasi, GVH Kamanga, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 19 April 2013;.Mr Jenison Alindiamawo, GVH Kanyimbi, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. dated 18 April 2013; Mai Mataya Alindiamawo, GVH Kanyimbi, TA Tengani, approx. 90 years old; Mr Magalasi Tchale, GVH Kamanga, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 19 April 2013; Blantyre Magaleta, GVH Kamberengende, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old, dated 19 April 2013; Mr Demisitala Moffat (TA Kasisi), GVH Mbenderana, TA Kasisi, Chikwawa, approx. 85 years old dated 7 June 2013; Mai Dolifa Fulechala, GVH Salumeji, TA Katunga, Chikwawa, approx. 90 years old, dated 10 June 2013; Mr Salumeji, GVH Salumeji, TA Katunga, Chikwawa, approx. 85 years old, dated 10 June 2013 and Mr Lasitoni Amosi, GVH Namatchuwa, TA Maseya, approx. 90 years old, dated 10 June 2013.

[15] See Carruthers, "Africa's Environmental History", 9.

[16] Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and History*, 58-59.

[17] E.C. Mandala, *The End of Chidyerano: A history of food and everyday life in Malawi, 1860-2004* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2005), 2; E.C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A history of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 1-60. And this study starts from c.1850s because it was observed by explorers such Dr David Livingstone that there was plenty of game in the Valley, however, the study ends in around 1960 when there were renewed efforts to conserve wildlife resources in colonial Africa as a result of notable debatable losses from the 1930s.

and later, the British Empire) competed for control of or even access to wildlife resources. Chiefs and headmen as well as some commoners with ritual power controlled hunting and the distribution of products of hunting and other forest products[18]. The historiography demonstrates similar uneven access to natural resources predicated to uneven power relationships occurring elsewhere in Africa (and across the globe). Thus, C.S. Lewis's words resonate with the Lower Tchiri Valley experience: 'What we call Man's power over Nature turns out to be a power exercised by some men over other men with Nature as its instrument.'[19]

This study explores the classic historiographical debates over the taxonomy of hunting. Different types of hunters and hunting phases have been delineated by John MacKenzie: 'hunting had been to Africans a significant route into the international economy through ivory', 'a hedge against starvation', 'a means for enhancement of chiefly power and privilege' and 'a convenient subsidy' for colonial activities of the Europeans.[20] The study adopts but also adapts the MacKenzian model of employing hunting as an avenue for the complex interactions between Europeans and Africans where a network of economic, social, racial, legal and cultural relationships emerged and led to the development of notions of conservation.[21] The MacKenzian model is complemented with key concepts and processes of colonial state-peasant contestations as analysed by Beinart and Coates, Beinart and Hughes, Grove, Tropp, Neumann, and Peluso.[22] The study therefore examines the interactions of

[18] Brian Morris, *The History and conservation of Mammals in Malawi* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2006), 1-28; B. Morris, "The Ivory Trade and Chiefdoms in Pre-colonial Malawi", *The Society of Malawi Journal* [Hereafter, *SMJ*]59, No. 2 (2006), 6-11; S.A. Adejumobi, "Community in African Society", in K. Shillington (ed.), *Encyclopedia of African History*, Vol. 1 (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005), 285-288 also suggests that in African communities contestations over resources and networks of reciprocal support in different periods of social transition occurred along the lines of kinship, family, age-grades, gender, and identity politics and ethnicity.

[19] C.S. Lewis quoted in N.J. Jacobs, *Environment, power and injustice: A South African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 31.

[20] John MacKenzie, "Chivalry, social Darwinism and ritualised killing: the hunting ethos in Central Africa up to 1914," in D. Anderson and R. Grove (eds.), *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press , 1987), 56-58; J.M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*; Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*; E.A. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves: Changing Patterns of International Trade in Eastern Central Africa to the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975); and W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture, 1983 [1972]).

[21] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature,* ix-8, J. M. MacKenzie, "Introduction", in J. M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and the Natural World* (Manchester: MUP, 1990), 1-14.

[22] Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*; Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*; Grove, "Colonial conservation and popular resistance",15-50; J.A. Tropp, *Natures of Colonial Change: Environmental Relations in the Making of the Transkei* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006); R. Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California

African political and socio-cultural aspects, the functioning of the ivory economy, the colonial state and its agents as well as the African peasant communities in negotiations over natural resources from c.1850s to 1960.

These interactions relate to key economic and political processes such as localisation of the world economy, droughts and famines, and periods of seasonal hunger, as well as changes in post war colonial conservation of wildlife resources in British colonial Africa. In particular, the study explores the premise that the dictates of the ivory economy and the implicit authority of colonial state over 'nature' and resource governance were resisted and negotiated by the African communities and some pockets of the colonial or settler society in a variety of ways.[23] In this case an examination of the relationship between these protected areas, and the African communities as well as some European settlers under the impact of colonial capitalism, has the potential of demonstrating that the negotiation strategies employed by the communities and their leaders, which also apply to other communities across the globe and in southern Africa, were embedded in the histories of these communities and were therefore important in the production and reproduction of the material conditions of the livelihoods of the communities. This study, also works from the premise, based on comparative histories of southern African states, that access to and use of the resources from the protected areas should be understood alongside the economic, socio-political, cultural and ecological aspects of the communities that ensured secure livelihoods over time and space.

Key Historical Themes

It is in this regard that we now turn to an analytical discussion of the major themes addressed in this study with a view to raising some critical areas on competition over natural resources.

Press, 1998); N.L. Peluso, *Rich forests, poor people: Forest access and control in Java* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). These concepts and processes are also supported by A. Isaacman, "Peasants and rural social protest in Africa", *African Studies Review* [Hereafter, *ASR*] 33, 2 (1990), 1-120; and see also J. Scott, "Everyday forms of peasant resistance", *Journal of Peasant Studies* [Hereafter, *JPS*] 13, 2 (1986), 5-35.

[23] James Murombedzi, "Pre-Colonial and Colonial Conservation Practices in Southern Africa and their Legacy", in *Local Communities, Equity and Conservation in Southern Africa: A synthesis of Lessons learnt and Recommendations from A Southern African Technical Workshop* (Cape Town: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies [PLAAS], 2003), 21-32. Apart from noting the similarities in conservation practices within the southern Africa region, Murombedzi also points out that '[v]ery little is known and has been written about pre-colonial conservation practices in the region' and how over time the practices reflected the need to balance competing interests as well as the 'exercise of power over people and resources by dominant clans or classes….' See also W. Beinart, "Review Article: Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", *Past and Present*, 128 (1990); W. Beinart, "Introduction: The Politics of Colonial Conservation", *Journal of Southern African Studies* [Hereafter, *JSAS*]: *The Special Issue: Politics of Conservation in Africa* 15 (1989); [Elizabeth] Jane Carruthers, "Game Protection in the Transvaal, 1846 to 1926", (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1988).

Therefore, the discussion above suggests that the review of existing scholarship shows that the task of this study revolves around five main themes. The first theme is that of African and European hunting practices in the Lower Tchiri Valley. It also explores the relationship between wildlife resources and pre-colonial Malawian political and socio-cultural practices as they came to interact with European hunters. There were varieties of hunting in the African societies and they therefore contributed differently to contestations over natural resources. First, Africans hunted for subsistence as well as to eliminate livestock predators and crop marauders. Beinart confirms that '[p]recolonial African societies in southern Africa had to protect themselves, their stock and their crops from predators. Hunting was often important for subsistence and trade.'[24] Second, chiefs in African societies exercised authority over when and how to hunt. As a result of African societies being increasingly centralized, there developed an 'hierarchy of resource extraction with ultimate powers vested in the chief, who had first rights over such commodities as ivory' and as such hunting 'could be a critical sphere for the assertion of royal economic control.'[25] This complex nature of African hunting also operated at two other levels to do with development of a complex symbolic world.[26] One level was that as insignia of their positions, chiefs and notables in southern Africa wore items of the hunt in the form of leopard skins, blue-crane feathers or ivory bangles. The second level was that 'hunting offered the elite…a symbolic dominance of the environment, a means of asserting boundaries of territory, action and behaviour.'[27] This is discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

The third variety of hunting emerged as a result of the spread of European settlers (particularly the Afrikaners in South Africa). It is pointed out that on the basis of their understanding that wildlife was common property there emerged more predatory hunting in southern Africa. This form of hunting accelerated and expanded into present-day Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana as a result of the central place that ivory came to occupy in the Transvaal economy, for example, between the 1840s and 1870s. Some African communities also participated in this predatory exercise mainly in areas that were considered to be infested by malaria. The fourth variety materialised in the late nineteenth century as transition from commercial hunting to 'The Hunt.' According to MacKenzie this form of hunting signified

[24] William Beinart, "Review: Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa", *Past and Present*, 128 (1990), 163.
[25] Mathew, "Review Article: *Environment and Empire*", 644; Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 163.
[26] See Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 163.
[27] See MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 80; Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 163.

'dominance, manliness and sportsmanship.[28] One useful dimension of these chronological but overlapping varieties of hunting relates to how hunting contributed to the development of scientific knowledge.[29] Carruthers in her review of MacKenzie's *Empire of Nature* identifies a number of new ways—as elaborated towards the end of this chapter— in which hunting and 'The Hunt' in southern Africa may be studied.[30]

Beinart also maintains that imperial hunting and the rich literature on it provides a useful scholarly point of entry for addressing broader issues in African ecological history such as climate change, drought and famine, disease and environment, soil erosion and soil conservation, trees and forestry, and local knowledge about natural resources and agriculture thereby examining fascinating issues regarding the nature of the colonial encounter[31]. In this vein Beinart argues further that: "Another set of questions raised by new analyses of hunting relates to explanations for the ideas and policies which led to the preservation of some wild animals as part of wider conservation initiatives."[32] This is analysed in chapter Three.

The second major theme deals with hunting and colonial game regulations as seedlings of contestations. Under this theme the thesis contends that the game preservation ethos of the eras of Harry Johnston and Alfred Sharpe, 1891–1910, was pursued to facilitate white sport hunting although Africans still participated alongside the whites with the use of licensed and covert ways of hunting up to around 1915. The various forms in which sport hunting was advertised and the aspects of the game laws that were implemented reflected the intentions of the colonial state to ensure that game was "played fair" for the white or European settlers, planters and officials in early colonial Malawi. This reflected a transfer from the metropole of thinking about hunting. As was the case with the English Game Laws System, some Africans resisted the game laws by continuing to hunt without proper licenses in hunting grounds such as the Elephant Marsh. Africans and some whites also participated in hunting for the protection of their gardens and plantations, avenues that offered opportunities for killing game in contravention of the game laws.

[28] MacKenzie, "Chivalry, Social Darwinism and Ritualized Killing", 41-62; See also Mackenzie, *Empire of Nature*.
[29] See Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*.
[30] For details see, Carruthers, "Southern African Environmental History", 189-192.
[31] For details see Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 162.
[32] See Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 162.

This theme is important in this present study because, *inter alia*, and as elaborated later in this discussion, evidence from specific African locales begins to suggest that the case of imperial hunting was similar to that of African hunting. Elucidating on this, Beinart and Hughes point out that:

> The attribution of blame for the slaughter of game, and environmental destruction more generally, in southern Africa has long been a politicized issue. There was a tendency in the colonial period to blame Africans for the destruction of nature on their continent. Africans were characterized as being cruel to animals and disposed to cut down trees, whereas colonials saw as kind to animals and planters of trees. Thus African hunting methods which used snares and traps were condemned as wasteful—as were the techniques of the landless 'poacher' in Britain—whereas it is clear that firearms [mostly owned by Europeans] were far more significant in the in the overall destruction and probably led to quite as many animals being injured….It is clear that the animal kingdom was far richer prior to colonialism.[33]

The evidence also shows that the changing character of hunting in southern and eastern Africa could be revealed through some examination of other factors that came to impact the game, hunting processes and technology. The development of agriculture and livestock economies on which could be affected by vermin, game animals and diseases related to game such as trypanosomiasis spread by tsetse fly were among such factors. This is largely explored in chapter Three.

The third main theme deals with tsetse fly control and its contribution to colonial restructuring of human-environment relations in the Lower Tchiri Valley between 1906 and the late 1920s. This is a theme worth examining in the Lower Tchiri Valley as a result of the following observations, and is predominantly discussed in chapter Four. Firstly, Mathew observes that in African communities hunting was also conducted with the purpose of slaughtering wildlife as wildlife was considered to harbour the tsetse fly that causes human sleeping sicknesses and trypanosomiasis in cattle.[34] Secondly, Beinart and Hughes[35] suggest that in some parts of Africa wildlife was largely immune to trypanosomes as harboured by the tsetse fly over a long period. This was however not the case with the humans. Van Sittert also contends that:

> As scholars of trypanosomiasis elsewhere in Africa have long demonstrated, tsetse fly prospered not only from the burgeoning game populations created by colonial 'nature conservation', but also the accelerated bush encroachment that resulted from black peasantries redirecting their labour supply from stock-keeping, cultivation and hunting and

[33] See Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 70.
[34] J. Mathew, "Review Article: *Environment and Empire*", 644.
[35] See Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*.

> gathering at home to wage employment abroad under the compulsion of colonial taxation, forced labour, land alienation, and commons enclosures.[36]

This contention not only affords the opportunity to examine the interactions of tsetse control with contestations over wildlife but also the contribution of the entrenchment of some of the processes integral to colonial capitalism. In view of the debates on tsetse fly control, other scholars also observe that the relationship between people and nature should not be considered as having been static and as such imperial processes were changing contexts that were already dynamic because in some cases colonialism was associated with the 'thickening of indigenous vegetation and wildlife' as evident in the case of tsetse belt expansion in parts central and eastern Africa in the early colonial period.[37]

The fourth main theme considered in this study speaks to the issues regarding the interaction between African and colonial nature preservation practices between from 1900 to 1940. It is shown that although the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce in its long-drawn out battle against game and game preservation drew on economic and ecological arguments and co-opted the Conference of Missionaries as well as the general public, colonial legislation did not favour the unregulated commoditization of game, by both Europeans and the "natives." The Colonial state with the support of the Colonial Office in London proceeded to declare Lengwe and Tangadzi Stream as game reserves in which the principles of the controversial Game Ordinance, 1926 applied.

Reflecting on conflicts of this nature, Beinart and Hughes maintained that historical studies should move away from dualistic polarisations regarding contestations over natural resources between Africans and the colonial society because evidence does suggest that there exist points of convergence between colonial conservation and indigenous practices.[38] This was the case although 'indigenous peoples engaged with, bargained, deflected or resisted the demands of colonial powers'[39] through trespasses and poaching as their rights to the natural resources were being criminalized. Related to these conflicts is the debate on the evolution of preservationism to conservationism in Africa and deals with the argument that defence had to

[36] Lance van Sittert, "Review Article: *Saving the Zululand Wilderness: An Early Struggle for Nature Conservation*. By Donal P. McCracken (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2008)", *SAHJ*, 62, 2 (2010), 413.
[37] Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 170-171.
[38] Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*; Mathew, "Review Article: *Environment and Empire*", 642-644 also cautions against uncritical use of the term, 'indigenous' as it sometimes do not apply to the majority of black population in some regions in Africa; See also Beinart, *Rise of Conservation in South Africa*.
[39] Mathew, "Review Article: *Environment and Empire*", 642.

be pursued as a classic approach to conservation so that the game reserves that were set up in the face of opposition from settlers and Africans (through poaching) were nurtured to evolve into national parks.[40] This is discussed chiefly in chapter Five but extends to chapter Six.

Employing the theme on hunting and economics of wildlife, chapter Six argues that the struggle against the establishment of game reserves and the game preservation economy in the Lower Tchiri Valley evolved into attempts to consolidate the conservation of nature from c.1930 to 1960. This consolidation took the form of an ecological approach to conservation and gave rise, as reaction, to protracted and varied forms of poaching as protest. Although the game reserves and non-shooting zones were meant to keep game away from community crops, problems of water scarcity within the reserves forced game to landscapes where not only was thirst alleviated but cultivated gardens were also destroyed. As a response, affected local communities devised strategies for compensating for the loss of the crops and sometimes livestock (from vermin and diseases transmitted by wildlife) by trapping and killing game under the pretext of crop protection as had been the case in the early colonial period.

This argument is contextualised by the observation that in Africa, environmental interventions came to occupy the heart of colonialism and that although they were seldom successful they stimulated intense debate at various levels. The intensity of the debate emerged from the fact that Africans were absorbing, rejecting, reconstructing and reformulating ideas about how to exploit nature in new ways.[41] Available evidence further suggests that in the colonial period there was much subscription to colonial thinking that held that Africans were acting on the environment more as poachers and eroders contrary to previous views that celebrated African environmental management in the historiography.[42] Christian Jennings underlines the conflictual nature of conservation that came to characterise the late colonial period to around 1960:

> As the colonial movement of wildlife conservation developed in the 20th century, it maintained the twin elements of professed concern for "natural" environments, on the one hand, and a deep-seated refusal to acknowledge African rights or involvement in their own

[40] William A. Adams, *Against Extinction: The Story of Conservation* (London and Sterling, VA: Earthscan, 2009), 111-112.
[41] See Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 185.
[42] Christian Jennings, "African Environments in the Colonial Era," in Toyin Falola, ed., *Africa, Vol. 3: Colonial Africa, 1885-1939* (Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 2002), 123-126.

> lands on the other. Colonial conservationists began to bolster their attitudes with pseudo-scientific arguments. Many hunters, for example, made a great show of pretending to be naturalists on their safaris, dutifully collecting and classifying the various species they were hunting….The conservation movement in Africa would not fully outgrow its racist background [even] until the late 20th century. [43]

The impact of the conflict on game and other wildlife resources (as chapter Six shows) in the case of the Lower Tchiri Valley, was considerable as was the case in other parts of British Colonial Africa including Nyasaland where: 'As World War II came to a close, there was neither any national park legislation nor any national parks department'[44] with the existing ones lacking the necessary capacity to carry out their duties effectively. 'In the name of wildlife conservation, land alienation increased and laws foreclosing economic opportunities in livelihoods products were tightened during the postwar years, prodding Africans to seek new settlements and alternative livelihoods including wage labour.'[45] There were significant cases of resistance to this 'conservation imperialism' from the local communities as well as nationalists in the context of the decolonization movement. Beinart and Hughes point out that in sub-Saharan Africa 'massive withdrawal of compliance' was more common than all out revolts[46] as part of resistance against controlled access to protected resources.

Proposals for the establishment of national parks began to be seen as early as the turn of the twentieth century alongside an international wildlife treaty. However, territorial governments in British colonial Africa only began taking the proposals seriously from the 1940s although conservation laws and policies in Africa began to be reshaped by advances in scientific management of wildlife prior to and following World War Two (WW II), as the thesis explains. Thus apart from contestations regarding hunting, access to forested lands or protected areas by local people became a historically conflicted area. African communities were generally driven out of forested areas when the colonial states decided that African farming such as shifting cultivation and hunting methods were detrimental to biodiversity protection. This exclusion continued well into the period of conservation when national parks began to be established from the mid-1920s. It was argued that the parks as part of the imperial estate were 'to be devoted to conservation, recreation, and the production of pleasure' while the original inhabitants were removed to the periphery.[47]

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[43] Ibid., 132.
[44] See Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom", 22.
[45] Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom", 39-40.
[46] See Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire.*
[47] Mathew, "Review Article: *Environment and Empire*", 651.

In Eastern and Central Africa including Malawi, the resistance to 'conservation imperialism' might be located within the context of the post-war conservation boom. According to Neumann, post-war development of conservation laws needs to be related to the shifting political economy of Britain and its fading Empire to explain the transformation in wildlife and national park laws in Eastern and Central Africa.[48] He offers four international economic and political trends which led to the transformation in the functioning of protected areas[49] and whose implications are examined with reference to the Lower Tchiri Valley in this thesis this is explored in chapter Six. The first one was the emergence of Britain's agenda for colonial development and modernization. The second one had to do with increasing importance of wildlife conservation in the activities of scientific experts in agriculture and natural resources management. The third one was the growing significance of mass global tourism as a result of the establishment and expansion of international commercial air travel. The fourth was that international conservation organizations began to intensify the setting up and implementation of conservation programs for national parks and wildlife.

One of the critical contexts within which these economic and political developments played out in British colonial Africa relates to the functioning of post-war colonial enterprises. From the 1940s to around 1960 colonial enterprises such as parks and wildlife began to be structured by the powerful ideas of development and modernization. Post-war colonial development plans and polices structuring colonial enterprises are referred to as the 'Second Colonial Occupation'. This 'Second Colonial Occupation' had three facets worth considering in terms of how they interacted with parks and wildlife conservation in some specific parts of British colonial Africa including the Lower Tchiri Valley. The first was that the occupation was part of a reform agenda that was cognizant of the state of poverty of most colonial Africans and aimed at employing the colonial state as a catalyst for social and economic development. Secondly, the occupation 'was part of the plan for the United Kingdom's post-war recovery in which the colonies would provide cheap and plentiful resources and receptive markets for British manufactures.'[50] Thirdly, the challenges that African workers posed for the United Kingdom's legitimacy and authority in the late 1930s and 1940s also contributed to the agenda of the 'Second Colonial Occupation.'

[48] Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom", 23.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom", 28.

It was as a result of all this that the post-war continued British occupation of some parts of Africa was justified by 'Development' discourse that had moral, political and economic dimensions. Thus:

> The second occupation manifested itself on the ground through ever-deeper interventions by the colonial state to alter African settlement, agricultural, and livestock herding practices, conducted by an army of scientific and technical experts from abroad. In a word, Africans, African society, and African modes of production were to be *modernized* through the application of Western bureaucratic management, science, and technology.[51]

What this also implied was that there was a dramatic departure from the 'British policy of ''indirect Rule,'' wherein African cultures and traditions would be preserved and protected from rapid change.'[52] Arguably, this had significant implications on control and access to wildlife resources in the Lower Tchiri Valley as shown in chapter Six. Moreover, as Beinart contends elsewhere, the existing historical literature on Empire and the environment does not adequately examine the issue of indigenous conservation ideas.[53]

This is particularly the case because during this period of rapid social change conservation practices included 'segregation of remnant wildlife populations in national parks, the abolition of "primitive" hunting practices, the redirection of African labour away from wildlife and wildlife forest products, and the relocation and concentration of African settlements…'[54] Chapter Six thus examines the contribution of the second occupation to the contestations over natural resources in the Lower Tchiri Valley as a result of the observation that during the post-war period colonial states generally began to view national parks and wildlife conservation as longer term profitable investments and therefore started to incorporate national parks and wildlife conservation as a key economic strategy in the economic development plans. This was part of a response to the birth of ecotourism in East and Central Africa. While these strategies were also receiving the support of international conservation organizations such as United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), wildlife was burgeoning and posing a relentless threat to peasant agriculture in East and Central Africa. In this case conflicts between peasant communities and wildlife also featured in the developments of the post-war period, apart from those of the colonial state, the some

[51] Ibid.
[52] Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom", 28.
[53] See Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 181.
[54] Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom", 30.

sections of the colonial society and African peasants. As indicated above, some of these new areas, the new data sources and methods, as well as new directions for dealing with some of the inadequacies in the existing research suggested by the literature survey are elaborated upon below.

Historiographical Debates on Contestations over and Conservation of Natural Resources

As suggested earlier, the contestations over natural resources have mainly been framed within the context of environmental history. This section introduces and discusses global roots and the interconnections that environmental history has with African historiographies in general and Malawian historiography in particular in emphasizing that the global forces impact on historical writing. The significance of the emergence of southern African environmental historiography to regional and local historical studies on contestations over natural resources is also given attention.

There was a tension between colonial paternalism and local resistance and a hidden reassertion of indigenous environmental rights and knowledge.[55] Environmental history can critique imperial and global capitalism in their diverse historic forms as vehicles for the transformation of nature. This is facilitated by not judging all change as degradation, and demonstrating social and environmental issues when interrogating processes regarding access to natural resources as well as environmental change.[56] This provides justification for considering the contribution of global conservation historiography to the contestations over natural resources in Southern Africa particularly with the reinsertion of the environment as a key historical actor in historical studies and not just a mere backdrop.

Available evidence also suggests that the deeply rooted conservationism of southern Africa shared a significant amount of parallels with the conservationist ideas in place in the United States' early twentieth-century's Progressive era. Beinart also reiterates that environmental historians in their emerging sub-discipline need to take into consideration that most of the 'conservationist ideas and scientific interests that were of importance at the Cape had evolved

[55] See also W. Beinart, "Beyond the Colonial Paradigm: African History and Environmental History in Large-Scale Perspective", in Edmund Burke III and Kenneth Pomeranz (eds.), *The Environment and World History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 211-228; See also Beinart, "South African Environmental History in the African Context."
[56] See Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 21.

elsewhere-in Britain, the United States, India, and the settler Commonwealth.'[57] Grove also points out that global environmentalism developed out of the knowledge generated in Dutch, British and French botanical gardens but was rooted in imperial periphery.[58] Carruthers maintains that although the creation of national parks in any country, (as an example of colonial enterprises), has wide implications, it is vitally important to note that 'the founding of a national park concerns the allocation of certain natural resources and for this reason it is a political, social and economic issue more than a moral one.'[59] In this vein, Beinart argues that '[i]deas about how land and natural resources were to be controlled and used, and who should control and use them, must be located in the context of broader political, religious and economic contestations.'[60] It is therefore observed that the definition (and redefinition) of the interactions between people and natural resources in various ways in Colonial southern and central Africa had their parallels elsewhere within the globe.

The displacement of pre-colonial African ecological patterns through the introduction of new ecological patterns which were also at the centre of the processes of colonisation characterised the establishment and functioning of 'neo-Europes' in southern Africa and some parts of the globe. In southern Africa the displacement of African ecological practices which began at the Cape were characterised by contestations as a result of two key factors. The first is that the indigenous societies of southern Africa were relatively strong and this combined with some of the weaknesses of the colonial states created a difficult task for the colonial states to assume unchallenged jurisdiction over ecological processes. Beinart points out that 'Africans proved more difficult to dislodge,' because, with the use of their political and demographic weight they underpinned a long military resistance through the nineteenth century'.[61] Evidence suggests further that as part of response to the penetration of capital into the interior of Africa from the Cape particularly from the mid nineteenth century, the settlers and the Africans also shifted their systems of resource use and agriculture. 'In the case of settlers, the predatory patterns of hunting and herding in fragile environments caused particular problems. In the case of conquered African societies, conflicts arose not least

[57] See Beinart, *Rise of Conservation in South Africa*, xix.
[58] For details see R. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and R. Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire: Colonialism and Global Environmental History, 1400-1940* (Cambridge: White Horse Press, 1997).
[59] See Jane Carruthers, "Creating a National Park, 1910-1926", *JSAS*, 15, 2 (1989), 188.
[60] Beinart, "Introduction: The Politics of Colonial Conservation", 146; See also Beinart, *Rise of Conservation in South Africa*, p. xv.
[61] See Beinart, *Rise of Conservation in South Africa*, xiii and 6.

because they had their own systems of control and ecological explanation.'[62] One of the implications of this was that the roots of contestations over natural resources were becoming entrenched because, as also endorsed by Zeleza with regard to the subsequent use of the 'virtuous language of conservation,'[63] the 'intensity of competition between settler and African communities over natural resources, and the increasingly powerful hold of settlers over production and the instruments of state, ensured that any state attempt to regulate the environment became a deeply politicised issue.'[64]

Evidence shows that Imperial concern for wildlife emerged out of late nineteenth century predatory settler hunting that was engineered partly by the desire to avoid the restrictions imposed by the metropolitan society regarding game from the eighteenth century and partly as a result of the 'World Hunt.'[65] However, it was argued that it was the British hunting for 'sport' that as part of colonial symbolism in Africa catalysed the preservationist ideas which also entrenched contestations over game animals particularly from the 1880s, as argued in chapter Two. These preservationist ideas which were also advanced by former white hunters translated into a number of controls on the basis of legislation developed at the Cape. It is noted that between the 1890s and 1920 efforts were made by influential members of the South African society, for example, to institute uncompromised protection and legislation for game including the establishment and upgrading of game reserves and national parks.[66] However, the contestations over game as an economic, leisure, scientific, and aesthetic resource emerged particularly in the last decade of this period, i.e. the 1890s. It is argued that, although restrictions came into force regarding hunting and use of other forest resources, 'there were still very significant forces within settler society opposed either to large game reserves, or to hunting regulations. The early game reserves were by no means secure and sacrosanct; farmers, mine owners and speculators all had an interest in encroaching on such land.'[67] This is explored in relation to the Lower Tchiri Valley in chapter Six.

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[62] Beinart, "Introduction: The Politics of Colonial Conservation", 147.
[63] Zeleza, *Modern Economic History of Africa*, 39-40.
[64] Beinart, "Introduction: The Politics of Colonial Conservation", 147
[65] John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: an Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (California: Berkeley & Loss Angeles, 2003).
[66] Carruthers, "Creating a National Park, 1910-1926", 188-261; Beinart, "Introduction: The Politics of Colonial Conservation", 150.
[67] Beinart, "Introduction: The Politics of Colonial Conservation", See also Carruthers, "Creating a National Park, 1910-1926", 197-208; A somewhat similar scenario in Rhodesia is also noted by Roben Mutwira, "Southern Rhodesian Wildlife Policy (1890-1953): A Question of Condoning Game Slaughter", *JSAS* 15, 2 (1989), 250-262.

During this period dating from the 1890s to 1920s two useful historiographical dimensions that have not yet received detailed attention in southern Africa and in particular Malawi emerged. The first relates to the role of the presence of tsetse fly and protection of game, while the second deals with the establishment of protected areas as part of the politics of identity formation.[68] This is explored in chapters Four and Five. A vast part of the Kruger National Park in the Eastern part of Transvaal was protected from encroachment partly because of the presence of tsetse fly. Evidence suggests that from the 1890s tsetse fly belts had been expanding in Malawi particularly in the Lower Tchiri Valley.[69] Granted that from the early years of colonial rule in Malawi the colonial administration introduced a policy of free game shooting to check the expansion of the tsetse belts, it would be important to examine the contribution of this tsetse control strategy on contestations over wild game in the Lower Tchiri Valley in the early decades of the twentieth century.

This is underlined by McCracken's observation regarding the preservation of game that a 'more difficult question to determine is how far colonial policies aimed at arms control and game preservation influenced the spread of tsetse.'[70] Colonial Malawi saw the implementation of conservation ideas in the context of a similar suite of policies – albeit implemented unevenly and ideographically, in southern Africa during the period. William Beinart, John McCracken, Elias Mandala and others have analysed various aspects of state intervention in African access to natural resources, as discussed elsewhere in this chapter. In the historiography of colonial Malawi, there also exists McCracken's prevailing interpretation namely, that conservation programs were weapons in wider colonial arsenal to reorder the peasant economy. This study shows another side to the shift from hunting to the economy of preservation. The literature on contestations over wildlife resources in Malawi does not account in clear terms for a similar political process with regard to the Lower Tchiri Valley protected areas, for example.[71]

[68] Beinart, "Introduction: The Politics of Colonial Conservation", 150.
[69] McCracken, "Colonialism, capitalism and the ecological crisis", 64-74; M. Schoffeleers, "Economic Change and Religious Polarization in an African District", in J. McCracken (ed.), *Malawi: An Alternative Pattern of Development* (Centre for African Studies: University of Edinburgh 1985), 189-242.
[70] See McCracken, "Colonialism, capitalism and the ecological crisis", 69.
[71] See, for example, Mandala, *Work and control*; Mulwafu, *Conservation song*; B. Morris, *The Power of Animals: An Ethnography* (Oxford: Berg, 2000).

South African Environmental Historiography and African Historiography

The historical study of Africa has been taking place within the neither exhaustive nor mutually exclusive contexts of pre-colonial, colonial, postcolonial, Marxist, and postmodernist phases.[72] In these phases the writing of African history has been based on sources such as those created by European explorers, traders, sailors, missionaries, travellers, agents of the state, non-governmental organizations, private and public institutions, oral history and oral traditions. Some of the approaches employed have included revisionism, and more recently, deconstructionism. In their efforts to write African history, scholars have been supported by academic, political and economic developments in Europe, North America, and Africa including access to specialized journals such as the *Journal of African History*, among others.[73]

African agency in the shaping of historical processes was long ignored. However, this was challenged by new trends in the representation of southern Africa's past which were also notable in the 1980s. The environmental history of South Africa – which has been strongest on state-peasant relations over control of natural resources – offers some lessons that can be useful in this study.[74] Firstly, although self-designated environmental history is 'a new comer to southern African historiography, its antecedents go back well into the past, although they were not called environmental history at that time.'[75] Carruthers also points out that these antecedents, some of which appeared in the 1930s and 1960s, include works on frontier economies, the effects of tsetse fly on events in history as well as work approached from a historical geographical point of view. Secondly, works by social historians on particularly rural and agrarian history dealing with issues such as hunting communities, the rise of the Zulu kingdom, conservationism and development, pastoralism and overgrazing, agricultural planning and protected areas, and other explorations of environmental issues in historical

[72] F. Afolayan, 'Historiography of Africa,' in K. Shillington (ed*.), Encyclopedia of African History* (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005), 626. For more analyses of African Historiography see also T. Falola (ed.), *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of J.F. Ade Ajayi* (London: Longman, 1993) and B. Jewsiewicki and D. Newbury (eds.), *African Historiographies: What History for Which Africa?*(California: Sage Publications, 1986).
[73] Afolayan, "Historiography of Africa". See also Falola (ed.), *African Historiography*.
[74] Beinart, "South African environmental history in the African context", in S. Dovers, R. Edgecombe and B. Guest (eds.), *South Africa's Environmental History: Cases and Comparisons* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003), 215; J. McNeill, "Environment and History in South America and South Africa", in Dovers, Edgecombe and Guest (eds.), *South Africa's Environmental History*, 253; Beinart and McGregor, "Introduction", *Social History and African Environments*, 9.
[75] J. Carruthers, "Environmental history in southern Africa: An overview", in Dovers, Edgecombe and Guest (eds.), *South Africa's Environmental History,* 5.

perspective also provided an impetus for the emerging field of environmental history.[76] Within this context of transformations in social history during the 1980s, environmental history in southern Africa began assuming its own sub-disciplinary weight.

Thirdly, towards the late 1990s the growth of southern African environmental history was also supported by the publishing of African contributions on environmental history in such specialist journals as *Environment and History*, or in special editions of generalist journals like *Past and Present, South African Historical Journal* and *American Historical Review*.[77] In the fourth place, this growth drew some of its strength from inter-disciplinarity. From the late 1990s, scholars such as Beinart, McGregor and Grove facilitated cross-disciplinary gatherings which culminated in works on topical colonial and postcolonial environmental issues, drawing on natural and geographical sciences as well as economics and ecology, among other disciplines.[78] Drawing on this historiographical background, especially those southern African environmental histories that have drawn on social and agrarian history to address themes such as the role and place of nature in human society and politics and, in particular, the intersection between spheres of the natural, the cultural, the economic and the political,[79] this study argues for a socio-environmental history of the three protected areas and their surrounding communities in the Lower Tchiri Valley.

As discussed above in the section addressing main themes of this study, the socio-environmental approach draws heavily from Kreike[80] and has four aspects. The first aspect is that the study analyses the relationship of the local communities to resources in the protected areas and other landscapes under different climatic, political, and economic conditions. The

[76] According to Carruthers, "Environmental history in southern Africa: An overview", 5-7 and 268-269 this is evident in such works as R. Wagner, Zoutpansberg: the dynamics of a hunting frontier, 1848-1867,' in S. Marks and A. Atmore (eds.), *Economy and society in pre-industrial South Africa* (London, 1980); I. Phimister, "Discourse and discipline of historical context: conservationism and ideas about development in Southern Rhodesia, 1930-1950", *JSAS*, 12 (2) (1986), 263-75; W. Beinart , et al., *Putting a Plough to the ground: accumulation and dispossession in rural South Africa, 1850-1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1986); W. Beinart, "Soil Erosion, conservationism and ideas about development", Special Issue of *JSAS*: The Politics of conservation in Southern Africa15, 2 (1989).

[77] For example, Carruthers, "Environmental history in southern Africa: An overview", 6-7 and 268-269 draws our attention to W. Beinart, "Review: Empire, hunting and ecological change in southern Africa", *Past and Present* (1990), 162-186; J. Carruthers, "Towards an environmental history of southern Africa: some perspectives", *SAHJ*, (1990), 184-195.

[78] Carruthers, "Environmental history in Southern Africa", 6-7; See also Beinart and McGregor, "Introduction", *Social History and African Environments*, 1-24.

[79] See Carruthers, 'Environmental history in Southern Africa,' 3-15.

[80] E. Kreike, *Re-Creating Eden: Land Use, Environment, and Society in Southern Angola and Northern Namibia* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2004), 1-4.

second one is that there is a focus on the ways in which the protected areas were socially constructed by the local communities for the local communities so to examine human-environment relationships over time and space. It is argued that this way of viewing the environment as a product of human creation is different from the perspective of other environmental histories that make use of a pristine natural environment as their basis.[81] Thirdly, there is an examination of the contribution of the interaction of the local communities, the colonial state and the resources in the protected areas to transformations in resource access control and exploitation in relation to the local and international economies. The fourth aspect therefore deals with the analysis of the interaction of livelihoods of the communities and the political economy of the post war conservation ideologies and practices relating to the protected areas.

In this regard, this study is partly a response to Beinart's observations that while Wagner, Carruthers and MacKenzie[82] have explored areas such as settler and imperial hunting, there still remains a lot of potential for research employing questions such as: What was the impact of colonial settlement and firearms on particular species of wildlife? Which species were favoured for consumption or trade? Was animal behaviour itself significant in shaping this history? How were the marketing processes involving wildlife products such as ivory transancted within and outside Africa? What were the skills and languages that evolved in tracking and hunting? And what forms of equipment, technology and society developed as a result of the activities in the hunting frontiers?

It is noted that the writing of early travellers, mission and official records, the documents left by early literate African communities and ethnography, among other data sources, can help address these questions. These sources can facilitate the investigation of the hitherto under-researched role of local African knowledge systems and practices as well as that of the colonial state while avoiding essentializing the systems and the practices.[83] The connections

[81] Ibid., 1.
[82] Carruthers, "Environmental history in Southern Africa: An overview", here points to Wagner, "Zoutpansberg: some notes on the dynamics of a hunting frontier"; MacKenzie, *Empire of nature*; and J. Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995), among others.
[83] Beinart, "South African environmental history in the African context", 22-26 suggests that in studies involving the significance of African local knowledge and practices one should not be confined to powerful arguments for moral anti-colonialism while celebrating local knowledge use by communities because evidence from some parts of Africa suggest that some communities could use their local knowledge to degrade their resources and also that it was not always the case that there were conflicts between colonial resource

of some of these foregoing aspects of South African environmental history to the global, regional and hence other African local contexts are elaborated upon below.

Contestations over Natural Resources in African Historiographies

The roots of African historiographies can be traced through the writing of regional histories about North African, West African, and East African societies before the fifteenth century. However, available evidence suggests that 'African history, as both a process and a discipline, was to be profoundly transformed from the fifteenth century by European expansion.'[84] In particular, it was from the late eighteenth and within much of the nineteenth centuries that some European travel literature which incorporated historical accounts contributed to the writing of African history.

It is also suggested that despite some of the observable shortcomings of this type of historical writing, the writing facilitated the coming of imperialism to Africa through its representations of Africa as 'primitive' and therefore worth of 'salvation.' With regard to this imperial process and travel literature, Beinart and Hughes maintain that it was through their mapping and classification of lands and peoples that the European sailors, slavers, traders and hunters helped in the commodification and packaging of the resources of the empire and made the riches of the overseas territories 'desirable to prospective hunters, settlers, speculators, and administrators.'[85] These processes and the subsequent activities of the Europeans led to the development of imperialist or colonial historiography which has had a lasting impact on the writing of African history or historiography pertaining mainly to twentieth century sub-Saharan Africa.

While the imperialist historiography was reigning with its Eurocentrism, there were also other competing historiographies by some Africans in Africa and in the diaspora which attempted to explain the problems of African societies in relation to Europe by 'producing histories that emphasized African civilizations and achievements'[86] – through the use of oral sources, for example. Evidence suggests that as a result of these contestations between imperial history and the work of some African intellectuals there emerged major

management practices and African ones. See also Beinart, "African History and Environmental History"; Beinart and McGregor, "Introduction", *Social History and African Environments*, 3-4.

[84] Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Development of African History" in P.T. Zeleza and Dickson Eyoh (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century African History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 144.

[85] See Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 76.

[86] Zeleza, "Development of African History", 145

historiographical traditions such as the nationalist, traditional, and Islamic historiographies as the twentieth century approached. These historiographical traditions therefore began writing anti-imperialist histories relating to the various colonial projects that were contested such as the organization of the colonial economy, politics and culture.[87]

In spite of the presence of the other historiographical traditions the strength of the imperialist historiography did not begin to wane until the Second World War brought with it the forces of nationalism agitating for decolonization and hence new ways of writing African history. The post war period therefore saw the rise of new schools of historical writing with the Marxist school taking the centre stage. These schools challenged, *inter alia*, the tendency for imperial historians to give prominence to 'the policies of colonial governments and the activities of colonial auxiliaries, from European merchants to missionaries' while relegating the African societies and cultures to non-modernized entities.[88] However, this imperialist historiography had a somewhat different kind of history to tell with regard to South Africa. The liberal English historians, on the one hand, focused on 'a series of racial and cultural interactions between the Afrikaners, Africans, and British in the context of a changing and modernizing economy.'[89] In their interpretations they tended to downplay the role of British capital in the creation of racial capitalism in South Africa while emphasizing the struggles of the Africans against settler colonialism.

On the other hand, Afrikaner historians responded by writing histories about the triumphs of the Afrikaner nation against the British imperialism and the Africans. What has been notable about the contestations in the South African imperial historiographies is that the contestations have yielded and continue to bring up very useful rural and agrarian histories that provide the historiographical basis for some southern African environmental histories.[90] In fact Crush and Jeeves[91] observe that 'South Africa's agrarian history testifies to a rich history of local and regional opposition to state power and "rural development."' According to Beinart agrarian history through its consideration of rural political economy can offer a viable context for 'an

[87] Ibid.
[88] See Zeleza, "Development of African History", 146.
[89] Ibid.
[90] See for example, Carruthers, "Environmental history in southern Africa", 3-15. Jonathan Crush and Alan Jeeves, "Transitions in the South African Countryside", *Canadian Journal of African Studies* [Hereafter, *CJAS*] 27, 3 (1993), 359-360.
[91] Crush and Jeeves, "Transitions in the South African Countryside", 359-360.

analysis of conservationist concerns.'[92] Here the argument is that there was an intimate link between 'agricultural production, environmental understanding, and the attempts to conserve natural resources' because one of the central concerns of officials and leading farmers was with ensuring the future of agriculture through the efficient use of natural resources.[93] One of the implications is that historians need to examine data sources relating to departments of agriculture in order to come to terms with character and activities of the departments as a way of accessing the neglected features of agricultural policy and environmental regulation.

The context within which the South African rural and agrarian history has been contributing to the writing of these southern African environmental histories also relate to the post Second World War developments that furthered historical writing. Evidence suggests that despite the complex and sometimes contradictory nature of the critiques of imperial historiography in Africa and imperial metropoles, the critiques led to a nationalist historiography that staged an ideological and methodological revolt on imperialist historiography.[94] The conducive atmosphere provided by independence enabled nationalist historians to 'unravel African activity, adaptations, choice and initiative' through national universities, their schools of historical writing, journals, and professional associations and connections with academic institutions in Europe and America.[95] Although some of the nationalist historians made use of new sources of data such as oral traditions, historical linguistics, and historical anthropology, they were criticized for their preoccupation with the agenda that validated the privileged position of political elites in the postcolonial society. Thus, as from the 1970s the nationalist school was among other things accused of 'failing to probe deeper into the historical realities of African material and social life before colonial rule' because serious efforts were not 'made to provide systematic analyses of imperialism, its changing forms, and their impact, not to mention the processes of local class formation and class struggle.'[96]

It was these shortfalls in the nationalist historical writing in the face of some political, social and economic failures of the newly independent Africa, among other reasons, that led to the

[92] Beinart, *Rise of Conservation in South Africa*, xv.
[93] Beinart, *Rise of Conservation in South Africa*, xv-xvii. Beinart also draws attention to the potential of an environmental perspective in reassessing agrarian history as a way of reinserting environmental issues in south African history, for example because some literature from an earlier generation of historians on agrarian processes shows an awareness of the "interface between nature, commodity extraction, and the construction of nation", 5.
[94] See Zeleza, "Development of African History", 146.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.

coming to prominence of the Marxist historiography in the 1970s. Unlike their predecessors, the Marxists generally 'examined the processes of production, social formation, and class struggle, as well as the complex mediations and contradictory effects of imperialism in modern Africa.'[97] They focused on the dynamics of the exploitative economic structures and processes through which Africa was integrated into the world economy in relation to agriculture and peasant communities, for example. As a result of the radical approaches to the study of African history brought about by the Marxist school, there emerged new approaches and topics in African historiography in the 1980s and 1990s. One of the most notable approaches and disciplines is environmental history. Central to the emergence of this environmental history has been a need for the analysis of environmental change in Africa as it pertains to human-environment interactions over time and space as well as the recognition that 'planetary conservation will be a key economic, political, and social philosophy of the twenty-first century.[98] This need has been developing within African history since the onset of the twentieth century as a result of arguably three factors. The first one is the need to contribute to the debate that the perceived negative environmental events such as repetitive droughts, land degradation, deforestation, and resource-based conflicts across Africa were not creations of the twentieth century; instead, the cumulative effects of these events were becoming more visible as a result of increasing global environmental awareness, improvements in processes of exchanging information, increases in human population and activities, and existence of mass poverty.

Secondly, environmental history set out to offer a platform for counter-arguing the 'received wisdom' regarding rapid environmental change in Africa. Here one of the tasks of African environmental history has been that of demonstrating that while some aspects of the 'varied and complex' African environments have been changing with time as part of broader contexts and processes, analyses of these changes should not 'ignore local human adaptations, innovations, changing human needs and relationships with local environments,' which together with dynamic institutional and policy frameworks ensured meaningful responses to

[97] Ibid.
[98] William Y. Osei, "Environmental Change" in Paul T. Zeleza and Dickson Eyoh (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century African History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 188-189. It is also noted that there was much of perceived trends of environmental problems in the second half of the twentieth century and increases in human population were being viewed as responsible for rapid environmental change particularly with the context of 'received orthodoxies' on African environment as championed from outside the continent; Jane Carruthers, "Towards an Environmental History of Southern Africa: Some Perspectives", *SAHJ*, 23 (1990), 184.

environmental challenges.[99] Thirdly, environmental history aims at providing support to the activities of local and international interests in monitoring, identifying, and measuring the implications on broader human development and biodiversity of the rapid socio-economic and political changes during both the colonial and post-colonial periods.

As a result of the foregoing agenda African environmental history concerns itself with four closely related areas of research and focus. The first area of research and emphasis deals with the relationship between colonialism and environmental change in Africa. Some analysts suggest that this area comprises three contrasting views.[100] The first view is attributed to the early colonial writers and 'celebrated European environmental knowledge, management, and policies, as well as the beneficial effects of those policies on what they assumed to be environmentally unsound African agrarian and pastoral practices.'[101] The second view propounded by scholars such as Kjekshus and Vail[102] was framed as 'an apocalyptic interpretation of colonialism' and replaced the first perspective by arguing that colonialism initiated environmental degradation in Africa and undermined the capacity of Africans to deal with environmental crises such as the ecological disasters brought by the expanding tsetse fly belt and the trypanosomiasis that followed.

John MacKenzie whose model regarding hunting and conservation particularly in southern Africa is adapted in this study, also noted the devastating impact of colonial capitalism on African wildlife.[103] Although Mackenzie's pioneering work has been criticised, among other things, for not accounting adequately for the connection between colonial hunting and the imperial *mentalité,* his work suggests some new ways of conducting historical studies of this nature through exploitation of magistrates' or legal records.[104] It also needs to be noted that a number of scholars such as Beinart[105] have in one way or the other suggested alternative ways of approaching or interrogating historical studies within the second view of colonialism

[99] Osei, "Environmental Change", 189; See also M. Leach and R. Mearns (eds.), *The Lie of the Land: Challenging Received Wisdom on the African Continent* (The International African Institute in association with Oxford and Portsmouth: James Currey and Heinemann, 1996).
[100] Osei, "Environmental Change", 189-190.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development*; L.Vail, "Ecology and history." This view was modified by John McCracken, "Colonialism, Capitalism and Ecological Crisis in Malawi: A Reassessment", in Anderson and Grove (eds.), *Conservation in Africa* in relation to capitalist processes and the fighting of the tsetse belts in Malawi.
[103] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*.
[104] Ibid.
[105] See Beinart, "African History and Environmental History".

and environmental degradation in Africa. With reference to different parts of Africa, most of these scholars 'have chronicled the motivation and effects of colonialism's highly intrusive conservationism at the level of policy, practice, and discourse, and the various factors underpinning it - from concerns about agricultural development, social control, and segregation, to tourism, science, and aesthetics.'[106]

The third view relating to the first area of research and focus of African environmental history partly owes its existence to the influence of ideas of postcolonialism and postmodernism. This perspective draws our attention to the complex and contradictory nature of the processes of environmental change. It therefore suggests that colonial environmental transformations included negative and sometimes unintended positive outcomes and that 'environmental change generated and was generated by both creative and failed adaptations.'[107]

As a second area of scholarly interest, African environmental history deals with indigenous or local knowledge. The available evidence shows that following the celebration of the vitality of African indigenous knowledge by scholars such as Paul Richards in the mid-1980s, other scholars began to interrogate conventional views regarding deforestation, pastoralism and desertification, and population growth and environmental degradation while upholding the soundness of African local knowledge, environmentally sustainable strategies and practices.[108] Among other arguments, these scholars argued that 'rising hunger in Africa had less to do with environmental stress *per se* than the incorporation of African societies into the circuits of global capitalism that endangered a monocultural cash-crop economy and undermined strategies to cope with natural disasters, while intensifying the vulnerabilities of these societies to those disasters.'[109]

The study of African environmental ideologies and movements forms the focus of the third area of research for African environmental history. Histories crafted within this area 'seek to unravel and analyze African environmental perceptions and representations as manifested in a wide repertoire of cultural constructions, from religious and cosmological ideas, fables and

[106] Osei, "Environmental Change", 190, See also Beinart, "African History and Environmental History".
[107] Osei, "Environmental Change", 190.
[108] See also Paul Richards, *Indigenous Agricultural Revolution: Ecology and Food Production in West Africa* (London: Hutchinson, 1985); James Fairhead and Melissa Leach, "Colonial Science & its Relics in West Africa" in Leach and Mearns (eds.), *Lie of the Land*, for more details.
[109] Osei, "Environmental Change", 190.

other creative narratives, to the aesthetics of space in the built environment.'[110] Of much significance in this area have been histories of environmental movements as well as histories dealing with social and political conflicts and struggles such as is the case with histories of agrarian transformations and wildlife, African communities and States.[111] One of the critical challenges that has been noted with regard to the writing of African history has been the invisibility of women in much of the historical writing particularly those published before the 1980s. As a result of efforts by feminist historians there have been attempts since the 1980s to bring back women to African history. It is suggested that one of the approaches adopted has been that of recording women's activities and experiences in relation to conventional themes in African history.

In this regard environmental feminists (eco-feminists) and other historians and students of history seeking to contribute to the feminist cause and the engendering of African history have been working on some histories. These histories seek to understand the 'gendered perceptions and constructions of environmental changes and adaptations' through the conscious involvement of significant numbers of women in their research populations, and interrogation of women's varied historical experiences through the use of previously neglected research questions and data sources, for example. [112] For instance, it is noted that particularly in African societies women were not engaged in daily interaction with cattle and generally were not allowed to hunt and as such patriarchal power at the domestic level rested in the control and access to the animals. The settler hunting frontiers, for example, provided powerful symbols of settler masculinities and studies over contestations over natural resources arguably provide a perspective into historical processes of negotiating gendered identities in southern African societies, including those in the Lower Tchiri Valley, as discussed in chapters Two and Six on how women were involved in the hunting arena. [113]

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[110] Ibid.

[111] See for example, Carruthers, *Social and Political History of Kruger National Park.*

[112] See Osei, "Environmental Change", 190; Zeleza, "Development of African History", 148-149; Tropp, *Natures of Colonial Change.*

[113] Beinart, *Rise of Conservation in South Africa*, 8-9; Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 184; For more details see also R. Morrell, "Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African Studies", *JSAS* 24, 4: Special Issue on Masculinities in Southern Africa (1998), 605-630 as well as W. Beinart, "Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape", in the same special issue, 775-799; and M. Turshen, "Review Article: Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephan F. Miescher. *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*", *The American Historical Review* [Hereafter, *AHR*], 109, 4 (2004), 1685-1686.

The fourth category of areas of emphasis and research for African environmental historians relates to the use of latest scientific methods and techniques in studying and reconstructing climatic changes over a long time. Zeleza, among others, argues for the usefulness of such historical reconstructions in African environmental history while acknowledging the challenges in terms of multidisciplinary knowledge and data sources involved in such studies.[114] In celebrating the usefulness of multidisciplinary perspectives in historical scholarship Carruthers also argues that ''history' does not have sole rights on the past,' implying that '[h]istorical studies is not alone in the world of the past.'[115] Carruthers notes further that historical scholarship can deal with its recurring 'crisis' by making use of blurring disciplinary boundaries 'and actively working with other subjects that also interrogate, explain or describe past southern Africa,' for example, since 'increasingly it seems unproductive to divide the past into what is 'ours' and what is 'theirs.'' [116]

In particular, Carruthers maintains that Steinhart should have taken into serious consideration new trends in historiography that began taking shape around the mid-1990s in order to add more value to what his work says. She postulates that since the mid-1990s 'social historians have begun to unravel more nuanced postcolonial understandings of African agency and to consider issues of identity. They also have been influenced by the cultural and linguistic turn in the social sciences and the wealth of environmental literature about African resources, much of it historical in focus.'[117] In other words, one of the implications of Carruthers' observations is that socio-environmental histories of hunting and wildlife resources in colonial Africa should take into account that there is a paradigm shift 'from the simple binary of "black poachers, white hunters," –i.e., "good" versus "evil" – to acknowledgement that despite their shadowy presence in the literature and official records, Africans were able to manipulate their roles as guides and porters in order to maximize their employment opportunities and lifestyle opportunities.'[118]

Now the second historiographically significant process is related to the first and suggests that as a result of its multi-disciplinarity, African environmental histories partly account for the different interpretations of environmental change on the continent through the exploitation of

[114] Zeleza, *Modern Economic History of Africa*, 25-53.
[115] See Jane Carruthers, "The Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies", *SAHJ,* 62, 2 (2010), 388.
[116] See Carruthers, "Changing Shape and Scope of Southern African Historical Studies", 389.
[117] Carruthers, "Review: Black Poachers, White Hunters", 103.
[118] Ibid.

a varied range of data sources. According to Beinart, and Showers and Malahleha,[119] the writing of environmental history can benefit from cultural data in the forms of cultural symbols, expressions, narratives, fables, the design and material make-up of the built environment as well as from oral environmental evidence emerging from local ecological knowledge and observations. They point out further that while all these sources contain valuable historical data on environments and environmental processes, scholars should be cautious of the fact that views about environmental and ecological processes can be subjected to various forms of distortions over time and space as a result of their interactions with views from other cultures. In other words, they are calling for scholars to strive to triangulate their studies in environmental history.

Osei draws our attention to many other sources that may be consulted for their past environmental information.[120] In addition to geological, archaeological, and botanical evidence, written records in the forms of diaries and reports by early travellers, missionaries, traders, and colonial government agents usually contain a wealth of environmental data. The writing of African environmental history has also been drawing on base-line environment related data collected by agencies during colonial and pre-colonial times and proves useful in reconstructing past environmental processes. Recent improvements in science and technology also enable environmental historians to make use of time-series environmental data as well as to trace the details of the ancestry and distribution of most of the plants and animals found in Africa.[121]

While much of the above also applies to southern African environmental historiography, it needs to be reiterated that the roots of southern African historiography can be identified in revisionist historiography on agrarian and rural topics focusing not only on the exploited classes but also natural resources which are exploited by all classes.[122] Carruthers also points out that while there have been some earlier works on southern African nature within African historiography, some of these works did not seriously address the underlying principles and

[119] Beinart, "African History and Environmental History"; Beinart, "South African environmental history in the African context"; Osei, "Environmental Change", 191; Kate B. Showers and G. Malahleha, "Oral Evidence in Historical Impact Assessment: Soil Conservation in Lesotho", *JSAS* 18, 2 (1992), 276-296.
[120] Osei, "Environmental Change", 191; See also Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*; Beinart, "African History and Environmental History"; Beinart, "South African environmental history in the African context".;
[121] See also Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).
[122] Carruthers, "Southern African Environmental History", 188-189.

critical insights of this developing field of African environmental history, among other weaknesses. Carruthers thus makes a critical observation regarding the controversial nature of employing some of the earlier works on southern African environmental historiography. She observes that Mackenzie's *Empire of Nature* makes an uncritical use of questionable secondary sources:

> In his discussion of the development of game reserves and national parks in the Transvaal, for example, MacKenzie relies solely on the publications of James Stevenson-Hamilton, whose views have been refuted in recent work. He also over simplifies the Cape protectionist model, and has not apparently utilized the historical material which exists on East Africa. MacKenzie takes the debate two steps forward but one step backwards by bringing what are obvious inaccuracies and over-simplifications within the fold of academic history.[123]

Apart from suggesting some of the works that need to be considered in southern African historiography to avoid the shortcomings of *Empire and Nature*, Carruthers also draws attention to several specific weaknesses of *Empire and Nature*. Firstly, MacKenzie does not go beyond the discussion of the hunting of larger mammals as constituting imperial exploitation of nature. Secondly, the 'crucial paradox between colonial wildlife exploitation for subsistence or trade as well as its exploitation for the display of imperial power and control over land is left largely unexplored.'[124] Carruthers suggests that there is need to take in consideration the differences and contestations that characterised 'hunting of game and protectionist perceptions of imperialists, whether as members of the government or as private citizens, whether residents or visitors, rural or urban, bourgeois or working class.'[125] Thirdly, MacKenzie should have interrogated seriously 'the Hunt' as well as the reminiscences of the so called 'sportsmen' as evidence which might reveal that some of them were actually exterminators. In the fourth place, there should have been an examination of the highly ritualistic hunting methods of some of the indigenous people leading to a comparative analysis of 'the (imperial) Hunt' and the 'indigenous Hunt.'

Fifthly, Carruthers also points out that *Empire and Nature* should have demonstrated the complexity of the wildlife protection policies in relation to 'the Hunt,' by addressing the demands of the following: 'whether or not it was more beneficial to the environment for mammal populations to be hunted ritually in small numbers, than to be extirpated by any and every means. Did the large herds of wildlife require culling to maintain ecological balance, or did 'the Hunt' occur at a time when regulations and attitudes assisted them to recover

[123] Carruthers, "Southern African Environmental History", 189-190.
[124] Ibid. 190
[125] Ibid.

numbers after natural disasters?'[126] The sixth concern that Carruthers raises with the *Empire of Nature* is that it does not address 'the pillaging effects of sophisticated firearms, commercial agriculture, incipient industry and urbanization on the wilderness of the Empire.'[127] The need to analyse the legalities relating to wild animals (even as vermin or problem animals) in the different parts of the British Empire and how this affected the relations of wild animals and the imperialists in the *Empire of Nature,* seems to be the seventh problem area that Carruthers identifies with the book. Beinart agrees with Carruthers and adds that while *Empire of Nature* examines the potential of hunting literature as an historical source there are some exaggerations regarding the central place of hunting in the imperial processes.[128] This thesis uses this critique to strengthen its own analytical arsenal.

Contestations over Natural Resources in Malawian Historiography

Malawi's colonial historiography was pioneered by the works of Sir Harry Johnston. In these works some of the "tribes" or communities in Malawi were presented as rebellious while others as victims of African warfare. As for pre-colonial historiography, some of whose topics were handled by Johnston, it developed mainly within the context of postcolonial historiography as a result of the dictatorial rule of the late Dr H. Kamuzu Banda. As a result of Banda's restrictions on academic research dealing with the Malawi National Archives as well as field work since 1964[129], Malawian historians within the country avoided writing on the history of the twentieth century and concentrated on pre-colonial history.[130] What this meant was that topics dealing with the history of peasants and the history of economic underdevelopment, among others, were largely neglected.

However, from the 1980s Malawian historians trained in the social history tradition in the United States and Canada started writing the history of peasant-state relations, labour processes, economic development, women and gender, mammals and wildlife, among other previously neglected topics.[131] This trend has been intensifying since the early 1990s within

[126] Ibid., 191.
[127] Carruthers, "Southern African Environmental History", 191.
[128] Beinart, "Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Africa", 164-165.
[129] O.J.M. Kalinga, "The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnston, the Influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr Kamuzu Banda and His Malawi Congress Party", *African Affairs*, 97, 389 (1998), 523-549.
[130] Some of these works were published in the different volumes of *SMJ*; and in B. Pachai (ed.), *Malawi: The History of the Nation* (London: Longman, 1973), among others.
[131] Kalinga, "Production of History in Malawi", 523-49; L. Vail, "Review: *From Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in Colonial History*, Edited by R. J. Macdonald (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1975)", *The*

the now democratic Malawi. There is a recent florescence of social and environmental history focusing on peasants, the state, natural resources in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial Malawi produced by historians such as Elias Mandala, Wapulumuka Mulwafu and Brian Morris.[132]

Mandala shows how peasants in the valley were able to exercise considerable control over their labour for the reproduction of their livelihoods during periods of natural and political crises. During these periods the peasants negotiated and contested the use of their natural resources such as wildlife and their labour for cotton production as part of their incorporation into the world economy.[133] It is important to examine the contribution of these economic exchanges to the contestations over the use of wildlife resources in the valley particularly in the light of Mang'anja seasonal hunting activities and those of the African and European 'intruders' who intensified their economic and political activities in the valley from the late nineteenth century, as discussed in chapter Two.

While these secondary texts provide useful general and in some cases specific background to this proposed study, their analyses do not pre-empt this study of competition and alliances over natural resources in the Lower Tchiri Valley with focus on the three protected areas, the African peasant communities and the colonial state and its agents. Indeed, Morris has pointed out that there has not been much writing by scholars of different persuasions including social historians on the interactions of human life in Africa and wild animals over time. He notes further that there has, therefore, been a tendency among historians and ethnographers of Malawi to 'bypass the importance of hunting in the social life of Malawians, and to downplay the crucial role that the ivory trade played in the economic life and politics of the pre-colonial period,' for example, a challenge this study takes seriously.[134] With regard to the Lower Tchiri Valley protected areas of Mwabvi and Majete Game Reserves and Lengwe National Park, Morris suggests that there have been controversial

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International Journal of African Historical Studies [Hereafter, *IJAHS*], 11, 4 (1978), 751-753; J. Power, "Review: New Writing on Old Topics: Malawian Historiography Today", *CJAS*, 37,1 (2003),128-32; *JSAS*: Special Issue on Malawi (2002); A. Jeeves and O.J.M. Kalinga (eds.), *Communities at the Margin*: *Studies in Rural Society and Migration* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2002).

[132] Mandala, *Work and Control*; Mandala, *End of Chidyerano*; Mulwafu, *Conservation Song* W.O. Mulwafu, "The Interface of Christianity and Conservation in Colonial Malawi, 1891-1930", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34, 3 (2004), 298-391; B. Morris, *The History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2006).

[133] Mandala, *Work and Control*, 18-19.

[134] See Morris, *History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*, 1.

reports regarding the conservation of wildlife resources in these protected areas as a result of the contestations, 'cultures of resistance' and some forms of 'accommodation' in the interactions between the colonial state and the African communities.[135] Morris does not, however, provide a systematic and continuous account of these processes. From the historiographical discussions thus far, this study is also motivated by a desire to contribute to the global and regional debate on the environmental, economic, cultural and political interactions between African communities and their natural resources within pre-colonial and colonial contexts.[136]

The previous sections highlighted the important areas warranting historical examination in specific contexts on the basis of the imperial and regional nature of the historical developments. The historiographical section has demonstrated the connections between global historiographical trends, the development of South African environmental history and the contributions it can make to other local studies in southern Africa. More importantly, the discussion on African historiographies with the focus on African environmental history raised issues for historical studies to take into careful consideration so as to not to commit some of the mistakes that are associated with some earlier work in either African historiography in general or southern African historiography in particular. This discussion also provided a useful link to disputes over natural resources in the Malawi context particularly in the Lower Tchiri Valley by adapting some of the relevant lessons outlined in the literature survey and historiographical debates.

Problem Statement and Focus

This study investigates the Lower Tchiri Valley hunting grounds and later protected areas in Malawi, focusing on the role of the hunting economies, the colonial state, European hunters and the African communities in the restructuring of relations between Africans, European hunters and wildlife resources from the 1850s to 1960. In relation to colonial state structures, the study explores the use of African political, socio-cultural and ecological practices in contesting and negotiating control over and access to hunting and forest resources during processes of integration into the world economy, droughts and famines, periods of

[135] Morris, *History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*, 61-78; for some of the concepts, see also Peluso, *Rich Forests, Poor People,* 161-232.
[136] Murombedzi, "Pre-colonial and Colonial Conservation Practices", 21-26. See also W. Adams, "Nature and the colonial mind" in W. Adams and M. Mulligan (eds.), *Decolonising nature: Strategies for conservation in postcolonial era* (London: Earthscan, 2003).

seasonal hunger, and post war colonial wildlife conservation practices. Historiographical perspectives on nature, environment and society illuminate the changing lifeways of the African communities in their response and adaptation to resource access and negotiation practices imposed by the colonial state and conservation institutions.

Research Design and Methodology

Place-centred thematic case-studies have become central in pioneering research, opening up new territories and intellectual landscapes and offering fertile soil for the new crop of socio-environmental hybrid seeds. On a practical level, the "relative manageability of source materials are certainly conducive to the development of hybrid socio-environmental history approaches."[137] As Mosley argued in another context, the broad sweep of macro-scale environmental histories, like those offered by John Mackenzie or John McCracken, while very valuable in suggesting a "sense of the whole", inescapably curtails their scope "to examine local distinctiveness—both cultural and ecological."[138] Thus more locally limited and thereby more nuanced accounts of socio-environmental change, can provide a more finely shaded analysis of how human societies (and individuals) and environments fashion and refashion one another. Such micro-level case-studies of sub-regions (like those of E.C. Mandala in Malawi and J. Tropp in the KwaMatiwane area of the Transkei[139]) can supply useful bases for comparative analysis and even offer challenges to the overarching meta-narratives of change.

This study adopts Mosley's list of key questions in integrating social and environmental approaches. As he cogently puts it "smaller-scale inquiries can also direct attention to big questions of overlapping interest for social and environmental historians, such as: Was traditional resource used really more sustainable? How did different communities control access to nature and its resources? Who gained and who lost when relations between people and place changed? How did social divisions affect people's day-to-day environmental experiences and influence their attitudes and actions towards nature? Why did public concern

[137] Stephen Mosley, "Common Ground: Integrating Social and Environmental History", *Journal of Social History* [Hereafter, *JSH*], 39, 3 [Special Issue on the Future of Social History] (2006), 922.
[138] Mosley, "Integrating Social and Environmental History", see 922.
[139] E.C. Mandala, "Peasant Cotton Agriculture, Gender and Inter-Generational Relationships: The Lower Tchiri (Shire) Valley of Malawi, 1906-1940", *ASR*, 25(2/3) 1982, 27-44; Jacob A. Tropp, *Natures of Colonial Change: Environmental Relations in the Making of the Transkei* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006).

about a specific environmental problem emerge at a particular time?"[140] The study also added the following key research questions in the process of gathering data:

- What was the relationship between wildlife resources and pre-colonial Malawian political and socio-cultural practices?
- What was the role of the ivory economy in the integration of the Lower Tchiri Valley into the world economy from the 1850s to around 1920?
- How did the different ways in which tsetse fly affected wild game contribute to colonial restructuring of human-environment relations in the Lower Tchiri Valley between the 1890s and 1920s?
- What was the nature of the interaction between African and colonial conservation practices the 1920s and early 1930s?
- How did the 'second colonial occupation' interact with African hunting and forest-based socio-economic practices between the early 1930s and 1960 in the Lower Tchiri Valley?

These key research questions were converted into themes to guide the data collection process and chronological analyses. These questions, theoretical insights (on history and theory), the chronological analyses, archival, oral testimonies and oral traditions — as elaborated below — and historiographical debates work together in testifying to the new contribution that this thesis makes as summarized in the following paragraphs. As suggested above, this study employed place-centred, thematic case studies within a socio-environmental history approach to investigate a history of contestations over hunting and conservation in the Lower Tchiri Valley communities. The investigation of previously neglected areas such as hunting, poaching and conservation of natural resources in the microcosmic context of the Lower Tchiri Valley communities that either constituted former hunting grounds or were located on the fringes of game preservation areas allows for this thesis to contribute to the debate over the long delayed integration of social and environmental history and maintain a dialogue between these, arguably, compatible disciplines.[141]

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[140] Mosley, "Integrating Social and Environmental History", 915-933, see also 922.

[141] See Ibid., 919, 928-929. On these possibilities of integration of histories, refer also to J.R. McNeill, "Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History", *History and Theory*, 42, 4, Theme Issue 42: Environment and History (2003), 8-11. On the writing of socio-environmental histories, Jane Carruthers also argued that the challenges faced by earlier African environmental historiography are likely to be addressed within the framework of social history into which Africa's environmental history is being embedded. For details, see Jane Carruthers, "Africa: Histories, Ecologies and Societies", *Environment and History*, 10 (2004), 379-406.

According to Mosley, this dialogue should have begun sometime in the 1970s, and should have taken advantage of the potential of social history to render deeper and broader environmental perspectives on processes and consequences of environmental change such as hunting and conservation of natural resources, for example, and intertwine them with race, class, ethnic and gender issues[142] (which have traditionally been the stock in trade for social historians) as this thesis demonstrates. Thus, with the use of the socio-environmental history approach this thesis shows (as adapted from Mosley's 'big questions of overlapping interest in social and environmental history'[143]) how — in the Lower Tchiri Valley — conflict, difference, collaboration, and power shaped and were shaped by hunting and conservation regimes[144] while Africans and whites, over time and in different locales, were accessing game animals, other natural resources, participating in the politics of natural resource conservation, and implementing their 'routinized day-to-day' game- or natural resource-based practices and consumption behaviours.

Thus in line with Frederick Cooper's and Jane Carruthers' call for a reconsideration of the white versus black (or African) binary in rethinking the relations of the colonizer and the colonized in African historiographies (as part of uncovering the 'multi-sided experiences of peoples in the colonies, ' experiences often flattened by colonial categories of knowledge championed by colonial documents and agents,)[145] this thesis offers a microcosmic perspective that critiques the argument advanced by colonial hunting governors, administrators and other colonial Europeans that Africans were largely responsible for unregulated hunting that impinged on game populations and haunted conservation of game animals in the pre-colonial as well as the colonial eras. In fact Carruthers rightly argued that: 'In most parts of Africa, both colonized and colonizers were highly diversified and the imposition of an over-arching 'settler mentality' was uneven, specific, and always challenged

[142] Mosley, "Common Ground", 916.
[143] Ibid., 920-921; see also, 925-926. These questions are noted above.
[144] With regard to negotiation of power and the arrangements of affairs in societies, Peter Stearns argued that social history facilitates the plotting of complexities in political change such as in the context of encounters with colonial processes and that: 'Even amid marked disparities of power, political arrangements usually need to be seen as negotiated among various groups of players.' For details see, Peter Stearns, "Part II: Issues of Power in Social History: Social History and the State [Introduction]", *JSH*, 39, 3, [Special Issue on the Future of Social History] (2006), 703.
[145] Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History", *The American Historical Review*, [Hereafter, *AHR*) 99, 5 (1994), 1517 and 1527-1528; Frederick Cooper, "Africa's Pasts and Africa's Historians", *CJAS*, 34, 2 (2000), 298-325. Jane Carruthers, "Review: Black Poachers, White Hunters: A History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya by Edward I. Steinhart," *ASR*, 49, 3 (2006), 102-103; Carruthers, "Africa's Environmental History", 9. Refer also to Frederick Cooper, Allen Isaacman, Florencia Mallon, William Roseberry, and Steven Stern, *Confronting Historical Paradigms: Peasants, Labour, and the Capitalist World System in Africa and Latin America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).

strongly by continuous African resistance.'[146] In relation to Nyasaland, John MacKenzie elaborated that: 'In some respects the colonial state was indeed weak. Above all, it was subject to the court of appeal of the metropolitan power where some people, including influential journalists, lawyers, politicians, and missionaries, interrogated its iniquities.'[147]

Thus thesis shows that the power of the colonizer was not 'all-determining,'[148] because there were clashes over hunting and conservation of game between the colonial state and its appropriating classes of white sportsmen (resident and visiting), other white hunters and farmers, and African hunters and cultivators. Focusing on the Lower Tchiri Valley the thesis demonstrates that state or ruling class domination over hunting and conservation and the protest or resistance that emerged as a response suggest some of the nuanced ways in which power was deployed, engaged, contested, deflected and appropriated[149] as there was as much black poaching as there was white poaching. In fact MacKenzie noted that the 'often arrogant and unsympathetic ways in which soil and other conservation policies were administered [in Nyasaland] by the colonial authorities' fed into aspects of rural resistance.[150] Evidence from the Lower Tchiri Valley suggests that these (resistance) responses were carried out through different but sometimes similar motivations and contexts such as crop protection and the eradication of vermin and diseases that affected domestic stock and humans as well.

As Allen Isaacman, Eric Wolf, John Saul and R Woods, Allen Isaacman's review of Donald Crummey, and James Scott argue, these motivations and contexts were processes and avenues in which both the dominating class (whites) and the subjugated (Africans and some whites) who felt subdued and politically weak resisted and negotiated appropriation of resources, in this case game and other natural resources, through expressions of their limited

[146] See Carruthers, "Africa's Environmental History", 9. See also Cooper, "Africa's Pasts", 308 and 322.
[147] John Mackenzie, "Review: "Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 Nyasaland State of Emergency and its Legacy Edited by KINGS M. PHIRI, JOHN McCRACKEN and WAPULUMUKA O. MULWAFU Zomba, Kachere Series, 2012", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* [Hereafter, *JICH*], 42, 2 (2014), 366.
[148] Cooper also advised that in attempts to recover varied histories and agency of the subject peoples in colonial contexts it is important to avoid assuming that the colonial state was 'all-determining' because colonial state power was confronted, engaged and negotiated in numerous ways by the subject peoples and that at times this led to the politics of contradictions within the colonial state that stemmed from some social structures as part of resistance and contestations. For details, see Cooper, "Conflict and Connection", 1517-1521 and John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, "Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914", *The Journal of African History* [Hereafter, *JAH*], 20, 4, White Presence and Power in Africa (1979), 487-505, particularly 489-491. Lonsdale and Berman also argue that the colonial Kenyan experience and the complexities and contradictions involved are representative of the developments as they were experienced in other parts of the British dependencies.
[149] On these power related conflicts, See also Cooper, "Conflict and Connection", 1517.
[150] MacKenzie, "Review: Malawi in Crisis", 366.

autonomy in fighting back using different forms of protests, rebellion and insurgence such as poaching and extermination of game, so as to claim their "remedies" or compensation.[151]

In this regard, the functioning of the hunting and game conservation economies in the Lower Tchiri Valley reveal the complexities and contradictions that characterized the Nyasaland colonial state and its its appropriating classes and institutions, on the one hand and the subjugated white and African hunters, on the other as was the case between the state, the dominant class and the dominated in early colonial Kenya.[152] Cooper's rejoinder posited that: 'Recognition of the much greater power of the Europeans in the colonial encounter does not negate the importance of African agency [for example] in determining the shape the encounter took'[153] as also suggested above. In the case of the Lower Tchiri Valley, some Africans and Whites also contested the colonial state's bolstering of the game conservation economy in defense of their plantation and hunting economies as shown in Chapters five and six. In this vein, Cooper advised that in rethinking colonial history in Africa, for instance, one should not miss:

> 'the implications of the limits of [colonial] coercion,' and [should not underplay] 'the dynamic possibilities stemming from the partial and contradictory hegemonic projects that colonial rulers attempted: the disputes within colonizing populations and metropolitan elites over different visions of colonial rule and the space that efforts to articulate hegemony opened up for contestation among the colonized'[154] [as well as among the colonizers as they pursued different economic enterprises].

Commenting on these types of contestations, Carruthers also alluded to Beinart's belief that the significance of Africa's environmental history lies in its efforts to refigure colonialism in environmental terms through a 'close analysis of colonial environmental responsibility and African agency [which] 'influences our understanding of power relations and environmental

[151] Allen Isaacman, "Peasants and Rural Social Protest in Africa", *ASR*, 33, 2 (1990), 1-5; Eric R. Wolf (1969), "On Peasant Rebellions," in Teodore Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Societies: Selected Readings* (Middle Sex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1971), 264-271; John S. Saul and R. Woods (1971), "African Peasantries," in Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Societies*, 103-114; Allen Isaacman, "Review: Banditry, Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa by Donald Crummey", *AHR*, 93, 2 (1988), 472-473; and James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 29-41 and Cooper, "Africa's Pasts", 299.

[152] Lonsdale and Berman, "Coping with the Contradictions", 487-505.

[153] Cooper, "Conflict and Connection", 1529-1532. Here Cooper also elaborates further that colonial violence a came to represent "acts of trespass" rather than processes of social transformation in line with the colonial agenda of "divide and rule," and its social engineering projects, the colonial economic geography dealing with exploitation of natural resources (such as game animals), for example, was as 'uneven as the geography of power' itself.

[154] Cooper, "Conflict and Connection, 1531-1532. For a broader debate on contestations over access to agrarian resources and their dynamics in colonial Africa, see also Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).

transformation in Africa.'[155] Carruthers extrapolated that since subjugation looms very large in Africa's colonial history, the writing of colonial histories reflect issues of environmental injustice and eco-racism as part of reconceptualizing the colonial experience, a practice that is proving to be a fruitful avenue for investigating, and generating nuances and uncovering agencies[156] as also demonstrated in this thesis.

Chris Youé and Tim Stapleton also drew attention to the significance of discussing African agency in historical studies in a balanced and sufficient detail so as to uncover ''the other side' of the colonial experience.'[157] In his review of Youé and Stapleton's edited volume, Ralph Austen also lamented the dearth of studies of this nature in African history observing that even in Youé and Stapleton's volume, only three (out of the eleven essays or chapters) only three focus on 'Africans rather than Europeans as 'agents' of colonial history.'[158] Esperanza Brizuela-García also noted the efforts taken by some Africanists to re-insert African agency in Africa history so that it evolves from the state of being a 'mere appendage of colonial history.'[159] Arguing further, Brizuela-García contended that by investigating and focusing on African agency, the African past would reveal that Africans 'had been successful masters of their own destiny and perfectly able to do it again.'[160] Thus, African history would be different from colonial and imperial history and that the historiography emerging in the process would be put to the service of Africa's political and socio-economic agandas—redefining African history in terms of its usefulness to African societies,[161] a direction seriously considered in this thesis through the socio-environmental approach to history as the subsequent chapters demonstrate.

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[155] See Carruthers, "Africa's Environmental History", 8. On the debate regarding the power of African communities (or peasants) to regulate their environment, contexts for analysing colonial environmental and ecological politics and conflicts as well as economic incentives for enhancing conservation measures, see Beinart, "Soil erosion, conservationism and ideas about development," 143-162 and Phimister, "Discourse and the Discipline of Historical Context", 263-275.

[156] See Carruthers, "Africa's Environmental History", 8.

[157] Chris Youé and Tim Stapleton, "Introduction: John Flint and Agency in History", in Chris Youé and Tim Stapleton (eds.), *Agency and Action in Colonial Africa: Essays for John E. Flint* (New York: Palgrave Publishers, 2001), 6-7.

[158] Ralph A. Austen, "Review: Agency and Action in Colonial Africa: Essays for John E. Flint by Chris Youé; Tim Stapleton", *The International History Review* [Hereafter, *IHR*], 24, 3 (2002), 658.

[159] Esperanza Brizuela-García, "The History of Africanization and the Africanization of History", *History in Africa,* 9, 33 (2006), 87-98.

[160] Brizuela-García, "History of Africanization", 87-89.

[161] Brizuela-García, "History of Africanization", 87-92. See also E.S. Atieno-Odhiambo, "From African Historiographies to an African Philosophy of History", *Afrika Zamani: A Journal of African History*, 7 & 8 (1999-2000), 41-89.

Indeed this thesis used primarily archival sources, particularly Colonial Office (Foreign Office) Correspondence, administrative reports (like Annual Reports of the Department of Game, Fish and Tsetse Control), society's reports (like the Annual Reports of the Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society), and various periodicals and newspapers, colonial officials' papers, missionaries' and travellers' diaries and journals. It has used archives including the Malawian National Archives, Society of Malawi Library and Archives, University of Cape Town, and University of Witwatersrand archives and special collections.

Oral Histories and Oral Traditions

Daniel McCall, historian of unwritten sources in African history, maintains that it is imperative for historians especially in Africa to consult data from a wide variety of sources as they write history because the essence of historical scholarship lies in the revision of the narratives of earlier historians to facilitate a reinterpretation of history that "must make sense."[162] This thesis is rooted in the field of socio-environmental history, incorporating environmental and socio-political analysis. However, since it concerns the complex interactive interdependence of the state, ordinary people (both black and white, with varying degrees of power and agency), wildlife, livestock and disease, it does not limit itself to the constrictions of a single grand theory. Instead, it draws upon ideas from social and political history of Malawi, conservation historiography and oral history to investigate how those historically suppressed reacted to state-imposed regulation on conservation and hunting. Subjugated knowledge – as is the case with most African responses which were (and still are) eclipsed by the paperwork, policy and power of the colonial state (and its lasting legacy in the archive) – is also better understood if approached from many angles, including the "bottom up" approach.

This thesis thus gathered and analysed oral testimonies. Oral histories and oral traditions[163] were collected using a semi-structured questionnaire from women and men; chiefs and

[162] See also Daniel McCall, *Africa in Time Perspective: A Discussion of Historical Reconstruction from Unwritten Sources*, (Boston: Boston University Press, 1964). For details, see McCall, "Introduction", in Philips, *Writing African History*, 1.

[163] D. Henige, *Oral Historiography* (London: Longman, 1982), 1-2 suggests that both oral history and oral tradition are two styles of oral historiography, historiography being the writing or study of the past. In this regard oral history, on the one hand, he defines as 'the study of the recent past by means of life histories or personal recollections, where informants speak about their own experiences.' Oral tradition on the other hand, 'is those recollections of the past that are commonly or universally known in a given culture.' It is added that versions of recollection that are not known by the society at large should be referred to as 'testimony' and if the testimonies denote recent events then they belong to the field of oral history. On the siginificance of oral traditions in African historical studies see also Kings M. Phiri, "Chewa History in Central Malawi and the use of

headmen[164] in sampled communities. These communities are situated around the former Elephant Marsh game reserve and Mwabvi wildlife reserve in Nsanje district, while in Chikwawa the oral histories and traditions were collected from communities around Lengwe National Park and Majete Wildlife reserve.The village communities fall under the jurisdictions of different Traditional Authorities (TAs). With the use of figure 1.1 it needs to be noted that oral testimonies for the former Elephant Marsh reserve (not shown in the fig.) were mainly collected from TA Mlolo's Chiefdom. Chiefdoms of TAs Mbenje and Tengani provided the testimonies for Mwabvi Wildlife Reserve. TAs Chapananga, Kasisi and Katunga rendered testimonies relating to Majete Wildlife Reserve. Testimonies for Lengwe National Park were accessed from TAs Chapananga, Katunga, Massea (Maseya), Ngabu and Paramount Lundu.

As Tropp and Neumann[165] argue, differently situated groups within the colonial state and the rural communities perceived and responded differently to changes in resource control and access and as such collecting the testimonies from different chiefdoms provided for comparative dimensions along gender, power relations, socio-economic and ecological lines. These communities were therefore chosen on the basis of their suitability to the attainment of the objectives of the study as determined by a review of existing scholarship and preliminary field work visits.Informal interviews soliciting official and non-official views were also held with key personnel from the protected areas as part of the preliminary field work.

In spite of some of their weaknesses, the use of oral sources 'provide[s an] opportunity to move beyond the colonial categories and perspectives embedded in the archival record, to understand how differently situated Africans experienced and remembered [the] history in ways not reflected in written sources'.[166] Oral history can offer insights that can be employed

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Oral Tradition, 1600-1920" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975) and Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

[164] Tropp, *Natures of Colonial Change*, notes that in studies such as this proposed one it is important to investigate the different ways in which women and men, chiefs and headmen responded to transformations in control and use of resources because each of these categories negotiated on the basis of their particular social, economic and ecological circumstances,10-18;162. See also Worster, "Appendix: Doing Environmental History", 303.

[165] See Tropp, *Natures of Colonial Change*, 10-18, 162; Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness*, 10-11. And Morris, *History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi* suggests that apart from contestations over natural resources that were characteristic of the African peasant communities, there were also disagreements within the colonial elite over African and Colonial exploitation of wildlife resources. Grove, "Colonial conservation and popular resistance", 15-50 also suggests the prevalence of contestations among the colonial elites.

[166] Tropp, *Natures of Colonial Change*, 23. Some of the weaknesses include the possibility of being manipulated to reflect present and not necessarily past experiences.

in interrogating written sources pertaining to the early colonial period, for example, as part of uncovering and exploring experiences 'hidden from history' and challenging male − and document − based historical interpretations.[167]

On the basis of similar studies such as those by Tropp, Neumann, and Peluso[168] issues of past and present 'illegal' access to wildlife resources and other forms of peasant resource 'counter-appropriation' that may be considered 'criminal' did arise. To safeguard the identities of the respondents, this study adapted the approach employed by these researchers whereby they devised pseudonyms for the respondents and their communities. In the course of collecting the oral interviews there were assurances regarding the confidentiality of the data collected—where issues of present illegal access to the protected areas did arise. This approach was supported by the informed consent forms that the respondents and the researcher signed.

Chapter Outline

The chapters that follow deal chronologically with the themes of conflict over natural resources. Chapter Two sets out to complete two tasks: firstly, to investigate the area of the Lower Tchiri Valley, to understand the historical hunting of game and fish, as well as asking whether these were pursued for subsistence or other socio-economic (or even political) gains, and how this was shaped by gender and generation. As was the case in other parts of pre-colonial Southern, Central and Eastern Africa, African guides and village communities that hosted and supported the European sport hunters received remuneration for their labour and hospitality in the form of game meat. Secondly, the chapter shows that from 1861 to 1891, the era when the Magololo controlled the game hunting economy in the Lower Tchiri Valley, the complex interaction of European and African hunters produced subsistence and commercial benefits to (certain) Africans as well as the African Lakes Company (ALC) and its agents. The production of game meat and other products through sport hunting facilitated the exchange of meat for agrarian products among the Africans while the ALC and its agents acquired ivory and animal skins in exchange for cash or western products which Africans began to incorporate in their local economy. As a result of the paucity of archival sources for

[167] Tropp, *Natures of Colonial Change*, 23; R. Perks and A. Thompson, "Critical Developments: Introduction", in R. Perks and A. Thompson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006), 5-6.
[168] See Tropp, *Natures of Colonial Change*; Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness*; Peluso, *Rich Forests, Poor People.* Peluso also particularly points to different ways in which peasants in the Third World view what is 'illegal' or 'criminal' with regard to wildlife and forest resources.

the period under consideration,[169] this chapter relies on exploring interconnections embedded in oral testimonies (both from existing studies and those collected and analyzed by the author) in order to understand the Lower Tchiri Valley hunting economies. Contextualized with primary documents, like hunters' narratives, photographs and a growing body of secondary sources, the dissertation establishes that pre-colonial African hunting was not merely a backdrop to colonial hunting. Methodologically, it also demonstrates the utility and difficulty of oral tradition, photographs, journals, letters and diaries of contemporary chroniclers in reconstructing often neglected aspects of hunting economies in which they helped shape.

Chapter Three shows that existing works on hunting in Malawian historiography have not fully explicated the complex dynamics of sport hunting and game laws on a case-study level, despite the potential to show how wildlife functioned as objects of cultural and scientific understanding as well as economic or commercial exchange in specific locales like the Lower Tchiri Valley. Game laws – as the hub of game preservation in Nyasaland – tended to catalyse conflicts between the colonial state and both white and African hunters in pursuit of trophies, meat and hides. This chapter argues that efforts to preserve game, which began with Harry Johnston and were continued by Alfred Sharpe between, 1891–1910, were in favour of white hunters. However, Africans continued to hunt either overtly (by acquring licenses) or through subtle but effective covert efforts, up to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The colonial administrators invested their energies in legislation to ensure that white settlers, planters and officials in early colonial Malawi enjoyed hunting as part of racialised privilege, while Africans were relegated to the legal periphery of hunting – just as had been the case with class-based privilege in European elite hunting. In addressing these perspectives, this chapter utilises new primary sources. It interrogates historians' previous assumptions that early colonial game laws excluded African hunting with impunity while facilitating white sport hunting for trophies and the collection of specimens. The chapter shows – more remarkably - that in the Lower Tchiri Valley there was co-operation between whites and Africans in hunting, and that game laws were violated by both races although legal provisions were instituted to promote hunting for preservation.

[169] Much of the archival material for the period under consideration in this chapter was burnt in 1918, when the Malawi National Archives caught fire. See also, E.C. Mandala, "Feeding and Fleecing the Native: How the Nyasaland Transport System Distorted a New Food Market, 1890s-1920s", *JSAS*, 32, 3 (2006), 506.

Chapter Four begins with the tsetse-game polemic at its apogee in 1914. Reginald Maugham, a hunter, adventurer, colonial official and self-described "game preservationist", pronounced that for as long as his voice could be heard in connection with Africa – where he had spent the best years of his life – he would defend the innocent beasts against baseless accusations that they harboured tsetse. This was in reaction to a body of opinion gathering momentum against Sir Alfred Sharpe's policy of preserving game in Nyasaland. It was increasingly believed by a stratum of scientists, the state and the public that game was to blame for offering a reservoir for tsetse. Maugham was reacting to proposals gaining impetus from a meeting that had taken place four years before in Blantyre, Nyasaland in August 1910, who insisted that game must go and demanded to transmit its resolutions to the Colonial Office. As chapter Four traces, there followed individual eruptions between prominent self-styled "African experts". For example, renowned African Explorer and big game hunter, F.C. Selous insisted on the connection between tsetse and big game, while Sharpe, equally famous big game hunter and retired Governor of Nyasaland, refused to accept it. This was one of many individualised disputes, much relished by the press, while in fact – as *The Times* conceded – 'a great body of competent opinion can be cited on either side.' Writing a decade later, in the late 1920s, Rodney Wood, a sometime hunter who later became Nyasaland's honorary national game warden, regretted this 1914 debate that became *debacle*. He lamented that it both destroyed and dissipated a great deal of game in the Elephant Marsh in the Lower Tchiri Valley.

Chapter Five explores how the game preservation economy that emerged and sanctioned the consolidation and establishment of imperial game reserves where different varieties of game were to live, migrate, multiply and be free from molestations and man's weapons, had both game preservation and regulated game commodification dimensions in the Lower Tchiri Valley between c.1903 and 1930s. It has been argued that although the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce in its longdrawn-out battle against game and game preservation drew on economic and ecological arguments and even co-opted the Conference of Missionaries as well as the general public, colonial legislation did not favour unregulated commodification of game by both Europeans and "natives." Chapter Five analyses why and how the costs of Licences were increased coupled with new ways in which illegal forms of hunting were to be compounded on the basis of the mechanisms derived at the international conference for the protection of the elephant and rhinoceros in 1914.

The late 1920s and mid-1930s saw game preservation rather than the abolition of the reserved triumphing leading to the proclamation and consolidation of the Lengwe and Tangasi River Game Reserves in the Valley. This was largely due to the political will employed by the colonial administrators in Nyasaland and in London as well as the work of preservationists-turned-conservationists dubbed 'men of African affairs' such as Reginald Maugham, Edward N. Baxton, James Stevenson-Hamilton, William T. Hornaday, Governor Bowring, and Rodney C. Wood. These new perspectives on the game preservation economy in Nyasaland derive largely from an exploitation of the hitherto rarely and thinly exploited primary sources in the Malawi historiography on game reserves and game preservation. These sources include colonial administrative correspondence involving big game hunters-turned-conservationists, petitions and Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Newspapers, Nyasaland *Handbooks*, Annual Colonial reports, and even Telegraphic evidence. Proceedings of the Society for preserving game in the British Empire offer an under-utilized guide to the nuances and dynamics of the game in this Chapter.

Chapter Six argues that the struggle against the establishment of game reserves and the game preservation economy in the Lower Tchiri Valley evolved into an attempt to consolidate the conservation of nature. This took the form of an ecological approach to conservation and gave rise, as reaction, to protracted and varied forms of protest such as poaching. Although the game reserves and non-shooting zones were meant to keep game away from community crops, problems of water scarcity within the reserves forced game to landscapes where not only was thirst alleviated but cultivated gardens were also destroyed. As a response, affected local communities devised strategies for compensating for the loss of the crops and sometimes livestock (from vermin and diseases transmitted by wildlife) by trapping and killing game under the pretext of crop protection.

The communities situated between the Majete and Lengwe reserves came to specialize in these politics of "meat for our crops" as game animals in the traditional migration to other parts of the Lower Tchiri Valley such as the Mwabvi and the Elephant Marsh reserves fell prey to their traditional weapons and even locally made *mfuti-za-gogodela*—muzzle-loaders. Reports, original research papers and editorial notes of the Fauna Preservation Society (FPS) and oral testimonies from the communities adjacent to the Lower Tchiri Valley Reserve coupled to analyses of the reports of the Nyasaland Game Department, demonstrate that the politics of "meat for our crops" particularly from the 1940s up until about 1960 demonstrate a

lively local resistance to the imposition of conservation laws. Chapter Six also shows that this accounted for the decline in game populations in the Lower Tchiri Valley reserves. International nature conservation efforts and financial support, however, came to mitigate the loss of game through the employment of game guards, who monitored game numbers while dealing with other conservation challenges. The chapter demonstrates a shift in the ideology of game use with the creation of a local 'hero', an African—Biton Balandow— who came to command local respect that might have been influential in saving the Lower Tchiri Valley game in some instances and certainly shows the rise of alternative narratives about local traditions of wildlife use.

Relevance of Study

Finally, contemporary experience suggests that contestations over natural resources in Malawi and in the lower Tchiri valley are still characterised by conflicting notions of the legitimacy of state control as well as what constitutes 'illegal' access. This means that although various forms of community conservation are being tried out alongside rhetorical devolution of access control to the communities, conservation of natural resources in Malawi has historically not been politically neutral. Studies such as this one have the potential to offer African political and socio-cultural insights for ensuring that sustainable conservation becomes one where wildlife is an essential part of the 'local culture, diet, and economy,' and thus 'not isolated from the market' in keeping with neo-liberal incentives for conservation of 'use it or lose it.'[170]

[170] J. S. Adams and T.O. McShane, *Myth of Wild Africa: Conservation without an illusion* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1992), 233; Hulme And Murphree, "Community Conservation in Africa", 1-8; Morris, *History of Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*, 183 also elaborates that it is only when local people support conservation projects and areas through their participation in managing them and gaining some material benefits from them that African protected areas will survive for long.

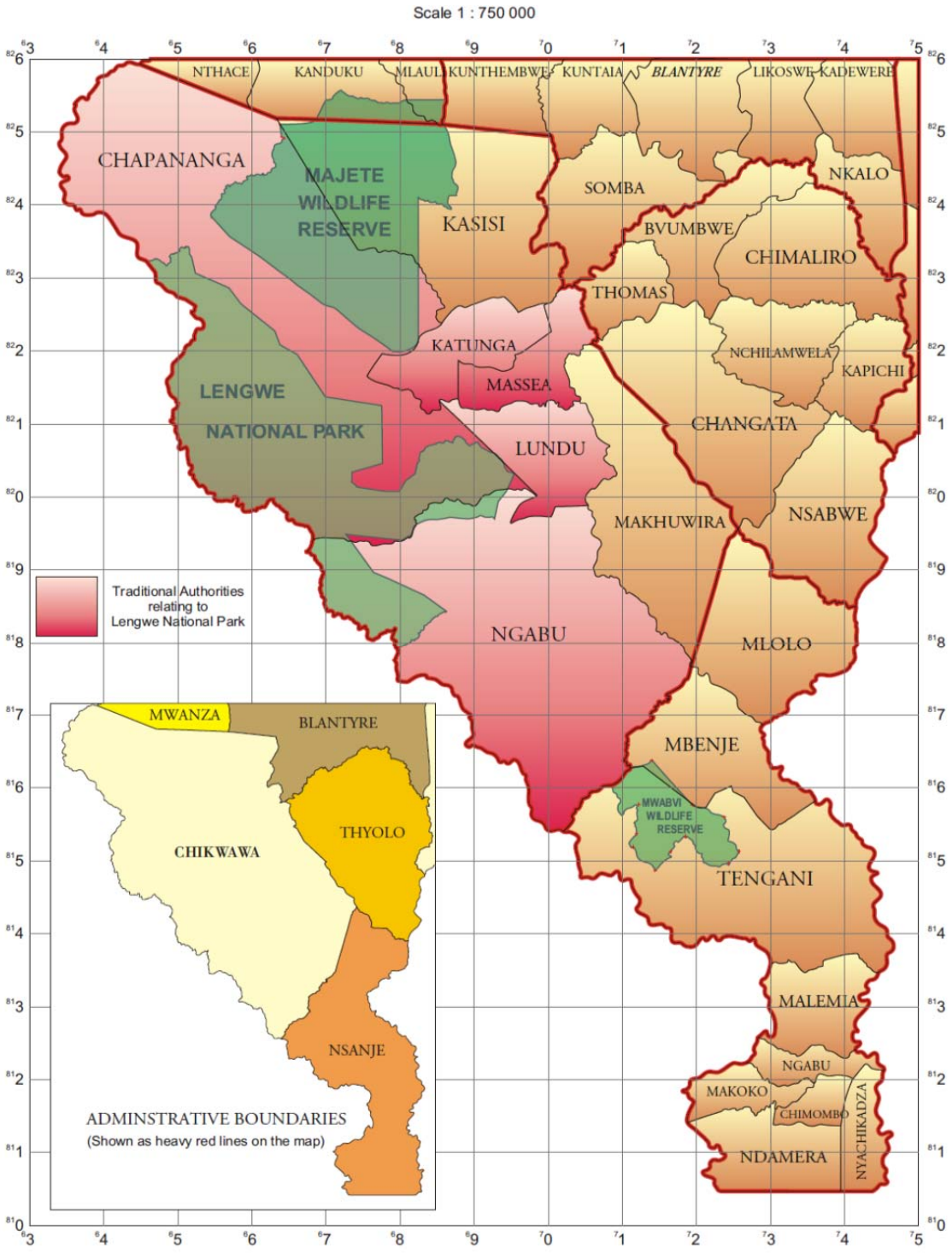

Figure 1.1: Map of the Lower Tchiri Valley showing the relationship of Lengwe National Park, Majete and Mwabvi Wildlife Reserves to Communities under different Traditional Authorities.[171] Note that the former Elephant Marsh Game Reserve was located on the eastern fringes of TA Mlolo's Chiefdom.

[171] *Source*: Lengwe National Park Wildlife Research Unit, Chikwawa, July 2007.

CHAPTER TWO

African and European Hunting Practices in the Lower Tchiri Valley, 1850–1890.

In the Lower Tchiri Valley, elderly people spoke of outsiders who could hunt. Oral tradition holds that these strangers, the Magololo, arrived in the Lower Tchiri Valley in about1861, but they appeared neither with families nor with livestock.[172] Instead, they were said to be a small core of male warriors who soon took control of those people already settled there. What made these men unique was the way in which they assumed power – not through their ability to kill people, but rather through their ability to kill animals. Indeed, historians confirm that between 1850 and the late 1860s there was a period of fluid socio-political redefinition, when the rigid rule of power through traditional lineage was challenged. Consequently a new type of leader emerged.

These new leaders relied on the twin innovations of new technology and strategic alliances, especially with the sudden increase in the number of white travellers. It is important to remember that geographically, 'Malawi' is an invention of European imperialism.[173] In 1891 Britain declared the area west and south of Lake Malawi a protectorate (first named British Central Africa and then Nyasaland from 1904). The area was occupied by different and (occasionally) related language groups: the Mang'anja in the Tchiri Highlands and the Lower Tchiri region, the Chewa in the center, and several in the north region, such as the Tonga. As shown in figure 2.1 below, the Maravi Empire had ruled the Chewa and parts of the Man'ganja areas in what is also referred to as the Northern Zambezia-Lake Malawi region.

As indicated in fig. 2.1, the Northern Zambezia-Lake Malawi region was 'bounded on the south by the Zambezi, on the north by the Songwe and Rovuma rivers, on the west by the Luangwa, and on the east by the Indian Ocean.'[174] Linguistically, 'the southern zone of this region was dominated by the Chewa speakers with their sub-groups: the manganja of the lower Shire valley and the Nyanja around the southern end of Lake Malawi (with a

[172] See also, the author's interviews with TA Kasisi (Mr Demisitala Moffat), GVH Mbendelana, Chikwawa, 7 June 2013, approximately 90 years old.
[173] Colonial rule ended in July 1964, when Nyasaland changed to Malawi.
[174] Kings M. Phiri, O.J.M. Kalinga and H.H.K. Bhila, "The Northern Zambezia-Lake Malawi region", in B.A. Ogot (ed.) *General History of Africa, V: Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Paris and California: UNESCO and Heinemann International Literature and Books, 1992), 608.

headquarters at Manthimba also shown in fig. 2.1 below).'[175] These Chewa speakers (including the Mang'anja) occupied the southern zone in the fifteenth century and gave rise to the Maravi state system. Some time in 1500, all the people of the southern zone together with others of the north belonged to the "'materilineal cluster of the Central Bantu speakers.'" [176] This cluster stretched from southern Zaire in the west to the Indian Ocean in the east.

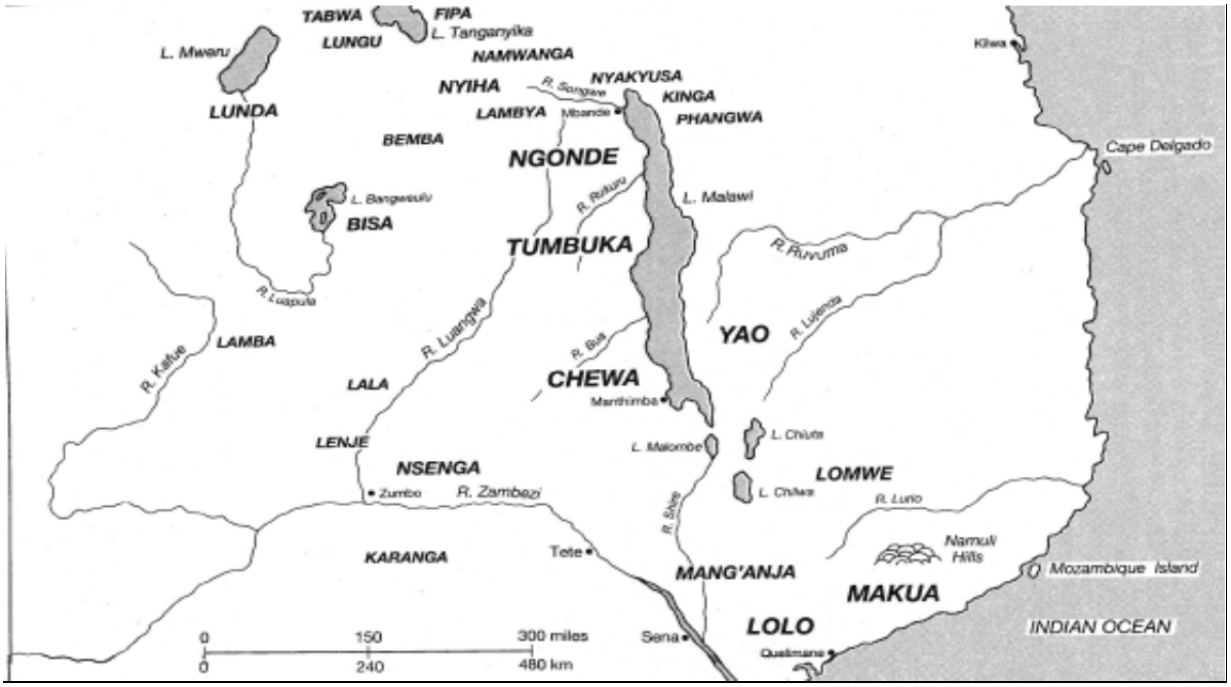

Figure 2.1: Map of the peoples of the Northern Zambezia region (covering parts of present day Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, and Tanzania) in the eighteenth century showing the locations of the Mang'anja peoples (also known as the Southern Maravi) and the Chewa (also known as the northern Maravi peoples as they formed part of the Maravi empire. [177]

In the sixteenth and seventeeth centuries, the Maravi state expanded into the areas of the Nsenga to the west, the Lolo-Makua-Lomwe to the east and the Chewa-Tumbuka marginal zone (see fig. 2.1) such that the Maravi state came to occupy what is today eastern Zambia, central and southern Malawi and northern Mozambique.[178] In terms of the articulation of

[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] *Source*: Phiri, Kalinga and Bhila, "Northern Zambezia-Lake Malawi region", 609, 608 and 611. As shown on the map, it is noted that this region was 'bounded on the south by the Zambezi, on the north by the Songwe and Rovuma rivers, on the west by the Luangwa, and on the east by the Indian Ocean.' Note that the Lolo of Mozambique should not be mistaken for the Magololo or the Kololo from North-eastern Zambia who began supplanting Mang'anja hunting economies upon their arrival in the Lower Tchiri Valley in the early 1860s.
[178] For more details on the expansion of the Maravi state, see also Phiri, Kalinga and Bhila, "Northern Zambezia-Lake Malawi region", 616-625.

hunting economies,[179] the occupation of all of these territories was characterised by the conquest and absorption of proto-Bantu/Chewa and earlier clans of Bantu peoples who were agriculturalists, hunter-gatherers and users of iron. The Maravi were also notable for conducting large-scale trade in ivory particularly in the eighteenth century.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Maravi state had fragmented as elements of the Yao diaspora from east of the lake settled in the Tchiri Highlands, where some assumed power over the Mang'anja. The Magololo (previously Makololo or Kololo) were originally from west of the Maluti mountains, but they migrated during the early nineteenth century, accompanying David Livingstone in 1855. He returned three years later to find that they had entrenched themselves in local networks of power and adapted to local hunting economies: working for Portuguese traders, operating in a full gamut of positions from porters, canoemen to elephant hunters. As this chapter will show, they gained ascendancy over the Mang'anja region rendered unstable by the slave trade and famine of the 1860s, and by 1870 their political control stretched between Chiromo in the south and Manthiti Falls in the north, forging alliances with the British African Lakes Company and Scottish missionaries.[180]

As noted, the Magololo had worked with David Livingstone from Bulozi, entering the Lower Zambezi and later the Lower Tchiri Valley as part of Livingstone's party. However, after he had fired them following a dispute, they entered the area as an elite core of armed, knowledgeable men, who hunted using improved technology, and distributed meat as part of their political takeover of parts of the Lower Tchiri River. This is how the Magololo migrated and found themselves in the hunting grounds and economies of pre-colonial Malawi. Oral

[179] For details on the articulation of hunting economies among the Maravi peoples and those from outside the Northern Zambezia see Kings M. Phiri, "Chewa History in Central Malawi and the use of Oral Tradition, 1600-1920" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975), 40-136; Edward E. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves in East-central Africa to the Later 19th Century* (London: Heinemann, 1975) and Phiri, Kalinga and Bhila, "Northern Zambezia-Lake Malawi region", 630-639.

[180] It needs to be noted that apart from the Magololo, the Mang'anja were in some ways conquered by the Chikunda or ex-slaves from the Zambezi River area particularly from c.1900. With the passage of time, the Chikunda "vanquishers" competed with and in many cases prevailed over the Mang'anja over hunting of game, land for cultivation and political power; although by the 1950s the Chikunda had assimilated themselves into the host Mang'anja society on pragmatic grounds as also shown in chapter 6. It is noted further that prior to the assimilation of the Chkunda into Mang'anja society (i.e., before 1900): 'The ex-slaves do not seem to have played a a significant role in defending local Mang'anja chiefs against the recurring Yao, Kololo [Magololo] and Afro-Portuguese attacks, nor do they seem to have embroiled in local succession or seccession crises.' For details, see Allen Isaacman and W. Mulwafu, "From Slaves to Freedmen: The Impact of the Chikunda on Malawian Society, 1850-1920", *SMJ*, 52, 2 (1999), 17-25.

tradition emphasizes the abilities of the Magololo to hunt efficiently and acquire more dependants, including Mang'anja women, as a result of their guns and the plentiful meat that they were able to distribute. Indeed, the chiefs of the Magololo made sure that they passed on their oral traditions to their descendants to secure their positions as leaders in history.

Introduction and Historiographical Considerations

This vignette, to which this chapter will return, provides a lens onto the socio-economic and political importance of hunting as well as its operation over time. Yet historians of Malawi have tended to ignore the history of hunting.[181] Where they have addressed it, they have tended to flatten regional, generational and gendered differences between different hunting practices and ignore their shifts over time. Historians have tended to oversimplify the instrumental role that hunting played in indigenous societies. Instead, their studies have largely adopted a Eurocentric lens, focusing on the sporting and symbolic role that hunting played as white or European hunters preyed on African game. There has thus been a tendency to ignore the pre-colonial past as a primary source material – probably because of its absence from the colonial archive. As a result, the indigenous pre-colonial hunters are hidden from history. Moreover, too often when historians do track the hunters, they follow white and black hunters separately, without noticing that their footprints frequently overlapped.

This chapter attempts to contribute not only to broader debates on social and environmental and labour historiographies but also to a small but robust body of literature on hunting in southern Africa. Fresh approaches to the study of global and imperial histories suggest that some of these common trends and challenges in examining pre-colonial hunting economies are situated in labour historiography as hunting exploited labour in different ways as shown in this thesis.

As part of confronting these challenges, William Beinart and Lotte Hughes have argued that European imperialism is an integral part of global environmental change because imperialism as a precursor to globalization facilitated the exploitation of natural resources in various human societies through extractive processes such as hunting.[182] Critiquing historians who

[181] John McCracken, *A History of Malawi, 1859–1966* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2012), 14; Brian Morris, *The History of Conservation of Mammals in Malawi* (Zomba: Kachere Book Series, 2006), 1.
[182] William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), iv and 8. Beinart and Hughes assert further that as the historiography of the British Empire grows, it is becoming

discuss pre-colonial hunting, as a mere backdrop to hunting in a colonial context, Michael Williams further highlights the relevance of imperial dimensions and processes to the study of contested terrains in pre-colonial contexts. He asserts that: 'Imperialism must not be equated narrowly with western colonialism; it is a more useful and generic geographical concept that includes exploration, organization and settlement as well as exploitation.'[183] In support of this assertion, Christian Jennings[184] contends that the instrumental role of hunting in facilitating imperial and colonial processes dates back to the early nineteenth century when explorers, missionaries and settlers began depending on game meat and other game products as a means of financing their operations.

John MacKenzie in his ground-breaking work also celebrates the central place that hunting occupied as a source of subsidy for the financing of different imperial projects undertaken by missionaries, settlers, explorers, mineral prospectors, and big-game hunters particularly in Southern, Central and Eastern Africa from the 1840s.[185] In this regard, the interaction of pre-colonial, and imperial and colonial historiographies reveals that in taking stock of the impact and legacies of various forms of imperial and colonial processes on environmental resources in Africa, for example, considerable attention should also be given to the dynamics in the functioning of the African environment prior to the onset these processes.[186] This might be done as part of a debate that seeks to show the different ways in which subsistence and commercial modes of hunting, for example, were pursued, regulated and contested in pre-colonial African societies.

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increasingly important to understand imperialism in terms of environmental factors such as natural resources including animals and plants.

[183] Michael Williams, "Ecology, Imperialism and Deforestation", in Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin (eds.), *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies* (Edinburgh: Keele University Press, 1997), 181.

[184] Christian Jennings, "African Environments in the Colonial Era", in Toyin Falola (ed.), *Africa*, *3: Colonial Africa*, *1885–1939* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2002), 130–31.

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

[186] These concerns for probing deeper into the historical realities of African material and social life prior to colonialism are suggested by John M. MacKenzie, "Empire and the Ecological Apocalypse: the Historiography of the Imperial Environment", in Griffiths and Robin (eds.), *Ecology and Empire*, 215–27; Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Development of African History: The Roots of African Historiographies", in Paul T. Zeleza and D. Eyoh, eds., *Encyclopedia of Twentieth Century African History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 143–49; William Beinart, "African History and Environmental History", *African Affairs*, 99 (2000): 269–302; James McCann, *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land: An Environmental History of Africa, 1800–1990* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1999); Hedge Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History* (London: Heinemann, 1977).

In a debate of this kind, historians might attempt not only to demonstrate the transformations that hunting in African societies underwent but also the extent to which the Africans themselves participated (and, more specifically, benefitted or lost out) as part of this transformation.[187] One strategy historians might use is to analyze pre-colonial African environmental processes, hunting traditions, practices and institutions in their own right as well as in the context of their interaction with "informal" imperialists or colonizers such as European travellers, missionaries, explorers, settlers, and professional big-game hunters.[188]

With regard to Southern, Central and Eastern Africa, John Mackenzie, Jane Carruthers and Edward Steinhart[189] pioneered the mapping of the historiographical terrain and in some cases ploughed deeper into the dynamics of the history of hunting and wildlife. While reviews of their works suggest some of the challenges for analysing the interaction of Africans, white settlers, white hunters and white colonizers with African game in both pre-colonial and colonial settings, suggestions for examining less analysed or neglected areas of their works in similar and more detailed studies are also highlighted.[190] Of particular interest in these reviews is the response of pre-colonial African societies to the transformational processes that came to characterize the hunting arenas as a result of the expansion of imperial hunting frontiers into the interior of Africa particularly around the mid-nineteenth century. This thesis suggests that in historical studies that focus on hunting, the search for the often neglected African agency should include an analysis of how Africans interacted with white hunters, as

[187] For details refer to Jane Carruthers, "Tracking in Game Trails: Looking Afresh at the Politics of Environmental History in South Africa", *Environment and History*, 11, 4 (2006), 804–15; Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 58–75; William Beinart, "Review article: Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa", *Past and Present*, 128 (1990), 163–86.

[188] See, for example, Jennings, "African Environments in the Colonial Era", 123–27 where he argues for the complexity of pre-colonial African landscapes and their capability to respond to ecological stresses.

[189] MacKenzie, John M., *The Empire of Nature*; Jane Carruthers, "Game Protection in the Transvaal 1846 to 1926", (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 1988); and Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006).

[190] For these reviews see, Jane Carruthers, "Towards an Environmental History of Southern Africa: Some Perspectives", *South African Historical Journal*, 23 (1990), 184–85; Beinart, "Empire, Hunting' and 'Ecological Change", 163–186 on MacKenzie; Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 58–75 on Jane Carruthers; Charles Ambler, "Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya (Eastern African Studies), by Edward I. Steinhart", *The American Historical Review*, 111, 5 (2006), 1,643–644; Jane Carruthers, "Black Poachers, White Hunters: a History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya by Edward I. Steinhart", *African Studies Review*, Book Review, 49, 3 (2006), 102–104; Heidi G. Frontari, "Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya by Edward I. Steinhart(Oxford: James Currey, 2006)", 248 pp.; *African Studies Quarterly: The Online Journal for African Studies*, 1–2, accessed at http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v8/v8i4a9.htm on 5 June 2012, on Edward I. Steinhart.

well as how they were able to manipulate their roles as guides and porters as they sought to maximize their gains.[191]

Although Elias Mandala, Brian Morris and Wapulumuka Mulwafu do discuss hunting and big-game shooting in pre-colonial Malawi in varying degrees of detail,[192] an examination of these works calls for a more in-depth analysis of Malawi's hunting economies in terms of how ethnically different chiefs and headmen as well as men and women participated in the economies in some specific locales. These works have only indirectly focused on the participation of Africans in identification of hunting grounds, preparation of hunting technology, conduct and control of the hunting processes as well as the consumption and commercial exchange of game meat and game products. This dissertation will try to address these lacunae.

MacKenzie, in the late 1980s, observed that the pivotal role of hunting in the quotidian livelihoods in some African societies was being neglected in studies dealing with the economic evolution of hunting.[193] Almost a decade later, Beinart and Coates observed that historians had begun recognizing "the significance of hunting as a means of survival in pre-colonial and early colonial societies … [as well as] in early international market economies."[194] Furthermore, in the first decade of the 21st century, Beinart and Hughes asserted that "the hunting of wildlife is a fascinating route into the environmental history of the [Southern Africa] region."[195] However, John McCracken in his most recent work joins Morris in contending that the historians of Malawi have largely ignored the study of the history of hunting.[196] Although Morris's *History of Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*[197] attempts to explore the history of hunting and wildlife conservation in Malawi, it does not analyze the dynamics of hunting in the pre-colonial Lower Tchiri Valley. Instead, he focuses

[191] Jane Carruthers is unusual in underlining the importance of analyzing how African guides and porters were recruited and participated in white hunting, how they made use of their rewards, and how women contributed to the work of these men. See also Carruthers, "Black Poachers, White Hunters", 103.
[192] For details, see Elias C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1860–1960* (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1990), 36–41; Brian Morris, *The Power of Animals: An Ethnography* (New York: New York University Press, Berg, 2000); Wapulumuka O. Mulwafu, *Conservation Song: A History of Peasant–State Relations and the Environment in Malawi, 1860–2000* (Cambridge: The White Horse Press, 2011), 51–52.
[193] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 7–8. See also, Susan Kent (ed.), *Farmers as Hunters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[194] See Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*, 17.
[195] See also Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 60.
[196] McCracken, *History of Malawi*, *1859-1966*, 14; Brian Morris, *The History of Conservation of Mammals in Malawi* (Zomba: Kachere Book Series, 2006), 1.
[197] Morris, *History of Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*.

on very brief histories of the game sanctuaries in the Valley, discussing the mammals found in their habitats, how the sanctuaries evolved into protected areas and the post-colonial functioning of these protected areas vis-à-vis conservation, tourism and conflicts with adjacent village communities.[198]

On a slightly different note, Allen Isaacman and Elias Mandala in their mid-1980s contribution to continuities and discontinuities in labour historiography have attempted an analysis of the extraction and exploitation of hunting and porterage labour processes by pre-colonial Magololo Chiefs in the Valley.[199] This analysis, in spite of its usefulness in responding to some of Jane Carruthers' observations on African guides and porters, is rather thin on the dynamics of the Lower Tchiri Valley hunting economies particularly in terms of the interactions of the European big-game sport hunters and African hunters (and their communities). In light of the foregoing historiographical analysis, this chapter answers Carruthers' call to explore the interactions of European sport hunters and African guides and porters and undertakes two tasks. First, it attempts to show the extent to which existing studies discuss hunting as an economic pursuit in pre-colonial Malawi's societies including the Lower Tchiri Valley. In carrying out this task, the chapter uses oral testimony and traditions which have been collected by previous scholars in the Valley as a result of the paucity of colonial archives in terms of examining the period under consideration.

Second, drawing on oral testimonies collected in the Lower Tchiri Valley in 2012 and 2013, as well as the works of contemporary chroniclers and big-game sport hunters, this chapter demonstrates the dynamics of the interaction of white or European hunters, settlers and African hunters and their communities in the pre-colonial Lower Tchiri Valley. In particular, evidence from Henry Faulkner's *The Elephant Haunts* as well as extracts from Peter Moore's 'Letters and Diaries, I and II,' which have rarely been cited in a study such as this one,[200]

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[198] Ibid., 61–78.

[199] Allen Isaacman and Elias Mandala, "From Porters to Labour Extractors: The Chikunda and Kololo in the Lake Malawi and Tchiri River Area", in Paul E. Lovejoy and Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch (eds.), *The Workers of African Trade* (eds.), (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1985), 225–39.

[200] With regard to Henry Faulkner, *Elephant Haunts: Being a Sportsman's Narrative of the Search for Dr Livingstone, with Scenes of Elephant, Buffalo and Hippopotamus Hunting* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1868); McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966*, only mentions Faulkner as the murderer of Chinsoro during a hunting expedition, while Morris, *History of Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*, 44 and 84, merely points out that Moloka, the Magololo was Henry Faulkner's guide, and lists the game animals that Faulkner came across during his hunting exploits in Malawi. Available evidence suggests that only H. W. Macmillan, "The Origins and Development of the African Lakes Company, 1878–1908", (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1970); and H. Macmillan, "The African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878–84", in R. J. Macdonald (ed.) *From*

provide some specific insights into the hunting economies of the Lower Tchiri Valley on which the existing studies that discuss hunting are either thin or silent. Therefore this thesis uses a case-study approach in joining other studies in challenging the imperial conventional knowledge that none of the tribes in British Central Africa, including Malawi, could claim that hunting was the mainstay of their economic survival.[201] Central to the dynamics of the Lower Tchiri Valley hunting economies were the Magololo and agents of the African Lakes Company (ALC). The Magololo initially came into the Valley from Bulozi as porters working for David Livingstone and later became new rulers of the Valley. The ALC operated in the Valley and other parts of Malawi as part of a larger strategy for ending slave trade through the introduction of legitimate commerce as implored by Livingstone in his university lectures of the late 1850s.

'[T]he finest sport obtainable in Africa': Hunting Practices in Pre-Colonial Malawi

Evidence from contemporary chroniclers such as European travellers, missionaries, settlers, writers and big-game hunters suggest that hunting grounds in the Malawi region in the nineteenth century had plenty of game resources. These resources included elephants, zebras, hyenas, hippopotamuses, rhinoceros, a variety of types of antelope, as well as buffalo. The reasons for hunting ranged from the need for basic subsistence, crop protection, procurement of materials for trade, controlling the labour of others, economic support for the establishment and entrenchment of centralized political entities, to the expression of human dominance over the environment.[202] These pre-colonial societies were characterized by a dual economy comprising of subsistence agriculture that mostly involved women and the hunting and fishing sector dominated by the male gender.

The Iron Age period[203] appears to be one of the appropriate historical points for beginning to consider hunting in Malawi. According to Crader[204] this age is significant for two reasons.

Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in Colonial History (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1975) made use of Peter Moore, "Extracts from the Diaries and Letters of Peter Moore I, 1888", *The Nyasaland Journal* [Hereafter, *NJ*], 11, 1 (1958), 26–41, in providing some details about how porterage for ALC was organized and managed. As implied, this chapter also draws on Peter Moore, "Extracts from the Diaries and Letters of Peter Moore II", *NJ*, 11, 2 (1958), 55–67.

[201] Alice Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa* (New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969), 185; See also, Mulwafu, *Conservation Song*, 52. The case study is adopted in order to detect both generational and regional differences over time.

[202] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 55–81.

[203] The Iron Age period in Malawi dates from *ca.* 200 AD to *ca*. 1800 AD, and it was during this period that the pre-Bantu, Akafula and the Bantu–Maravi "co-existence" took place and possibly led to the "displacement" of the Akafula. For details, see: Diana C. Crader, *Hunters in Iron Age Malawi: The Zooarcheology of Chencherere*

Firstly, it yields archaeological evidence revealing the practice of hunting among the Akafula or "original" pre-Bantu–Maravi inhabitants of Malawi. Secondly, as also elaborated by Clark and Mgomezulu[205], the interaction of the Akafula and immigrant Bantu–Maravi peoples of which the Mang'anja are part, led to combined exploitation of game resources with some forms of cultivation.

The hunting and fishing sector was instrumental in the workings of trade and politics involving these societies. Hunting and trapping of mammals involved a wide range of techniques employed by hunters either individually or collectively. In order to hunt such prey as locusts, small birds, mice, rabbits and larger mammals such as elephant and buffalo hunters made use of nets, spears, harpoons, muzzle-loading guns and bows and well as hunting dogs.[206] Sir Harry Johnston[207] writing in the late 1890s also offers us some aspects of hunting practices in British Central Africa of which Malawi was part, thus:

> Hunting in this part of Africa is not carried on with the same vigour as in the countries to the south of the Zambezi or west of the River Kafue: no doubt it is more densely woody. Before guns were introduced in the last century [i.e. during the 18th Century] the natives usually dug large pits along the elephant tracts which they skilfully covered with branches and grass. The elephants were then driven in that direction by shouts or bush fires, and one or more of the huge beasts would fall into the pit and remain at the mercy of its captors who killed it with spears.

The hunting of hippopotamus was also an interesting spectacle for the contemporary chroniclers. As demonstrated in figure 2.2 below,[208] the hippo would be hunted with the use of traps in such a way that:

> A sharp, heavy spear is poised (weighted with a big beam) over the path along which he goes to feed, and is held up in such a way by ropes that when the hippopotamus moves a rope the spear falls and usually severs the spine or penetrates some vital part.[209]

Rockshelter (Lilongwe: Department of Antiquities Publication No. 21, Malawi Government Ministry of Education and Culture, Malawi, 1984) and Gadi Mgomezulu, "Food Production: the Beginnings in the Linthipe/Changoni Area of Dedza District, Malawi" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1978).

[204] See Crader, *Hunters in Iron Age Malawi*, vx–xxv.

[205] J. D. Clark, "Prehistoric Origins", in B. Pachai (ed.), *The Early History of Malawi* (London: Longman, 1972), 23–25, and G. Mgomezulu, "The Animal Community and Man's Changing Hunting Habits in the Linthipe Area",*Nyala*, 9 (1983), 54–55. See also Morris, *Power of Animals*, 74–75, and Morris, *History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*, 1–32.

[206] Morris, *Power of Animals*, 66.

[207] Harry H. Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambezi* (London: Methuen and Co., 1897), 435–36. See also Mandala, *Work and Control*, 39–41 and 66–90.

[208] R. Foskett (ed.), *The Zambesi Journal of Dr. John Kirk, 1858–1863*, 1(London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965).

[209] See Johnston, *British Central Africa*.

Figure 2.2: Hippopotamus Trap along the Tchiri River.[210]

Commenting on hunting in the late nineteenth century Malawi region, Hector Duff, one of the big-game hunters in Central Africa, suggests that Malawi was a 'first rate country' in which men would hunt continuously, were it not for the "closed seasons" that nature sanctioned for the protection of the plentiful game which it was also claimed was easier to approach.[211] It was noted further that in Malawi it was possible for game to be protected for a considerable part of the year, particularly between the months of January and August. During these months climatic conditions facilitated the growth of abundant vegetation that only permitted limited hunting expeditions in the plateau areas where it would be easier to stalk game. The finest part of the year for shooting game began from around the middle of August up until the time of the first rains in November. These months were also associated with bush fires which made it much easier to see and stalk game.

According to Denis Lyell,[212] in some parts of Malawi these bush fires which were ruinous to the growth of trees were started by "natives" in their hunt for field mice, *mbewa*. He observes further that in the process of using fire as a hunting strategy various species of game including young elephants and antelopes were burnt to death. In spite of the destructive impact of these bush fires on game population, Malawi came to be described as one of the

[210] *Source*: R. Foskett (ed.), *Zambesi Journal and Letters of Dr John Kirk*, 234.
[211] H. L. Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 2nd Edn. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1906), 140–141.
[212] Denis D. Lyell, *Wild Life in Central Africa* (London: The Field & Queen [Horace Cox] Ltd., 1913) 16.

places in Central Africa that probably afforded 'the finest sport obtainable in Africa' in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[213]

Whenever European hunters, administrators, settlers, prospectors, adventurers and missionaries embarked on their hunting expeditions after the so-called natural closed seasons, their hunting expeditions were called, "*ulendo*[214]." According to Duff, although the term primarily signified a journey or traveling or a caravan, it came to denote, a hunting party or an expedition.[215] It was associated with the resources and organization of hunting such as the pitching up of tents in deep woods under moonlight or sun shine, hunting in grounds with fresh grass stimulated by bush fires, good knowledge of the hunting country as well as the ability to attract and retain "*tenga-tenga*" men or "native" carriers.

With the passage of time, it became common for the European hunters to ensure that they had a reputation for sharing meat with the Africans working as the "*tenga-tenga*" men by giving them a share of the game killed. Throughout Malawi's history these "*tenga-tenga*" men or "native carriers" lived in camps from which they could be recruited by the white hunters, travellers, explorers and adventurers as shown in Figure 2.3, below. These "*tenga-tenga*" men, who also represented the unit of transport in Nyasaland, had their own ways of resisting unfair treatment. These men, who would be trusted with a hunter's most immediate needs for example, with his tent, chair and table, his soap, whisky and tea, had the audacity to complain of being tired, and lag behind on the journey or disorganize the whole expedition if they were not satisfied with their rewards.[216]

[213] See Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 141. However, Faulkner, *Elephant Haunts*, highlights some hunting exploits that were carried out in the midst of thick, tall grasses and forests in the Lower Tchiri Valley and the Tchiri Highlands in the late 1860s.
[214] *Ulendo* is directly translated as "a journey of discovery."
[215] See Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 166.
[216] Ibid., 168.

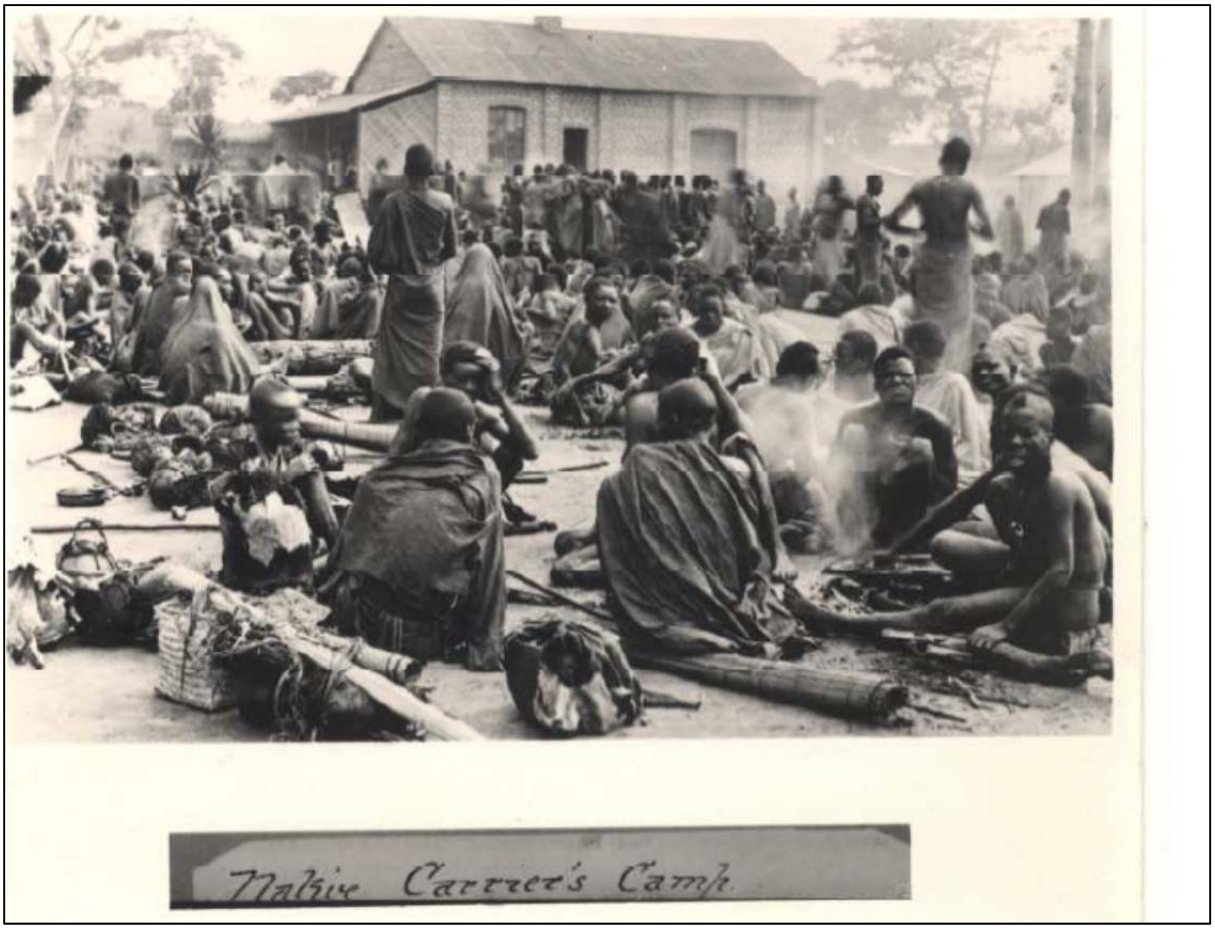

Figure 2.3: African Carriers at their Camp.[217]

Apart from the sharing of the meat, one of the strategies that the hunters devised for the "proper management" of their carriers was what Duff refers to as another 'golden rule to make the *tenga-tenga* leave early with their loads, so that they may keep well in front [of the hunter's arrival] from start to finish of the day.'[218]

In the Northern Province, much of the hunting was done at the north end of Lake Malawi. Johnston also collected some of his specimens in the hunting grounds at the north end of Lake Malawi.[219] Within central Malawi, Central Angoniland was a habitat for almost all the game animals one would find in Malawi particularly before the incursions, as it were, of the big-game hunters which started in the 1880s. Although, the gnu and the *inyala* or *nyala* were not part of the game population, Central Angoniland was seen as one of the 'best game

[217] *Source*: Barbara Lamport-Stokes Photograph Collection, The Society of Malawi Library and Archives (Hereafter SML & A), Mandala, Blantyre, Malawi.
[218] Ibid., 167–68.
[219] Johnston, *British Central Africa*.

countries' in Africa.[220] In relation to southern Malawi, and as explained below, the Tchiri Highlands together with the Lake Chilwa basin were noted as fine hunting grounds. Denis Lyell suggests that up until the beginning of the twentieth century the Chiromo district (the Chiromo Marsh or Elephant Marsh at the southern tip of Malawi) had a reputation for keeping game such as 'elephant, buffalo, eland, waterbuck, hartebeest, zebra, sable antelope, bushbuck, reedbuck, duiker, oribi; and a possibility of lion, leopard, kudu, and other animals.'[221]

One of the central features of these hunting grounds was that they usually contained *dambos*. According to C.H. Stigand and Lyell[222] 'a dambo is an open stretch of ground with bush on either side. They take the drainage of the forest land, and during the rains are practically marshes, while during the dry weather they are, till fired, covered with tall, rank, thick grass.'[223] Hunters in central Africa noted that these *dambos* were the favorite places for game because of the fresh green grasses and the salt they contained after the old grass was subjected to bush fires. The *dambos* attracted game such as sable, roan, eland, hartebeest, waterbuck, warthog and other game at sunrise and during the early hours of the day. It is therefore not surprising that the hunting grounds of Malawi including those of the Lower Tchiri Valley, to which we now turn to, were described as the finest hunting "countries" in Central Africa and the world.

The Pre-colonial Mang'anja and Lower Tchiri Valley Hunting Grounds

The Lower Tchiri Valley with all its features and environmental resources 'represents the southern extension of the Great Rift Valley that runs from Jordan in Palestine to a little south of the Zambezi.'[224] In the Valley, although there are other topographical features of significance as shown in figure 2.4 below, oral testimonies testify that for purposes of pre-colonial hunting the Elephant Marsh [now Dabanyi Marsh] is the most important.[225] The

[220] Lyell, *Wild Life in Central Africa*, 15.
[221] Ibid., x. See also S. S. Murray, *A Handbook of Nyasaland* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1932), 328–40, for more details about game in Nyasaland.
[222] C.H. Stigand and Denis D. Lyell, *Central African Game and Its Spoor*, (London: Horace Cox, 1906), 15.
[223] By 'till fired' they meant one way of burning the grass so that new grass grows.
[224] See Mandala, *Work and Control*, 3. See also Morris, *History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*, 60.
[225] Joint Interview with Mr Nyasaland Donivani, GVH. Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old; Mr Stenelo Bande Anguleti, GVH. Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old; Mr Lesitala Esitade, GVH. Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old; and Mr Henry Fulailosi, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 75 years old, dated 24 May 2013; Joint Interview with Mr Fabiano Noda, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old; Mr Utembe Shawa, GVH Mchacha-

marsh extended from Chiromo around the Ruo-Tchiri confluence in the south to where Mwanza River joins Tchiri in the north. The Elephant Marsh, which is one of Malawi's first wildlife protection areas, was considered as a main feature of the floor of the Lower Tchiri Valley. Pike and Rimmington[226] describe it as an area of semi-permanent marsh of roughly 170 square miles, about 40 miles long and about 10 miles in width at its broadest point. They explained that the marsh was also contiguous with the Tchiri River and maintained a channel close to the western margin of the marsh.

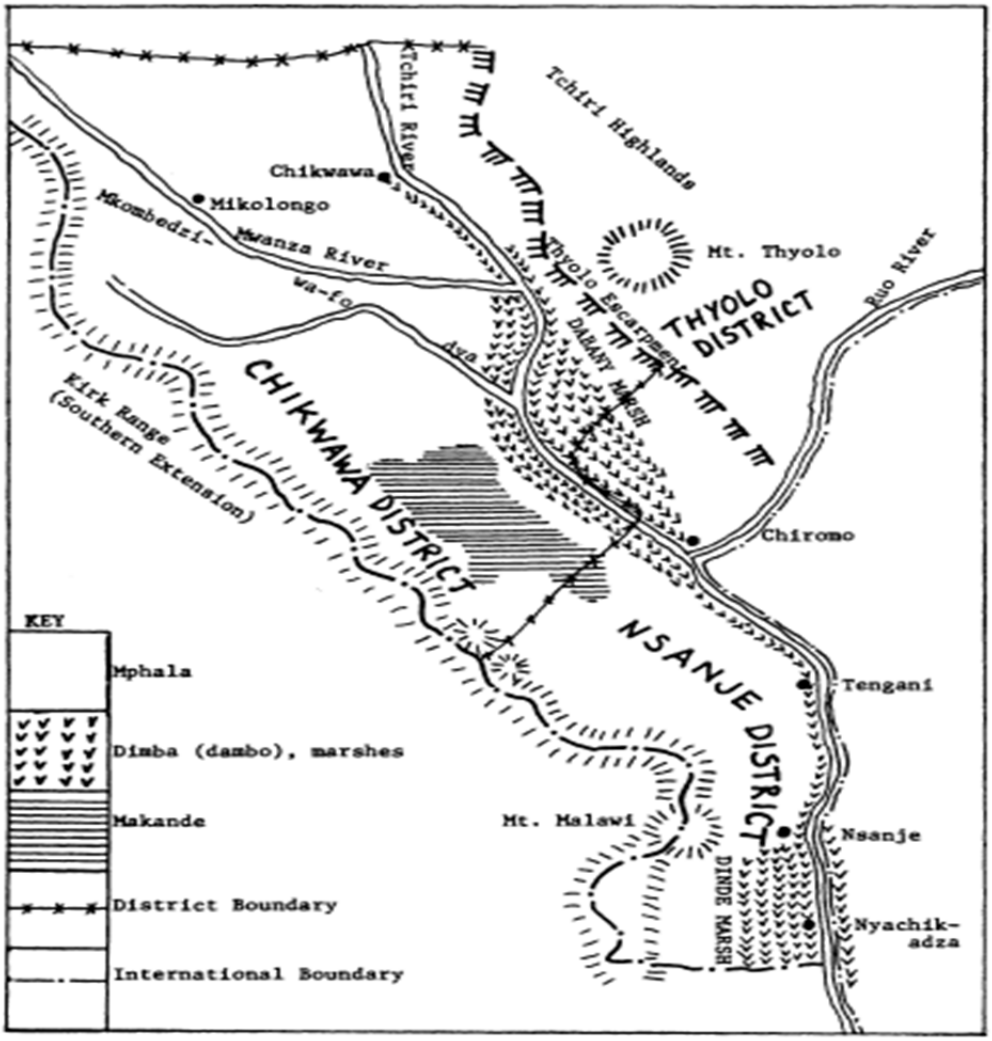

Figure 2.4: Map of Topography of the Lower Tchiri Valley [Note: Dabanyi marsh formerly, Elephant marsh][227]

James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old; Mr Paiva Lopi, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 24 May 2013.

[226] J. G. Pike and G. T. Rimmington, *Malawi: A Geographical Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 28.

[227] *Source*: Elias. C. Mandala, "Capitalism, Kinship and Gender in the Lower Tchiri Valley of Malawi, 1860–1960: An Alternative Theoretical Framework", *African Economic History*, 13 (1984) 169.

According to Mandala, among the Mang'anja: 'The most significant branches of the non-agricultural economy in the mid-nineteenth century were fishing, hunting, cloth-making, salt and iron production.'[228] The labour units for executing the activities of these branches of the economy were drawn from men and women belonging to different households and matrilineages. In terms of hunting in the Lower Tchiri Valley, Mandala[229] suggests that there were principally two categories into which Mang'anja hunting activities fell. He notes that one of the most popular forms involved every male villager, including boys and these would take place in the dry season. Some of Mandala's oral testimonies suggest that in this form of hunting:

> Dogs, arrows, and bows were the main weapons used in killing such game as gazelle, kudu, waterbuck, and the like. Group coordination was technically necessary in this undertaking. There were leaders who set fire to the bush, expecting their followers on the other side to kill any animal issuing from the fire. The hierarchical ordering of technical activities resulted in unequal distribution of the product [of the hunt]. Leaders reserved for themselves the best part of the meat after setting aside a portion—usually hind leg—for the headman or chief of the area.[230]

The second category is one in which the Mang'anja were not particularly well versed in; this hunting involved pursuing elephants and hippopotami. By the mid-nineteenth century the Tchiri River teemed with hippopotami. Furthermore, there were also numerous elephants particularly in the Upper Mwanza Valley and in the area lying to the west of the Dabanyi Marsh (Elephant Marsh) and how the elephants would invade the marsh in search of water, pasture and *midikhwa* palm nuts.

Another category of hunting in the valley had to do with communal catching of fish in pools called *kugwa thamanda*. This type of fishing mostly took place at the height of the dry season and attracted villagers from all walks of life and thus defied the rigid hierarchy of 'social age'. Fishing from these pools was organized in such a way that the headmen would announce a date on which the fishing was to take place in each of their villages. On that day, evidence suggests that, '[w]omen scooped fish with baskets, whereas men employed spears and small mono traps. Before returning to their villages, the participants were required to handover a part of their catch to the headman or his representative at the pool.'[231] Mai Melesi Lasitoni from TA Maseya's chiefdom in Chikwawa also recounted that hunting fish from the

[228] Mandala, "Capitalism, Kinship and Gender", 141.
[229] Mandala, *Work and Control*, 39–40.
[230] See Mandala, *Work and Control*, 39.
[231] Ibid., 39; See also Mandala, "Capitalism, Kinship, and Gender", 141–142, where it is noted that although men dominated fishing and hunting, women still participated in activities such as communal fishing.

pools is a very old traditional way in which women have been involved in hunting because it is not easy for women to actually hunt in the thick forests.[232]

This form of hunting and its conduct was also corroborated as characteristic of pre-colonial hunting in TA Mlolo's area in Nsanje.[233] The connection between hunting and fishing was also noted in one of the village communities adjacent to Mwabvi Wildlife Reserve in TA Mbenje's area. Two informants narrated how their grandparents used to tell them that at some point in the distant past there were some social networks between their communities and those found along the Tchiri River, and that they had some reciprocal obligations involving game meat, fish and meat from hippopotamus.[234]

The link between the technology used in fishing and hunting was observed by one of the informants in the area of the Group Village Headman Chithumba, TA Mbenje in Nsanje, which lies adjacent to the Mwabvi Wildlife Reserve. He noted how their community inherited a tradition where the *bwazi* tree was used for constructing nets that were used for hunting small game in the Lower Tchiri Valley.[235] He elaborated how *bwazi* was harvested from the landscape and then converted to thread-like strips that were criss-crossed similar to the way in which modern nets are made. When a large *bwazi* net was constructed it was used particularly in communal hunting expeditions. During these expeditions groups of men and boys would go into the *nkhalango* bush and tie the net on one side of the bush, while some of the men and boys would wait there for game, while another group would take on the role of beaters and chase the game towards the net. The chasing of the game was also characterized by making lots of noise through songs. These processes would culminate in the killing of the game in almost the same manner that MacKenzie demonstrates in *The Empire of Nature*.[236]

[232] Interview conducted by the author of this thesis with Mai Melesi Lasitoni, TA Maseya, Chikwawa, approx. 80 years old, dated 10 June 2013.
[233] Combined interviews conducted by the author of this thesis, with Mr Sitenala Antonio, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 75 years old, as well as with Mr Abdulla Jussab, GVH Mchacha-James, T AMlolo, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, and with Mr. Wilfred Noda GVH. Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old, dated 24 May 2013.
[234] Interviews conducted by the author with Mr Master Khundi, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old, dated 17 April 2013; Mr M Mzondora, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 17 April 2013.
[235] Interview conducted by the author with Mr M. Mzondora, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, at Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 17 April 2013.
[236] MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 54.

Stigand and Lyell[237] also suggest that among the "native" hunters in Central Africa another method of hunting involved fastening a large net across a *dambo* and then drive small game like *puku* (a small antelope), oribi and reedbuck into the net. When these game animals were entangled in the net they were either stabbed with spears or shot with arrows. These two big-game hunters elaborate that these nets were made from various fibers which were worked into ropes by hand and that the fiber from the 'bast of the baobab'[238] tree was often used for the construction of the hunting nets.

Magololo Elites and Transformations in Hunting and Agrarian Processes

As noted in the chapter's opening vignette, oral tradition holds that the Magololo porters and hunters arrived in the Lower Tchiri Valley in about 1861, and how after parting company with Livingstone, they began to employ their skills in hunting and political entrepreneurship to establish themselves as leaders in the Valley.[239] The Magololo exploited the currents of socio-political redefinitions that were underway in the Valley in the 1850s and 1860s and attracted a lot of Mang'anja and other dependents into the chiefdoms that they later carved out for themselves over which they presided in the Valley. Hugh Macmillan suggests that amongst these migrating, conquering and settling Magololo: 'Only two of them were true Kololo; Ramakukan, later known as Kasisi, and Moloka. The rest came from a variety of peoples who had been subordinated to them [the Kololo].'[240] One of the key dimensions of this migration and subjugation of the Mang'anja and the others was that the Magololo employed their entrepreneurial skills through hunting elephants and selling ivory and meat. In the course of their migration, the Magololo were also introduced to a weekly or monthly wage system which might have raised their economic status such that the Magololo:

> …could now rightfully boast of their being a distinct group of 'natives', the Black Englishmen. There were all the symbols generally associated with white men: European dress

[237] See Stigand and Lyell, *Central African Game and its Spoor*, 34. These two big-game hunters indicate in introductions and other parts of their books on hunting that they hunted in the Malawi region, apart from other parts of Central or South Central Africa. See for example, D. D. Lyell, *Nyasaland for the Hunter and Settler* (London: Horace Cox, 1912), and Denis D. Lyell, *Memories of an African Hunter*, *with a chapter on Eastern India* (Boston: Small, 1923) and Denis D. Lyell, *Hunting Trips in Northern Rhodesia with Accounts of Sport and Travel in Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa* as well as notes on the *Game Animals and their Distribution* (London: Horace Cox, 1910).

[238] Bast is plant fiber that has been collected from the *phloem* ('inner bark' or skin), or surrounding the stem of certain, mainly dicotyledonous plants.

[239] See also the interview conducted by the author with TA Kasisi, GVH Mbendelana, Chikwawa, approx. 90 years old, dated 7 June 2013.

[240] Macmillan, "The African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878–84", 66.

> and, more significantly, guns which…provided them with the initial thrust in their struggle for mastery in the Lower Shire valley.[241]

Indeed, the opportunity for the Magololo to embark on their "intrusion" into and subsequent mastery of the Valley came when they were dismissed by Livingstone at Chikwawa on 15 November 1861. The bone of contention had to do with Magololo hunting and killing of an elephant on a Sunday, a day that Livingstone regarded as 'a day of prayer,' while they were in Linthipe area (in Central Malawi) on their way back to the Valley from Lake Nyasa [now Malawi]. According to the oral testimony that was collected by Mandala in 1976 from Chief Maseya, a son of one of the mutineering Magololo:

> …it was a Saturday… (and) the next morning the 'chiefs' found out that they had no relish. So they told one Chiputula: 'go to kill some game.' He took his gun and shot an elephant 'dooo'---- (and) the white man heard the sound. He asked: 'who has fired the gun?' 'None.' So he took out his book and started calling out the names of (his servants)…But when he came to Chiputula's name, there was no answer. Finally Chiputula came…and the white man started again calling out names. Chiputula answered. He (Livingstone) asked: 'Where have you been? A gun has just fired.' Then he answered: 'Yes, I have been to the forest and killed an elephant.' Then he said: 'Truly, indeed, you have been hunting on a Sunday like today, a day of prayer? Oh, no, you will be left here, all of you.' He gave them guns and gun-powder, all of them, and that was how he left them there. And he told them: 'if you should wish to return to your homeland, the way is open. Take it.[242]

McCracken, points out that rather than returning to their homeland, the Magololo decided to settle under Chibisa,[243] one of the Mang'anja chiefs at Chikwawa whose power was also on the wane. However, while the Magololo were at Chikwawa, besides defeating the Mang'anja inhabitants, the Magololo augmented their power by hunting elephants and attracting numerous dependants and that eventually they established six Magololo chieftaincies by 1870.[244] It needs to be noted that during the process of conquering the Mang'anja,

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[241] E.C. Mandala, "The Kololo Interlude in Southern Malawi, 1861–95", (Master's dissertation, University of Malawi, 1976), 15. See also Macmillan, "African Lakes Company and the Makololo", 65.

[242] Oral Testimony: M/CK/IV: Chief (Joseph) Maseya (son of Maseya I), Kololo Ethnic Group, approx. 80 years old, interviewed by Mandala on 30 January 1976 quoted in Mandala, "The Kololo Interlude", 22. On the usefulness of using oral testimonies of previous pioneering researchers on hunting, for example, such as this one, see also Isaacman and Mulwafu, "From Slaves to Freed men", 1-32 and Allen Isaacman and Elias Mandala, "From Porters to Labour Extractors: The Chikunda and Kololo in the Lake Malawi and Tchiri River Area," in Paul E. Lovejoy and Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch (eds.), *The Workers of African Trade* (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1985),; Other works relating to the quotation are: Bridglal Pachai, "The Zambezi Expedition, 1858–1864: New Highways for Old", in Ibid. (ed.), *Livingstone*, 53 who also alludes to the tendency of Livingstone of not allowing his followers to hunt on Sunday as suggested in what Pachai describes as Massea traditions. Massea or Maseya was one of the Magololo porters of Livingstone who eventually became one of the chiefs in the Valley.

[243] Pachai, "Zambezi Expedition, 1858–1864", 47–48, notes that Chibisa was the only Mang'anja chief with whom Livingstone forged 'the most amicable relations' on his first journey into Malawi.

[244] McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966*, 41; M. Schoffeleers, "Livingstone and the Mang'anja Chiefs", in Pachai (ed.), *Livingstone*, 123, observed that Livingstone gave the Magololo guns so that they were able to support themselves by hunting, as well as for their protection. Rangeley, "Makalolo of Dr. Livingstone", 66,

Ramakukan and Moloka who were considered as 'two pure-blooded MaKalolo' shared power up until the time Moloka was killed by a Mang'anja chief, Kabwina [Kabvina].[245] From the 1870s, Ramakukan also known as Kasisi, emerged as the supreme Magololo leader after the death of Moloka and he continued to organize as well as preside over Magololo chieftaincies stretching between the Ruo confluence and the head of the Murchison cataracts on the Tchiri River.[246]

Further evidence demonstrates that the Magololo engaged in active hunting in the Elephant Marsh and that in one of the most important hunting expeditions, high-ranking Magololo chiefs such as Moloka, Kasisi, Mlauli, Chiputula, Zimbula and Mwita were involved.[247] The ivory from these hunting expeditions was also exchanged with gun-powder in the Zambezi Valley. The Magololo were therefore able to reproduce their society with the help of the gun powder which was used for hunting and the procurement of meat and ivory for trade.[248] Their trade with the outside world and missionaries in the Valley depended on the mobilization of the Mang'anja and some slaves, not only for the revitalization and control of hunting for ivory as staple for their trade, but also for agriculture. The ivory harvested through hunting was exchanged for gun powder and cattle at Sena.[249] As will be elaborated below, the Magololo also provided their followers with food including meat from the hunting expeditions. Some of this meat was acquired in the late 1860s through sport hunting in which Europeans or white hunters appear to have shared hunting techniques with African hunters.

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also suggests that the Magololo hunted elephants when Dr. Livingstone left them under the charge of Major Sicard at Tete in 1856.

[245] See Rangeley, "Makalolo of Dr. David Livingstone", 71 and 86.

[246] Rangeley, "Makalolo of Dr. Livingstone", 83–84 and 86–88, also suggests that after the departure of Livingstone in 1864, Ramakukan [also known as Ramakukane] changed his name to *Kasisi* which means "the refuge", and became the force that bound the Magololos together until his death. Ramakukan came to be known as Kasisi and his Chiefdom became known as the Kasisi Chiefdom which lay to the north of the Valley. It is noted that Kabvina shot Moloka after Moloka had abused him and also shot some of Kabvina's followers in the course of their quarrel over a boat that Moloka had ordered Kabvina to make for him.

[247] Mandala, "Kololo Interlude", 68; See also N. R. Bennet and M. Ylvisaker (eds.), *The Central African Journal of Lovell Procter, 1860–1864* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1971), 273, 311–8, 341, 360–61; H. Rowley, *The Story of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (1867)* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 340–42. Note that *Chiputula* is also spelt as *Chipatula* in Macmillan, "African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878-1908", as well as in McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966*, 48-57.

[248] See also Nancy R. Northrup, "Southern Malawi, 1860-1891: A Case Study of Frontier Politics", (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978), 128-200.

[249] Mandala, "Kololo Interlude", 73–75; See also D. Livingstone and C. Livingstone, *The Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries and of the Discoveries of Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa* (London: Murray, 1865), 574–76; R. Foskett (ed.), *The Zambesi Journal of Dr. John Kirk, 1858–1863*.

'Moloka is a thorough sportsman….'

Henry Faulkner's, *Elephant Haunts: A Sportsman's Narrative of the Search for Livingstone* (1868)[250] stands as a key primary source that begins to demonstrate some aspects of the interaction of European or white sport hunting and African hunters in the Malawi context. Faulkner, who was an ex-army officer, was part of Lieutenant Edward D. Young's search party for the whereabouts of David Livingstone when it was reported in Britain that Livingstone was dead. He joined Lieutenant Young's party as a member who was primarily interested in hunting and it is noted that his constant conflicts with Lieutenant Edward Young revolved around his desire to pursue hunting at the expense of the objectives of the search party.[251] McCracken notes that in the Lower Tchiri Valley, 'Makololo chiefs enthusiastically welcomed Edward Young, the Leader of the Livingstone Search expedition, when he made his way up the Shire in 1867'[252] as a result of the Magololo's respect for their connections with Livingstone. It appears that Faulkner's hunting took advantage of the hospitality offered by the Magololo. Evidence shows that although 'Faulkner did so much to reduce the once abundant wildlife,' on the banks of the Upper Tchiri (now known as Liwonde National Park) after hunting in some parts of the Tchiri Highlands, he also did some considerable hunting in the Lower Tchiri Valley.[253]

In particular, when the search party started interacting with the Mang'anja and Magololo in August 1867, Faulkner, apart from wounding some hippopotamus, was able to kill one thereby supplying meat for the "natives." Faulkner also hunted elephants in the area closer to the Ruo River which is a tributary of the Tchiri River. It is interesting that Faulkner noticed that this area was elephant country, as in many places there was a lot of elephant *spoor* along the banks of the river.[254] From Faulkner's description of this area compared to other sources such Mandala's *Work and Control*, Livingstone and Livingstone's, *Narrative*, and Wallis's (ed.), *Zambesi Expedition* as well as the legal description for the establishment of the Elephant Marsh Game Reserve, this is more or less the area that later came to be Elephant Marsh Game Reserve from 1896, until it was degazetted in 1911.[255] It is noted that in his hunting of the elephants, buffaloes and some small game, Faulkner was accompanied by

[250] Faulkner, *Elephant Haunts*.
[251] Ibid., vii.
[252] McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859-1966*, 41.
[253] Faulkner, *Elephant Haunts*, ix–x.
[254] Ibid., 31.
[255] Ibid., 27–52; Mandala, *Work and Control*, 39–50 & 67–8; D. and C. Livingstone, *Narrative*, 97; Wallis, (ed.), *Zambesi Expedition*, vol. 1, 78; *British Central Africa Gazette* (*BCAG*), 134, IX, 1, 31 January 1902, 3.

some Magololo game scouts and trackers. These Magololos would display their courage in supplying Faulkner with supporting spare guns such as the "the gum-tickler" and Rigby 10 as he fought with dying elephants and buffaloes. Faulkner recounts that after one hunting expedition, when the heads of two buffaloes were laid at the door of his hut, the night was characterized by dancing, singing and gorging.[256] He added that during the night:

> …one of the men who carried my spare gun never ceasing to sing my praises all night long. "This man," he said, "doesn't fear the buffalo." When we felt inclined to run away he ran at them by himself, and all the buffaloes ran from him. We never had a man like this before, who would give us so much meat for one meal.

Amongst these Magololo gun bearers was Moloka, who was hunting with Faulkner no matter how dangerous the circumstances would turn out, and was later on described by Faulkner as a thorough sportsman.[257] There is evidence that suggests that Moloka and Faulkner would engage in "following up" wounded game for longer distances through tall grasses and sometimes thick parts of forests. In one case, Moloka and Faulkner were able to "recover" a waterbuck that Faulkner had wounded the previous day. Within the process of the recovery of the wounded waterbuck both Moloka and Faulkner demonstrated their skills at tracking, taking advantage of game that would have otherwise just diverted the objectives of their mission, and actually tracing the wounded waterbuck lying dead on a "grassy couch" covered with "quantities of congealed blood." It is in the light of this mission to "recover" wounded waterbuck and perhaps preceding ones, that Faulkner recorded that:

> Moloka is a thorough sportsman, his whole heart is in his work, and he cannot bear the idea of leaving a wounded animal in the jungle, as he says to feed the hyenas, jackals, and other beasts of prey that infest all the woods in this country. Taking, the head of the waterbuck, I returned to camp, and enjoyed a good breakfast.[258]

Regarding the Mang'anja whom Faulkner encountered during his hunting expedition, he observed that they hunted and would carry bows and arrows, although some of them had guns. Faulkner also observed that the Mang'anja were "not in the habit of hunting their game and killing it in a manly way; but many of them, on the contrary, are expert trappers."[259] However, it must be noted that, over time, the Mang'anja and the Magololo continued to participate and benefit from the hunting economies of the Valley, although the Magololo were emerging as key African game hunters.

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[256] Faulkner, *Elephant Haunts*, 60. Faulkner points out that the villagers were recorded as singing and engaging in chorus referring to the death of two buffaloes with "long and strong horns".
[257] Faulkner, *Elephant Haunts*, 27–75.
[258] Faulkner, *Elephant Haunts*, 64.
[259] Ibid., 54. More details about Mang'anja hunting processes, technology and institutions have been discussed above.

"Meat? No, game was plentiful in the country": Magololo rule and wildlife production systems, 1870s to c. 1890[260]

Up to the 1870s the central factor in the Magololo domination of the Mang'anja was a state-building strategy hinging on political entrepreneurship. This strategy was characterized by the ability of some elites to attract a following on the basis of the protection and livelihood support they provided to the subjects. Through this strategy the Magololo established larger and almost independent principalities from the reorganization of Mang'anja village clusters.

According to Mandala and Macmillan[261] these Magololo states were established in about half of the Lower Tchiri Valley, in other words, the area between the Ruo and the head of Murchison cataracts on the Tchiri River. This sphere includes the areas that later became Lengwe, Majete, Mwabvi, the Elephant Marsh protected areas and their adjacent communities in Chikwawa and Nsanje districts. In political terms, the Magololo country was divided into six chiefdoms, namely Chiputula, Kasisi, Maseya, Katunga, Mlilima and Mwita. Among these, the largest were the Chiputula and Kasisi chiefdoms. Chiputula was situated in the South and also had some jurisdiction over some independent Mang'anja people who were situated between the Tengani and Chiromo areas, while the Kasisi Chiefdom was located to the North.

In terms of agrarian processes, evidence suggests that the economy of Magololo chiefdoms was also supported by agriculture. Magololo chiefs functioned as examples to be emulated in agricultural activities by maintaining a number of large fields called *magala* or *maplazi*. These gardens were used for the cultivation of various crops ranging from maize, sorghum, rice, potatoes, pineapples, sugarcane and cotton. The labour processes for production in these fields were organized in such a way that during very busy months of sowing and harvesting, the Mang'anja would provide their form of tributary labour, which was moderated by the involvement of the labour of client-slaves of the Magololo chiefs. There was a lot of agricultural activity taking place on both banks of the Tchiri River by around 1876, and new villages that were established close to the banks of the river ensured that all available arable land was being cultivated. These activities were significant because they resulted from the

[260] See also, author's interview with TA Kasisi, GVH Mbendelana, Chikwawa, dated 7 June 2013, in which he emphasizes the abilities of the Magololo to hunt efficiently and gain more dependants including Mang'anja women as they had their own guns as well as plenty of meat that they could share. He also elaborated how, as chiefs, the Magololo made sure that they passed on their oral tradition to their descendants to secure their positions as leaders with the passage of time.

[261] Mandala, "Kololo Interlude", 22, 97; Macmillan, "African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878-1908", 66–67.

habit of "the Kololo … to feed their retainers as well as the larger Mang'anja population, especially in times of famine and want."[262] According to the oral testimony of a former Magololo Chief, Mathias Chimtanda Mlilima,

> Magala…were maplazi (fields) belonging to the chief…the food from there was stored at the chief's place. His people fed on this. The Mang'anja used to come to the chief's village in times of famine and scarcity…there their wants were satisfied to the full.[263]

As noted in the preceding section, hunting was also crucial in providing for the needs of Magololo dependants. Within the capitals of the chiefdoms there were a large number of Yao immigrants who carried out various tasks including hunting. And the crucial role played by the hunting activities in the livelihood systems of the Magololo chiefdoms is emphasized in this oral testimony:

> Meat? No, game was plentiful in the country. One did not need to go far in order to kill game…and there was no scarcity of meat…Magololo, yes. They employed their men to hunt animals…They would bring bundles of meat to the compound of the chief. That was fresh meat. People used to eat as much as they wanted of it. They would sit there the whole day just eating. Women from every village would be asked to come and receive the meat; they would come to get meat free…they got it free.[264]

Magololo hunting also contributed to the participation of the Magololo chiefdoms in international economy. In the 1870s, the Magololo continued to export ivory as well as salt to the outside world. Evidence shows that ivory was harvested mainly in Chiputula's territory in which the Elephant Marsh was also located. Prior to the Magololo takeover of the Valley when the Mang'anja chiefs such as the Mankhokwes were in power,[265] hunters from the lower Zambezi used to hunt game in the Marsh "unlawfully." However, during the rule of Chiputula, a Magololo chief, measures were instituted which prevented the *Chikunda* and the Portuguese from engaging in 'illegal' hunting of game. These measures included the establishment of a sophisticated boundary system consisting of guard posts and settlements on the marsh. Once this system was in place, permission had to be sought before killing game and the hunters had to pay tribute to the chief in the form of a tusk that had been "ground up". It is noted further that over time this system ensured that it was only the Magololo and their British associates who had access to the haunts of the Elephant Marsh for their hunting

[262] See Mandala, "Kololo Interlude", 109.
[263] Oral Testimony: M/CK/I: Mathias Chimtanda Mlilima, A former Kololo Chief, Mlilima interviewed by Mandala on 23 January 1976, as quoted in Mandala, "Kololo Interlude", 109. Again, on the significance of oral testimonies of previous pioneering researchers, consult Isaacman and Mulwafu, "From Slaves to Freedmen," 1-32 as well as Isaacman and Mandala, "From Porters to Labour Extractors".
[264] Oral Testimony: M/CK/I: Mathias Chimtanda Mlilima, interviewed by Mandala, quoted in "Kololo Interlud".
[265] McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966*, 21–22.

expeditions. As will be shown in the sections below, this hunting prerogative became a bone of contention between the Magololo and some European interests including the ALC.

With regard to the marketing of the products of the Magololo hunting expeditions two main marketing processes were in use. The first one had to do with an older market which was mostly preferred by the Magololo up until around the mid-1870s. The initial location of this market was Chuwambo (Quelimane) before it moved to Ibo and Chisanga on the East Coast of Africa. There were, however, some challenges that would affect the sale of ivory on the East Coast where the Magololo obtained guns, gun-powder and alcohol.[266] South of the Tchiri River, the Magololo came into conflict with 'a group of *Chikunda* followers of Matakenya under the leadership of his son, Paul Mariano III, who maintained a tenuous hold over the area known as Massingere.'[267]

This challenge, which made it difficult for the Magololo and their Yao associates to transport their ivory to the East Coast through the Tchiri—Zambezi waterway, might have become very significant by the late 1870s. It is thought that by this time the "Makololo chiefs had obtained a virtual monopoly over the killing of elephants and the sale of ivory between the cataracts and the confluence of the rivers Shire and Ruo."[268] In order to circumvent the effects of this logistical challenge, the Magololo had to engage a second outlet for their ivory. They went on to find a viable trading partner in the ALC which was formed in 1878 through the initiatives of John and Frederick Moir.[269]

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[266] See Mandala, "Kololo Interlude", 122; See also Buchanan, *Shire Highlands (East Central Africa) as a Colony and Mission* (Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood and Sons, 1885).
[267] McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966*, 49.
[268] Ibid., 49
[269] H. Macmillan, "The African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878–84", in R. J. Macdonald (ed.), *From Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in Colonial History* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1975), 68 and Fred L. M. Moir, *After Livingstone: An African Trade Romance* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1923), 8, which indicate that The African Lakes Company was established on 21 June 1878 as the Livingstonia Central African Company in acknowledgement of the inspiration derived from Dr. David Livingstone, the great explorer and it was only from 1881 it changed its name to ALC. Its main purpose was to help the Livingstonia Mission in northern Malawi with transport problems and to transact legal trade or "legitimate commerce" with the Malawi people. Further details are also provided in H. W. Macmillan, "The Origins and Development of the African Lakes Company, 1878–1908", (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1970), as well as in Peter Moore, "Extracts from the Diary and Letters of Peter Moore I, 1888", *NJ*, 11, 1 (1958), 26–41.

"Here you will receive fair dealing and decent treatment" *Palabra inglesa!*?: the ALC and the Magololos to 1890

The African Lakes Company (ALC), as noted earlier, was founded on the express purpose of the need to eradicate slavery through the introduction of what was described as "legitimate trade."[270] The first trading headquarters of the ALC was named "Mandala" and was located near Blantyre and as evident in figures 2.5 and 2.6, below, particularly Figure 2.6, trade dealings were dominated by transactions in ivory.

Figure 2.5: The Headquarters of the African Lakes Company, Mandala—The Store and Quarters of the European Clerks. [271]

[270] McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966*, 48.
[271] ***Source*:** Barbara Lamport-Stokes Photograph Collection, The Society of Malawi Library and Archives (hereafter SML & A), Mandala, Blantyre, Malawi.

Figure 2.6: Ivory at Mandala store of the African Lakes Company.[272]

In connection with the name of the company, Mandala, Ian Hay notes that: 'This is a native word denoting the reflection of light – in this case from the twinkling spectacles of John Moir'[273] who jointly managed the ALC with his brother, Fred Moir. With the passage of time, the word, Mandala was accepted as referring to any stations where representatives of the ALC were working in the Nyasaland Protectorate and Northern Rhodesia where its inscription on a trading store, for example, was 'interpreted as meaning: "'Here you will receive fair dealing and decent treatment.' *Palabra inglesa!*"[274] This is demonstrated in figure 2.7, below:

[272] *Source*: Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 181.
[273] Ian Hay, "Foreword", in Moir, *After Livingstone*, xv.
[274] See Hay, 'Foreword,' vx–xvi. It is noted further that the word Mandala was viewed as being similar to *palabra inglesa*, a phrase that was in current use in South America at the time of the writing of the foreword and it meant "word of honor" or "honor bright" or "the word of an Englishman." The use of this phrase was considered to be one of the highest compliments that one nation paid to another. This is corroborated by C. S. Minto, "Portrait of a Book-Collector: Presidential Address to the Edinburgh and East Scotland Branch of the Scottish Library Association", 15 October 1941, 13, located in A78: Moir Family Correspondence, 1876–1940, William Cullen Library, Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.

Figure 2.7: One of the Native Stores of the ALC as posted on the lintel above the doorway.[275]

In terms of commercial dealings, evidence shows that instead of taking advantage of an "agricultural revolution" in the region extending from the Zambezi Valley to as far as the Tchiri Valley between the late 1870s and 1880s, the ALC focused on the export of ivory probably as part of dealing with problems it had with working capital.[276] And an examination of some of the business transactions and correspondences such as the one in figure 2.7, below in the Letter Book I (1878–1883) of John and Fred Moir, Joint Managers of the ALC suggests that although trade in merchandise from hunting expeditions, such as ivory, hippo teeth, rhinoceros horns, hides, and tortoise shells, formed the bulk of the transactions, while agricultural products, such as coffee and ground nuts, were part of ALC's exports.[277]

[275] ***Source*:** Barbara Lamport-Stokes Photograph Collection, SML & A, Mandala, Blantyre, Malawi.
[276] According to McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966*, 48, this agricultural revolution involved expansion in the production of oilseeds, copra and groundnuts by Africans. These products were being purchased by Indian traders for sale to international companies. See also L. Vail and L. White, *Capitalism and Colonialism in Mozambique* (London, 1980), 64–69.
[277] For further details see, Moir Letter Book I (1878–1883), located in A78: Moir Family Correspondence, 1876–1940, William Cullen Library, Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand. As Figure 4 shows, the ALC also imported products for the use of the company and for exchanging with ivory and other merchandise that they could export to London which was one of their markets particularly for ivory.

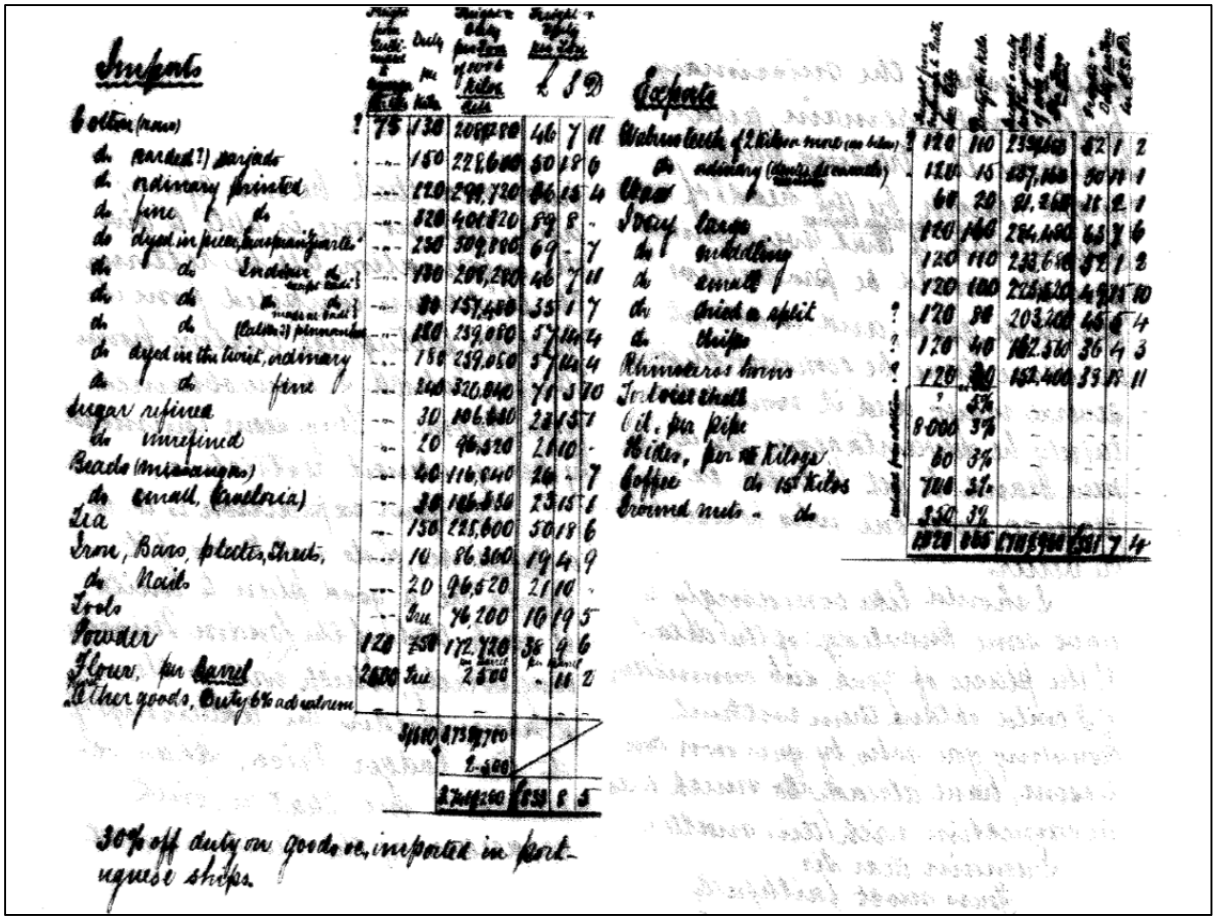

Figure 2.8: Business Transactions (Imports and Exports) of the ALC. [278]

Most of the ALC merchandise obtained through hunting such as ivory and hippopotamus teeth were destined for the London market. In emphasizing the role the ALC played in the Malawi hunting economies, McCracken confirms that:

> In the early years, many of the elephants killed for their ivory were shot by the Moirs themselves and other ALC employees supported by teams of Malawian hunters. The Company also made strenuous efforts to purchase ivory from Mponda, Makanjira, the Jumbe of Nkhotakota and other Yao and Swahiri traders on the lake, but the prices they offered were frequently rejected as the traders could make greater profits by selling the ivory at the coastal ports.[279]

It was within these commercial operations that the Magololo interacted with the ALC. Hugh Macmillan demonstrates the different ways in which the ALC tried to capitalize on the pre-existing rivalries among the Magololo chiefs as well as on how the ALC itself was used by

[278] *Source*: Moir Letter Book I, A78: Moir Family Correspondence, 1876–1940, William Cullen Library, Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.
[279] McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966*, 48–49.

the Magololo chiefs in pursuit of the political objectives of the chiefs.[280] In this case, the playing out of the ivory trade operations, the conflicts between the ALC and the Magololo chiefs as well as the Magololo rivalries themselves provide an additional opportunity for exploring the functioning of the Lower Tchiri Valley hunting economies. Hugh Macmillan maintains that competition over ivory between the ALC and the Magololo chiefs was a source of potential and actual conflict.[281] This was largely the case because at the root of Magololo wealth and power lay ivory, a resource which was also viewed by the ALC as having the capacity to bolster ALC's financial solvency. The Magololo chiefs obtained their ivory either through their own hunters or through their right to demand the ground tusk of every elephant that was killed in their territories.

These Magololo chiefs – such as Ramakukan or Kasisi –understood that central to the reproduction of their trade in ivory was the exchange of some of their harvested ivory for gun powder and guns as part of the payment. The other key Magololo player was Chiputula who was not in good terms with Ramakukan. From the late 1870s to around the mid-1880s Ramakukan and his rival Chiputula were in charge of some of the ivory resource rich areas including the Elephant Marsh. It was their political and economic dominance over these areas that the ALC saw as a major threat to their efforts "to clear the Makololo people out of ivory."[282] Evidence suggests that although the ALC was able to buy some ivory from Ramakukan, for example, sometimes the processes involved "ridiculous" additional bargaining by the Magololo chief which would result in "fruitless" transactions.[283] Moreover, Ramakukan was noted for his protest against what he considered to be the poaching of ivory from his hunting grounds by the ALC and its hunters. Then, in around February or March 1883, a conflict arose between Ramakukan and John Moir around the time when an elephant was shot in Ramakukan's territory.

What particularly ignited this conflict was Moir's refusal to give Ramakukan the ground tusk until the Magololo chief had returned some ALC property that had been stolen by Magololo porters or a *tenga-tenga.* Ramakukan's response came in the form of ordering his men to

[280] Macmillan, "African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878-84", 68–69.
[281] See Macmillan, 'African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878-84", 68 and 73. McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966* also shows why the ALC did not want to trade in agricultural products emerging from the agricultural revolution and instead on ivory trade, 51–5.
[282] Frederick Moir to his mother, 24 July 1879, quoted in Macmillan, "African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878-84", 74.
[283] For further details, see Macmillan, 'African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878-84", 74.

refuse to carry goods of the ALC, including ivory.[284] However, evidence from Morrison diaries suggests that in December 1883 a large quantity of ivory was dispatched from Katunga (present day Chikwawa), one of the areas under Ramakukan's influence and that in February 1884 there were attempts to end the strike over the porterage of ALC's goods.[285]

The ALC's transactions with Ramakukan's rival, Chiputula appear to have been different from those who supported Ramakukan. It also seems possible that Chiputula might have increased his dealings with the ALC because his territory was under threat from his southern neighbor, Matakenya, as well as from the Portuguese. In one of the instances that took place during the ALC —Ramakukan conflict, "Chiputula sent up a caravan of over one hundred men with salt and ivory for sale at Mandala. Moir arranged with one of Chiputula's headmen for carriers to be sent up to take over the transport to the river….".[286]John Moir, one of the managers of the ALC, also provided some political advice to Chitapula regarding possible threats to Chiputula's chieftaincy, even though Chiputula might have been enjoying trade dealings with other freelance European traders. The Elephant Marsh, which was in Chiputula's sphere of influence, was a major hunting ground which provided the ivory resources for these trade dealings.

However, the murder of Chiputula by Fenwick, a former employee of the ALC in February 1884 provided an opportunity for Ramakukan to settle his differences with the ALC and be entitled to a regular subsidy. One of the effects of this on the hunting in the Valley was that Ramakukan took advantage of the precarious political situation in which Chiputula's successor, (his son) Chikuse was, and waged a war that left Chiputula's sphere under Ramakukan's control. It is noted that as a result of this state of affairs: 'It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the fate of the Company and of the [Scottish] missions rested for a time in Ramakukan's hands.'[287] Although Ramakukan died in early June 1888,[288] and his death was followed by a rapid waning of Magololo power and influence, the hunting economies of the Valley appear to have continued to function in favor of the trade dealings of

[284] Ibid., 76.
[285] Macmillan, "African Lakes Company and the Makololo,1878-84", 77. Morrison was the engineer of the ALC and was actually involved in these events and kept a record in his Frederick T. Morrison Diaries, 1882–1887 available at Edinburgh University Library.
[286] See Macmillan, "African Lakes Company and the Makololo, 1878-84", 76 –77.
[287] Ibid., 74.
[288] Moore, "Diary and Letters, I", 38: Diary entry of 10 September 1888 contains a footnote that indicates that Ramakukan was succeeded by Mlauri as the paramount of the Magololo.

some members of the ALC. One of the members of the ALC was Peter Moore. He came to Nyasaland as an employee of the ALC between 1887 and 1891 and was stationed, in the Lower Tchiri Valley, among other stations. In one of his diary entries of 28 February 1888, Peter Moore provides some details about his fishing activities in the Tchiri River as well as some details about the availability of game. With regard to fishing, he writes to his brother, James that although he would not enjoy fishing in the same way as he did back home,

> ….One night I caught seven in a short time, all pretty fair sized, say from ½ lb. to lb. each. Though the Natives fish a lot themselves they were rather astonished at the working of the reel. I have not caught any large ones but saw a very large one swimming near the house. I am sure it would be from a yard-and-half in length….[289]

In the case of game, Peter Moore observes that at that point game was so scarce because his station, at Katunga was in a district that was too populous although a few buck were said to be available on the other side of the Tchiri River. At this station Peter Moore's work also involved buying *malonda* (merchandise) for the ALC and sometimes for himself and this included skins and hippopotamus teeth. As for the skins he specifically notes that: '…Buffalo skins I give about ½ d. per lb. for them and get a good many, some very large. I had one this month that weighed 77 lbs. when dried. You may know that came from no small animal.'[290] At times the common and principal forms of currency for the payment of these products included white calico, sky blue small bead, and a red bead with a white eye. There is also evidence that the presence of Peter Moore at the ALC's station at Katunga might have entailed some benefits for the agrarian communities. Peter Moore indicates that:

> Then for my own use I buy fowls, rice, pumpkins, Onions, sweet Potatoes, Honey etc. Fowls cost 6 a fathom, Onions a good large basket for a fathom, rice from 20 to 30 lbs. a fathom and so on. A fathom is reckoned at 9 d.[291]

However, political events regarding the Anglo-Portuguese conflict over the control of the Magololo country as well as some parts of British Central Africa appear to have impacted negatively on the exploitation of wild life resources in the Valley. In early November 1889 there were rumours circulating that the Magololos were matching towards the Ruo confluence to engage Serpa Pinto's Portuguese armed forces with whom the Magololos had

[289] Moore, "Diary and Letters I", 27: Peter Moore to James, 28 February 1888.
[290] Moore, "Diaries and Letters I", 28: Peter Moore to James, 28 February 1888. It might also be interesting to note that Peter Moore continued to buy game products such as skins of buffaloes, Zebra, Eland or other numerous bucks and even ivory from September 1888 when he moved to Vicenti, a station on the Zambezi River from September 1888. For details see, Moore, "Diaries and Letters I", 40-41: Moore to Brother, 3 November 1888 and Peter Moore, "Extracts from Diaries and Letters of Peter Moore II", *NJ*, 11, 2 (1958), 56
[291] Moore, "Diaries and Letters I", 28: Peter Moore to James, 28 February 1888. Mandala, "Capitalism, Kinship, and Gender", 147 also observes how in the northern part of the Magololo country, peasants sold their crop to various itinerant traders as well as agents of the ALC.

been developing hostilities. Peter Moore notes that: 'This morning's rumour is that the Makololo are marching down. Mlowli and Masea on the south bank [of the Tchiri River] whilst Katunga, Mlilima and Kampata are on the north bank.'[292] The Portuguese were threatening to invade the Magololo country as part of the process of spreading Portuguese influence in parts of East and Central Africa.

What happened is that when the Portuguese, on the pretext of a scientific expedition, asked the Magololo to open a road through their country, the Magololo refused and as of 29 October 1889 the Portuguese had declared war on the Magololo country. Evidence shows that although Mlauri might have attacked Serpa Pinto's forces on 8 November 1889 or vice-versa, Mlauri was defeated which led to the Magololo chiefs retreating to Blantyre, pursued by Portuguese forces under Lieutenant Coutinho. William Rangeley suggests that as a result of these military engagements, John Buchanan immediately proclaimed the Shire Districts including Magololo country as being part of the British Protectorate on 21 September 1889.[293] The military engagements only came to a standstill on 11 January 1890 when a British ultimatum was sent to Lisbon. As a result of the ultimatum, on 8 February 1890 the Portuguese forces were ordered and obeyed to withdraw below the Ruo River, the Portuguese border with the Magololo country in the south.

Meanwhile, by December 1890, the ALC transactions in ivory appear to have been mainly taking place at the north end of Lake Malawi in Karonga apparently as a result of the Magololo-Portuguese political crises or the simultaneous threats of Ngoni raids in the Valley.[294] This shift to the north end of the lake might have begun in the early 1880s when Fred Moir reported that:

> [A]fertile source of supply of ivory was found among the Wankonde at the north end of Lake Nyasa….On visiting [Wankonde Chiefs] we bought some ivory, and were given a very cordial invitation to shoot elephants, which at that time were a plague of the country. As they had practically no guns their miles of banana plantations and other cultivations were at the mercy of any passing herd.[295]

[292] Moore, "Diaries and Letters II", 60: Diary entry of 2 November 1889. As noted earlier, and as Rangeley also indicates, all these were Magololo chiefs. Rangely, "Makalolo of Dr. Livingstone", 83 and 91–8
[293] Ibid., 92–93.
[294] Rangeley, "Makalolo of Dr. Livingstone", 89–98 does not clearly discuss the impact that the threats of Ngoni raids had on the Magololo economy, let alone, the hunting economy.
[295] Moir, *After Livingstone*, 89–90.

However, although the north end of the lake was viewed as 'a wonderful country and a sportsman's paradise,'[296] where even Fred Moir killed his first elephant, with the passage of time the ivory for the ALC continued to be also procured from other traders.

On 17 December 1890 Peter Moore observed:"….Mlozi, Kopakopa, Rashid and Marambo came in today and I saw Mr. Kydd purchase some ivory….'"[297] When Peter Moore moved to the ALC's Karonga station to temporarily relieve Mr Kydd of his duties in December 1890, he carried on with the purchasing of ivory. One of his transactions is revealing of some of the operations that characterised ALC's trade relations with the Arabs. On 24 December 1890 Peter Moore reports that:

> …Rasta and Kopakopa were down today and sold us a cwt. of ivory. They are keen for a supply of powder but I could give only a very little. My instructions from Mr. Kydd being to give only 5 lbs. powder to every 35 lbs. ivory. I do not like the idea of supplying powder to these Arabs yet there is truth in what they say: "If we cannot get powder, how can we kill elephants to get ivory"….[298]

These transactions suggest that while there were some political conflicts in the Lower Tchiri Valley, the ivory economy might have shifted and continued to flourish at the north end of the lake. It is also shown as was the case with some of the Magololo suppliers of ivory, that the Arabs also faced some challenges in their dealings with the ALC. In some instances the ALC would fail to purchase goods such as tusks or ivory as a result of not having any goods to exchange for ivory. During a trade event in 31 December 1890, Peter Moore had to turn down a tusk weighing 8 lbs. because the station at Karonga did not have the "Merikano" (American cloth) that the sellers were keen to barter in exchange for ivory. At this point, it should be noted that trade transactions between the ALC and the Arabs, among other clients, continued well into the 1890s.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed some of the ways in which African hunting and European or white hunters impacted on the game and interacted with each other in pre-colonial Malawi's hunting grounds. It specifically shows that apart from the Lower Tchiri Valley, considerable hunting was pursued at the north end of Lake Malawi, and in some parts of the Tchiri

[296] Ibid., 91.
[297] Moore, "Diaries and Letters II", 64: Diary entry of 17 December 1890. Mlozi and Kopakopa were among the chief Arab–Swahiri ivory and slave dealers at the north end of the Lake and in other parts of East and Central Africa. Kydd was an employee of the ALC.
[298] Moore, "Diaries and Letters II", 64: Diary entry of 24 December 1890.

Highlands and in the Lake Chilwa Basin. In particular, the chapter has partly responded to some of the historiographical concerns raised by Carruthers regarding the interaction of African hunters and their communities as guides and porters of white or European hunters.

While some of the oral testimonies in relevant existing studies have provided a context for analyzing the workings of the Lower Tchiri Valley hunting economies, some of the oral testimonies collected by the author, coupled with rarely used sources produced by participant contemporary chroniclers such as Henry Faulkner, Peter Moore and John and Fred Moir point to three important findings. The first one is that, as noted in general, in some specific locales in the Lower Tchiri Valley pre-colonial hunting by women took the form of dry season fishing in pools, known as *kugwa thamanda*. Second, that in the Valley there is a high likelihood that some pre-colonial white or European sport hunters together with African hunters experienced what are viewed as European sport hunting incidents during which they appreciated and shared hunting practices. Third, that in some instances the presence of the ALC's stations and members, along with their interests in ivory and other products of the hunt, translated into commercial and agricultural benefits for some surrounding agrarian communities.

Through the use of some rare archival photographs, as well as seldom used works by big-game hunters (such as Lyell and Stigand), this chapter has underlined the extent to which some observations and experiences of early travellers, missionaries and big-game hunters in Central Africa applied to pre-colonial hunting grounds in Malawi and the Lower Tchiri Valley. The evidence suggests further that within Central Africa, there might have been some parallels in the hunting processes employed by several different ethnic groups, although the utilization of environmental resources for the construction of hunting equipment such as nets might have differed due to variations in the natural resource endowment in the landscapes.

CHAPTER THREE

Seedlings of Contestations Transplanted? Hunting and Colonial Game Regulations in Early Colonial Malawi and the Lower Tchiri Valley, c.1890–1915.

Prior to and even during the onset of colonialism, Africans hunted for subsistence, the exchange, and for resources to strengthen their power for governing spheres of influence. . Some Africans, particularly the Magololo in the Lower Tchiri Valley, came into conflict with each other and with whites who were interested not only in sport hunting but also in the sale of products from hunting. Some Africans, agents of the ALC and the ALC itself benefited from hunting and related trading. s Indeed, conflicts and benefits escalated concurrently as the significance of hunting grew with the entrenchment of the British Empire in the late 1870s and 1880s. In order to safeguard white hunting from competing with African hunters in British colonial Africa, European hunters who later on assumed positions as colonial administrators in the 1890s began issuing and enacting game laws based on the British Aristocratic hunting infrastructure.[299] These game laws were transplanted in the form of gun and hunting licenses, and even the establishment of game reserves modelled on European traditions whose centrepiece was the exclusion of other classes from hunting by the Aristocratic elites. The exclusive nature of these game laws made the transplanting of these laws in colonial Africa susceptible to resistance by some whites and Africans in ways similar to those employed by the excluded classes and their sympathizers in Europe.

Malawian historiography has been somewhat lean regarding the dynamics of sport hunting and game laws – dynamics capable of revealing game as objects of cultural and scientific understanding as well as economic or commercial exchange.[300] In particular, the interactions of white and African races with regard to hunting were marginalized by other historians some of whom tended to ignore the Lower Tchiri Valley, or they concentrated on brief histories of

[299] William M. Adams, "Sportsman's Shot, Poacher's Pot: Hunting, Local People and the History of Conservation", in B. Dickson, J. Hutton, and W.M. Adams (eds.), *Recreational Hunting Conservation and Rural Livelihoods: Science and Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009), 129–130.
[300] For details on these three levels of approaching human–animal historical interactions see, Mary J. Henninger-Voss (ed.), "Introduction", *Animals in Human Histories: The Mirror of Nature and Culture* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002), ix–xxi.

protected areas in Malawi.[301] This chapter employs new, and in some cases, rarely utilized sources to address these historiographical lacunae. It also challenges historians' previous assumptions that early colonial game laws successfully excluded African hunting to benefit white sport hunting for trophies and the collection of specimens. It shows that in the Lower Tchiri Valley whites and Africans co-operated in hunting, and that both races at times contravened game laws despite the existence of some colonial legal attempts to promote hunting for preservation, namely the killing of more male than female game species as some licensed hunters did. The transplanting of these game laws may be attributed to white and African sport hunting before the onset of formal colonialism in Malawi and other parts of British colonial Africa.

Colonial Game Legislation in Malawi

This chapter shows how the adaptation of European game laws and the transplanting of the seedlings of protest over hunting and game resources in parts of British Colonial Africa owe a lot to the activities of sport hunters, who were influenced by European hunting traditions to subordinate African hunting practices. As observed in the introduction, the elite employed political and legal mechanisms to maintain an exclusive right to hunt although the excluded classes, invoking aspects of *res nullius*, in which game only belonged to the one who killed it in Roman Law, sought ways to resist the Aristocratic domination.[302] However, the social exclusion from hunting eventually brought about a socio-cultural context in which the elite and their supporters gradually despised surviving elements of subsistence and basic commercial hunting in favor of 'the Hunt' of the elite which was transplanted into British Colonies from the early 1890s.[303]

MacKenzie offers two major related reasons that attempt to explain the difference between 'the Hunt' as a hunting pursuit for the elite sportsmen and the hunting carried out by excluded

[301] See, for example, Brian Morris, *The History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2006); C. O. Dudley, "The History of the Decline of the Larger Mammals of the Lake Chilwa Basin", *The Society of Malawi Journal* (hereafter abbreviated as *SMJ*), 32, 2 (1979), 27–41.The Lake Chilwa Basin functioned as a viable hunting ground together with the Elephant Marsh in pre-colonial and early colonial Malawi. Wapulumuka Mulwafu, *Conservation Song: A History of Peasant–State Relations and the Environment in Malawi, 1860–2000* (Cambridge: White Horse Press, 2011), 51–53 and 106–107, and David Njaidi, "Towards an Exploration of Game Control and Land Conservation in Colonial Mangochi, 1891–1964", *Society of Malawi Journal* [Hereafter, *SMJ*], 48, 2 (1995), 1–25.

[302] See also E. J. Carruthers, "Game Protection in the Transvaal, 1846 to 1926", (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cape Town, 1988) on *res nullius* and domination of wildlife protectionism by dominant groups responsible for law-making, 17–18.

[303] For details on how aristocratic hunting traditions and the contestations it evoked in British Colonial Africa, see Edward I. Steinhart, "The Imperial Hunt in Colonial Kenya, c. 1880–1909", in Henninger-Voss (ed.), *Animals in Human Histories*, 144–81.

classes.[304] The first reason is that hunting by ordinary people was more concerned with 'the shortest route to destruction' while the sportsmen's hunting celebrated the difficulty in the killing of the game. It was believed that the enjoyment of this difficulty in the killing of game contributed to the inculcation of moral attributes that would make the sportsmen better at war. Second, the ordinary hunter was viewed as being more interested in the death and use of the animal and his great moment was when his prey was trapped and died in a pit or in a snare. On this score, the sportsmen would find more virtue in engaging in a fight with the dying animal, a fight through which the animal was slaughtered. In the process of fighting with the animal a sportsman "follows strict rules of procedure and endangers himself in the process."[305]

With the passage of time, particularly in the nineteenth century, these life-ways and practices for undertaking 'the Hunt' and hunting began circulating and gaining currency among "the classically educated elite of a new imperial State, Britain."[306] A period and cultural milieu had thus ensued in Britain, in which there was much disapproval of subsistence hunting and the lower classes were socially excluded from hunting and were only accepted as "auxiliaries in the hunts of the nobility."[307] This culture was adopted not only by trophy seekers, as well as explorers, adventurers and travelers who ventured to Africa and hunted to collect specimens as well as to finance their imperial activities.

It is not easy to accurately identify exactly when trophies started being used in practical contexts. However, in southern Africa, one of the names associated with pioneering the quest for trophies is Roualeyn Gordon Cumming. Cumming, who hunted in southern Africa between 1843 and 1848, is noted as one of those hunters who were bent to reproduce the amusement of the public through trophies of exotic animals in the tradition of the ancient and medieval times. In this regard, "Cumming contributed to the use of horns, heads and skins as

[304] John MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 10–11.
[305] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 12. In the context of pre-colonial Malawi, Henry Faulkner's hunting experiences in the Lower Tchiri Valley and in the Tchiri Highlands offer case-studies as noted below. For more details see, Henry Faulkner, *The Elephant Haunts: Being a Sportsman's Narrative of the Search for Dr David Livingstone, with Scenes of Elephant, Buffalo and Hippopotamus, Hunting* (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 1868).
[306] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 12–13.
[307] Ibid., 13.

part of the spectacular showmanship of the nineteenth century" through putting together a collection of animal trophies as well as African artifacts.[308]

During the 1840s and 1850s, Cumming's exhibitions in the Cape Colony and London possibly lured aspiring sport hunters to come to hunt in southern Africa and begin engaging in stocking animal trophies that were potentially unique. MacKenzie[309] even suggests that Cumming's exhibitions might have led to an increase in a taste for trophies as well as for trade in trophies which contributed to the conditions for the introduction of early pieces of legislation to regulate sport hunting in African colonies.

In the case of Malawi, apart from Faulkner's hunting exploits in the Tchiri Highlands and Lower Tchiri Valley noted in Chapter Two,[310] there were other specific instances of sport hunting that might help account for the introduction, development and functioning of game regulations. Chauncey H. Stigand and Denis D. Lyell identify the presence of large numbers of game in parts of Malawi as having stimulated the sport-hunting interests of some travelers and adventurers who later became colonial administrators and sport hunters in early colonial Malawi.[311] MacKenzie clarifies that:

> A large number of the early African governors based their political power, in effect, on their hunting abilities. They were swept up into the imperial enterprise because they happened to be in the right place at the right time, often on hunting or natural history expeditions.[312]

As elaborated in the sections below, Harry Johnston and Alfred Sharpe engaged concurrently in sport hunting, and colonial administration in early colonial Malawi. They were among the colonial governors in British Colonial Africa, who as adventurers and sportsmen in the 1870s and 1880s were noted for their big game hunting exploits, contributions of specimens, ideas, and the masculinist sportsman's ethos to the establishment of natural history.[313] They were also instrumental in the establishment, development and enforcement of game laws in early colonial Malawi.

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[308] Ibid., 29.
[309] For details see, Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 29.
[310] See also Faulkner, *Elephant Haunts*, 173.
[311] C. H. Stigand and D. D. Lyell, *Central African Game and its Spoor* (London: Horace Cox, 1906).
[312] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 38.
[313] See also Harry Johnston, *British Central Africa* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1897); Robert B. Boeder, *Alfred Sharpe of Nyasaland: The Empire Builder* (Blantyre: The Society of Malawi), 5–55, and John McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859–1966* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2012), 69.

Johnston and Sharpe were thus among those colonial governors who envisaged the continuing significance of hunting to the colonial project and began transplanting the classic model of game regulations and reserves onto the colonies. As noted in the introduction, they were borrowing this model and arguably, the contestations regarding its functioning, from the world of the English aristocratic rural estates although the significance of the institution had since waned in England.[314] Johnston and the other administrators, hunters as well as experts on game in British Colonial Africa were transplanting these aspects of the model at a time when European observers perceived 'the wildlife-rich landscapes of Africa as some kind of 'lost Eden'' deserving protection and preservation.[315]

Sir Harry Johnston and Game Laws, 1889–1896

Sir Harry Johnston, the first British Commissioner and Consul-General in Malawi, was a man of self-acquired wide learning not only in the natural sciences but also in arts, linguistics and history. Johnston was a writer on issues across these wide ranging fields in which he became involved as part of the acquisition and consolidation of British colonial interests in Africa. It is interesting to note that:

> …he was a tireless, talented writer from whose prolific pen there emanated upwards of 40 books, hundreds of articles, and countless lesser pieces. Yet … many important aspects of Johnston's varied career have been curiously neglected by posterity.[316]

Anthony McKay observes that Johnston's books have evolved into significant historical records.[317] In 1897 Johnston published *British Central Africa*, an almost encyclopedic account of parts of present-day Malawi and Zambia. Some parts of this book deal with zoological observations and information and reflect Johnston's interests in researching in African fauna.

Although Hector Duff, Owen Kalinga as well as Cana and Sharpe do not highlight Johnston's interests in preservation of game as part of key achievements of Johnston's five years of

[314] David K. Prendergast and William M. Adams, "Colonial Wildlife Conservation and the Origins of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (1903–1914)", *Oryx*, 37, 2 (2003), 251.
[315] Prendergast and Adams, "'Colonial Wildlife Conservation", 251. See also Roderick P. Neumann, "Ways of Seeing Africa: Colonial Recasting of African Society and Landscape in Serengeti National Park", *Ecumene*, 2, 149–69.
[316] James A. Casada, "Sir Harry H. Johnston as a Geographer", *The Geographical Journal*, 143, 3 (Nov., 1977), 393.
[317] Anthony McKay, "Harry Johnston: Writer", *Society of Malawi Journal*, 23, 2 (1970), 12.

service in colonial Malawi, i.e., 1891–1896,[318] Johnston's work also dealt with "Queen's Regulations" to protect game.[319] These regulations were published for the information of the public in the *British Central Africa Gazette* (*BCAG*), in line with Johnston's notice of 1 January 1894.[320]

During the early years of Johnston's administration, regarding the regulation of hunting, he adapted to the game preservation ethos that characterized the British Empire in the 1890s. He implemented both legal and political processes which were put in place to facilitate the exclusion of African hunting for the benefit of white sport hunting for the collection of trophies and specimens. This ethos was precipitated by the concern over the loss of larger mammals in the South African *veldt* in the nineteenth century. To arrest this scenario, the Cape Act for the Preservation of Game was passed in 1886, only to be extended to the British South African Territories in 1891.[321] In the same year (1891), the British Foreign office emphasized the significance of instituting game regulations in African territories following the 1889 Brussels conference which was a follow up to the 1885 Berlin conference for the partitioning of African lands and resources.

At this conference apart from putting in place mechanisms for ending the surviving pockets of slave trade, the major colonizing powers agreed to 'sanction the introduction of colonial gun licenses and big-game hunting restrictions.'[322] By 1903, E. North Buxton and A. Blayney Perceval reported that under the instigation of the Foreign Office game ordinances had been

[318] H. L. Duff, *Nyasaland Under the Foreign Office* (New York, Negro Universities Press, 1906), 30 Duff discusses both Harry Johnston and Alfred Sharpe, considering how both have fared as naturalists and sportsmen, in Chapter VIII, 140–65. Owen Kalinga, "The Production of History in Malawi in the 1960s: The Legacy of Sir Harry Johnston, The Influence of the Society of Malawi and the Role of Dr. Kamuzu Banda and His Malawi Congress Party", *African Affairs*, 97, 389 (1998), 527–31 and F.R. Cana and Alfred Sharpe, "Obituary: Sir Harry H. Johnston", *The Geographical Journal*, 70, 4 (1927), 414–16 only acknowledges Johnston's general interest in natural history.

[319] See Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 154. These regulations would also be used to establish Customs Duties and Taxation, to regulate African labour and navigation on rivers and lakes.

[320] *British Central Africa Gazette* (Hereafter referred to as *BCAG*), 1, 1, 1 January 1894, 1. Articles and reviews on sport-hunting and the preservation of game were also published in the *BCAG*, as will be seen in this Chapter.

[321] Prendergast and Adams, "Colonial Wildlife Conservation", 252. It needs to be added that consequently the Sabie Game Reserve was established in the Transvaal in 1892. Carruthers, "Game Protection in the Transvaal", notes that the extension of legislation in these territories in 1891 resulted in the discrimination of black Africans, who were hunting game. This did not change when game legislation was considered in 1894, 155–56.

[322] Mark Cioc, *The Game of Conservation: International Treaties to Protect the World's Migratory Animals* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 15–16. The major colonizing powers also issued restrictions as to the type of firearms and ammunition that black Africans could purchase south of the Sahara and north of Boer Territory.

introduced in much of British Colonial Africa subject to local circumstances.[323] However, on his part, 1891 saw Johnston instituting in the Protectorate licenses of 4 shillings (s) per annum for "natives" while Europeans and foreigners had their gun license set at £1 for a period of five years.[324] Some scholars suggest that the institution and enforcement of these gun and hunting licenses within the Protectorate were meant to serve two purposes advantageous to white sport hunting.[325] The first one was to limit the number of Africans eligible to hunt because African hunting practices were seen as very destructive to game populations. The second one was to make hunting be largely a preserve of white hunters who were very likely to afford the gun and hunting licenses.[326] However, commenting on game laws and regulations in British colonies in 1906 or 1907, F. Gillett asserted that in the making of game laws three classes that need to be considered are the "natives," the settlers, and the European sportsmen.[327] Gillett elaborates that:

> In the framing of game laws the rights and necessities of the natives should be the first consideration […natives may from time immemorial have depended almost entirely on the game of the country for food and clothing…], but care should be taken not to give them opportunities for killing game which they have not desired…in times past.
> The next question to be considered is that of the settlers, and here again careful handling is necessary. There is no doubt that this class kill a great deal of game in season and out, and it is no easy matter to prevent them doing so.
> Provided they kill a certain amount for the sake of the meat for their own consumption, I personally do not consider one is justified in stopping them: they are opening up new country, they are usually having a hard struggle to tide over the early stages of colonisation and after the natives they have more right to the game than anyone else. But when they make a practice of killing the game for profit, either for the sake of selling the horns and hides or the meat, then I do say every effort should be made to bring them to book….There requirements with regard to meat must not be overlooked.
> The last and easiest of the three classes to deal with is the European sportsman. He has no rights whatever which have to be considered; everyone in the district knows the object of his visit, and although he probably of the three classes does the least harm the energies of the game wardens are generally centered against him.[328]

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[323] E. North Buxton and A. Blayney Perceval, "The Preservation of Big Game in Africa", *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 51, 2634 (1903), 570.
[324] Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 111-12. As will be noted later in the paper the big-game hunting license for Europeans only was set at £25 per year.
[325] See, for example, Mulwafu, *Conservation Song*, 52–53 and 106–10, as well as, Njaidi, David, "Towards an Exploration of Game Control", 1.
[326] Morris, "Wildlife Conservation in Malawi", observes that in general the early game regulations – particularly those of 1897 – were mainly aimed at excluding Africans from hunting, and that this was confirmed in his examination of the statistics regarding the subsequent game ordinances such as that of 1902 which? revealed that it was mostly missionaries, planters and administrators who were taking out the licenses.
[327] F. Gillett, "Game Laws and Regulations", *Journal for the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* (Hereafter, *JSPWFE)*, III (1907), 80.
[328] Gillett, "Game Laws and Regulations", 80–82. Gillett also points out that although European sportsmen brought money as well as employment to local inhabitants the value game supplied in their lives resulted in local people helping to protect the local wild animals, as well as reporting anyone found breaking the regulations that were provided to protect local game.

Nevertheless, the need for hegemonic interests of white hunters to prevail over "native" African hunting in the game preservation ethos of the British Empire might also be deduced from an analysis of Edward North Buxton's book, *Two African Trips*.[329] This account of travel and natural history drew on incidents of loss of game prior to 1900 and sought to influence British colonial policy that: 'It was in the interests of the real sportsman, and particularly resident officers of colonial administrations, that game should be "played fair."'[330] Indeed, evidence suggests that in the early 1890s, Johnston's hunting licenses regime might have largely facilitated white sport hunting activities in search of trophies and specimens that were also sent to the British Museum of Natural History. A case in point is that of the hunting in the Elephant Marsh by Messrs H. A. Hillier and H. C. McDonald who were officials in charge of British affairs at Chiromo. In his analysis of their hunting expeditions, Duff observes that:

> …both of them [were] very keen and successful sportsmen, and some of their trophies were enough to fill the hearts of less fortunate hunters with mingled admiration and despair. It was near Chiromo [more obviously in the Elephant Marsh] that Mr. McDonald shot the finest buffalo ever killed in that part of Africa-Indeed, I believe that in some respects its head was the best ever procured by a European in any part of the continent.[331]

Hunting in the Elephant Marsh near Chiromo in the early 1890s also appears to have been open to other white hunters and not only to officials in the colonial service. The photograph below shows some sport-hunting activity on or around the Marsh in the early 1890s as captioned:

[329]See Edward North Buxton, *Two African Trips with Notes and Suggestions on Big Game Preservation* (London: E. Stanford, 1902) Buxton who, as will be noted later in this Chapter, was one of the protagonists in the preservation of game in the British Empire, particularly from 1903, although his activities in the preservation of the commons dated back to 1865. In his Obituary, *JSPWFE* (1924), Buxton was saluted as a '"an ardent preserver of game" who held strongly that hunting "must not be done in such a way as to endanger the existence or seriously diminish the stock of game."' For details see, David Prendergast and William Adams, "Colonial Wildlife Conservation and the Origins of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (1903–1914)", 37, 2 *Oryx* , 251–60 (2003).

[330] Prendergast and Adams, "Colonial Wildlife Conservation", 252. For more details, see, Buxton, *Two African Trips*, 115–17.

[331] See Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 47.

Figure 3.1: Hunters, Taylor and Maciel, near Chiromo, 1894.[332]

Against the background of Taylor and Maciel, notice that during this hunting event, they were accompanied by approximately twelve Africans who might have been assisting them as beaters, hunting guides, or carriers as was generally the case with white hunters on their hunting expeditions. As has been argued in Chapter Two, these Africans might have been exploiting these hunting events to enhance their own sport-hunting skills. Perhaps it was a result of these skills that Africans continued to engage in hunting in the Marsh on their own account regardless of whether they were able to get licenses or not. In his testimony, Traditional Authority (TA) Mlolo pointed out that the Elephant Marsh had been a viable traditional place for hunting and gathering activities for the people from its vicinity.[333] Mlolo elaborated that even when Africans had to pay for their hunting those who could not afford licenses or were resistant to colonial demands still devised their own ways of subsisting on game from the Marsh.

[332] *Source*: Barbara Lamport-Stokes Photograph Collection, The Society of Malawi Library and Archives (Hereafter, SML & A), Mandala, Blantyre, Malawi.
[333] Interview conducted by the author, TA Mlolo (Mr Danton Anyezi), Mlolo Court, GVH Chipunde, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 90 years old, dated 24 May 2013.

Indeed, from some time in the past, hunting appears to have been a significant indigenous and western economic activity in the Ruo district in which the Elephant Marsh was located. This is evident in table 3.1 below showing an abstract of the revenue collected from the Ruo Division in the years 1891, 1892 and 1893.

Table 3.1: Adapted from the Revenue Abstract for the Ruo Division of the Lower Tchiri Valley, 1891–1893.[334]

	1891	**1892**	**1893**
Licenses	£62,00	£78,20	£167,60
Native Taxes, "Ground Tusks",* &c.	£50,20	£127,98	£296,65
Customs	£35,30	£160,62	£3 745,98
Wharfage and Bondage	£-	£17,95	£460,68
Township	£-	£-	£37,00
TOTALS	**£147,50**	**£384,74**	**£4 707,90**

Tshiromo [Chiromo], 15 January 1894. *Ivory paid for a license to kill elephants.

It is interesting to note that this revenue abstract in Table 3.1 formed part of a report from the Revenue Collector for the Ruo Division, Mr H. A. Hillier – himself a keen sport hunter – that in 1892 and 1893 there were very significant increases in the values of the revenue collected in form of native taxes, i.e., "ground tusks." The value increased by £77 76s. in 1892 and by £169 16s. in 1893.[335]Although the destructive impact of these revenue processes on the game population is not indicated in the abstract one of the questions that emerges relates the preservationist acumen of the Johnston administration: Did it condone reckless slaughtering of game for purposes of revenue collection?

[334] *Source*: *BCAG*, I, 2, 1 February 1894, 4.

[335] It should be noted that the life-line during the first nine months of Harry Johnston's administration was revenue that he raised through 'the imposition of an export duty on ivory and the sale of various licenses including a gun license of 4 shillings a year for natives and whites, and exclusively £25 for European big game hunters. Johnston, who reported for duties on 16 July 1891 at Chiromo, situated in the confluence of the Ruo and Tchiri Rivers in Ruo district, initially set the export duty on ivory at 1*s* (shilling) per pound. Later, in March 1892, he revised the amount down to 6d (pence) per pound for smaller tusks and 9d (pence) for larger tusks. Chiromo eventually became an important port for exports and imports. For more details see, Alexander John, Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1859–1895* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956), 224–25.

In his 1893 private report to Percy Anderson at the Colonial Office about the conduct of white hunters and agents in the Protectorate, Johnston complained that he had informed a party of English sportsmen who had come to hunt big game in June 1892, that if they were to shoot rhinoceros or elephant, they had to take out a Big Game license of £25. However, the exceptionally wealthy sportsmen did not observe the rule. Johnston explained that contrary to his own belief that sportsmen needed to desist from converting their camps into 'a vast butcher's shop', the sportsmen under a certain Captain Poulett Weatherley responded by saying "'they would see about it.'"[336] Johnston complains further that:

> Nevertheless, for the past seven months they have been scouring the country for elephants and have succeeded in shooting several near the west bank of the Upper Shire, on British territory, *bien entendu*. Now, in so doing they have deliberately broken one of the regulations…the result of this will be that probably when they return within the reach of one of our collectors of Revenue proceedings will have to be taken against them for the breach of this Regulation….Well what do I do….?[337]

Johnston went on to justify this course of action, citing the complaints that were already being lodged by resident white elephant hunters who were taking out an annual license of £25, which they also felt was too much and wondered how Johnston was allowing 'Weatherley to go about the country shooting elephants and take no measures to bring him to book'.[338]

The other question that the Ruo revenue also raises and which also relates to proceeds from hunting licenses emphasized by the Johnston administration is: Was all of the revenue ending up in colonial administration coffers or was some of the money appropriated by African chiefs? This question arises because during the early 1890s taxes in the form of tusks were noted as being collected by African chiefs in the West Tchiri Division of the Lower Tchiri Valley, thus:

> Ivory was given to the chief in whose land the elephant was killed (viz., the ground tusk was given up), and in meat of game the first cut was for the chief of the district, to whom swift runners were despatched to tell him of the prize. If anyone failed to do this his house was burnt down and his property confiscated.[339]

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[336] Foreign Office (FO) 2/54 Harry Johnston to Percy Anderson, Private, 21 January 1893, Extract appearing as part of the appendices, in Hanna, *Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 266–67.
[337] Johnston to Anderson, 266–67.
[338] See also Johnston to Anderson, 267.
[339] See *BCAG*, I, 1, 1 January 1894, 4.The challenge arises considering that these forms of revenue collection were taking place at the same time as the power of the Lower Tchiri Valley chiefs was waning as a result of the introduction of aspects of the European political economy. On their part, the colonial administrators not only introduced a poll tax of 6s. (shillings) per head, per year in 1892, which was changed to a hut tax of 3s. per hut, per year in 1893, but also continued to exact revenue from hunting through gun taxes and hunting licenses as elaborated in the section below on Alfred Sharpe.

Elaborating on the role of chiefs in regulating hunting and its products, Paramount Chief Lundu and the Traditional Authorities (TAs) Mbenje, Tengani and Mlolo highlighted that hunting culture in the Lower Tchiri Valley, since the time of their grandparents and parents. This had always brought benefits to both the chiefs and village communities involved in terms of meat and other products such as the skins of game, for example.[340] They went further to indicate that it was as a result of the benefits of hunting to the village communities that chiefs were obliged to enforce adherence to periods for game to breed and times when communal and individual hunting pursuits could take place. They emphasized that chiefs were empowered with the means for punishing those who violated the traditional rules of hunting, although it was not easy to go after offenders as they could easily use game meat to bribe others to conceal their whereabouts.

Despite the significance of hunting for the collection of indigenous revenue and the provision of meat for village communities, there is evidence which suggests that at least in the West Tchiri district, the legal exclusion of African hunting should not have been a priority for the Johnston administration because, as J.O. Bowhill's report suggests, game appears not to have been under constant threat from African hunters. In his October 1893 report, 'A Statistical Account of the West Shire District,' Bowhill, the Collector at Chikwawa, indicated that within the division, apart from a few elephants, there were also a variety of antelopes, zebras, buffaloes, hippopotamus, black rhinoceros and even wild beasts such as lions, leopards and crocodiles.[341] An analysis of the section of this report on material conditions of the people in this division suggests that:

> 'During the last two years [i.e. since around 1891] a great deal of steady progress has been made in the material condition of the people….the steamer traffic and boating have introduced money into the district. The main occupation of the people is agriculture, and they find ready markets for their produce, in the disposal of which they show a keen appreciation of its value. The Shire and Mwanza basins are fertile, and many valuable products might be raised without difficulty;…people are contented with what nature grants them at little labour and cost, and they evince no desire to gain more.'[342]

[340] See Interviews conducted by the author with Paramount Chief Lundu, Mbewe Court, At the entrance to Lengwe National Park, Chikwawa, approx. 73 years old, dated 11 April 2013; TA Mbenje, Mbenje Court (near Sorgin), T A Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 60years old, dated 22 May 2013; Mr Chigule Soda Phiri (TA Tengani), Chiromo Trading Centre, Nsanje, approx. 70 years old, dated 23 May 2013; Mr TA Mlolo, Mlolo Court, GVH Chipunde, T A Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 90 years old, dated 24 May 2013.
[341] *BCAG*, I, 1, 1 January 1894, 3.
[342] Ibid., 3.

The report noted further that the main meal of the people comprised of 'native *nsima*'[343] or thick porridge made mostly from sorghum (*mapira*), with beans and vegetables being used as relish (side dishes) and 'fowls, goats and *occasionally game, if trapped or killed*' formed part of the meal.[344] The forests from which the game was occasionally trapped or killed also provided the people with large quantities of honey which were processed into some kind of meal while some quantities of bees wax were being sold to the African Lakes store at Katunga. Various fruits such as baobab fruits (*malambe*), paw-paws and custard apple (*masuku*) were also collected from the forests and alongside sugarcane and cassava were extensively used as food.[345] Indeed, these aspects of the cultivation and collecting economies in West Tchiri suggest instances where game might have been preserved without recourse to the game laws.

This section demonstrates that perhaps in keeping with the preservation ethos of the British Empire, the Johnston administration's hunting licenses system of the early 1890s facilitated the sport-hunting activities of white hunters. However, Africans were not left out because they hunted on their own or co-operated with some white European hunters to obtain indigenous revenue and game meat. The necessity of gun licenses as a colonially transplanted measure for regulating hunting is shown to have been particularly debatable in the case of West Tchiri district where game was not under serious threat from African hunters. Hunting in this district was not an occasional pursuit as a result of the central place of the cultivation and collecting economies to the lives of the people but was also under the control of the chiefs who exacted tribute and had traditional legal resources for chastising offenders.

What then would have been the rationale for Johnston and his deputy, Alfred Sharpe, to continue transplanting aspects of game laws modelled on English game laws leading to the establishment of the first game reserves in Malawi including the Elephant Marsh? Were these aspects of game laws meant to be precursors of the view associated with Buxton, that game should be "played fair" for the interests of the "real sportsman" in the colonial service? The following section analyses Johnston's activities further in relation to the state of sport-hunting

[343] *Nsima* is a dish made from maize flour and is cooked in water. It is a staple in Malawi.
[344] *BCAG*, I, 1, 1 January 1894, 3. The emphasis on game is the author's. The report elaborates on how people had access to a large supply of vegetables maturing in their gardens at different points throughout the year.
[345] For details on the historical uses of wild plants and foods in the Lower Tchiri Valley, see Elias Mandala, *The End of Chidyerano: A History of Food and Everyday Life in Malawi, 1860–1960* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 61, 66, 68–71, 75, 119–20 and 232.

and its related accomplishments in early colonial Malawi and the Lower Tchiri Valley with a view to attempting to respond to these questions.

Harry Johnston and Hunting Advertisements

The increasing importance of hunting in early colonial Malawi among sport hunters in search of specimens and items for trade such as ivory might have been stimulated by Johnston's own imaginary writings that reflected the state of the art of sport hunting and its benefits in the Protectorate. In this business of advertising sport hunting, Johnston's work was later on corroborated by the works of colonial officers such as Hector Duff, as well as hunters and adventurers such as Denis D. Lyell, C.H. Stigand and Mrs Colville.[346] One notable aspect in the advertisement strategies of these hunters is their use of either imaginary characters to provide guidelines and advice to aspiring settlers and hunters or to explain their own hunting exploits in anonymous terms.

In this regard, a possible route into the state of the art of sport hunting might be a consideration of some part of an extract of a 'supposititious' or imaginary letter crafted by Johnston in the context of enticing prospective planters and settlers into the Protectorate. In his extract of an imaginary letter to one "Fred" addressed and dated: "Chiromo, British Central Africa, *June* 12th" Johnston narrates that:

> The first place we stopped at in British territory was Port Herald [Lower Tchiri] on the west bank of the Shire, a pretty little settlement with very rich vegetation. The steamer had to stop here for a day for some reason or other so I and two of my fellow passengers went out for a shoot. The Administration official at the station lent us a guide, and we had awfully good sport, coming back with a large male waterbuck, a beast as big as a red deer and two reedbuck which are somewhat the size of a roe and very good eating. The meat of the waterbuck is no good, so we gave it to the natives; but as I had shot the beast I kept the horns which are very fine though not at all like a stag's, being quite simple without branches and with an elegant curve and ever so many rings. Jones, one of my fellow passengers, saw lion whilst we were out shooting on this occasion, but was in too much of a funk to fire, so the beast got away. He says his cartridge jammed! But I don't believe him.[347]

[346] See, for example, Duff, *Nyasaland Under the Foreign Office*; Denis D. Lyell, *Nyasaland for the Hunter and Settler* (London: Horace Cox, 1912); Mrs. Arthur Colville, *1,000[A Thousand] Miles in a Machila: Travel and Sport in Nyasaland, Angoniland and Rhodesia, with some Account of the Resources of these Countries; and Chapters on Sport by Colonel Colville, C. B.* (New York and Melbourne: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., 1911); Denis D. Lyell, *Hunting Trips in Northern Rhodesia with Accounts of Sport and Travel in Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa and also Notes on the Game Animals and their Distribution* (London: Horace Cox, 1910); and Stigand and Lyell, *Central African Game and its Spoor*..

[347] Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 165–66. It is necessary to emphasize that although the names of people used or omitted in the extracts of the supposititious letters from pages 165–77, might not be real, many of the details describing the Zambezi, the Tchiri River, Port Herald and hunting processes could be perceived to be true by considering that Johnston's book was intended to function as a kind of encyclopaedic handbook on the existing conditions in British Central Africa, as he puts it on page 177, as well as in the Preface.

In a bid to attract more commercially-minded hunters and settlers Johnston also tried to show a connection between hunting and the economic development of the Protectorate. On the viability of trade in products from hunting such as ivory to the development of business enterprises in the Protectorate, Johnston observes that by the late 1890s various trading companies were in a position to expand their business establishments if they had the energy and astuteness to turn the Protectorate into their "earthly paradise."[348] To illustrate this, he singles out the case of a man who earned a profit of £2000 from the sale of cattle and ivory at Blantyre, possibly at the ALC's Mandala head office. Other companies selling the products from hunting were Sharrer's British Central African Company, the Oceana Company and Kahn and Company. Sharrer's company had a store at Katunga in present-day Chikwawa, while Kahn and Company operated in Nkhotakota, situated to the north of Central Malawi where large numbers of elephants were also hunted for their ivory.

In their commercial dealings the British Central Africa Protectorate offered these companies and other European agents merchandize, including ivory, coffee, hippopotamus teeth, rhinoceros horns, cattle hides, rubber, oil seed, tobacco, sugar, wheat, maize, sheep, and goats as well as poultry,[349] among other items. As also indicated in Chapter Two, an examination of some of the business transactions and correspondences in the Letter Books I and II of John and Fred Moir – Joint Managers of the ALC – suggests that trade in merchandise obtained from hunting expeditions and agricultural activities was also conducted systematically from the late 1870s until well into the 1890s.[350] The range of products that formed part of the exports, such as ivory, Rhinoceros horns, Hippopotamus teeth and hides were also categorized according to their sizes and qualities; and ivory or tusks, for instance, would be categorized as large, small, dried and split or chipped, or broken for pricing and other trade purposes.[351] Figure 3.2 shows some of the ivory that was stocked at ALC's Mandala head office in Blantyre.

[348] Ibid., 177, 178, 181–82.
[349] Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 182. Some of these particularly the food items were for local consumption.
[350] For more details see, Moir Letter Books I & II, 1878–1899, A78: Moir Family Correspondence, 1876–1940, William Cullen Library, Department of Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand.
[351] For details, see Moir Letter Book I, 570–73, 584 and 656.

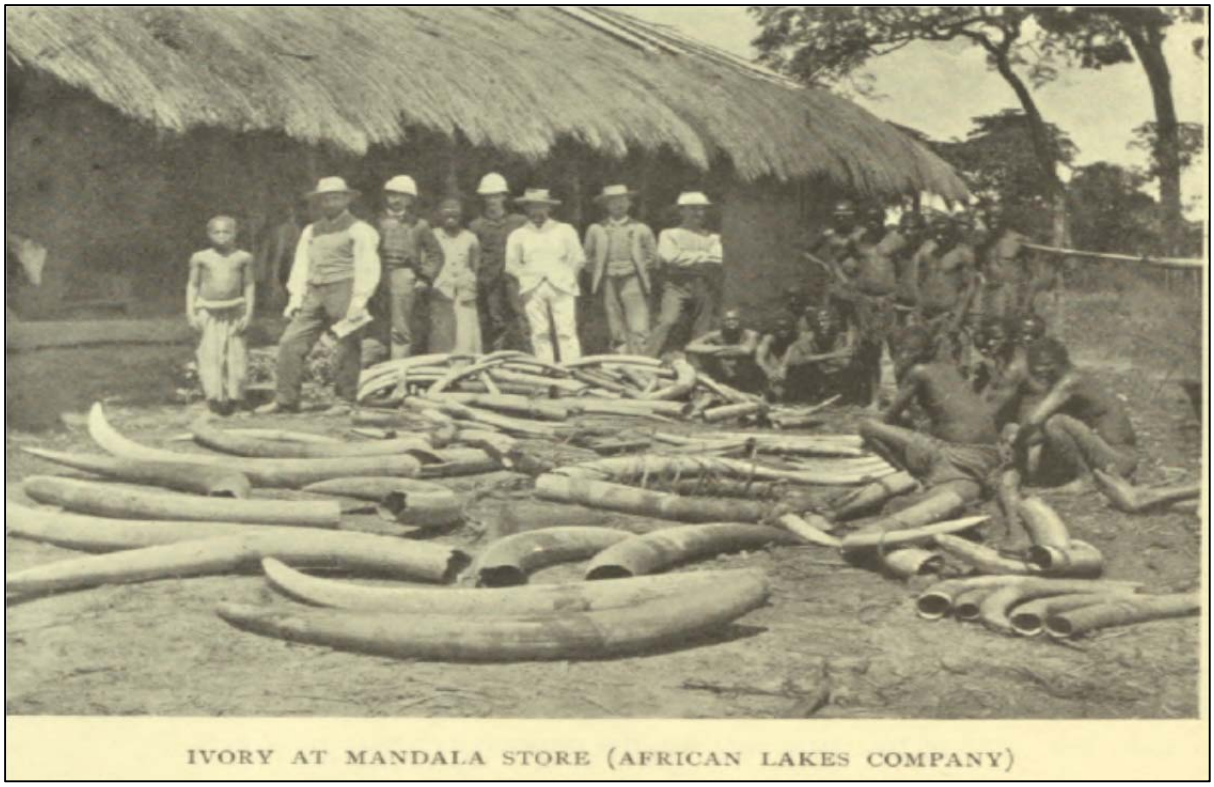

Figure 3.2: White personnel and African carriers with ivory at Mandala Store.[352]

Furthermore there is evidence that the business transactions of the ALC not only involved the export of these items, but also the organization of hunting expeditions, collection and buying of elephant tusks and rhino horns in some parts of the Protectorate, such as Nkhotakota and Karonga situated at the north end of Lake Nyasa. On their part, these European companies such as the ALC and its agents offered either cash in exchange for the merchandise or bartered with Africans using imported trade goods such as cotton cloths from Manchester and Bombay; beads from Birmingham and Venice; blankets from England, India and Australia; hardware, brassware and hoes from Birmingham,[353] among other western merchandize.

Apart from these business transactions and their merchandise, sport hunting was also propelled by the activities of the sport hunters themselves. It is shown that some of the guns, rifles and revolvers for engaging in sport hunting to acquire merchandize such as ivory, hippo teeth, rhino horns and hides were bought from events where the effects or belongings of returning sports men were sold. Johnston observes that in the 1890s it was customary that in almost every dry season a number of white hunters who came to hunt big game, would sell

[352] *Source*: Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 181. See also McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859-1996*, 81 who indicates that the photograph was taken c.1889 by Frank Moir, joint manager of the ALC.
[353] See Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 182.

their guns and other hunting gear before leaving the country to avoid unnecessary expense.[354] However, if prospective hunters opted to bring guns from outside the Protectorate, Johnston's advertisement would suggest that:

> A double-barrelled 12-bore shot gun is always very useful. The right barrel should be choke bore and the other not, so that in the left barrel bullet cartridges can, if necessary, be used, as sometimes when one is out after guinea-fowl, one might meet a lion or an antelope. …. For the average individual the best rifle is the .450 single-barrelled. Some people speak highly of the Lee-Metford, but though very deadly if the bullet comes in contact with the bone, its cartridge does not seem to have the same stopping effect where it merely pierces through the fleshy parts. A Martini-Henry is a very useful weapon. The revolver is not, as a rule, a very useful weapon, except for accidentally shooting oneself.[355]

Apart from the likelihood of encountering a European on a sport hunting expedition using hunting technology as specified in the preceding quotation, in the 1890s in British Central Africa, observes Johnston, it was also possible for a traveler, pioneer trader, dispassionate investigator or a natural history researcher to come across 'men returning from the chase armed with long-barrelled ancient-looking guns, spears, assegais, or clubs.'[356] Johnston's reference to the 'men returning from the chase…' is suggestive of an important dimension of the state of the art of sport hunting in the Protectorate. It suggests that in the 1890s there were possibilities of a co-existence of African "subsistence-driven" sport hunting with white European sport hunting for collection of natural history specimens as was the case in Chapter Two with Henry Faulkner's hunting expeditions of the late 1860s.[357] Evidence shows that in sport hunting circles in the Protectorate natural history research concerns, as elaborated below, were employed in justifying the legally supported but racially exclusive white or European sport hunting including that of Johnston himself.

It needs to be emphasised that in the 1890s Johnston was involved in the collection and dispatching of specimens to the British Museum and thus advertising sport hunting. On 21 April 1896 Mr. Philip L. Sclater exhibited some specimens from early colonial Malawi that were dispatched by Johnston. One of these was 'a very fine head of a male Sable Antelope *(Hippotragus niger)*, from the Zomba plains [in southern Malawi], of which the horns measured 39 inches along the curve.'[358] The specimens which would be dispatched to the Museum sometimes included those of fish from the Upper Tchiri and rare birds from the

[354] Ibid., 187.
[355] Ibid., 187–88.
[356] Ibid., 194.
[357] For details, see Faulkner, *Elephant Haunts*, 62–74 and 165–79.
[358] *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London* (*Proc. ZSL*), 1896, 505–506.

Lake Chilwa plains. Other specimens were collected from different parts of the Protectorate and in some cases Johnston was personally involved in sport hunting to kill the animals. In other cases Johnston was merely requested by colonial officials involved in hunting for specimens for him to dispatch the specimens on their behalf, as was the case with the specimen of the Nyasaland Gnu.[359]

The Elephant Marsh and Lake Chilwa basin were in the 1890s notable habitats of the Nyasaland Gnu. At that time although naturalists could not agree on the classification of the Gnu as an antelope, it was nevertheless considered as a new variety of the Blue Wildebeeste (*Connochoetes taurinus*).[360] An interesting specimen of the Nyasaland Gnu was killed around Lake Chilwa, and on 16 June 1896 a plate of this specimen as shown in figure 3.3 was exhibited by Mr. Sclater[361] at the Proceedings of the ZSL.

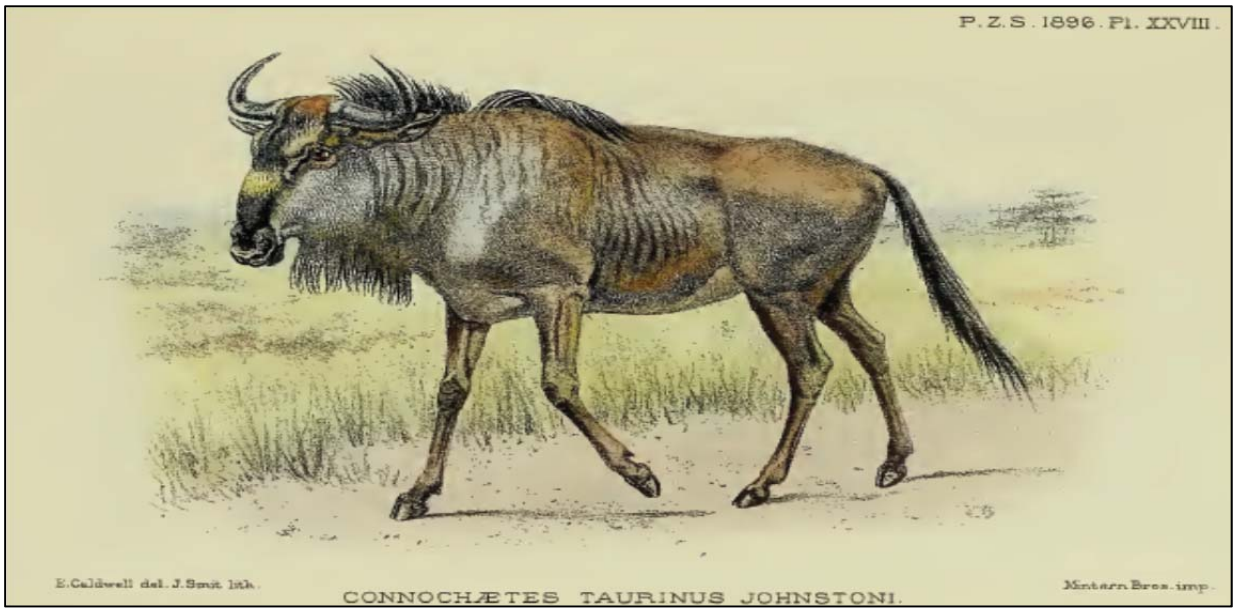

Figure 3.3: The Plate (XXVIII) of the Nyasaland Gnu (connochaetes taurinus johnstoni) drawn by Mr. Caldwell from a specimen dispatched by Sir H. H. Johnston.[362]

[359] For details see, *Proc. ZSL*, 1894, 166; *Proc. ZSL* 1896, 616–18 and 915–18; *Proc. ZSL*, 1897, 800; *Proc. ZSL*, 1893, 643 and 739.
[360] Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 318–21.
[361] Mr. Sclater worked in the Protectorate in the early 1890s as Captain Sclater and was involved in the investigation of land claims, work he did with Alfred Sharpe, as well as in the building of a road from Chiromo to Zoa. For details, see Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 112 and 114.
[362] *Source*: *ZSL Proc*. 1896, between 616 and 617.

Within the context of the legal exclusion of African hunting, the killing of this Gnu by Mr. H.C. McDonald, one of the white officers serving the colonial regime, serves to demonstrate one of the occasions in which the colonial administration facilitated hunting for the collection of specimens. In fact, the specimen of this Gnu was noted as the first of its kind to be sent to the British Museum from British Central and East African territories. In his remarks at the exhibition of the specimen, Mr. Richard Crawshay[363] was quoted as observing that:

> This Gnu from British Central Africa is most interesting, especially to naturalist-sportsmen like myself who have visited the country.
>
> The existence of a Gnu in the Protectorate has, of course, long been known: for instance on the Mlanji [Mulanje] plains, to the S.E. of Matope, on the Upper Shiri, there are a few; and to the W. of Lake Nyasa in the Loangwa [Luangwa] R. Valley, which drains into the Upper Zambezi. Hitherto, however, only two specimens have been shot by Europeans, so far as I know. These are one of which we have this pretty drawing; and one other, also a fine male, lately shot by Mr. Carl Wiese on the left bank of the Ruo R., not far from Chiromo [vicinity of the Elephant Marsh?], on the Lower Shiri R. Passing through Chiromo, about two months ago, I was shown the skull and magnificent long silky tail of the Gnu of Mr. Wiese's: both [bodies of the Gnus] are in Mr. Hillier's possession at Chiromo.[364]

Although this Gnu was killed in the Lake Chilwa basin, another wildlife-rich hunting ground in southern Malawi, the display of its specimen and the remarks made by Mr. Crawshay and others suggest that an implicit case was being made for legal mechanisms to protect game in the Lake Chilwa and Elephant Marsh (Ruo or Chiromo area) where the Gnu were also found. It should be noted that during his presentation at the RGS meeting of 11 November 1890, Johnston also made an important observation regarding the Nyasaland Gnu. Johnston *inter alia*, acknowledged the presence of the Gnu among a wide variety of game including elephants, buffaloes, waterbuck, pallahs[365] and even zebra in the Elephant Marsh during early summer of 1889.[366]

In the 1890s Johnston's work on the promotion of sport hunting for natural history concerns was also corroborated by the work of Alfred Sharpe, his deputy. As shown in this section, the

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[363] Mr Richard Crawshay came into the Malawi territory in the early 1880s as a hunter and some game specimens have actually been named after him. Hector Duff points out that Mr. Crawshay discovered a variety of waterbuck in the lake shore districts of northern Malawi and these were named Crawshay's waterbuck *(cobus crawshayi*). In the late 1880s while he was in the territory he participated in the North End (Arab) war together with Alfred Sharpe, John Moir and other members of the ALC at the north end of Lake Malawi, in the vicinity of Karonga. In the early 1890s he became part of the British Central Africa Administration. See Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 158; Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 74 and 97 for more details.

[364] See *Proc. ZSL*, 1896, 617.

[365] 'Phallah' is another name for impala.

[366] H.H. Johnston, "British Central Africa", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* (Hereafter, *Proc. RGS & MRG*), New Monthly Series, 12, 12 (1890), 718.

advertising for sport hunting was meant to attract more white or European settlers to enjoy sport hunting privileges as anticipated by the concluding questions in the previous section. As will be evident in the next section on Alfred Sharpe, even after Johnston's term of office, the participation of "native" Africans in sport hunting continued to be restricted by the entrenchment and enforcement of aspects of game laws.[367] Like other Europeans, Alfred Sharpe, was also interested in safeguarding the game resources for sport hunting and collection of specimens. Although Lyell laments that it was unfortunate that Alfred Sharpe did not write more about his various experiences as a big-game elephant hunter,[368] there is still some evidence regarding his hunting exploits as well as his participation in transplanting the English game laws onto hunting grounds in early colonial Malawi. This evidence can be gleaned from the work of Johnston, Alfred Sharpe's biography, and his own works, as well as some reviews of these works.[369]

Alfred Sharpe and Game Preservation, 1896-1910

While the Johnston administration was responsible for setting in motion the adaptation of English game laws for the exclusive benefit of white hunters, Alfred Sharpe's administrative tenure consolidated the legal mechanisms that facilitated the collection of trophies and specimens by white hunters in hunting expeditions in which Africans became involved. Alfred Sharpe, himself a participant in big-game hunting, served as second-in-command to Johnston from 1891 to 1896. Sharpe took up this position after he had returned from traveling and hunting for ivory in Central Africa, north of the Zambezi. He embarked on these adventures from the late 1880s to the early 1890s when his colonial duties in Fiji expired.[370] Hector Duff remarked that Mr Sharpe (as a sportsman) had a greater practical knowledge of African wild beasts, although not much of his hunting experiences are known to a wider audience as a result of his reluctance to publish his hunting exploits.[371]

[367] It may be noted further that later on Johnston was among the architects of the *SPWFE* together with sport hunters and people with a vested interest in the preservation of game in Africa, such as Sir Harry H. Johnston, F. C. Selous, P. L. Sclater, E. N. Buxton, Prof. Ray Lankester and J. G. Millais, among others. For details, see the *JSPWFE*, 1 (1904), 2–3, and *JSPWFE*, 2 (1905), 17.
[368] Denis D. Lyell, *The African Elephant and its Hunters* (London: Heath Cranton Ltd., 1924), 13; Boeder, *Alfred Sharpe of Nyasaland* also observes that Alfred Sharpe was not particularly fond of discussing the success of his hunting exploits, and opted instead to highlight his failures in hunting expeditions, 15.
[369] See, for example, Johnston, *British Central Africa*; Boeder, *Alfred Sharpe of Nyasaland*; Sharpe, *Backbone of Africa*.
[370] Boeder, *Alfred Sharpe of Nyasaland*, 9–11.
[371] Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 143–44.

Alfred Sharpe's consolidation of the game laws to protect game for white sport hunting was perhaps informed by his own participation in hunting in the Malawi region in which he only targeted particular species, which he made sure he had killed and not just injured. Upon his arrival in Malawi, Bana, situated some forty miles north of Nkhotakota on the shores of Lake Malawi, became Sharpe's hunting camp. Robert Boeder elaborates that Sharpe and his trackers and gun carriers would set out from this camp for their hunting expeditions before dawn and tracked their prey through the identification of fresh spoor.[372] Once the prey had been identified, Sharpe's shooting and killing techniques involved targeting bulls only. Then the hunters would sneak up quietly, and approach their prey, when they were close enough to shoot the animal on the forehead. Then they would finalize the killing with a shot through the shoulder, heart or spine.[373] These hunting techniques accounted for Sharpe's use of double-barrelled eight gauge rifles between 1887 and 1892. The use of double-barrelled rifles ensured the safety of the hunter, as this made it possible to get a second shot at a big-game animal at close quarters at without reloading the rifle.

Apart from his preoccupation with hunting that was not destructive of game, Sharpe was also interested in the collection of specimens and studied some game closely. He discovered a very interesting little antelope of the genus, *Raphicerus* at the southern end of Lake Malawi.[374] After examining this small antelope, it became clear that it was a new species of steenbok[375] and was consequently, given the name, *Raphiceros sharpei.* Through his involvement in the hunting safaris, Sharpe became convinced that the safaris provided a context of not only understanding the behaviour of game but also that of Africans, their chiefs and sub-chiefs. For instance, sometime after his retirement Sharpe recollected that:

> The amount of meat consumable by African natives is prodigious. As soon as the first beasts are shot, on an expedition, the men simply gorge themselves; and this excess upsets them until they become accustomed to the change of diet. I have seen natives in Nyasaland, not content with eating all they could swallow in camp, but marching on their day's journey with a large lump of half-cooked meat hung around their necks by a string, at which they munched whenever a brief half occurred.[376]

This suggests that although the hunting prerogative was in the hands of white hunters seeking specimens such as Sharpe himself, Africans' game meat also used to ensure the co-operation

[372] Boeder, *Alfred Sharpe of Nyasaland*, 12–13.
[373] Ibid., 13. See also Sharpe, *Backbone of Africa*, 176.
[374] Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 292. See also MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 39.
[375] The steinbok is also known as a steenbok.
[376] Sharpe, *Backbone of Africa*, 32. See also Boeder, *Alfred Sharpe of Nyasaland*, 16.

of the Africans in the hunting expeditions. In fact Hector Duff shows that in the proper management of *ulendo* or a hunting party in Malawi:

> It is indeed impossible to overrate the importance of adequate rations on the ulendo. The heart and brain, the thews and muscles of the negro are all in his stomach. Keep that organ satisfied, and your man will do his share of work twice over and never grumble. In most parts of British Central Africa a really good shot will find small difficulty in providing meat for a considerable number of people; and if his reputation as a successful hunter be widespread, whole villages will rise and follow him of their own accord, ready to perform any task that he may assign to them in return for a share in the game killed.[377]

Another worthwhile spectacle of Alfred Sharpe's hunting experiences that might have also contributed his efforts to save game through game laws during his tenure was offered in July 1889. Boeder observes that:

> Clad in his usual outfit of felt hat, dirty blue shirt and trousers tucked in at the knees, he [Sharpe] was stalking a pair of waterbucks in the Elephant Marsh when a steamer put in to the bank of the nearby Shire River. The sound frightened the animals, but he managed to kill one while wounding the other.[378]

When Sharpe followed-up one of the waterbuck, by tracking its spoor to the edge of the river, he came across Harry Johnston,[379] whose steamer had scared the animals. Johnston was in the process of making an impressive sketch of the waterbuck. After introducing themselves, Sharpe suggested that they have tea with milk from the udder of the dead waterbuck. In the discussions that followed and in line with Sharpe's hunting plans in parts of British Central Africa, Sharpe agreed to take out treaties with African chiefs who were ready to put their lands under the authority of Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC). These imperial arrangements and tasks eventually led to Alfred Sharpe becoming Vice Consul to Harry Johnston from March 1891. Eventually, his interests in the hunting of game and its protection found official modes of expression in proclamation of game laws and game reserves particularly from 1896 as elaborated below.

Indeed, it is highly likely that Sharpe's serious interest in the protection of game was stirred at the time when Johnston found him hunting in the Elephant Marsh, in July 1889, as hinted at above. Johnston's own report of his travel, which included his experiences in the Elephant Marsh area, noted that there were remarkable numbers and varieties of game in the Marsh during that time as is evident in the following extract of the report as read at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on 11 November 1890:

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[377] Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 167.
[378] Boeder, *Alfred Sharpe of Nyasaland*, 29.
[379] See also Cana and Sharpe, "Obituary: Sir Harry H. Johnston", *The Geographical Journal*, 416.

> A short distance above the Ruo one enters the Elephant marsh, a district of great grassy flats, flooded occasionally when the Shire overflows its banks, but ordinarily a dry level stretch of prairie dotted with pools of water. At the close of the dry season, when the tail grass has been burnt down, and there is little or no cover for the game to hide in, it is really a remarkable spectacle, as seen from the deck of a steamer, to watch the great herds of big animals wandering over these savannahs in search of the young verdure springing up amid the charred stubble of the old grass. With an opera-glass you may distinguish water-buck, gnu, buffalo, eland, pallah, reed-buck, and zebra, and occasionally some dark blue-grey blobs, much larger than the other specks and forms which are in their vicinity, turn out to be elephants.[380]

Thus by the beginning of the 1890s there were significant numbers of game in the Elephant Marsh whose protection might have been felt necessary by Alfred Sharpe. The next section shows that during his term of office, Sharpe having participated in hunting for specimens, as well as to feed Africans, as shown in this section, was converted into a "penitent butcher" and became determined to avert the destruction of the "commons"[381] in the sense of game in the Protectorate. What was particular was that in some cases the enforcement of the game laws was confronted with covert as well as overt forms of resistance from some white hunters and Africans.

Penitent Butchers?[382]: Alfred Sharpe and Early Colonial Game Preservation, 1896-1910

As the evidence in the preceding section shows, there were still considerable numbers of game in parts of the Protectorate such as in the Elephant Marsh at the onset of formal colonialism in Malawi in 1891. However, as suggested in the preceding sections, in different parts of the Protectorate, there were also other white hunters hunting for natural history concerns, their own subsistence needs and those of their hunting guides. These white hunters eventually began contributing to the declining populations of game. For instance, with regard to sport hunting in the Elephant Marsh in the 1890s, in which even some colonial officials had been participating, Hector Duff observes that:

> Professional hunters and trophy seekers, however, eventually, began to play cruel havoc with the fauna of the marsh; and owing to the indiscriminate fashion in which elephants, buffaloes, and other wild animals were being shot down there some time ago, the administration of the protectorate was constrained [forced] to declare the place a Government Game Reserve.[383]

Indeed, evidence demonstrates that after Sharpe was appointed as Deputy Commissioner in 1896 his concern to save great herds of game animals and elephants from unscrupulous

[380] See Johnston, "British Central Africa", 718.
[381] On the philosophy of the tragedy of the commons, see Garrett Hardin, "Tragedy of the Commons", *Science*, 162, 38, 59 (1968), 1,243–248. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1126%2Fscience.162.3859.1243
[382] For allusions to Alfred Sharpe's interest in preservation of game refer to Boeder, *Alfred Sharpe of Nyasaland*, 56. For a connection between "penitent butchers" and game preservation in Southern, Eastern and Central Africa, see MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*.
[383] Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 47.

hunting and poaching materialized in the establishment of the Elephant Marsh and Lake Chilwa game reserves in 1897. By repealing the game preservation regulations published in the *BCGA* of 15 September 1896, Schedule I of the Queen's Regulations for the Preservation of Game notified the public[384] regarding the establishment of the two reserves which within southern Malawi were situated as shown in figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4: Map Showing Southern Malawi [outlined with thick red ink] in relation to the Location of the first Game Reserves in early Colonial Malawi: Lake Shirwa [Chilwa] Reserve and the Elephant Marsh Reserve [both reserves are outlined with light red ink but also colored-in with green ink].[385]

The Queen's Regulations, also cited as "The Game Regulations, 1897," spelt out a comprehensive strategy for the preservation of game within these two reserves. This was evident in Regulation number two (2) which read:

> For the purposes of these Regulations –
> "Game Reserve" means all the territories within the boundaries of the Elephant Marsh Reserve and the Lake Chilwa Reserve respectively, as the same are described in the first schedule; and "Kill, hunt, or capture" includes killing, hunting, or capturing by any methods, also all attempts to kill, hunt, or capture, and "hunt" includes molesting in any manner.[386]

[384] *BCAG*, 69, IV, 15 May 1897, 1.
[385] *Source*: *JSPWFE*, 1(1904), 75. Here Southern Malawi is shown as somewhat semi-circled by parts of Mozambique to the West, South and East. The map is presented as an appendage to a Map of Part of East Africa Showing the Game Reserves and Closed Districts in the Soudan [Sudan], 1904.
[386] Ibid., 1.

In order to facilitate the forms of killing, hunting, and capturing of game that were in line with the Protectorate's preservationist ethos, "The Game Regulations, 1897" made provisions for taking out of hunting licenses. The use of these licenses was guided by parts I and II of the Second Schedule of the Game Regulations.[387] According to "The Game Regulations, 1897," a person who took out license "A" was entitled to hunt any game mentioned in parts I and II of the second schedule in any part of the Protectorate including the game reserves and had to pay £25 to obtain the license. It needs to be noted that this license allowed a person to hunt economically important mammals such as elephant and rhinoceros as well as a wide variety of antelopes. Hunters with a "B" license were allowed to hunt any game appearing in Part II of the Second Schedule in any part of the Protectorate including in sanctuaries where game was preserved.

This part of the Schedule listed game such as zebra, buffalo, warthog, wild pig and a wide variety of antelopes. The fee for this "B" license was £3. However, anyone who acquired a "C" license worth £1 was allowed to hunt any game mentioned in Part II of the Second Schedule in any part of the Protectorate, with the exception of the sanctuaries set aside for game preservation. It should be pointed out that the Game Regulations of 1897 also stipulated that if anyone was found hunting without a proper license, they would be fined or be imprisoned if they failed to pay the fine. All these licenses were valid for a period of one year from the date of issue.

With regard to the workings of the Game Regulations of 1897 three observations are worth noting. The first one deals with Brian Morris's response to Megan Vaughan's argument. Vaughan contended that these first game regulations (laws) and the game reserves were an expression of 'colonial conservation mania' in which the colonial administration was more concerned with conservation of game.[388] Instead, Morris maintains that the colonial administration and the European community had a very limited conception of game preservation in which mainly the larger mammals were meant to be preserved for their sport hunting. The essence of the game laws was thus "to restrict the hunting of larger game

[387] Ibid., 1; See also Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 328–29.
[388] For details, see Brian Morris, "Wildlife Conservation in Malawi", *Environment and History*, 7, 3 (2001), 357, 78; Megan Vaughan, "Uncontrolled Animals and Aliens: Colonial Conservation Mania in Malawi", (Unpublished Seminar Paper, History Department, Chancellor College, 1977/1978).

animals only to Europeans, who alone could afford the game licenses" or even gun taxes prior to 1897.[389]

The second observation is that the Game Regulations of 1897 were a culmination of game preservation efforts dating back to 1891. David Njaidi and Wapulumuka Mulwafu point out that soon after the proclamation of Malawi as a Protectorate, the Johnston administration instituted a gun tax whose overall objective was that of limiting the number of Africans who could possess guns.[390] These limitations were later on enhanced when the Johnston administration directed that only Africans possessing government permits were eligible to buy guns and gun powder and that firearm licenses had to be acquired by those Africans who were already in possession of firearms.

It is argued that various forms of African hunting which often attempted to evade the attention of the colonial administration were pursued in the 1890s and the later years despite the enforcement of the gun control measures and the Game Regulations of 1897.[391] However, what is often ignored in the analyses of the workings of these legal measures, particularly the Game Regulations of 1897, relates to regulation number five (5) which states that:

> A person may without any licence kill, hunt, or capture any wild beast not mentioned in Schedule II in any part of the Protectorate, except within a game reserve or on private property.[392]

One of the implications of this regulation was that white and African hunters who could not afford to purchase the hunting licenses were still legally entitled to the hunting of smaller game such as rabbits found outside the game reserves. Perhaps it was mostly those hunters interested in the traditionally and economically important ungulates such as elephants, rhinoceros, zebra, buffaloes and antelopes mentioned in the Second Schedule which contested the enforcement of the game laws through their unlicensed hunting activities. Some oral accounts from TA Mlolo's Chiefdom indicate that even when hunting was restricted in the Marsh, hunters exploited different forms of hunting to obtain meat and other game products. For instance, Mr Captain Kacholo's testimony recalled his grandparents passing on

[389] Morris, "Wildlife Conservation in Malawi", 358–59. Morris elaborates on how prior to the establishment of the two game reserves, Europeans in possession of appropriate licenses hunted there. He also described how an examination of the lists of game hunting licenses revealed how even in subsequent years most of the holders of licenses or gun-taxes were missionaries, planters and administrators. See also, Morris, *History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*, 61–62; Njaidi, "Towards an Exploration of Game Control", 4.
[390] Njaidi, "Towards an Exploration of Game Control", 4; Mulwafu, *Conservation Song*, 52–53 and 106–107.
[391] See, for example, Mulwafu, *Conservation Song*, 52–53, 106–107.
[392] *BCAG*, 69, IV, 15 May 1897, 1.

oral tradition that emphasized the usefulness not only of larger game such as buffalos and antelopes but also smaller game such as rabbits,[393] which were thus hunted without contravening the game laws.

In spite of the availability of hunting opportunities to Africans, and as elaborated below, the colonial state continued to underrate the impact of white sport hunting on the game population and blamed Africans for having denuded Malawian hunting grounds of their game. This was evident in Sharpe's report for 1901–02, in which the recovery of game populations was considered to be a consequence of the game laws and disarmament of "natives."[394] However, there is evidence that the game population in the Elephant Marsh also declined as a result of the impact of the Rinderpest epidemic of the late 1890s.

In his October 1897 article in *BCAG* on the impact of Rinderpest in the Protectorate, Dr. David Kerr Cross, serving as a Medical missionary in Northern Malawi, noted that the epidemic had been displaying its virulence in the precincts of the Elephant Marsh.[395] This was corroborated in the Local News column in the same *BCAG* in which it was reported that:

> From reports received from the West Shire and Ruo Districts [in the Lower Tchiri Valley] there is reason to believe that Rinderpest has made its appearance among the game in those districts. Information has been received that game is dying in numbers in the Elephant Marsh. Prompt measures have been taken to endeavour to prevent its introduction into the Shire Highlands.[396]

Prior to this an extract of an 1896 report of the Collector for West Tchiri District, Bowhill reported that, Africans had witnessed 'exceptionally' large numbers of game that were coming to drink from the Tchiri and Mwanza rivers during the dry season.[397] The Rinderpest that devastated the game in the Elephant Marsh was no new disease. From 1891 it had been devastating herds of cattle and game in some parts of East Africa and British Central Africa including the district around Lake Mweru (now in Zambia) where it was only a few animals such as elephant, hippo, rhino, waterbuck and wildebeest that escaped the epidemic.[398]

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[393] Interview conducted by the author with Mr Captain Kacholo, GVH Nkolimbo, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 23 May 2013.
[394] "Extract from the Report of Sir Alfred Sharpe, the Commissioner in British Central Africa, 1901–2, and Major F. B. Pearce for 1903", *JSPWFE*, I (1904), 58–59.
[395] *BCAG*, 77, IV, 17, 18 October 1897, 1.
[396] *BCAG*, 77, IV, 18 October 1897, 3.
[397] *BCAG*, 68, IV, 8, 1 May 1897, 1. It should be reiterated that the Elephant Marsh was part of (or contiguous to) the Tchiri River.
[398] *BCAG*, 77, IV, 17, 18 October 1897, 1. The devastating impact of rinderpest on game was also noted by Blayney Percival, who was a Game Officer in British East Africa [Kenya] when he observed that in 1897, while he was on a three-month long hunting expedition in the Transvaal, he saw fifteen bulls and more than 30 cows

Although the colonial administrators appear not to have been in a position to systematically account for the loss and subsequent recovery of game populations in the Elephant Marsh and other hunting grounds as shown in this section, colonial Malawi as a British colony was found in a position where it had to abide by international measures and principles for the preservation of game in Africa. These game preservation strategies were agreed upon at an international conference held in London in May 1900.

International Game Preservation Convention and hunting in the Lower Tchiri Valley, 1900–1915

This section demonstrates how the principles and measures of the International Convention of 1900 on Preservation of Game in Africa were translated into the game laws of early colonial Malawi which were promulgated in 1902. It also shows the open yet subtle ways in which these laws were contested by Africans as well as some whites. The game laws of 1902 were part of an attempt to ensure that preservation of game was being pursued through the use of uniform principles and measures agreed upon at the convention.[399]

This Convention was largely necessitated by the observation that in parts of Africa such as the Cape Colony in South Africa and on the Nile in North Africa the extinction of game was very visible.[400] It thus became imperative on the conveners that game preservation measures that had been adopted rather late in the Cape and Nile needed to be enforced in what were considered as the uncivilized parts of Africa. It must be noted that colonial Malawi was one of these uncivilized parts of Africa where some game laws had already been in operation in attempts to arrest threats of extinction to indigenous game species.[401]

Regardless of the possibility of game being saved in other colonies, central to the preservation efforts of the delegates to the International Convention of 1900 was the 'prohibition…[of] the destruction of the young and females of the bigger classes of game

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and calves dead as a result of rinderpest. For details see, "An Extract from a Letter from Mr A. Blayney Percival, the Game Officer in British East Africa, re Ivory of November 1903", *JSPWFE*, 1 (1904), 38.

[399] For details see, *BCAG*, 116, VII, 7, 31 July 1900, 2. It is noted further that at this Convention, some of the delegates were also sportsmen, including Sir Clement Hill, the Chief of the African Department of the Foreign Office, Dr Herman von Wiseman representing Germany, M. Binger representing the French Ministry for the Colonies and Professor Ray Lankester of the Natural History Museum. For further details, see also *JSPWFE*, 1 (1904), 29–37 and Cioc, *Game of Conservation*, 14–57.

[400] In relation to the South African case, Hector Duff, writing around 1900, remarked that game was 'retreating year by year into unknown fastness' from the old grounds below the Zambezi such as those of the Cape, the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. For details, see Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 141–42.

[401] Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, 143.

such as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, zebra, buffalo, and several kinds of antelopes.'[402] Most of the details outlining what were viewed as effective ways of preserving game were outlined in Article II to the Convention.[403] An analysis of the measures and principles contained in Article II, suggests that the Convention which was to be initially in force for a period of fifteen years was meant to operate at three levels, namely, facilitating hunting for preservation; sport and subsistence hunting; and special uses of game for natural history specimens and other administrative purposes.

At the level of facilitating preservation, not only was the hunting of young and females of bigger classes of game prohibited, the killing of elephants, rhinoceros and other game mentioned in Schedule III to the Convention was prohibited when accompanied by their young ones.[404] In fact paragraphs 5 and 6 of Article II called for the establishment of closed seasons to enable the young to be reared, particularly in established reserves where it became unlawful to hunt, capture, or kill any game meant to be protected by the local authorities. Paragraph 11 of Article II actually emphasized the prohibition of the killing of young elephants by stating that severe penalties were to be unleashed against the hunters and that Local Governments were to confiscate all elephant tusks whose weight would not exceed 5 kilograms.[405]

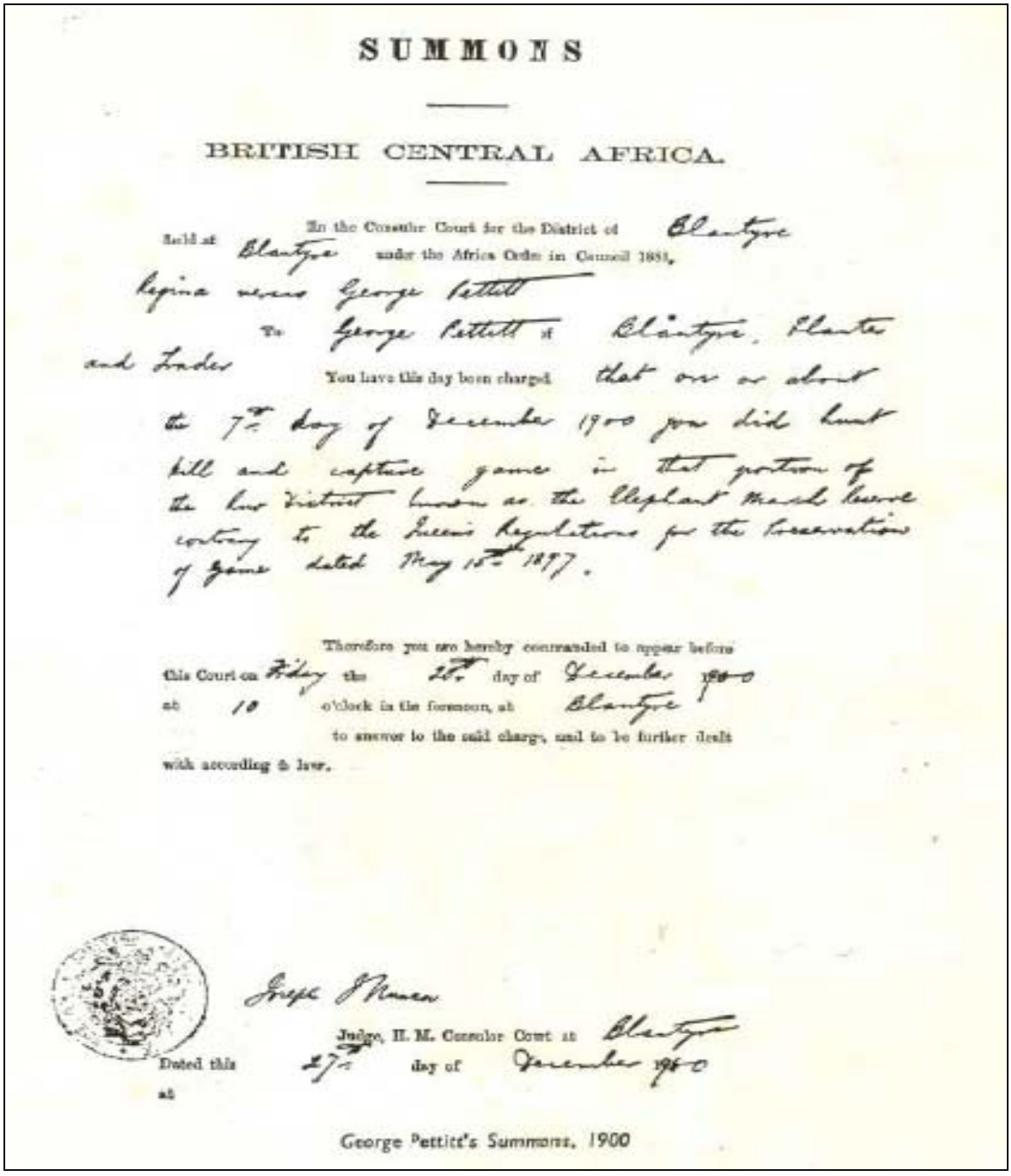
To save other game which also had value in the commercial dealings of Africans and white hunters, paragraph 10 of Article II imposed export duties 'on the hides and skins of giraffes, antelopes, zebras, rhinoceroses, and hippopotami, on rhinoceros and antelope horns and on hippopotamus tusks.'[406] The use of nets and pit-falls which, as noted in Chapter Two, were among the traditional African methods of hunting for subsistence and small-scale trade were also prohibited by Article II. The second level of facilitating hunting had to do with the establishment of reserves in which those hunters with appropriate licenses would be allowed to hunt. This aspect rendered support to game legislation issued in the 1890s in some British colonies like Malawi, as noted in the preceding sections. Hunting for preservation was also supported by Schedule V to the Convention which specified some of the game that could be hunted in limited numbers. In this group, among others, there were buffaloes, some species of

[402] See *BCAG*, 116, VII, 7, 31 July 1900, 2.
[403] This convention had a total of 10 Articles and an annex of 5 schedules elaborating on the contents of the paragraphs of the Articles. See *BCAG*, 117, VII, 8, 31 August 1900, 2–4 for details.
[404] For details refer to *BCAG*, 117, VII, 8, 31 August 1900, 3.
[405] For details see *BCAG*, 117, VII, 8, 31 August 1900, 3.
[406] *BCAG*, 117, VII, 8, 31 August 1900, 3.

antelopes and gazelles. At the third level, the operations of some of the principles and measures of Article II, as noted in Article III,[407] were to be relaxed to enable hunting for specimens for museums and zoological gardens. Article III also provided for the relaxation of the principles and measures prohibiting hunting at times when hunting was to be useful for administrative purposes at the discretion of the Commissioner.

In the context of early colonial Malawi and the Lower Tchiri Valley, in particular, the functioning of the Convention of 1900 at these three levels generated its own unique stories. Oral testimonies from T.A. Mlolo's area[408] adjacent to what used to be the Elephant Marsh suggest that in a number of instances Africans contravened the colonial restrictions on hunting. They resisted the colonial game laws by using their traditional ways of hunting such as bows and arrows, pits and dogs to hunt wild pigs, duikers and some antelope. However emerging evidence shows that these Africans were not the only ones hunting without proper licenses. Some archival evidence reveals that even white hunters were likely to be involved in illegal hunting in the Marsh. As may be evident in figure 3.5 below, a Blantyre-based white planter, trader and elephant hunter,[409] George Pettitt was summoned by Judge Joseph Nunan to appear before the Consular Court for the district of Blantyre on 20th December 1900 to answer charges of illegal hunting in the Marsh on or around 7 December 1900.

[407] See *BCAG*, 117, VII, 8, 3, for more details.
[408] See, for example, the interview with Mr Captain Kacholo, Nsanje, dated 23 May 2013.
[409] McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859-1966*, 50 indicates that George Pettitt and his brother, Henry came to Nyasaland in the late 1880s and were both adventurers and elephant hunters. They also participated in large-scale land transactions to set up large estates together with John Buchanan.



SUMMONS

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA.

Held at Blantyre In the Consular Court for the District of Blantyre under the Africa Order in Council 1889.

Regina versus George Pettitt

To George Pettitt of Blantyre Planter and Trader

You have this day been charged that on or about the 7th day of December 1900 you did hunt kill and capture game in that portion of the Nyasa District known as the Elephant Marsh contrary to the Queens Regulations for the preservation of Game dated May 15th 1897.

Therefore you are hereby commanded to appear before this Court on Friday the 28th day of December 1900 at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, at Blantyre to answer to the said charge, and to be further dealt with according to law.

Joseph Rankin

Judge, H. M. Consular Court at Blantyre

Dated this 27th day of December 1900

at

George Pettitt's Summons, 1900

Figure 3.5: George Pettitt's Summons, 1900.[410]

In view of George Pettitt's charge it may be useful to note Denis D. Lyell's observation that during Sharpe's regime (1897–1910) it was necessary to obtain special permission to shoot one buffalo and one eland, game which he says were still plentiful in the Elephant Marsh in

[410] *Source*: Barbara Lamport-Stokes Photograph Collection, SM L & A, Mandala, Blantyre, Malawi.

the last few years before 1911, his time of writing.[411] Lyell went further to indicate that there were also three licenses costing £2, £4 and £25 respectively and that with a £25 license one would be allowed to shoot two elephants and rhinoceroses. With regard to Pettitt's charge and Lyell's observations, it is, however, interesting to note that although the evidence about the outcome of Pettitt's case is not yet available; in 1902 he was included on the list of people, who had taken out game licenses that had been issued in April, 1902.[412] He took out a "C" license which according to the game laws of 1902, analyzed below, cost him £2, which entitled him to hunt, kill or capture 6 hippopotami, 6 warthogs, 6 bush pigs and 30 game animals in the family of antelopes and gazelles over a year. Prior to George Pettitt's incident, there were also cases of contravention of the game laws during the reign of Alfred Sharpe. Writing in 1896, Alfred Sharpe reported that:

> The elephant is gradually disappearing in B.C.A. This, however, is not due to the number killed by Europeans (which, as matter of fact, is very small), but to the fact that the natives throughout the country are constantly destroying them…. In B.C.A. it is necessary to take out a £25 licence for the hunting of elephants; but in a country where stations are so few and Africans so plentiful, it is no easy matter to keep a check on native hunters.[413]

However, in 1903 E. North Buxton and A. Blayney Perceval – repentant butchers who had evolved into preservationists – countered Sharpe's position as well as citing the lack of evidence for more European hunters to take responsibility for the loss of African wild life. They also contended that:

> It is a melancholy fact that our boasted civilization generally brings in its train the destruction of wild life in the countries we occupy. In opening up virgin territory, it is the game hunter who is often the pioneer. He is followed in order by the missionary, the mining prospector, and the protectorate officer, all of whom take a toll of what is left, till by the time there is a settled population and a stable government, little remains of that which gives the charm of life to the wilderness.[414]

It is highly likely that these incidences in which Africans and white hunters such as Pettitt were contravening the game laws prompted the colonial administration to engage in what might be viewed as a comprehensive translation of the international Convention of 1900 into early colonial Malawi's, "The British Central Africa Protectorate Game Regulations,

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[411] For details see Denis D. Lyell, *Nyasaland for the Hunter and Settler* (London: Horace Cox, 1912), 11–12. £2 was for License "C", £4 for "B" and £25 for "A" according to game Regulations, 1902. Lyell is also of the view that some people might have been involved in killing game without proper licenses because during the first decade of the twentieth century there was also an outcry among some of the inhabitants of the Protectorate that game needed to be exterminated because it hosted sleeping sickness.

[412] See *BCAG*, 138, Vol. IX, No. 5, 31 May 1902, 1.

[413] Alfred Sharpe, "The Geography and Resources of British Central Africa", *The Geographical Journal*, 7, 4 (1896), 374.

[414] E. North Buxton and A. Blayney Perceval, "The Preservation of Big Game in Africa", *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 51, 2634 (1903), 566.

1902."[415] In fact, part of the report of Alfred Sharpe for 1901-02 to the SPWFE delivered in 1904 read as follows:

> [On Game Preservation] NEW regulations for the preservation of game have been promulgated, which carry out the principles agreed upon at the International Game Conference held in London in 1900. Game does not appear to be on the decrease in the Protectorate, except, possibly in the immediate vicinity of European settlements…. [On Game] The game in the protectorate continues to increase. This is doubtless owing to the more stringent Regulations which have been issued, and also to the continued disarmament of natives….[416]

Sharpe went further in his report and insinuated, as elaborated below in this section, that the Europeans and "native" Africans might have wanted to observe the game laws of 1897. However, the search for a "favorite feeding ground" by such game as elephants and antelopes brought them to European and African settlements where plantations were raided by the game, thereby offering opportunities for the game to be shot in contravention of the game laws. In attempts to grapple with these challenges, The game Regulations of 1902, which were issued as the King's Regulations Under Article 99 of the "Africa Order in Council, 1889"[417] contained sections on the General Provisions for the Preservation of Game; Game Reserves; Licenses to Europeans and others; Restrictions on Killing of Game by Natives; Legal Procedure; Repeal provisions and also an annex containing eight schedules detailing which game was to be preserved and which was to be hunted. Of particular significance in the interactions between hunters and game in the Lower Tchiri Valley were the provisions of these game Regulations of 1902 that enforced the use of appropriate licenses for hunting as noted in paragraphs 2, 3 and 12 to 25.[418] Hunters were required to use their licenses along with game registers the use of which was elaborated on in the Regulations of 1902. Figure 3.6 shows a sample game register as specified in the Seventh Schedule of the Regulations, 1902:

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[415] This was highly likely considering that Alfred Sharpe, himself, a "penitent butcher" turned administrator, was the Commissioner and Consul General in the Protectorate around the turn of the century, particularly between 1897 and 1910. These regulations were outlined in detail in *BCAG*, 134, IX, 1, 31 January 1902, 1–2.

[416] "Extract from the Report of Sir Alfred Sharpe, The Commissioner in British Central Africa, 1901–2…" *JSPWFE*, 1 (1904), 58–59.

[417] According to Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 114, with the "Africa Order in Council, 1889", the colonial administration could administer justice to British and British protected subjects in the Protectorate. It is noted further that "native" justice at "native" courts was practically delivered by British Magistrates in the form of the local chief or his representative and that the judiciary powers of native chiefs were only theoretical, particularly after the chiefs had signed treaties entrusting their lands into the hands of the British colonial administration. It might be of interest to add that the "Africa Order in Council of 1893" allowed Courts of Justice to administer justice not only to British subjects but to other Europeans as well. On the "Africa Order in Council, 1889" also see Hanna, *Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia,* 201–203, and 223–24.

[418] For more on these paragraphs, see *BCAG*, 134, IX, 1, 31 January 1902, 1–2.

Game Register

Species	Number	Sex	Locality	Date	Remarks

I declare that the above is a true record of all animals killed by me in the British Central Africa protectorate under the License No. "A," "B," or "C," granted me on the …….. 19…
Signed…..
Passed….. 19..._____
(Signature of Examining Officer)

Figure 3.6: Sample of Game Register.[419]

With regard to the use a game register of this nature, paragraph 18 of the Regulations of 1902 in the section on Licenses to Europeans and others, stipulated that:

> Every licence-holder of a special shall keep a register of the animals killed or captured by him in the form of specified in the Seventh Schedule.
> The register shall be submitted as often as convenient, but not less frequently than once in six months, to the nearest Collector, who shall countersign the entries up to date.
> Any person authorised to grant licenses may at any time call upon any licence-holder to produce his register for inspection.
> If any holder of a licence fails to keep his register truly, he shall be guilty of an offence against these Regulations.[420]

It must be added that these game registers which provided data for the final compilation of game returns by colonial governors were adopted because of SPWFE's belief that most sportsmen would make an honest return, since the fact of having to produce a return or register of the game they killed would act as a moral restraint against wanton killing.[421] Although the available evidence from the Lower Tchiri Valley districts of Ruo, Lower Tchiri and West Tchiri does not present actual registers filled out by licensees, the District Collectors provided summaries of the wildlife killed under license in the year ending 31 March1904, as figure 3.6 demonstrates.

[419] *Source*: *BCAG*, 134, IX,1, 31 January 1902, 3, Seventh Schedule attached to the Regulations, 1902.
[420] *BCAG*, 134, IX, 1, 31 January 1902, 2.
[421] "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire to the Right Hon. Alfred Lyttelton (His Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies), Colonial Office, Whitehall, February 2, 1905", *JSPWFE*, II (1905), 12.

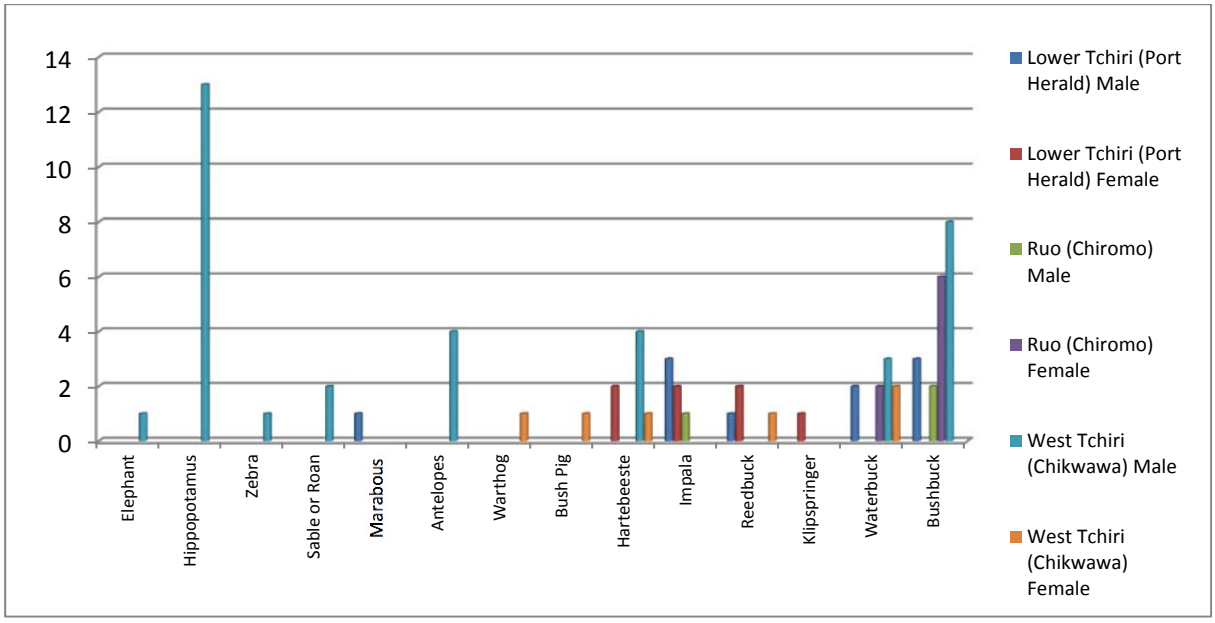

Figure 3.7: Game Returns / Summary of Game Killed Under License in the Lower Tchiri Valley Districts During the Year Ending March 31, 1904.[422]

Figure 3.7 suggests two critical observations with regard to the game laws of 1902 and the interaction of hunting and preservation of game in the Lower Tchiri Valley. The first one is that there were attempts desist from killing female game as stipulated in paragraph 3 of the General Provisions of the game laws or regulations of 1902. It was ordered that:

> No person unless he is authorized by a special licence under these Regulations, shall hunt, kill, or capture any animal of the kind mentioned in the Second Schedule if the animal be (a) immature, or (b) a female accompanied by its young.[423]

Within this Schedule were the following types of game: all antelopes except Eland, Rhinoceros, Hippopotamus, Zebra and Chevrotain *(Dorcatherium)*. An analysis of the statistics in figure 3.7 above shows that primarily most of the game killed was male, with the highest number killed being that of hippopotami in the West Tchiri district. Even in the case Sable or Roan, Hartebeest, Reedbuck, Waterbuck, Bushbuck and antelopes in general, it is demonstrated that it was the males that were primarily killed in all three districts. However, one exception was the Ruo district, which reported the highest number of female Bushbuck killed.

[422] The number of licenses issued during this period were as follows: "A," 7; "B," 87; and "C," 119 in the whole Protectorate. *Source*: Adapted from: Annex No. 5, "Summary of Game Killed Under License in British Central Africa during the Year Ending March 31, 1904", *JSPWFE*, II (1905), 86–87.
[423] *BCAG*, 134, IX, 1, 31 January 1902, 1–2. The Schedule elaborated that even the young ones were to be captured only by those with a special license.

The second observation relates to the reliability of the statistics used to compile these game returns. Indeed, it appears that a report on British Egypt and Sudan regarding their returns and preservation for 1902, the returns for the Lower Tchiri Valley reflected some challenges, reporting a lower number of animals killed than that of the actual numbers of those that had been killed. The Sudan report highlighted that: "It cannot be doubted that a certain quantity of game is killed, under license without being reported" and that no attempts were made to collect the statistics for the game killed by "natives" because it was deemed impossible to obtain accurate information.[424] Now, in the case of the statistics in figure 3.7 above it is also doubtful as to whether these offer a true reflection of hunting for preservation. For instance, it is shown that the number of game killed did not exceed 3 (three) in the largest number of cases. This lack of credibility of the statistics can be illustrated through a game census in 1904 of West Tchiri district in figure 3.8 below:

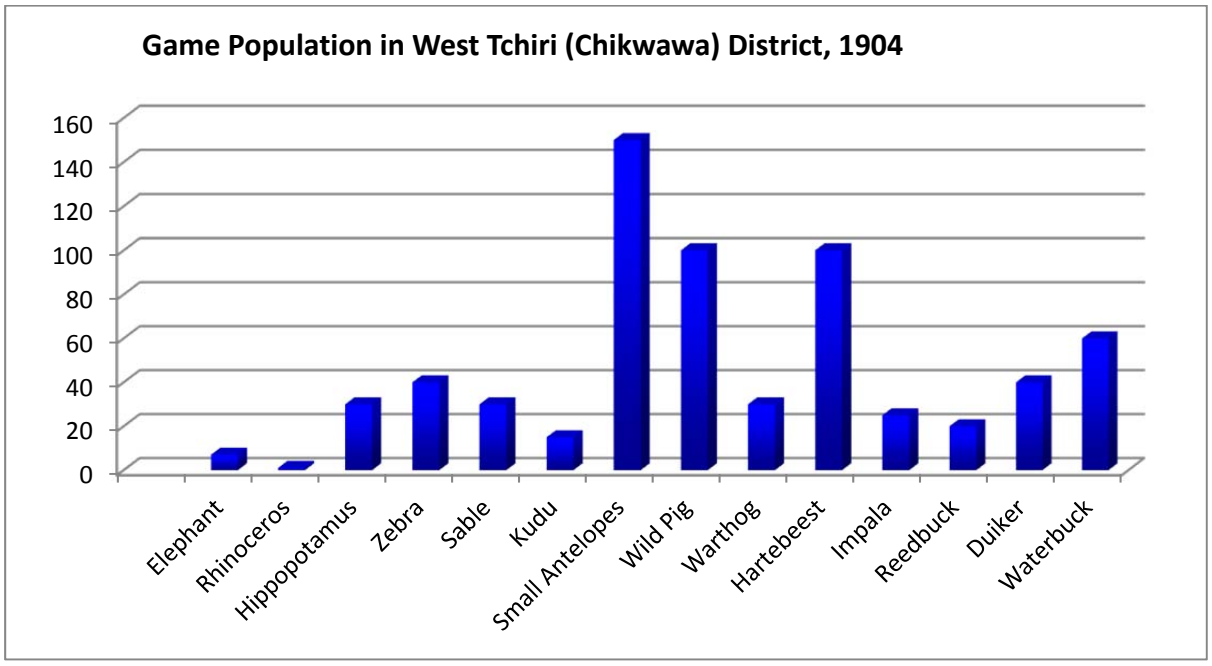

Figure 3.8: West Tchiri Game Census (Approximate), 1904.[425]

[424] "Extract from Lord Cromer's Report on Egypt and the Sudan for the Year, 1902", *JSPWFE*, I (1904), 62.
[425] *Source:* MNA/NSC 3/2/1: West Shire (Chikwawa) District Book, 24 June 1904–20 August 1905, 68.
Only the game that was likely to be hunted by white and African hunters for food and commercial purposes were extracted from the original source in the District Book. Animals such as lions, hyenas, small cats, jackals and wild dogs were also present but were left out of the representation in figure 3.9.

This West Tchiri game census records an approximate number of 100 Hartebeest and 60 Waterbuck, as well as 150 small antelopes. However, the statistics for the game returns of West Tchiri suggest that no more than four Hartebeest or waterbuck were killed, and in the case of antelopes, in general, no more than eight were reported killed. However, due to the habit of game to migrate, it might not have been the case that all this game was just confined to the West Tchiri district throughout that year, which could have resulted in hunters finding a substantial amount of game at some point. Some game animals might have been migrating and thus have been killed elsewhere, such as in the Ruo district on the Elephant Marsh, for example, which was visited regularly by a variety of game at certain times of the year. The tendency of African game, such as elephants, elands and wildebeests, to migrate within a certain range following "food, the grass, which varies in different areas and the water" was observed by Buxton during an SPWFE deputation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on February 2, 1905.[426]

Paramount Chief Lundu, Mr Chigule Soda Phiri (TA Tengani), Mr Danton Anyezi (TA Mlolo), Mr Plain Chilikumzako and Mr Captain Kacholo all attested to the historical migrations of a diverse variety of game from different parts of the Valley to the Elephant Marsh where game could feed and drink, particularly during the drier months of the year, such as September, October, November and December.[427] Elephants and various antelopes were noted as the game that would mostly be hunted whether by licensed or unlicensed African and European hunters during those months. Writing in the first decade of the twentieth century, Lyell corroborated that although very few elephants were now visiting the Elephant Marsh, other game such as buffalo, eland, waterbuck, hartebeest and others were still found there in abundance.[428]

This aspect of migrating game being found and killed in Ruo's Elephant Marsh might also be evident in the game returns of 1907 shown in figure 3.9.

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[426] See "Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire", 13.

[427] See interviews by the author with Paramount Chief Lundu, Mbewe Court (outside the entrance to Lengwe National Park),Chikwawa, approx. 73 years old, dated 11 April 2013; Mr. Chigule Soda Phiri (T A Tengani), Chiromo Trading Centre, Nsanje, approx. 70 years old, dated 23 May 2013; Mr Danton Anyezi (TA Mlolo), Mlolo Court, GVH Chipunde, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 90 years old, dated 24 May 2013; Mr Plain Chilikumzako, S T A Ndakwera, T.A. Chapananga, Chikwawa, 74 years old, dated 27 February 2013 and Interview with Mr. Captain Kacholo, GVH Nkolimbo, T A Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 23 May 2013. On his part, Elias Mandala's, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy* (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1990), 39 notes that Elephants used to frequent the Elephant Marsh in search of pasture, water and *midikhwa* palm nuts.

[428] Lyell, Denis, *Nyasaland for the Hunter and Settler*, 11.

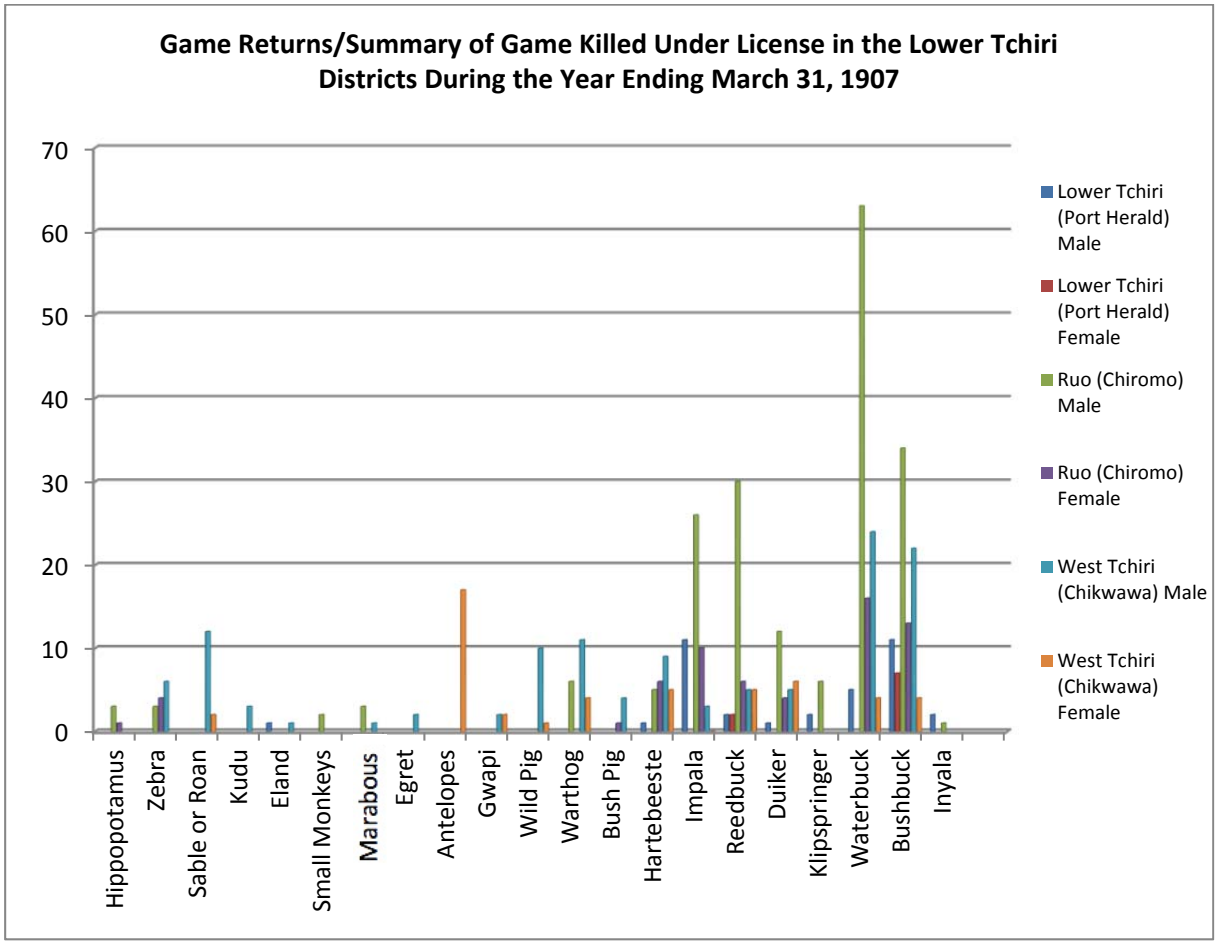

Figure 3.9: Game Returns/Summary of Game Killed Under License in the Lower Tchiri Districts During the Year Ending March 31, 1907.[429]

Among other things, the game returns of 1907 suggest that the highest number of game – in this case Waterbuck – was killed in the Ruo district and that the gender of the game was male. It was also reported that in Ruo that the second highest number of female Waterbuck was killed, as well as that West Tchiri reported killing under license the highest number of female antelopes. However, the returns for 1904 and 1907 – much as they help to gender the processes of hunting for preservation in the Lower Tchiri Valley – they do not provide us with greater insight into the circumstances under which the females were killed: "Were they

[429] *Source*: Adapted from: Annex IV: "Summary of Game Killed Under Licence in the Districts of Nyasaland During the Year Ending March 31, 1907", *JSPWFE*, IV (1908), 76–77. In Ruo the returns also show that three male and three female lions were killed. It may be useful to note that in the first decade of the twentieth century Lyell observed that the Elephant Marsh in Ruo (Chiromo) was "a well-known haunt of lions, and these animals are not content to live on the game, but occasionally go right into the township of Chiromo and take natives," Lyell, *Nyasaland for the Hunter and Settler*, 11.

not accompanied by their young ones, and hence been killed in contravention of the Regulations, 1902?" is the question that should still linger in the absence of the actual game registers filled out by the hunters who supplied their statistics to the District Collectors. The sample of the game registers shown above had a column for remarks regarding a hunting event in which game was killed.

Although the above statistics for game returns and even for the census might not account accurately for the processes involved in European and African game hunting for preservation in the Lower Tchiri Valley, they are useful in two ways. First, they show us that some attempts were made to practice hunting in line with the provisions of the Regulations of 1902 and hence, also in accordance with the International Convention of 1900. Second, the statistics provide an opportunity to see the extent to which the process of hunting for preservation was "gendered" with more male than female game species being culled.

Attempts at hunting in accordance with the game laws of 1902 were not just in the observance of gender in the process of hunting for preservation. They also surfaced at the level of taking out licenses, and acquiring permits for buying ammunition despite the challenges that this involved for the game populations, particularly in the context of crop protection. District Books[430] of the Lower Tchiri (Port Herald), Ruo (Chiromo) and West Tchiri (Chikwawa) show records of gun and game licenses provided to Europeans and Asians, as well as Africans until 1913,[431] who might have contributed to the compiling of these game returns. It should be noted that in some cases Europeans and Asians, who acquired gun licenses for Breach Loading Guns, for example, also paid for game licenses. In

[430] From 1907, District Books were in two volumes. Volume I was for permanent records and was only filled in by the Resident of the District. Details regarding modes of subsistence such as hunting and fishing were recorded in this volume. Volume II was issued from 1907–1910, and also served as a record of police character as well as listing the property of the colonial state. Sometimes there was an overlap in the issues recorded in the two volumes. For details, see A. Jay Williams, Secretary to Administration, Commissioner's Circular No. 1 of 1907, to Government Offices, Zomba, British Central Africa, 25 January 1907, Malawi National Archives [Hereafter, MNA]/NSP1/22/13: Lower Shire District Book, Vol. I, 1907.

[431] See, for example, Malawi National Archives (MNA)/NSP/22/2: Lower Shire District Book, Vol. II, 1st April 1907 to 31st March 1910; MNA/?/: Lower Shire District Book, Vol. II, 1st April 1910 to 31st March 1913; MNA/?/: Ruo District Book, Vol. II, 1st April 1910 to 31st March 1913, 90 and 103; and MNA/NSC 3/2/3: Chikwawa (West Shire) District Book, 1st April 1910 to 31st March 1913. It should be noted that Game Registers were used for compiling game returns which recorded the numbers of game killed in each district between April and March each year. The District Collector or Resident would compile the returns which would be sent to the Chief Secretary for approval before handing them over to the Deputy Governor or Governor for onward transmission to the Secretary of State for Colonies in London, London. However, the only evidence of game returns for the Lower Tchiri Valley that were accessible to me at the MNA, are those for 1919 and 1920. On game returns, see MNA/S1/300/20: Game Returns.

the Lower Tchiri district C.H. Cubbitt, R. Stuart Wells, E. Maxwell and R.R. Mellor were among those who took out both gun and game licenses.[432]

These licenses were usually valid for one year, beginning in April and ending in March, and might serve as evidence that the licensees were involved in hunting in the Valley and elsewhere in the Protectorate. The District Book for the Lower Tchiri district[433] indicates further that these licensees took out game license "C". According to the Regulations of 1902 invoked in its Fifth Schedule each of these licensees were allowed to hunt, kill or capture six hippopotami, six warthogs, six bush pigs, and another thirty animals which might include Hartebeest, Impala, Reedbuck, Duiker, Klipspringer, Steenbok, Waterbuck and Bushbuck.[434] This means that the "C" game license only allowed the hunting of some game but in limited numbers only. This also applied to those who took out licenses "A" and "B." There were limits to how many species they could bag. However, the likelihood of these "non-natives" to observe the stipulated game species to be shot under their licenses was generally doubted by the colonial administration. As implied in Alfred Sharpe's report of 1901–1902 referred to above, there were instances where game such as antelopes availed themselves to European or "native" African hunters under the pretext of crop protection.[435]

Indeed, although the 1902 game Regulations stipulated that "natives" could only be issued with a hunting licenses even of the type "A" or "B" by a Collector of a district upon approval of the Commissioner and also that they were not allowed to use firearms even when hunting with "non-native" license-holders,[436] evidence from the Lower Tchiri Valley suggests that there were Africans who participated in hunting in the first ten or so years of the twentieth century. Ruo District Book shows that some Africans not only took out licenses for muzzle-loading guns but also that almost forty Africans were lent guns for crop protection by the

[432] MNA/NSP/22/2: Lower Shire District Book, Vol. II, 1 April, 1907 to 31st March 1910, 71 and 73.
[433] Ibid., 73.
[434] For more details see *BCAG*, 134, IX, 1, 31 January 1902, 3.
[435] Even in the British colonies of Sudan and Egypt, which became spot lights for preservationist intentions of the SPWFE from 1903, a 1902 report on the preservation of game and detailing returns of game killed under licenses, observed that: "It cannot be doubted that a certain number of game is killed, under license, without being reported" and that no attempts were made to obtain the statistics of game killed by natives due to the perceived impossibility of getting accurate numbers. For details see, "Extract from Lord Cromer's Report for Egypt and the Sudan for the Year, 1902", *JSPWFE*, 1 (1904), 61–65. Given Sharpe's observations above and the oral and archival findings regarding the Lower Tchiri Valley noted below, the North African scenario could apply as well to early colonial Malawi.
[436] *BCAG*, 134, IX, 1, 31 January 1902, 3. Those natives who qualified for licenses were those who had the fees, and satisfied other conditions stipulated by the colonial administration. These conditions were not likely to have been easier for rural "natives" to satisfy, given the low literacy levels and the lack of remunerative employment. Moreover, there were clear specifications regarding jobs and wages available to Africans.

colonial government between 1910 and 1913.[437] Similarly, in West Tchiri (Chikwawa) while some of the Africans were issued with game licenses, the District Book shows that between 1910 and 1912 there were about sixty Africans who were lent firearms for the protection of crops and that almost twenty-eight Africans had "Native Ammunition Purchase Permits."[438]

Oral evidence suggests that the involvement of these Africans in hunting was mostly necessitated by an age old culture in which villagers were determined to reduce the game that was destroying their crops such as wild pigs and various species of antelopes at the same time that they were also procuring meat that would be consumed as food in place of the crops that were destroyed.[439] In his 1901–1902 report, Alfred Sharpe also gave his opinion regarding the existence of this type of culture within the Protectorate, when he asserted that before harvest time "natives" had to watch over their crops throughout the night so that they can have a good supply of food and that apart from the damage done to crops by elephant, antelope and hippopotamuses:

> Considerable damage is also done to the native crops by wild pigs and parties of baboons. These latter have become exceedingly audacious. Collectors are always been authorized to loan natives guns and a certain amount of powder and shot for the purpose of safeguarding their crops.[440]

The procedure that was followed in hunting would be continued in order to protect people's crops was succinctly described as the custodians of history by the villagers in TA Mlolo's Chiefdom, Mr Captain Kacholo:

> When a person would find that their maize, cotton and other vegetables such as pumpkins were being destroyed, they would decide to stay at a hidden place [*Khumbi*] in their garden during the night so that they should actually see what exactly was giving them problems. If they saw that wild pigs, antelopes or even hippopotamus were the destroyers, they would approach a *Misiri* [expert hunter] who had a gun to agree that the hunter should kill the game that was seen in the garden. The Misiri would come to the garden, wait for the destroyers to come, the owner of the garden would tell and gesture to the hunter that, 'there it is' so that the hunters could kill the animal. The meat of this game was sometimes shared between the owner of the garden, or the owner of the garden would buy it from the hunter and sell to other villagers if the game was as huge as a buffalo or hippopotamus. Ahh! The animals were

[437] Details can be noted in MNA/ Ruo District Book, Vol. II, 1st April, 1910–31st March, 1913, 108–109. The Elephant Marsh was actually situated in the Ruo district.
[438] MNA/NSC 3/2/3: Chikwawa (West Shire) District Book, 1st April 1910 to 31st March 1913, 107–109; 111–12.
[439] See, for example, interviews conducted by the author with Mr Master Khundi, GVH Chithumba, T A Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old, dated 17April 2013; G V H Kalonga with the assistance of his wife and his aide, GVH Kalonga court, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, appox.. 80 years old, dated 23 May 2013; Mr Bizek Mafunga, GVHKalonga, T A Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 23 May 2013 and Mr Chigule Soda Phiri (TA Tengani) Chiromo Trading Centre, Nsanje, approx. 70 years old, dated 23 May 2013.
[440] "Extract from the Report of Sir Alfred Sharpe", *JSPWFE*, 1 (1904), 58–60.

> mainly a problem when there were a lot in the Dabanyi [the current name for the Elephant Marsh] and they would destroy our food.[441]

In fact, evidence from Nyasaland Blue Book of 1912 corroborates further that both licensed and unlicensed killing of game contributed to the reduction of antelopes and buffaloes that might have been destroying crops in the Ruo (Elephant Marsh) region. This is evident in the statistics of the game returns for the Lower Tchiri Valley in figure 3.10 below.

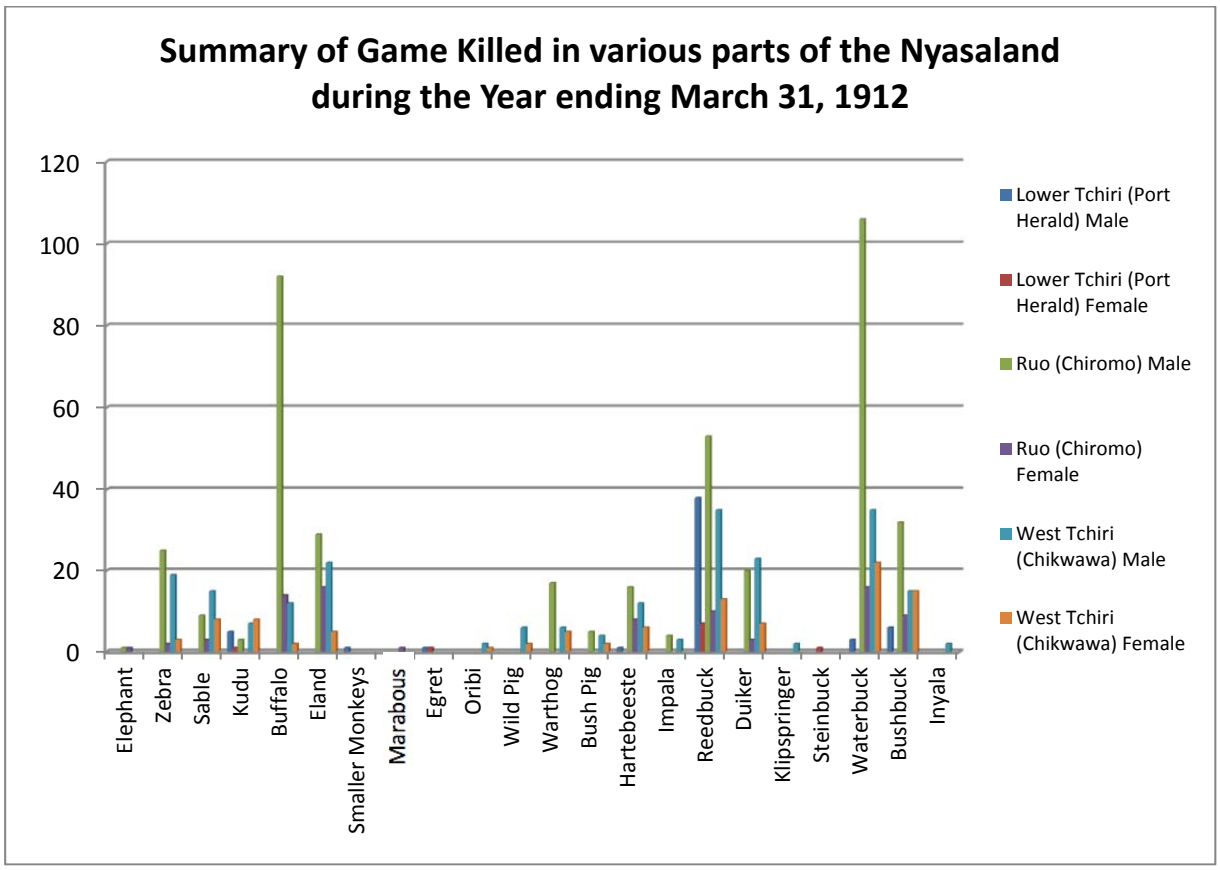

Figure 3.10: Extract of a summary of Game Killed in the Lower Tchiri Districts of Lower Tchiri, Ruo and West Tchiri.[442]

Analyses of the statistics in figure 3.9 as adapted from an Enclosure in No. 27 (game returns) in the Nyasaland Blue Book suggest that it was in Ruo that the highest numbers of male game were killed in the year ending March 31, 1912. The highest numbers were those of Waterbuck seconded by those of buffaloes. In the summary of game killed in Nyasaland from which the Lower Tchiri Valley game returns are extracted, Governor WH Manning also reported that there were 19 protectorate licenses and 1 additional licence that were in use in

[441] Interview conducted by the author with Mr Captain Kacholo, Nsanje, dated 23 May 2013.
[442] From Extracts from Blue Book, "Enclosure in No. 27: Summary of Game Killed in various parts of the Nyasaland during the Year ending March 31, 1912", *JSPWFE*, Vol. 6 (1913), 18–19.

Ruo.[443] It might be recalled that in the year ending on 31 March 1907, male Waterbuck were also the most that were slaughtered in the Ruo district. This corroborates the oral testimonies from some informants which noted that the Elephant Marsh region in the Ruo region had large numbers of buffaloes and antelopes that were hunted for trophies, the market and subsistence.[444]

On the part of hunting of antelopes by Africans for market and the pot some informants in the Chiefdoms of TAs Mbenje and Mlolo observed that in the Ruo region people in the early colonial period contravened game laws by continuing to ensure duikers and other antelopes using hunting dogs, traps and nets made from *bwazi*, a local fiber.[445] On the nature of the hunting terrain, technology and use of dogs, Mr Nyasaland Donivan elaborated that:

> Yes, there was *nkhalango* (thick forest) here. We used to hunt with dogs: tinali (we used) *kuwankhulitsa* (to make dogs aggressive and fearless using traditional medicine), so that they could help us hunt *Nkhumba za M'tchire* (wild pigs), and *mbawala*, and *gwape* (various antelopes). Sometimes we used to make wire snares for hunting. This was when nature was nature: '*dziko lili mphonje.*'[446]

It can therefore be noted that although the Nyasaland Governors' reports on the summary of game killed focused on licensed killing of game as well as on the so-called "killing" for crop protection, some realities of African participation in the hunting economy of the Lower Tchiri Valley were still ignored. There was unlicensed harvesting of game from the hunting grounds as suggested by some of the oral testimonies. The resilience of African hunting even with improved technology in the early colonial period was also noted by John McCracken. McCracken while wondering as to how colonial policies of restricting access to arms by Africans would have preserved game and influenced the spread of tsetse, points out that:

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[443] This game return, which was submitted by Governor W. H. Manning on May 4, 1912, shows that out of the four categories of license, i.e., protectorate, visitors, additional, and native, Ruo had the highest number of protectorate licenses during this reporting period. Lower Tchiri had 7 Protectorate licenses and had no visitors', additional and native licenses reportedly in use. West Tchiri reported 9 Protectorate licenses and 10 Native licenses. No visitors' licenses or additional licenses were reportedly in use.

[444] See, for example, Joint interviews conducted by the author with Mai Kusowa Mkuti, approx. 85 years old, Mai Kusela Sinapakwenda, approx. 75 years old, and Mai Dinala Falesi, approx. 80 years old, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, dated 24 May 2013; Joint Interview with Messrs Nyasaland Donivani, approx. 80 years old, Stenelo Bande Anguleti, approx. 85 years old, Lesitala Esitade, approx. 80 years and Henry Fulailosi, approx. 80 years old, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, dated 24 May 2013.

[445] Interviews conducted by the author with Mr Mzondora, GVH Chithumba, T A Mbenje, Nsanje, Approx. 80 years old, dated 22 May 2013; Joint Interview with GVH Kalonga and his wife, GVH Kalonga, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, dated 23 May 2013; Joint Interview with Messrs Raphael Wakudyanaye, approx. 85 years old, Mishoni Mganiwa, approx. 80 years old and Samson Beza, approx. 75 years old, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, dated 24 May 2013.

[446] See Joint Interview with Messrs Donivani, Anguleti, Esitade and Fulailosi, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, dated 24 May 2013.

> Arms control was undoubtedly easier to impose…, but game control was not. Reports from a variety of districts in the early years of the [20th] century tell of 'a good deal of illegal hunting…by the natives', and this trend accelerated after the First World War, helped by the substantial number of firearms retained illegally by *ex-askari*.[447]

The resilience of the African hunting was taking place against a background in which in 1904 Alfred Sharpe had reported to the Honorary Secretary of the SPWFE that in the 'Protectorate of British Central Africa native slaughter of game has been almost entirely stopped' as a result of three factors.[448] Firstly, that the 'enforcement of native gun tax' was reducing "native" access to guns. Secondly, that by subjecting "natives" to the same game regulations as Europeans, only a few "natives" were taking out licenses to shoot game. Thirdly, that through the punishments meted out by District Magistrates on natives found guilty of hunting without licenses, "native" hunters were being restrained. Sharpe also emphasized that: "What has been found in British Central Africa is that a vast amount of indiscriminate slaughter of small game is done by means of nets and pitfalls" and that in the past even elephants of all ages and both sexes were killed in large quantities by means of pitfalls.[449]

Cases of the wanton killing of African wildlife were generally noted by William T. Hornaday – a game preservationist practitioner – when publishing in 1913, he asserted that the spirit of slaughter in Africa was similar to that of America – "*kill* as long as there is *anything* alive to kill!"[450] Hornaday went further to underline the existence of this spirit by suggesting that when Africans will acquire all modern firearms and the ammunition they desired, that day will pronounce '"good-night" to all the wild life that is large enough to eat or wear' and that 'then is the time to measure each big-game animal for its coffin.'[451] Illustrating the state of wild-life loss in Nyasaland protectorate through contraventions of game laws, Hornaday argued that if the Curator of Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia-Zimbabwe) was to find representatives of the fauna that was lost in the Zambesi (Victoria) falls, he "will have to search *diligently* in far off Nyasaland, and beyond the Zambesi River."[452]

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[447] John McCracken, "Colonialism, Capitalism and the Ecological Crisis", in D. Anderson and R. Grove (eds.), Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 69-70.
[448] See "Letter from Sir Alfred Sharpe: Slaughter by Natives, to Rhys Williams, 14 October, 1904", *JSPWFE*, II, 19.
[449] Ibid.
[450] William T. Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife: Its Extermination and Preservation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 185. The emphasis is Hornaday's.
[451] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife*, 187.
[452] Ibid., 186. The emphasis on 'diligently' is the present author's.

However, the resilience of African hunting and other contraventions of the game laws need not be construed as evidence that there were no measures to check illegal hunting particularly in the Elephant Marsh Reserve in the Nyasaland protectorate. Reporting his observations on game reserves in July and October 1906, Sharpe demonstrated that the game hunting control measures for the Elephant Marsh. He firstly asserted that as far as his knowledge was concerned the Elephant Marsh had 'never been shot in' since it was established in 1897 and that he only allowed Lord Waterford to shoot one buffalo for his collection and Dr. Davey to kill one head for use in finding out whether its blood had any trypanosomes or other germs.[453] Secondly, Sharpe emphasized that:

> The Elephant Marsh Reserve is extremely well situated, as there is a Government Station at Chiromo south of it, and an excellent and reliable Native Chief at the north end of it, who is allowed to shoot one or two beasts every year, and he acts as a Game Ranger. He is informed immediately if any person fires a gun in or near the Reserve.[454]

Thus far, it can be noted that despite the game laws and game control measures involving one of the African chiefs, and granted the traditional and covert ways in which Africans and some white hunters participated in hunting in the Lower Tchiri Valley as explained in this section, it is highly likely that the Valley was one of the places in which there was 'a good deal of illegal hunting … by the natives' up to some point around the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 as McCracken reports.[455] In fact this section has demonstrated the different avenues in which hunting was conducted with or without licenses. However, one of the key findings in this section is that the adaptations of aspects of the International Convention on game preservation by the colonial Malawi game laws of 1902 suggest ways in which the aspect of gender formed part of hunting for preservation. It has been shown that in the Lower Tchiri Valley hunting grounds more male than female game species were killed. However, apart from hunting that took place as part of resisting the game laws, there were also instances where game animals were killed in contexts in which hunters and planters were protecting their crops, and contravening the game laws.

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[453] Alfred Sharpe, "British Central Africa", July 17, 1906, *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 51.
[454] Alfred Sharpe, "British Central Africa", October 13, 1906, *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 52. Along with this Sharpe also observes that with regard to the Angoniland Reserve in what is today Central Malawi, apart from the Reserve being in the vicinity of two Government stations, game protection was also facilitated by two "native" Game Rangers. These were Headmen each entitled to an annual sum and were on campaigns to arrest any poachers with the result that there were only occasional "native" poachers from Portuguese territory, i.e. Mozambique.
[455] For details, see McCracken, "Colonialism, Capitalism and the Ecological Crisis", 70.

The contravention of the game laws might have continued even when not only permits to import and purchase firearms were suspended for Africans, but 'arms of precision' and '[a]ll serviceable rifles and revolvers' were also withdrawn from the Africans as a result of the War and the Nyasaland Chilembwe uprising around 1914–15.[456] During the War, its aftermath and even in the years preceding the War, interesting issues dealing with African game also revolved around game laws, hunting and the politics of tsetse control as the following chapter demonstrates.

Conclusion

In the light of the evidence deployed and discussed in the preceding sections of this Chapter, it can be argued that the game preservation ethos of the eras of Harry Johnston and Alfred Sharpe, 1891–1910, was pursued to facilitate white sport hunting although Africans still participated alongside the whites with the use of licensed and covert ways of hunting up to around 1915. The various forms in which sport hunting was advertised and the aspects of the game laws that were implemented reflected the intentions of the colonial state to ensure that game was "played fair" for the white or European settlers, planters and officials in early colonial Malawi. This reflected a transfer from thinking about hunting. As was the case with the English Game Laws System, some Africans resisted the game laws by continuing to hunt without proper licenses in hunting grounds such as the Elephant Marsh. Africans and some whites also participated in hunting for the protection of their gardens and plantations, avenues that offered opportunities for killing game in contravention of the game laws.

Moreover, hunting as a form of resistance to the game laws was indeed not uniquely African. There were cases of white immigrant hunters under Captain Poulett Weatherley, as well as that of George Pettitt, who defied the game laws. District Books show that there were also other Europeans and Asians who took out hunting licenses and might also have engaged in hunting in contravention of the game laws, given that some of the statistics in the game returns do not seem to reflect the realities of hunting. As was the case in other parts of British Colonial Africa some game that was killed might not have been reported to the Residents of the Districts. Some of these Europeans and Asians hunted to protect their plantations and in contexts like this, it was easier to ignore the legal considerations of killing more of the male species than the females as stipulated in the game laws of 1902. However, as evident in the

[456] Ibid.

statistics from the extracts of game returns of the Lower Tchiri Valley, it can be argued that while there were white and African contraventions of the game laws of 1897, 1900 and 1902, some licensed hunters in the Valley attempted to kill for preservation-killing more of the male than female species up to the beginning of the First World War

From some time in the first decade of the twentieth century the functioning of the game laws also interacted with hunting and the politics of tsetse control. McCracken provides a survey of the spread of tsetse and the political economy of its control in colonial Malawi and also specifically in Central Malawi.[457] Mandala joins the debate by examining the interaction and subsequent resilience of peasant cultivation with the expansion of tsetse belts in the Lower Tchiri Valley by critiquing conventional arguments about the dominance of capitalism over ecological change.[458] Mandala also discusses the interaction of the spread of tsetse with the development of the cattle economy in the Valley and suggests that the fly might have been present in some parts of the region even prior to the 1850s.[459] However, the following Chapter Four corroborates in some ways but largely departs from these earlier studies and investigates the interaction of both white and African hunting with the politics of tsetse control in the context of colonial game laws in the Valley from c.1908 to the late 1920s.

[457] McCracken, "Capitalism, Colonialism and the Ecological Crisis", 60–77; John McCracken, "Experts and Expertise in Colonial Malawi", *African Affairs*, 81 (322), 101–16; John McCracken, "Planters, Peasants and the Colonial State: the Impact of the Native Tobacco Board in the Central Province of Malawi", *Journal of Southern African Studies* , 9 (2), 172–92.
[458] Elias C. Mandala, "Capitalism, Ecology and Society: the Lower (Shire) Tchiri Valley of Malawi, 1860–1960" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota , 1983), 261–62.
[459] Elias C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1859-1960* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 254–55.

CHAPTER FOUR

Game Laws and the Politics of Tsetse Fly Control in the Lower Tchiri Valley, c.1906 – 1920s.

As the tsetse-game polemic reached its apogee in 1914, Reginald Maugham, a hunter, adventurer, colonial official and self-described "game preservationist", pronounced that for as long as his voice could be heard in connection with Africa – where he had spent the best years of his life – he would defend the innocent beasts against baseless accusations that? they harboured tsetse. This was in reaction to a body of opinion gathering momentum against Sir Alfred Sharpe's policy of preserving game in Nyasaland. It was increasingly believed by a stratum of scientists, the state and the public that game was to blame for offering a reservoir for tsetse. Maugham was reacting to proposals gaining impetus from a meeting that had taken place four years before in Blantyre, Nyasaland in August 1910, who insisted that game must go and demanded to transmit its resolutions to the Colonial Office.

There followed individual eruptions between prominent self-styled "African experts". For example, renowned African Explorer and big game hunter, F.C. Selous insisted on the connection between tsetse and big game, while Sharpe, equally famous big game hunter and retired Governor of Nyasaland, refused to accept it. This was one of many individualised disputes, much relished by the press, while in fact – as *The Times* conceded – 'a great body of competent opinion can be cited on either side.' Writing a decade later, in the late 1920s, Rodney Wood, a sometime hunter who later became Nyasaland's honorary national game warden, regretted this 1914 debate that became *debacle*. He lamented that it both destroyed and dissipated a great deal of game in the Elephant Marsh in the Lower Tchiri Valley.

This debate as described in microcosm here, runs throughout this chapter, extending the discussion from the previous chapter on game laws and hunting. Chapter Three argued that, although game laws were put in place to enhance hunting for "preservation" for white leisure and crop protection, the game laws were still contravened. This chapter explores a new element that crept into this tradition of violation: it argues that there were both white and African hunters who continued to contravene the game laws but on new grounds. They made the claim that game was a reservoir for tsetse flies, which caused human and animal trypanosomiases. However, mechanisms were then instituted in Nyasaland for dealing with the spread of tsetse fly. A key argument this chapter will develop is that, contrary to

arguments championed by Maugham and others against the wholesale slaughter of game on account of maintaining tsetse fly, in the Lower Tchiri Valley a real tragedy over game emerged. In this tragedy some very pragmatic hunting interests prevailed in contravention of the game laws. It is shown that while the prophylactic strategies that attempted to justify the deferring of the "death warrants" over game were under consideration and experimentation in parts of East, Central and South Africa, ruthless hunting and killing of game occurred in the Elephant Marsh in Ruo district in the Lower Tchiri Valley of the Southern Province. It will be argued that this ruthless slaughter of the game was instigated by similar experiments in some parts of Nyasaland's Northern Province where cases of sleeping sickness and cattle trypanosomiasis began spreading rapidly from around 1908. From that time until the late 1920s particularly 1928, the time that McCracken describes as marking the watershed in the history of the spread of the tsetse in Nyasaland,[460] in Britain and parts of the British colonial Africa including Nyasaland a two-sided debate raged over big game and tsetse.

One camp argued for game to be driven back or being destroyed. The other camp advocated for environmental approaches such as bush clearing for getting rid of tsetse so as to defer the execution of the death sentence on the "untried and certainly unconvicted… thousands of beautiful and valuable animals," as Robert Coryndon said in 1913.[461] As this chapter demonstrates, in the exchanges between these two camps, entomologists argued against each other as much as against former big game hunters and preservationists. White farmers and resident settlers with hunting interests also forged new alliances with "natives" in opposing the colonial administrators and preservationists who sought to save the African big game.

These preservationists, particularly those aligned to the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (SPWFE) as ordinary members or as honorary members by virtue of their positions as colonial administrators, started co-opting entomologists and the Colonial Office in London in defending the big game. The press, both in Britain and in the colonies such as Nyasaland oscillated between implicit and explicit arguments against the big game by publishing articles and letters which presented the arguments of the two camps, followed, in some cases by an explicit editorial opinion in favour of one camp or the other. Malawian

[460] John McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859-1966*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2012), 161; John McCracken, "Experts and Expertise in Colonial Malawi", *African Affairs*, 81, 322 (1982), 109.
[461] For the use of this phrase see R.T. Coryndon, *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (JSPWFE)*, VI (1913), 56. Coryndon was writing as the administrator of North-Western Rhodesia.

historiography[462] has so far drawn attention to the drivers of the spread of tsetse such as colonial game protection, the economic impact of sleeping sickness and animal trypanosomiasis, and the major divisions that emerged among medical men or entomologists over the prophylactic strategies for dealing with the spread of tsetse but with particular reference to the Northern Province in colonial Malawi.

However, the Lower Tchiri Valley region has received brief historiographical attention only in terms of the interaction between the spread of tsetse fly with peasant cultivation and the development of the cattle economy.[463] As a departure from existing East, Central and Southern African historiography, the Malawi cases suggest that 'different stories can be told about parts' of these regions[464] in terms of how they related to the dynamics of tsetse control. So this chapter is an effort to delve more deeply into the history of this specific area and its communities, in order to locate this area in the broader regional processes, and in so doing contribute to a fuller and more nuanced understanding of differences in the impact of tsetse fly and the varying impact of the efforts to control it.

Moreover, the present chapter uses hitherto rarely consulted or previously unutilised archival sources[465] and oral testimonies to investigate how white and African hunting in the Lower Tchiri Valley interacted with the politics of tsetse fly control in the context of the colonial game laws. The politics of tsetse control in Nyasaland developed both in the metropole in London at the Colonial Office, and in parts of the British Empire such as South Africa, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There were considerable exchanges of ideas and strategies

[462] McCracken, *History of Malawi*, *1859-1966*, 95, 160-61 and 186; and McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 105-109; See also John McCracken, "Colonialism, Capitalism and Ecological Crisis in Malawi: A Reassessment", in David Anderson and Richard Grove, eds., *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 63-7. See also Violet Jhala, 'Human Sleeping Sickness in Nyasaland, 1908-1945,' History Seminar Paper (Chancellor College, University of Malawi, Dec. 1985).

[463] See Elias C. Mandala, "Capitalism, ecology and society: the Lower Shire (Tchiri) Valley of Malawi, 1860-1960 (Ph.D. Thesis University of Minnesota, 1983), 261-62 and Elias C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1859-1960* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 254-255. In a personal communication, Mandala noted: 'I do not explicitly deal with the problem of tsetse fly.' He, however, alludes to the tsetse problem in a reformulated statement from his Thesis in his *Work and Control* in which he talks about 'the relative importance of capitalism and the ecology "relations" and "forces" of production in historical change.' For details see, a reply from Prof. Elias Mandala to George Jawali, "Some pages from your Ph.D. Thesis," Sunday, 1 June 2014. The correspondence is in possession the present author.

[464] See W. Beinart and L. Hughes, *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 196.

[465] These include colonial administrative correspondence, Nyasaland Sleeping Sickness diaries, reports in *The Lancet*, *The Spectator*, *The Times*, *The Central African* later named *Nyasaland Time*s as well as original research papers and reports of the Society for the Protection of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (SPWFE), Transactions (proceedings) of the Royal Society and the *Bulletin of Entomological Research*.

among these locales for dealing with the tsetse-game controversy in which the Colonial Office, The Royal African Society and the Imperial Bureau of Entomology were proactive in coordinating the strategies and commissioning further research into the tsetse fly menace. Entomologists in parts of the empire such as Nyasaland and the Rhodesias and even German Tanganyika also exchanged 'received wisdom' or 'prevailing orthodoxies' that largely proved ineffective.[466]

Tsetse Fly and its Connection with African Big Game

In the development of colonial responses to the spread of sleeping sickness and animal trypanosomiasis, significant roles were played in British colonies in Eastern and Central Africa as well as in South Africa as part of imperialism – both in increasing its networks of control and in its operation of networks of knowledge. There were exchanges in expertise and experiments between these British imperial possessions regarding responses to tsetse as vector for the human and animal deaths. As this chapter will show, developments in other colonies provide a broader political and intellectual context in analysing the politics of game laws and hunting and control of Tsetse in a specific area such as the Lower Tchiri Valley.

Within the British Empire the preservation of game against the interests of African hunters and white sportsmen came to be championed by "penitent" hunters who assumed responsibilities as either colonial administrators or participated actively in societies that stood for the preservation of African game. Indeed the tsetse-game controversy in British Colonial Africa featured in? the two camps. The Colonial Office in London, by virtue of its responsibilities over affairs in the British possessions, was viewed as the arbitrator and the judge over the controversy as it evolved into an imperial issue. From around 1903 the SPWFE as part of one of the camps began collaborating with academic and medical entomologists in their argument that a verdict on the wholesale destruction of African game needed to be adjourned until such a time when there was unimpeachable evidence that convicted big game as the only habitats and sources of blood meal for the tsetse fly, particularly *Glossina morsitans* that caused sleeping sickness and the fatal animal trypanosomiasis in cattle, horses and other domestic animals.

[466] See McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 109.

The other camp contended through the Press, British Parliament and magazines for hunters that African game needed to be exterminated or – at the very least – driven away from civilization in order to eliminate tsetse which was considered a menace to development. Tis camp argued that there was a close connection between tsetse and African big game particularly buffaloes because where one abounded, so did the other and vice-versa.

As shown in this Chapter, in its adjudication role, the Colonial Office not only interacted with deputations of the SPWFE but was also expected to be a key audience of the articles in the *JSPWFE* and reports on the controversy from colonial administrators.[467] The *JSPWFE* was one of the most important avenues in which the preservation of game received serious attention. Members of this Society, conversant as they were with the state of hunting and loss of game in Africa in which some of them had previously been protagonists, shared principles that would further game preservation even in the presence of the tsetse fly menace.[468]

Under their *cri de Coeur*, "Live and Let Live,"[469] members of the SPWFE considered game – particularly big game – as an "imperial inheritance" which had to be preserved from wanton extermination (especially by European sportsmen and those in colonial civil and military service), while accepting that some game had to be culled legitimately if the game were not in danger of extinction through ruthless hunting as was the case with some of the big game species. Edward North Buxton, a penitent big game hunter and ordinary member of the SPWFE postulated succinctly the position of the SPWFE during the February 1905 Deputation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies:

> We should like to see uniform principles adopted, now that so many territories are to be combined under the Colonial Office. We regard the fauna which we find – a wonderfully varied fauna – especially in South Africa, as an imperial inheritance, and we think that if game were to be killed out, especially if species were to be lost, it would be an Imperial loss. It would be absolutely irreplaceable, and this generation would be held responsible for those who come after us. We believe it to be avoidable to a large extent even where the country becomes thickly populated.[470]

Evidence suggests that this SPWFE position did have some influence on Secretaries of State for the colonies (SSC) heading the Colonial office in terms of being sympathetic to the objects and subsequent game preservation activities of the SPWFE. For instance, despite the

[467] For details see, "The Year", *JSPWFE*, II (1905), 6 and "Origins and Objects of the Society", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 1.
[468] "The Year", *JSPWFE*, II (1905), 5.
[469] For details on this motto see "The Year", *JSPWFE*, II (1905), 5.
[470] "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire to the Right Hon. Alfred Lyttelton (His Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies)", *JSPWFE*, II (1905), 9.

challenges that could be encountered in convincing the Downing Street and Self-Governing colonies on matters of game preservation, Right (Rt.) Honorable (Hon.) Alfred Lyttelton, then SSC at the time of the February 2, 1905 deputation, not only affirmed the urgency of effective game preservation in the colonies but also became an honorary member of the SPWFE.[471] As will be elaborated, sometime in 1913 after the 1905 deputation, as part of his views on the controversy over game and tsetse, Rt. Hon. LV Harcourt, SSC snapped that "to talk of the extermination of the wild fauna of a whole sub-continent [Africa] is to talk of wild nonsense….the suggestion is only possible from those who take their natural history and Geography from atlases."[472]

As this chapter demonstrates, in spite of the effect that these influences might have had on the arbitrating role of the Colonial Office, the office exercised caution in handling arguments that were put forward by the two camps involved in the controversy. The office consulted administrators in the colonies concerned on the appropriate courses of action to take regarding the concerns of the SPWFE and its collaborators although some of the administrators were also honorary members of SPWFE by virtue of their administrative duties. The SPWFE was also served with the responses from the colonies for the SPWFE to make recommendations. The cautious spirit of the Colonial Office was reflected in the arguments or cases developed against policies advocating for the wholesale slaughter of African game especially in Central and South Africa. It was not only the penitent butchers who participated in these arguments, but also colonial administrators, sportsmen, legal institutions, newspaper editors and correspondents, entomologists and medical authorities.

Controversies over Linking Tsetse with Game

From 1900 various authorities (both self-styled and official) started writing letters to Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary for the Colonies on the assumed connection between the presence of the disease-parasite carrying tsetse and African buffalo. According to Reginald Maugham who also participated in the tsetse-game controversy:

> The matter in dispute, so far as I can remember, affected the question of how far the presence of game in a district was responsible for that of tsetse flies, and to what extent, if any, the removal or extermination of game beasts, in areas in which these insects occurred, would lead in turn to their extermination.[473]

[471] S.H. Whitbread, MP, "The Year", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 10.
[472] Reginald C.F. Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), 353.
[473] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 347-48.

In fact, it was further argued that the game laws that were being reinforced to protect game through application of the principles of the London Convention of 1900 in colony-specific legal processes, as discussed in Chapter Three, were responsible for the spread of tsetse fly. In the United Kingdom from around 1906 interest in this controversy was stimulated by an ably conducted controversy in the columns of a leading sporting journal, *The Field: Country Newspaper* sustained on the one side by that careful game observer, Sir Alfred Sharpe, and F.C. Selous, on the other.[474] Apart from Selous, in the camp that accused game of attracting and maintaining tsetse were newspaper correspondents, sportsmen and resident white hunters and farmers.

Particularly from 1906, defending game but not tsetse was a team comprising of the lead plaintiff, the SPWFE which advocated for a 'suspended judgement and death warrant'[475] upon African big game by engaging Protozoologist, Ernest E Austen of the British Museum (Natural History)[476]; Professor Minchin, Protozoologist, University of London and Fellow of the Zoological Society (FZS) of London; Sir John Kirk, chosen on the basis of his unrivalled many years of experience in travelling in Africa— as a 'a very old servant of the Crown.'[477] During this time and much of the first three decades of the 20th century, the argument for the elimination of tsetse through the elimination of big game was based on at least two premises. Firstly, it was understood that the tsetse fly was responsible for a form of trypanosomiasis in cattle and horses commonly referred to as the "nagana" disease caused by a species of *Trypanosoma* known as *T. Brucii*.[478] Secondly, tsetse was seen as responsible for human trypanosomiasis manifesting itself as Gambian Fever and sleeping sickness caused by the trypanosome, *T. gambiense* carried by the tsetse.

According to a letter by Prof E.A. Minchin, both *nagana* and sleeping sickness in Africa were transmitted by the bites of tsetse flies of the genus *Glossina*, nagana being carried mainly by the species *Glossina morsitans*, *Glossina palidipes* and probably *Glossina fusca* and others

[474] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 347. See also "The Preservation of South African Wild Game," *The Times [London/England]* 10 December 1907, 15. The Times Digital Archive. Web. 18 Aug. 2014.
[475] These terms were firstly employed in the controversy in 1907 in "The Preservation of South African Wild Game," 15.
[476] Prior to this engagement, Ernest E Austen prepared and published A *Monograph of the Tsetse-Flies*, (1903) on request from the Trustees of the British Museum as part of developing knowledge regarding tsetse.
[477] SPWFE, "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire to the Right Hon. The Earl of Elgin, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Friday, June 15, 1906", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 21-22.
[478] Austen, *Monograph of Tsetse Flies*, v.

while *Glossina palpalis* was the vector for sleeping sickness.[479] Minchin noted further that the diseases caused by these trypanosomiases were generally called "tsetse-fly diseases" and that the 'tsetse fly itself is quite harmless in itself; it is merely the carrier of the infection.'[480] In this case it was possible for the fly to bite an infected subject and later on inoculate a healthy subject, as Minchin elaborated. In this regard, Minchin drew attention to the question of where the infection for which the tsetse needed to be eliminated came from.

At the time of writing his letter in December 1906, Minchin acknowledged that with regard to sleeping sickness, it was not possible to answer the question as to the source of the infection. While suggesting that there was no connection between distribution of sleeping sickness and big game particularly buffaloes, he, however, observed that: 'It is highly probable that there is some wild animal which harbours the parasite, and from which the fly brings it to man; but this "natural host" of *T. gambiense* is at present hypothetical and has not been discovered.'[481]

However, the case of *nagana* was quite different according to Minchin, because: 'There exists definite evidence to show that *Trypanosoma Brucii* occurs naturally in wild game and that the tsetse flies bring it from game to domesticated animals.'.[482] I In summing up his arguments, Minchin emphasized that 'there is no doubt that the big game represents a natural "reservoir" for the *nagana* parasite from which it is carried by tsetse flies to domestic cattle.' But he offered no suggestions on actions to be taken against the big game.[483] As shown below, although Minchin's letter offered no suggestions, it catalysed other responses in defence of African game from accusations channelled through the Press. This was the case in spite of the continuing lack of accurate knowledge on the connection between, game, tsetse and the human and animal maladies.

The Press and Tsetse-Game Polemic

In 1907, speaking at a dinner hosted for him by the African Society, Sir Patrick Mansion, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (FRGS), observed that sleeping sickness 'still had

[479] E..A Minchin to Rhys Williams, "The Tsetse Fly and Sleeping Sickness", December 13, 1906, *JPWFE*, III (1907), 48. Note that Minchin was writing in his capacity as Professor of Protozoology in the University of London.
[480] Ibid., 48.
[481] Ibid., 48-49.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Ibid.

far to spread and many victims to claim.'[484] It was also observed that by 1908 the rapid spread of sleeping sickness into new areas within Africa was becoming a threat to the development of viable commercial enterprises that depended on a regular supply of "native" labour to make profit.[485] Sleeping sickness was further threatening to depopulate parts of Africa and retard progress in white settlement and domestication of animals. In light of this context, Austen asserted, that on a number of occasions in 1906 and 1907 the columns of the public Press in Britain promulgated:

> [T]hat to protect game is to preserve tsetse flies, and so increase the risk of the spread of the sleeping sickness….In other words, it is maintained that tsetse-flies subsist exclusively upon the blood of big game, and that if the latter were utterly destroyed tsetse-flies themselves would soon be numbered among the various forms of animal life that have become extinct within living memory.[486]

By 1908 Austen considered this position as a serious danger to the continued existence of big game and game reserves in different parts of Africa since it was claimed that many people held this view. In taking a stock of the attacks on game made in the Press, Austen singled out the one advanced by T.M. Hastings of Oxford and County Club[487] in 1907 in *The Spectator* of March 2. In his letter titled, 'Game Preservation and Tsetse fly,' Hastings opined that it was important for an experiment in killing and driving away game to be carried out over a fly infested district so that it could be observed carefully as to whether the fly that conveys the sleeping sickness infection would subsequently disappear.[488] Hastings argued further that one could not say that this experiment would not be effective before it had been executed because human interest had to predominate although: 'Everyone must deplore the necessity of destroying beautiful and interesting creatures.'[489]

In advancing his theory for killing and driving away game, Hastings appealed to Austen's Authority, particularly in Austen's *Monograph of the Tsetse-Flies* (1903). Hastings claimed Austen had said that it was 'almost certain that the tsetse cannot exist for long without

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[484] T.M. Hastings, "Game Preservation and Tsetse Fly", *The Spectator*, 2 March 1907, 329. Accessed at http://archive.spectator.co.uk on 10 Aug. 2014.
[485] Ernest E Austen, "The Dependence or Non-Dependence of Tsetse-Flies upon Big Game, with Special Reference to the Species of Tsetse Known as *Glossina Palpalis* and Sleeping Sickness", *JSPWFE*, IV (1908), 11.
[486] Ibid. 11-12.
[487] It needs to be noted that Hastings' interest in game and tsetse issues in Nyasaland dated to some time before 1907 when the letters from the President of the British Central African Planters' Association and himself were published on the same subject by *The Spectator*. Hastings had also lived in Central Africa for some years as elaborated below.
[488] Austen, "Dependence or Non-Dependence of Tsetse-Flies upon Big Game", 12. See also Hastings, "Game Preservation and Tsetse Fly", 329.
[489] Hastings, "Game Preservation and Tsetse Fly", 329.

mammalian blood and that this is almost always supplied by the game, and when the game goes, the fly disappears.'[490] Responding to Hastings, Edward North Buxton, himself a hunter, game preservationist and one of the architects, hence ordinary member of the SPWFE, contended that although Hastings invoked Austen's authority, Hastings should have also examined what Austen said in the most recent and important Blue-Book issued to British Parliament in November, 1906.[491] Buxton advised that of particular importance to Mr Hastings in this Blue-Book was the following statement from Austen:

> "[b]efore signing the death warrants of a number of beautiful and harmless animals, and so rendering ourselves liable to the censure of future generations, haply less purely utilitarian than the present, it behoves us, even at the risk of being stigmatised as 'armchair faddists' by the *Central African Times* to see that we do not act hastily, and that before taking an irrevocable step we are quite sure of our facts."[492]

Buxton argued further that Hastings was dealing with a 'highly technical problem' in a loose way because Hastings did not actually have knowledge as to the exact species of tsetse and game on account of which he was justifying his theory to 'destroy all species of game over a certain area by way of experiment.'[493] The lack of proper knowledge to justify this theory invited other voices into the Hastings-Buxton debate. R.W. Essington from Cornwall, contended that it should have been imperative for everyone to wish that the wholesale slaughter of African game needed to be avoided.[494] Essington elaborated that, to him:

> It is generally believed, but not proved, that the tsetse-fly which kills domestic cattle, and the same fly, or a similar one, which causes the sleeping sickness not only does no harm to the big game in Africa, but, thriving in their veins [big games' veins] propagates the mischief.

To Essington big game was merely a victim of circumstances that required more careful investigations. It is perhaps on this conviction that Essington went further to underline one of the paradoxical situations, that the lack of knowledge on the tsetse-game controversy might

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[490] Ibid.. Although Austen also frankly admitted the observation that blood is an indispensable meal to tsetse flies, in 1908 he regretted the statement he had made around 1903 regarding the connection between tsetse flies and big game. He explained that this statement which Mr Hastings instrumentally employed to justify his theory to destroy game was 'a far too sweeping a generalisation,' that lacked comprehensive evidence to support it—David Livingstone's 50 year-old suggestion being a major influence on his statement. For details, see Austen, "Dependence or Non-Dependence of Tsetse-Flies upon Big Game", 11-16.

[491] Edward N Buxton, "Game Preservation and Tsetse Fly," *The Spectator*, 16 March 1907, 417. Accessed from *The Spectator* Archive at http://archive.spectator.co.uk on 10 Aug. 2014. See also SPWFE, "Editorial Note", *JSPWFE*, IV (1908), 9-10.

[492] Buxton, "Game Preservation and Tsetse Fly", 417. Note the *Central African Times* was one media outlet which also published criticisms against the Colonial Administration in Nyasaland. It became the *Nyasaland Times* in 1907. Despite this caution, Mr Buxton suggested that for the proposed experiment to be successful, the area selected needed to be extremely wide. See also Austen, "Dependence or Non-Dependence of Tsetse-Flies upon Big Game", 12.

[493] Buxton, "Game Preservation and Tsetse Fly", 417.

[494] R.W. Essington to the Editor of the "Spectator", "Game Preservation and the Tsetse-Fly", The Spectator, 6 April, 1907, 531. Accessed at http://archive.spectator.co.uk on 13 August 2014.

have been putting some sportsmen in a situation in which they had to accept to postpone the destruction of game. Noting that Sir A Cooper of Berkhamsted was the 'chief person' interesting himself in the matter of the wholesale game slaughter, Essington was dumbfounded.[495] He wondered what his plans were as he considered Cooper 'too good a sportsman to murder any game: [W]hat his plans are I do not know; but I do know that he is spending thousands in the fly country and that he has already met with some success'.[496] His surprise at Cooper's actions made Essington pass on some advice to Cooper through the Editor of *The Spectator*:

> That which I would, through you, suggest to him is that the thing to discover is some chemical to be applied to the skin, or taken in the stomach, of domesticated animals, which will extend to them the immunity given by Nature to the big game, of course such domesticated animals, and those only, should be allowed to enter the fly country.[497]

Although there is no evidence of how scientifically (im)possible Essington's suggestions and observations were, what is clear is that despite the theory of killing and driving away game which Sir Cooper appears to have been financing, others such as Buxton and Essington did not see wanton slaughter of game as a solution to the maladies whose vector was believed to the be tsetse fly. While one of the letters[498] concurred with Austen and Buxton in imploring that Hastings and those who subscribed to his theory should provide more evidence to convict game as responsible for the maladies brought by tsetse flies, Hastings accepted the status quo of the tsetse-game controversy saying: 'No doubt a great deal has still to be learnt with regard to the connexion of the tsetse-fly with sleeping sickness….If so, we must try to get rid of the tsetse…. Moreover, there is not much time to wait'[499] as sleeping sickness was spreading in parts British Colonial Africa and Tanganyika [Tanzania].

Emphasizing the need for urgency in dealing with the tsetse-game controversy, Hastings asserted that his letter published in *The Spectator*, 6 April 1907 should serve to induce the British Government and colonial administrators in colonies such as British Central Africa (Nyasaland) that:

> There is no doubt whatever now,…, that the particular species of tsetse which produces cattle sickness can be got rid of by getting rid of the game—…to destroy the game over those areas

[495] Ibid.
[496] Ibid.
[497] Ibid.
[498] See C.O. Murray to the Editor of the "Spectator," *The Spectator*, 6 April 1907, 531. Accessed at http://archive.spectator.co.uk on 13 August 2014.
[499] T.M. Hastings to the Editor of the "Spectator", *The Spectator*, 6 April 1907, 531.

> where the fly is known to exist. The experiment I propose would prove this, and it need not be tried over a very large area to start with.[500]

In this letter which ended with an appeal that getting rid of the game was the 'only way of getting rid of sleeping sickness,' Hastings also warned that on the basis of his best sixteen years' experience among "natives" in Central Africa, if sleeping sickness spread there, the possibilities of curtailing its spread through quarantine or hospital measures needed to be ruled out.[501] He added that the "natives" were afraid of Europeans and would not dare go to hospitals and doctors but rather die in the bush.

Thus far, the Hastings-Buxton debate, its rejoinders and suggested solutions to the tsetse-game controversy, notwithstanding their scientific correctness, given that there was still more to be learned about tsetse and game,[502] served to show how far the Press might have been shaping public and official opinion on the controversy. It was therefore no surprise that in 1908, as stated at the outset, Austen began extending his responses against attacks on game, arguably on behalf of the SPWFE.[503] Austen reckoned that unlike the period from 1903 when knowledge about tsetse and game was merely reflective of the circumstances in parts of the British empire south of the Zambezi, by 1908: '[W]e are able to form a far truer conception of the relation between the various species of tsetse and big game than was not possible in 1903.'[504] In 1908, having shown that even Selous' observation that in parts of the British Empire tsetse was connected to buffaloes might have been historically circumstantial as evidence from other parts of the empire suggested that tsetse fed on blood from other animals, Austen asserted that:

> even though an edict were to go to-morrow for the destruction of every buffalo, antelope, and zebra in Africa [as advocated by those against game]… there are no reasonable grounds for

[500] Hastings, "Spectator", *The Spectator*, 6 April 1907, 531. Hastings also suggested that if other species of tsetse could be eliminated by the destruction of game, so the law had to apply as in the case with those responsible for the cattle disease.
[501] McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 109-10 also makes a similar observation in which in the Northern Province of Nyasaland, "natives" rather concealed the presence of tsetse to avoid being relocated to new villages.
[502] On this need for further enquiry into the game-tsetse controversy, see also, Editor, "Introduction", *JSPWFE,* III (1913)—Mainly as sleeping sickness edition or number, and George Grey, "Notes on Game in Northern Rhodesia", *JSPWFE*, IV (1908), 40-41. At the time of writing, Grey was an ordinary member of the SPWFE.
[503] In the "Editorial Note" to the *JSPWFE*, IV (1908) in which Austen's article is featured, the editor concludes on page 10 of the note, thus: 'We desire to call special attention to the important article by Professor Austen on the connection of the tsetse-fly and big game. It deals with the allegation that the *Glossina Palpalis* is dependent on the game and with the inference that the latter must be destroyed. The article is of the highest scientific interest, and has it is needless to say, a close bearing on the objects of this society.'
[504] Austen, "Dependence or Non-Dependence of Tsetse-Flies upon Big Game", 17.

> supposing that tsetse-flies will cease to exist…unless in their proscription they can contrive to include the birds, crocodiles, lizards, snakes, and practically every form of vertebrate life.[505]

Austen's assertion notwithstanding, let alone, the critiques on the attacks on game published in the Press as evinced above, between 1911 and 1913 Dr Warrington Yorke, an entomologist of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine came to endorse the theory previously advanced by Hastings in *The Spectator* as noted above. Dr Yorke, as will be seen, promulgated his theory regardless of other positions in defence of game that dated back to 1906 as the next section shows. At this time that there were continuing attacks on the big game, preservationists, adventurers, hunters, hunter-travellers and even other entomologists also canvassed their positions to defend the big game. Figure 4.1 below shows some of the less well known protagonists in the tsetse controversy in Nyasaland including, Dr Yorke.

Figure 4.1: A combination of two images showing some of the less well-known protagonists in the tsetse-game controversy in Nyasaland. The first image shows Dr Warrington Yorke to the left and Dr J.B. Davey to the right while they were on a picnic on Cholo (Thyolo) mountain in Nyasaland; 1907-08 (Parts of the mountain border with the Lower Tchiri Valley particularly the Chiefdom of TA Mlolo in which the Elephant Marsh was largely situated). As the caption suggests, the second image depicts R.C.F. Maugham at tea time in a (hunting) camp. [506]

[505] Ibid., 25.

[506] *Sources:* John Beard and Pamela Beard (eds.), *Nyasaland Days 1902-1919: A Biography By J.B. Davey, M.B., Dip. Trop. Med.* (England: The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum Press, 2005), 51 and James Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life in Africa* (London: William Heinemann, 1912), 380-381, respectively. Note that during the picnic Yorke with Dr Wakelin Barrett as members of the Blackwater Fever Commission in Nyasaland and that time Dr Davey was their guest.

Defending Game and not the Tsetse Fly

To begin with, as noted above, by 1906, noting that much was being said in the Press in Britain and some British Colonies in Africa about wild game being responsible for the presence of tsetse fly and the sleeping sickness disease, the SPWFE solicited the opinion of Prof E.A. Minchin who prescribed no action against game. The opinions of other entomologists and scientists were also co-opted to extend the responses.[507] At a June 1906 deputation in response to the press attacks on big game, Ernest E. Austen, an entomologist of British Museum (Natural History) and an ordinary member of the SPWFE started by cautioning that:

> My Lord, with regard to this point [of disease-carrying by animals, and the tsetse fly] which has been brought up recently in the daily Press by people, who, perhaps were not altogether quite qualified to write about it, there are one or two things to be said which I venture to think are of extreme importance.[508]

Austen contended that the assumption (based on the close association between big game and tsetse) that protection of big game implies protection of tsetse flies did not have facts to justify it. He offered at least two reasons for his position. Firstly, that although the parasites that caused *nagana* had without doubt been found in the blood of African big game from where they could be relayed to domestic animals, there were tracts of country (land) where big game abounded but would not necessarily contain tsetse at all.[509] In his observation, tsetse flies were mostly found in hot and moist river valleys that were rarely frequented by big game. Secondly, that in the case of sleeping sickness, conclusive evidence had not yet been discovered as to real natural hosts of the parasite that caused the malady. Austen elaborated that even humans could be hosts for the (sleeping sickness) parasites because:

> [I]f you take tsetse flies and make them feed on infected human beings or infected monkeys or other animals, you undoubtedly found that those tsetse flies do suck up the parasites and are capable of conveying them to other animals. The wild tsetse flies are not, or extremely rarely, found to contain those parasites. Therefore we do not yet know what is the animal which conveys these parasites.[510]

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[507] Whitbread, "The Year", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 13. Whitbread was a Member of British Parliament and ordinary member of the SPWFE.

[508] SPWFE, "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire to the Right Hon. The Earl of Elgin", 24. See also Austen, "Dependence or Non-Dependence of Tsetse-Flies upon Big Game", 12.

[509] During the same June 1906 deputation, Frederick Gillet, an ordinary member of the SPWFE corroborated that at a May 1906 meeting of the Zoological Society of London, Dr WL Samborn emphasized that on the basis of his researches, game was not responsible for the presence of tsetse because in districts where tsetse existed, game was practically absent. For details see, SPWFE, "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire to the Right Hon. The Earl of Elgin", 28.

[510] SPWFE, "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire to the Right Hon. The Earl of Elgin", 25.

It is clear from Austen's argument that there was not yet enough evidence warranting the proclamation of the death sentence upon African game, as was done in the Press. Perhaps on the basis of lack of this evidence, Austen concluded his case before Rt. Hon. Elgin, SSC, by suggesting that if game protection was conducted in sanctuaries located on open plains rather than on low-lying river valleys, game protection would not imply protection for the tsetse flies.[511]

Austen's defence against wanton killing of game on grounds of their being responsible for the spread of tsetse was also noted prior to the June, 1906 SPWFE deputation. In his May 17, 1906 response to a correspondent in the *Morning Post* Austen contended that:

> Although it is perfectly true that in South Africa the extermination of big game has resulted in the disappearance of tsetse from many localities in which they formerly abounded, in other parts of Africa, where other species of the tsetse occur, the flies seem to be less closely associated with wild animals.[512]

To strengthen his stand, Austen cited Alfred Sharpe's 1901 argument — that it was the type of landscape that regulated the presence of tsetse fly in the same way that the abundance or scarcity of game would do.[513] Alfred Sharpe's position emerged from the following observations encountered in the course of almost fourteen years' experience in Africa. Firstly, that it seemed that tsetse was dependent on wild animals for their existence because in most localities where tsetse was found there was some game. Secondly, that tsetse was not specifically dependent on buffalo. In some parts of British Central Africa Protectorate, as elaborated in a section below on Lower Tchiri Valley, buffalo was present in the absence of tsetse, and tsetse was present in large quantities where no buffaloes were in existence. Thirdly, that tsetse is not found in open plains, although such plains may have large quantities of game.[514] Tsetse may, however, be present on the edges of the plains, where forest abounds. One of the major implications of Sharpe's observations was that there could be tsetse in the absence of game, and that where game was abundant tsetse fly could also be non-existent. This was partly reflected in Austen's observation of 1903 that tsetse was:

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[511] Ibid. 26.
[512] Ernest E. Austen, "To the Editor of the *Morning Post*- 'The Tsetse Fly as a Disease-Carrier", "British Central Africa", "The Big Game Question", May 17, 1906," *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 43
[513] Commissioner Sharpe to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 30 September 1901, Appendix C: Copies of Letters on the subject of the supposed connection between the Tsetse and the Buffalo (*Bubalus cafer*, Sparman): Transmitted by the Foreign Office to the British Museum (Natural History) in Ernest E. Austen, *A Monograph of Tsetse-Flies [Genus, Glossina, Westwood] Based on the Collection in the British Museum*, (London: Longmans & co. 1903), 295.
[514] Sharpe to Secretary of State, Appendix C in *Monograph of Tsetse Flies*, 295.

> [C]onfined to damp, hot, low-lying localities, either on the borders of rivers or lakes, or at any rate not far from water. Cover in the shape of more or less thick bush or forest is essential, and the fly is not found in open plains.[515]

There was thus a synthesis of Alfred Sharpe's and Ernest Austen's contentions — that there could be tsetse in the absence of game, and that where game was abundant tsetse fly could also be non-existent, because the landscape was also a key determining factor. It needs to be noted that Austen made use of this reasoning even before the June, 1906 deputation. In his response to a correspondent in the *Morning Post* of May 17, 1906 Austen warned against 'taking an irrevocable step' of exterminating game before being sure of the available facts.[516] The Sharpe-Austen synthesis was applauded by Chas M.D. Stewart, a former hunter in the 1870s in South Africa:

> It goes without saying that tsetse fly was not found in the high-lying tracts where white tailed wildebeeste, blesbuck, and springbuck abounded, but there were also low-lying tracts in which the larger varieties of game abounded, and yet there were no tsetse amongst them.[517]

In light of his experience in hunting elephants, buffalo, zebra and different varieties of antelopes in tsetse free low-lying and elevated areas in South Africa, Stewart made an interesting statement regarding the course of the 'big game question.' He suggested that in the far interior of Africa it was possible to have tracts of land devoid of tsetse but having game "in which game could be preserved, without encouraging tsetse fly or running the risk of spreading sleeping sickness through their agency."[518]

Sir John Kirk, formerly a botanist in Livingstone's expedition, also came in to solidify the argument in defence of game. In 1906 through his letters to a member of the SPWFE John Kirk attempted to demonstrate the relevance of game laws and game preservation sanctuaries to the control of expansion of tsetse belts. Affirming his faith in the responsibility of game laws and related legal institutions in game preservation as analysed in the previous chapter, Kirk posited that:

> Game laws may for a time protect certain species, but it is only by creating *game reserves* or *sanctuaries*, within which, unless for administrative purposes, wild animals are not hunted, that the Fauna as a whole can be saved….A game reserve should, however, be selected so as not to include a locality infested by the tsetse near its outer border.[519]

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[515] Austen, *Monograph of Tsetse-Flies*, 7. See also Austen, "To the Editor of the *Morning Post*", 43.
[516] Austen, "To the Editor of the *Morning Post*", 44.
[517] Chas M D Stewart, "To the Editor of the *Morning Post*, May 19, 1906", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 44-45.
[518] Ibid. 45.
[519] "Letters from Sir John Kirk," *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 45.

Kirk made this observation on the basis of his long adventurous experience in Africa that tsetse flies were normally confined to fixed localities beyond which they never cross.[520] In his reasoning, if game animals were driven away from a fly zone, it was unlikely that the tsetse would follow the animals to where the animals relocated although the tsetse might have been dependent on the animals in the fly zone. Kirk maintained that when animals are in such new locales, i.e., driven away from tsetse, 'no danger need be feared that if game is protected the deadly tsetse will necessarily be present. What is required is that a fly-belt of country ought not to be on the outer side of, or near to, a preserve.'[521] Kirk's letters were concluded with a strong re-statement of his experiences and argument:

> The cry against the game reserves as the possible spreaders of the fly is nonsense. The fly never follows the game, although it will come back to old haunts from which it has been expelled by the temporary absence of the game on which it fed: that is, the fly has only certain localities in which it lives and to which it is limited. From this it follows that a game reserve should not include a fly belt near its border, and a public road or railway through a game reserve should avoid a part in which the fly exist.[522]

Prefiguring Kirk, Austen indicated that: 'We are still somewhat in the dark as to the factors that determine the limits of these "belts,"' although in Africa in the parts where there is an occurrence of Tsetse it is not found everywhere, but confined to definite tracts known as "Fly-belts".[523] Austen went further to acknowledge that: 'Within the limits of a fly-belt, however, tsetse are not always numerous, and it may happen that only a few specimen are encountered in the course of a day.'[524] He elaborated further saying that in most cases tsetse are confined to specific patches of forest or bush whose sizes may be small:[525]

> On one occasion [David] Livingstone, during a two months' sojourn on the Chobe River, Preserved his cattle by keeping them on the northern bank, where not a single Tsetse was found, although the south bank, "only fifty yards distant," was "infested" by the fly.[526]

Writing in 1914, Maugham agreed with both Kirk and Austen in relation to parts of Central Africa. In the context of critiquing Dr Yorke's theory for driving back game in parts of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia as elaborated below, Maugham noted that for

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[520] In light of Kirk's understanding it may be important to note that Kirk prefaced his letters, thus: "'You have asked me in what way the wild animals of Tropical Africa can best be saved from destruction, and in how far their preservation is likely to affect European undertakings. I must, therefore, try shortly to explain the views formed by me after a long African experience'". Kirk's African experience dated back to the 1850s as Botanist to David Livingstone's Expedition. See also "Letters from Sir John Kirk," 45.
[521] "Letters from Sir John Kirk," 46.
[522] "Letters from Sir John Kirk," 46.
[523] Austen, *Monograph of the Tsetse-Flies*, 6.
[524] Ibid., 8.
[525] Ibid., 9.
[526] Ibid., 10 and 201-202. On the aspect of the fly abounding in a sharply defined neighbourhood such as occurring on one side of the stream but not on the other see also Tsetse-Fly (*Glossina morsitans*), *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, 9th Edition, XXIII, 601.

'reasons of which were are still entirely ignorant, tsetse flies adhere to the same areas for long periods of time, wholly irrespective and independent of game therein.'[527] This mystery over tsetse belts also surfaced in relation to the rinderpest epidemic, which also evolved into a context for contestations as to whether game needed to slaughtered or not, to which Dr Yorke also drew some of his reasoning.

Rinderpest Epidemic, Tsetse Fly and Arguments for Game Eradication in Eastern, Central and South Africa

Although there were these illustrative arguments in the defence of game in the first decade of the 20th century, the recovery of big game populations from the rinderpest epidemic in some parts of Central and South Africa provided a context for continuing attacks on the big game on account of their association with tsetse flies. The key protagonist in these attacks was the Selous. Colonial administrators, game preservationists and hunters, also seized this context as an opportunity to elaborate on the '"Not guilty"' plea[528] of the game animals, particularly the African Buffalo. In defence of the buffaloes and other big game was Ernest Austen, Robert Coryndon, administrator of North-Western Rhodesia and Alfred Sharpe, Governor of Nyasaland.

Prior to the 1890s hunters and adventurers such Selous had observed that in places where there were numerous buffaloes, tsetse flies also abounded in large quantities. Around 1908, Austen pointed out that since the late 1860s there had been frequent assertions and reassertions that tsetse was 'closely associated with or dependent upon the buffalo.'[529] Austen argued that there were at least two factors that influenced the pronouncement of these statements. Firstly, Selous' letters in the *The Field* of October and November, 1907 noted that at one point in time south of the Zambezi buffaloes abounded in exactly the same spots as *Glossina morsitans*. Secondly, many of the earlier big game hunters who encountered the fly from the late 1830s while hunting south of the Zambezi also propagated the "old native idea" that tsetse bred in the dung of buffaloes.

It was as a result of these influences that between 1906 and 1910 following the rinderpest epidemic of the 1890s that decimated large numbers of buffaloes, Selous and like-minded

[527] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 353.
[528] On the use of this plea in connection with buffaloes in Nyasaland by Sir Alfred Sharpe, see Austen, "Dependence or Non-Dependence of Tsetse-Flies upon Big Game", 20.
[529] Austen, "Dependence or Non-Dependence of Tsetse-Flies upon Big Game", 20.

hunters and farmers argued that the rinderpest epidemic needed to be seen as part of the control of the tsetse problem. Selous and his team argued that wherever the African buffalo abounded, tsetse was plentiful, when buffaloes were killed off or driven away by the rinderpest, so did the dangerous fly, and that as the game populations were recovering from the turn of the 20th century, tsetse was also returning to its old haunts. To them, there was thus a connection between big game and the tsetse flies. In his counter-argument, Austen also averred that the true life history of the tsetse flies and how they bring about cattle disease had been explained through the ground breaking research of Colonel David Bruce in 1895 and that tsetse did not breed in the dung of buffaloes.[530] Bruce's findings, notwithstanding, Selous in the course of the tsetse-game controversy asserted that: ''tsetse depends on buffalo for their existence, and that if the buffalo are killed or dispersed fly will disappear."[531]

Austen observed that the evidence on which this assertion was based was, at most, circumstantial.[532] Austen explained that as Selous himself claimed that in the 1870s south of the Zambezi, the buffaloes far out-numbered other game animals, the tsetse fly had one obvious adaptation to survive on. The tsetse flies and their habits adapted to feeding and reproducing on the basis of blood meal from these buffaloes which were then abundant, slow-moving, and water-loving animals that frequented the physical places naturally preferred by the tsetse. Austen explained that in places where tsetse was said to have disappeared, after the disappearance of game from rinderpest, it could be argued that the destruction of the buffaloes by the rinderpest and "native" guns around the close of the nineteenth century left the tsetse with difficulties in adapting to new hosts.[533] As a result the tsetse slowly disappeared as well, only to come back with the recovery of the numbers of the buffaloes. Austen's argument was buttressed by findings in other parts of British Colonial Africa testifying that buffaloes were not the only ones which could provide a blood meal to the tsetse as was found in East Africa Protectorate and British Central Africa.[534]

Corroborating Austen's position, Major J. Stevenson-Hamilton observed that prior to the rinderpest epidemic different species of tsetse fly occupied numerous areas in South and Central Africa particularly those that served as the haunts of large bush-loving animals such

[530] Ibid.
[531] Ibid., 14.
[532] Ibid., 20-22.
[533] Ibid., 21-22.
[534] Ibid., 20.

as buffalo and kudu.[535] In advancing his critique of the connection between the big game and tsetse, Stevenson-Hamilton suggested that while the connection should be attributed to the observations of early hunters and travellers who passed through these areas and often did not remain there long enough, the apparent absence of both tsetse and game at a later date might have been due to temporary migration of game and the re-location of the tsetse as a result of climatic fluctuations.[536]

Stevenson-Hamilton offered a case which he viewed as representative of developments elsewhere in Africa. He decreed that on the basis of his nine years' residence in eastern Transvaal: 'It seems to be the case that from some hitherto unexplained cause, tsetse-fly, in the north-eastern Transvaal, became quite extinct during the rinderpest [1896-1897]'[537] although there were still some surviving few herds of buffalo, kudu, and bush buck which were believed to provide the favourite food supply for the fly. He also noted further that during that time there was uninterrupted and large scale shooting of game by white hunters and natives which extended over a long term of years, and almost exterminated the eland, and had reduced the buffalo to two herds, probably together not exceeding a couple of hundred individuals.[538] To Stevenson-Hamilton, the rinderpest was thus not the only factor that needed to be taken into account for disappearance of tsetse and game in parts of Central and South Africa.

Robert Coryndon, arguing in 1913, pointed out that while it was generally agreed that rinderpest killed large quantities of game and nearly exterminated all buffaloes which generally disappeared with the tsetse:

> It is difficult to account for this complete disappearance of tsetse over many large areas unless they [the Tsetse] were actually killed by the [rinderpest] epidemic, for certain kinds of game were not affected. The general conditions concerning the geographical relationship of game and tsetse were much disturbed,…. It may safely be said to-day [1913], throughout the whole Zambesi basin and elsewhere, there is a continuous expansion and contraction of fly areas going on without any corresponding alteration of game areas; *some of these fly areas are moving very slowly and are covering country previously free from tsetse, and in many cases can have obviously nothing to do with movements of game*; in other places for some obscure reason, the expansion is on a much smaller scale and occurs in a few months….[539]

[535] Stevenson-Hamilton, "The Relation Between Game and Tsetse-flies",114.
[536] Ibid.
[537] Ibid., 115-116.
[538] Ibid., 116-117.
[539] Coryndon, "Tsetse Fly and Big Game", 46. The emphasis is the present author's to underline the connection between Corydon's and the following arguments from Stevenson-Hamilton. Coryndon elaborates the argument on p. 47 asserting that: '[I]t is impossible to evolve a law from isolated or frequent occurrences of this nature.'

Interestingly, Stevenson-Hamilton – perhaps in anticipation of Coryndon – also contended that the epidemic did not have uniform impact on tsetse flies in other places:

> While there is no doubt that *Glossina morsitans* (?) absolutely disappeared from considerable areas during the course of, or immediately after the [rinderpest] epidemic, we have it on reliable authority that elsewhere it [the fly] was in no way affected'[540] [because] 'I have also had a personal experience of the existence of *G. morsitans* in large numbers *where there was little or no sign of larger mammals*.'[541]

Stevenson-Hamilton elaborates that in 1908 as he and his companion, R.C.F. Maugham, and some "natives" were travelling (as well as hunting to feed the large number of their carriers) through the northern part of Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) from Ibo along the coast of Lake Malawi: 'In the fly areas themselves there was no indication of the presence of big game, nor indeed of that of any of the lesser species of buck'[542] although hares, monkeys and other smaller mammals were probably in large numbers. Concluding his contribution in the *Bulletin Entomological Research* dated March, 1911, Stevenson-Hamilton argued that:

> Although it would be rash to express any dogmatic opinion concerning so complicated a matter as the relation between tsetse-fly and game from the experiences of a journey embracing only one period of the year, I feel fairly convinced that within the above area [i.e. the area they had travelled] the fly, *G. morsitans*, exists to a great extent independently of the blood of large quadrupeds.[543]

In 1914, while underlining the complex nature of the evidence regarding the rinderpest, game and tsetse in Central Africa, Maugham, like Stevenson-Hamilton, maintained that the rinderpest in its terrible march on areas in which game and tsetse were well established, it did not depopulate every portion of the country, 'many small areas were entirely untouched.'[544] Maugham noted that in particular:

> In Nyasaland, for example, the destruction wrought by the rinderpest epidemic upon animal life in no way, district for district, affected the previous presence of the tsetse. They were there before the rinderpest, when they doubtless waxed fat upon the blood of the multitudinous mammals the country contains, but the destruction of the game affected them [the tsetse], not a whit—there they continued.[545]

McCracken in his analysis of the impact of rinderpest in the Malawi region also acknowledged its varied impact in the region. He argued that although the Ngonde and the Ngoni in northern part of the region lost their cattle to the rinderpest pandemic which began

[540] Stevenson-Hamilton, "The Relation Between Game and Tsetse-flies",114. Again the emphasis is the present author's to highlight the link between Coryndon's and Stevenson-Hamilton's analyses.
[541] Ibid., 116.
[542] Ibid., 116.
[543] Ibid., 118.
[544] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 353-54. Maugham added that in these parts of central Africa, the game that survived the epidemic were slowly restocking the game numbers in those places.
[545] Ibid., 354.

in 1892, much of southern Malawi (to which the Lower Tchiri Valley is part) was untouched by the rinderpest which spread south from Ethiopia where it had been introduced by Italian owned cattle from India.[546] Although there were all these foregoing perspectives that sought to re-analyse the "old story" of the supposed dependence of tsetse on big game in defence of the big game, by 1913 it was being reported that:

> The question of the degree of responsibility to be borne by wild game in South Africa for the attraction and maintenance of tsetse fly (*Glossina morsitans*) and consequently for the prevalence of nagana disease, has for years occupied considerable public attention in that country and in Nyasaland.[547]

It needs to be emphasized that despite opposition to the destruction of game (even from Sir David Bruce, one of the key authorities on tsetse and game, as also noted above), from 1908 up to 1913, there was mounting pressure on the colonial administrators in Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Zululand to exterminate game on account of their association with Tsetse flies, particularly, the species *G. morsitans*.[548] This pressure came because in 1911 Drs Warrington Yorke and Kinghorn established that *G. morsitans* previously known as disseminator of cattle trypanosomiasis was also the vector for *T. rhodesiense* later known as *T.brucei* responsible for a more virulent form of sleeping sickness in Nyasaland, North-Eastern Rhodesia and parts of German and Portuguese East Africa. As the next section shows, from January 1913, Dr Yorke, having argued that big game in Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia was responsible for the presence of *G. morsitans*, and being convinced of that to eliminate the fly was impractical, he advocated a theory for driving game back as T.M. Hastings had done in 1906. In 1906 the agitations to destroy game in Nyasaland because of tsetse was mainly in relation to the Elephant Marsh Game reserve in the Lower Tchiri Valley but between 1908 and 1909 cases of sleeping sickness were reported in parts of Northern Province in Nyasaland.

"This fauna is antagonistic to civilization"

Apart from the press as discussed above, there were other experts in the camp that blamed the big game for the presence of tsetse through public speeches and lectures. Dr Yorke was the protagonist in the camp that was advocating for the game slaughter through the lectures. Reginald Maugham and Ernest Austen, as Fellow of the Zoological Society (FZS) of London took the mantle as lead defence counsel, as it were, supported by Hon. L.V. Harcourt, SSC

[546] McCracken, *History of Malawi*, *1859-1966,* 95.
[547] See R.T Coryndon, "Tsetse Fly and Big Game", *JSPWFE,* 6 (1913), 41.
[548] For details see, David Bruce, *Nature*, (September 3 1908), 413 and Austen, "The Present Position of the Problem of Big Game," 53-54.

albeit supposedly neutral; Sir Alfred Sharpe, then Doctor of Laws; Prof Minchin, Vice President of the FZS; and other Fellows of the Zoological Society as they prayed, legally speaking, to sustain a hitherto 'plea for a suspension of judgement and death sentence'[549] upon the big game.

In 1913 Dr Yorke, having researched tsetse and game in North-Eastern Rhodesia (whose findings also applied to Nyasaland[550]) resuscitated the theory to drive back game on the basis of his unrivalled expertise in tropical diseases, which as will be seen in this section, showed how complicated it was to resolve the controversy.[551] Under the umbrella of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene and while acknowledging that it was a moot point asking as to whether or not slaughtering the big game would eliminate *Glossina morsitans* successfully,[552] Dr Yorke argued:

> [P]roposed that, as there was considerable evidence that tsetse flies spread with the game, and increased in numbers as the herds increased—as the great game formed the reservoir of the sleeping sickness virus, which the fly transmitted to the human being, the only chance of getting rid of the possibility of further infection was to "drive back the game from the neighbourhood of human habitations.[553]

To Maugham this proposal in its entirety signalled the complexity of the tsetse-game controversy on largely two grounds. Firstly, because in its extension, the proposal suggested that 'a census of the population should be taken and the proportion suffering from sleeping sickness noted, an index of the percentage of infected flies ascertained, and these steps repeated over prolonged intervals of time.'[554] The second reason was that 'the driving back of the game' from human habitations was pronounced as if the game was to simply be 'found in

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[549] For previous pleas of this nature, see *The Times*, 7 Dec. 1907, and *The Lancet*, 22 Nov. 1913, 1504.
[550] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 342-356; Warrington Yorke, "The Relationship of the Big Game of Africa to the spread of Sleeping Sickness. With an Appendix containing Remarks by Sir John Bland-Sutton, FRCS, FZS; Guy A.K. Marshall, FZS; Prof E.A. Minchin, MA, FRS, VPZS; The Hon. L Walter Rothschild, DSc, FRS, FZS; Sir Henry Seton-Karr, KCMG, FZS; and Sir Alfred Sharpe, KCMG, LLD; and Reply by Dr Yorke", *Proceedings of Zoological Society of London*, I, XXIII (1913), 321-337; Austen, "Present Position of the Problem of Big Game," 60-61' and "Sleeping Sickness and Tsetse Fly", *The Spectator* 5 Oct. 1913, 11-12. Accessed at http://archive.spectator.co.uk on 15 Aug. 2014.
[551] In fact Dr Yorke and Dr Kinghorn, both of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene were the first ones, who through their investigations (commissioned by the British South Africa Company in 1911-12- at Nawalia in the Luangwa Valley, North-Eastern Rhodesia) showed that *Tryapanosoma rhodesiense* later called *Trypanosoma brucei* and disseminated by *Glossina morsitans* was present in the blood of big game. For details, see Austen, Ernest E Austen, "The Present Position of the Problem of Big Game, Tsetse Flies, and Sleeping Sickness", *JSPWFE*, VI (1913), 65.
[552] Austen, "The Present Position of the Problem of Big Game", 68.
[553] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 348. See also Austen, "The Present Position of the Problem of Big Game", 68 where Austen, quoted Dr York at the conclusion of his lecture at Liverpool on January 3, 1913 asserting that: '"The big game is the natural reservoir of the infection, and the *role* of the tsetse fly Glossina morsitans is to transfer the virus from the big game to man and his domestic animals'".
[554] Ibid.

village gardens, intermixing sociably with the goats and fowls.'[555] He explained that even if game animals were present, the theory of 'driving back' game was not a viable process because in his observations most of the active ruminants were already 'accustomed to travel in one short night many miles farther than they could be driven in several long and weary days.'[556]

In further assessments of Yorke's proposal and ideas of experts of the same case as Yorke, Maugham maintained that on the basis of his own twenty-year long observations in fly infested country, observations also endorsed by a number far more competent of scholars (than himself) of the complex tsetse-game question, Yorke and his fellow like-minded experts 'were simply beating the air'—they were irresponsibly advocating for measures whose success they could not guarantee even in the smallest measure.[557] Maugham elaborated that in some parts of Africa such as Portuguese East Africa where him as well as other sportsmen and observers encountered enormous old tsetse belts, there was no trace of game. Testimonies from more elderly "natives" from those parts confirmed to Maugham that the tsetse infested areas had been without game from a long time.

Despite the weaknesses that Maugham and other participants in the controversy could single out in Yorke's theory, Yorke embarked on a series of public lectures. In these lectures significant attention was drawn to the theory that by "'driving back"' the fauna of Africa the main reservoir of African sleeping sickness infectivity will also be removed. To Dr Yorke, this was achievable because it was only a portion of the game that had been found to be hospitable to the disease's parasite—game in fly infested zones as he emphasized in his conclusions. However, to Maugham, it was still incomprehensible for the portion of the game that was hospitable to the parasite to have been fully known. At that time, that is, 1913, there was not much thorough knowledge that had been obtained regarding the connection between tsetse and game. Moreover, the role of many African diurnal birds— and that of 'small vermin' as queried by Austen— found in tsetse infested areas in hosting the parasite, had not yet been investigated at the time of Dr Yorke's speeches, Maugham claimed.[558]

[555] Ibid., 348-349.
[556] Ibid., 353. However, with regard to time, Dr Yorke warned in his lecture on January 3, 1913 that: 'Such an experiment as this would take some years to accomplish.' For details see Austen, "The Present Position of the Problem of Big Game" 68.
[557] Ibid., 349.
[558] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 352 and Austen, "Present Position of the Problem of Big Game", 69-70.

Maugham argued further that granted the lack of evidence of the real connection between tsetse flies, game and the parasites, Dr Yorke had to make it clear whether or not his theory of 'driving the animals back' was an actual case for the extermination of game by entrusting the implementation of the theory to 'the wanton, armed native, or the murderous "biltong" manufacturer'.[559] He reiterated that tsetse had other sources of blood meal apart from that provided by the big game and domestic stock although evidence he had found and supplied to some undisclosed appropriate authorities—that he had found tsetse in 'the act of sucking vegetable juices'— had been dismissed and rendered a close matter.[560] As if simulating a legal counsel's prayer in a court of law in defence of game, not tsetse, Maugham pleaded:

> Let us, therefore, not be hasty, nor yet too drastic in our first applied remedies, and above all, let us be sure before we adopt our preventive measures that they constitute in very truth the only way out. Do not condemn to extirpation even the meanest detail of the African fauna until the blood of every living creature containing it, from the eagle in the zenith to the serpent in its hole, has been carefully examined, so that no small unsuspected host continue unharmed whilst the great fauna are ruthlessly slaughtered.[561]

This plea which was preceded by Maugham's own acknowledgement of the importance of the investigations that Dr York, his colleagues and commissions had been undertaking in search of accurate knowledge regarding the tsetse-game controversy reflected the spirit in much of the prior and subsequent debate on tsetse and game in parts of British Colonial Africa. In fact in 1913 in his comments on Dr Yorke's proposal, Austen, like Maugham, noted that although the proposed experiment seemed to have been designed on scientific lines, it was only going to be successful if it would also eliminate any possible contingencies,[562] i.e., alternative sources of food for the tsetse, including humans.[563] Austen pleaded that:

> [I]f it be proved on further investigation that big game is the chief if not the only reservoir of the virus of sleeping sickness, it will be difficult *on any grounds* to resist the demand for the ruthless killing off, or at least driving back, of big game in inhabited parts of tropical Africa, wherever, game, tsetse flies and sleeping sickness are found existing together.[564]

Maugham's and Austen's pleas for a sustained suspended judgement on the case against the big game were perhaps motivated by the rejoinders to Dr Yorke's paper presented on 18

[559] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 353-54.
[560] Ibid., 355.
[561] Ibid., 356.
[562] Ernest E Austen, "The Present Position of the Problem of Big Game, Tsetse Flies, and Sleeping Sickness", *JSPWFE*, VI (1913), 61.
[563] The possibility of their being human reservoirs of the parasite causing sleeping sickness, as elaborated later in the chapter, emerged from Austen's critique of Dr Yorke's (to some extent, Dr Kinghorn's) theory, see Austen, "The Present Position of the Problem of Big Game", 69-71.
[564] Austen, "Present Position of the Problem of Big Game", 59. Emphasis is Austen's.

March 1913. In their responses to Dr Yorke's paper, Sir John Bland-Sutton, FZS; Guy Marshall, FZS; Prof Minchin, Vice President of ZS; The Honorable Walter Rothschild, FZS; Sir Seton-Karr, FZS; and Sir Alfred Sharpe, LDD and former Governor on Nyasaland almost unanimously contended that the state of the knowledge regarding the tsetse flies, big game and the parasites causing human and animal trypanosomiases did not warrant a hasty legislation for game destruction.[565] In particular, Prof. Minchin was noted as having found it difficult 'to believe that…, that if the tsetses in the bush were deprived of their food [through game being destroyed or driven away], they would sit down and die of starvation' and not resort to attacking humans and cattle in nearby villages.[566]

Replying to Minchin, Dr Yorke provided a rather contradictory answer. Yorke said: 'Cattle are not as a rule found in villages situated in "fly" districts, and the "fly" does not invade villages around which there is a clearing, even though at the present time they could by so doing obtain food still readily than they do in the bush.'[567] Yorke provided another less meaningful response to Sharpe who wondered as to whether tsetse really depended entirely on game for its existence, and if it was possible to destroy every form of life upon which tsetse can exist including the "native."[568] Yorke responded as follows:

> As pointed out in my paper, whether the tsetse fly depends entirely on game for its existence is beside the question [of driving away and slaughtering game]….Definite information on this, as on many other points raised in this discussion, can only be obtained by means of the limited experiment which I advocate.[569]

Despite these responses which were rather contrary to the spirit of a sustained suspended sentence against game as evident in the rejoinders and other criticisms to Yorke's proposed experiment, Yorke clarified his position regarding destruction of African game at the conclusion of his replies to the rejoinders. Yorke asserted that while he was of a strong opinion that his proposed experiment, if carried out on a limited scale would provide data necessary for resolving the tsetse-game controversy. He had:

> [N]ot as some of the speakers appear to think, made the wild statement that the whole game in Tropical Africa should be destroyed, but merely that the restrictions should be removed in

[565] See, Appendix, "The Relationship of the Big Game of Africa to the spread of Sleeping Sickness", 328-335.
[566] Minchin, "Appendix," "The Relationship of the Big Game of Africa to the spread of Sleeping Sickness", 331-332.
[567] Yorke, "Appendix: Reply by Dr W Yorke", "The Relationship of the Big Game of Africa to the spread of Sleeping Sickness", 336.
[568] Alfred Sharpe, "Appendix," "The Relationship of the Big Game of Africa to the spread of Sleeping Sickness", 334-35.
[569] Yorke, "Appendix: Reply by Dr W Yorke", 336-337.

> "fly" areas, and that natives and Europeans should be encouraged to kill game in these areas, especially in the vicinity of human habitations.[570]

Dr Yorke was particularly reacting to a statement, also referred to above, that the SSC, Hon.LV Harcourt had made that: '"to talk of the extermination of the wild fauna of a whole sub-continent, is to talk wild nonsense."'[571] Dr Yorke's response to this was that: 'This is perfectly true, but it is no reason why the game in the vicinity of human habitations should not be destroyed' because, if a previous experiment in game destruction in Nyasaland had proven ineffective, as the SSC elaborated, that was evidence to suggest that such experiments needed to be 'efficiently performed.'[572] However, it is important to note that in the abstract of the *Proceedings of the ZSL* of 18 March 1913 during which Dr Yorke's paper was presented and discussed, it is reported that: 'The general opinion of the meeting was not in favour of Dr Yorke's views.'[573] Apart from those who offered their rejoinders to Dr Yorke's paper, also present at the presentation were other protagonists in the tsetse-game controversy such as Austen, and Selous while a letter, on the same, from Sir Henry Seton-Karr, a former big game hunter and ordinary member of the SPWFE was also read. The next section evinces that despite the weight that was exerted against Dr Yorke's views, other experts and the Press, extended his battle against the big game.

'[T]he death warrant must be signed, however heavy the hearts of the judges'[574]

Although the general opinion was against Dr Yorke's proposal, pressure continued to mount on the Colonial Office and the administrations in Nyasaland, for instance, to implement the proposed experiment. The Press, particularly *The Lancet* of 22 November 1913 drew attention to how the pressure was being exerted in three ways. Firstly, it showed that although Selous in his capacity as a renowned African hunter-explorer had made an assertion incriminating the buffalo and other big game for the outbreak and spread of *nagana*, African big game experts such as Sir Alfred Sharpe and Sir F.J. Jackson (for British East Africa) of equal fame as Selous himself, freely criticised the assertion. Secondly, the research, as suggested by Dr J.L. Todd in *The Lancet* of 22 November 1913, had been conducted in which:

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[570] Ibid., 337.
[571] For details see "Relationship of the Big Game of Africa to the Spread of sleeping Sickness", 327; Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 353.
[572] See "Relationship of the Big Game of Africa to the Spread of sleeping Sickness", 327.
[573] Zoological Society of London, "No. 118: Abstract of the proc. of the ZSL, March 18, 1913", Proc. of the Zoological Society, (1913), 14.
[574] See "The Connexion between Big Game and Trypanosomiasis", 1560.

> Koch, Bruce and his subordinates Kinghorn, Yorke and others have shown that many species of wild game harbour trypanosomes without exhibiting symptoms of ill-health; and that tsetse flies which have been bred up trypanosome free, and are then fed on wild animals, can convey fatal trypanosomiasis to susceptible domestic animals.[575]

The Lancet argued that on the basis of these findings and considering that there was already a case to be made for an experiment over the game, it was very tempting to suppose that a 'universal massacre of the wild game might conceivably abolish trypanosome diseases, sleeping sickness included' because 'tsetse fly cannot be exterminated and trypanosomiasis cannot be cured.'[576] The likelihood of the massacre was even imminent because even Sir David Bruce forcefully supported the argument that: 'if the game was convicted of acting as the sole trypanosome reservoir, the logical outcome would be the extension of the experiment to all habitable parts of Africa where trypanosomiasis has occurred.'[577]

Thirdly, in the light of the findings of the research and subsequent actions to be taken, *The Lancet* proclaimed that: 'We support Dr Todd in his advocacy of Dr Yorke's experiment'[578] because if complete proof incriminated the game, the experiment was conducted in a scientifically unassailable way, then the deadly plagues were finally done away with. In this regard, *The Lancet* prayed that although:

> The wholesale destruction of the African wild game would be repugnant to every animal lover and could only be justified by the most stringent necessity….if complete proof is obtained that thus, and only thus, can tropical Africa be purged of these deadly plagues, *the death warrant must be signed, however heavy the hearts of the judges.*[579]

Although the pressure had reached an almost zero-option point of demanding a death warrant upon the big game, the agitations for the destruction game particularly in the Elephant Marsh Game Reserve in Nyasaland's Lower Tchiri Valley dated back to the early years of the 20th century. As will be evident in the next section on the Elephant Marsh, in Nyasaland this pressure came from the Press in Britain and in the colony itself, the Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture, the "natives" and the Livingstonia Mission. Some of the key

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[575] "The Connexion between Big Game and Trypanosomiasis", *The Lancet*, 29 Nov. 1913, 1560. Prof Koch was a French Professor who, among other things, also investigated the connection of *Glossina palpalis* with the Crocodile in East Africa.
[576] Ibid.
[577] "The Connexion between Big Game and Trypanosomiasis", 1560. On Bruce's argument see also *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Core*, Nov. 1913.
[578] "The Connexion between Big Game and Trypanosomiasis",1560. On likehood of game game being responsible for the spread of tsetse, refer also to *The Central African Times* [Hereafter, *CAT*], November 23, 1907.
[579] Ibid. The emphasis is the present author's to underline the pressure mounting on the Colonial Office and the Colonial administrators in Nyasaland, for example.See also *CAT*, August 11, 1906, 7 and *The Nyasaland Times* [Hereafter, *NT*] March 9, 1911 in which the loss of game was not seen as a major loss but only a loss to a "few sportsmen" and would alleviate the loss of cattle from trypanosomiasis.

protagonists encountered in the preceding sections on both sides of the tsetse-game controversy also featured in Nyasaland's Elephant Marsh fights and counter-fights over tsetse and game.

Politics of Tsetse Control, Hunting and Game Laws in the Lower Tchiri Valley

A stock taking of the drivers of the spread of tsetse fly in the Malawi region from the late nineteenth century to the 1920s, so McCracken contends, include changing settlement patterns, the rinderpest epidemic, colonial game policies, the influenza epidemic and demands of labour migration particularly from the north.[580] By the late 1920s the spread of tsetse was seen as a serious hindrance to the development of the Nyasaland Protectorate as a result of population disruptions in affected areas, deaths from sleeping sickness and the losses of cattle from trypanosomiasis.[581] In terms of prophylactic measures to deal with the fly, McCracken identifies 'major divisions among the tiny band of medical officers and entomologists charged with the responsibility for halting the advance of tsetse.'[582] Some medical men under the leadership of Dr J.S. Old deployed 'squads of young men in black calico coated with bird- lime…as mobile fly catchers into the tsetse infested bush west of Domira Bay (Northern Province) in 1910, a measure that no doubt contributed to the spread of sleeping sickness in the area.'[583]

Prior to this proposal, in 1907 Dr Prentice of the Livingstonia Mission in the north 'repeatedly demanded the introduction of free shooting zones in which Africans should be allowed to hunt without hindrance.'[584] Prentice argued on behalf of medical men who were of the view that 'since game harbours trypanosomes wild life should be destroyed' because the increase in the spread of the fly was 'due entirely to the European policy of game protection.'[585] Although free shooting zones were delineated in Kasungu district in the Northern Province in 1915, Dr W.A. Lamborn, a medical entomologist observed that the outcomes were as futile as was the case in the early 1920s with similar experiments in

[580] McCracken, *History of Malawi*, *1859-1966*, 95, 160-61 and 186; and John McCracken, "Experts and Expertise in Colonial Malawi", *African Affairs*, 81, 322 (1982), 105-106.
[581] McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859-1966*, 160-61; McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 106. See also Violet Jhala, "Human Sleeping Sickness in Nyasaland, 1908-1945", History Seminar Paper (Chancellor College, University of Malawi, Dec. 1985).
[582] McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 107.
[583] McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 107. See also JS Old to Principal Medical Officer (PMO), Zomba, 10 October 1910, Malawi National Archives (MNA) M1/1/1.
[584] McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 107 also refers to Livingstonia Mission Report for 1907, 37.
[585] Ibid.

sparsely populated districts. In these districts 'the unrestricted shooting of game simply scattered it to new regions, thus accelerating the advance of the fly.'[586]

In their analyses of the prophylactic strategies employed to get rid of tsetse in the Malawi region, Beinart and Hughes argued that the state employed unsystematic culling which 'probably scattered animals and accelerated the advance of the fly.'[587] Beinart and Hughes contend that the efforts to cull game by shooting were not only financially handicapped but were also 'at best hit and miss,' because it was not easy to shoot out some smaller game such as warthogs, bush pigs and bush bucks.[588] Existing historiography suggests that the dynamics of game culling, hunting and the politics of tsetse fly control have so far been examined in relation to some parts of Central, Southern and Northern Malawi demonstrating, *inter alia*, the 'unexpected way'—tobacco plantations pushing back tsetse belts — and the medical men's strategies that attempted to drive back, if not eliminate, tsetse fly belts.[589] The Lower Tchiri Valley only received scanty attention with regard to peasant cultivation and the cattle economy although contestations over the destruction of game in the Elephant Marsh on account of tsetse date to the early years of the twentieth century.

In these early years, as elaborated in Chapter Five, there were protests against the Imperial Policy to save fauna from extinction. It was observed that settlers were looking for more land contending that existing sanctuaries were a '"barren and uneconomical use to which to devote certain tracts of country which are capable of settlement."'[590] In May 1906 in the context of arguing that the Elephant Marsh should be abolished because lions were terrorising the 'young Empire-Makers' around Chiromo, it was argued that : [I]f a case is scientifically made out against the buffalo as harbouring the bacillus for cattle disease and sleeping-

[586] McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 107. See also WA Lamborn, "Tsetse fly Problem", PMO, Zomba to R Wood, 27 March 1926, MNA GFT/1/5/1.
[587] William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 196.
[588] Ibid.
[589] Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 196; McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859-1966*, 160, 61; McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 106-107. See also John McCracken, "Colonialism, Capitalism and Ecological Crisis in Malawi: A Reassessment", in David M. Anderson and Richard Grove (eds.), *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Wiseman Chijere Chirwa, "Fishing Rights, Ecology and Conservation along Southern Lake Malawi, 1920-1964", *African Affairs*, 95, 380 (1996), 351-77; Mulwafu, W.O. *Conservation Song: A History of Peasant State Relations and the Environment in Malawi, 1860-2000* (Cambridge: The White Horse Press, 2011), 51-52.
[590] T.M. Hastings to the Editor of the "Spectator," "The Curse of Big Game", The Spectator, 19 May 1906. Accessed at http://archive.spectator.co.uk on 10 August 2014. However, T.M. Hastings commented that Mr Harger's contrary view that the presence of a game reserve in Chiromo would be to acceptable to the Shikar Club because the club was interested in swarms of game to hunt and not agriculture and transport using cattle. For details see *CAT*, November 23, 1907.

sickness, perhaps *boa caffer* [scientific name of Buffalo] must go; but the connection of cause and effect and its relation to the reserve has not as yet been established, and even if it were, I fail to see that a case has been made out against the rest of its four-footed inhabitants.'[591] However, it was felt that if the inhabitants of Chiromo were really "'put into state of siege by lions from the game reserve,"'[592] they should have vigorously reduced the numbers of the lions as had been the case with other game reserves.

T.M. Hastings argued further that there were no privileged groups of people that were to continue exterminating game as had been the case with the forest laws because a lot of game species had already been ashamedly lost under those laws as evinced to some extent in Chapter Four. Prior to this, the Planters and Settlers in Nyasaland had through their president R.S. Hynde argued that game reserves had to be abolished because as soon as human habitations have been established adjacent to a game reserve, the reserve become an anachronism and a nuisance.[593] In terms of the Elephant Marsh this seems to have been evident because as emphasized by Hynde:

> The Elephant Marsh … is right at the gate of the country, close to the country's port of Chiromo. The railway skirts on one side, and the road from Chiromo to Chikwawa and Cholo runs more or less through it and alongside. Native reside in its precincts. It adjoins land owned by Europeans firms. We heard of one planter trying to scare (ineffectually) buffalo from a field of cotton! Lions have been seen in the streets of Chiromo *and there is a belt of tsetse of tsetse in the Marsh* which precludes the use of the Chiromo-Chikwawa road.[594]

Emphasising the case against game reserves as breeding places for tsetse flies, Hynde went further to assert that even in the case of Shirwa (Lake Chilwa) reserve within a few miles of the Nyasaland Capital of Zomba: 'A firm at Zomba lost over fifteen head of cattle there owing to tsetse. This reserve also bounds an estate belonging to a European firm with a large

[591] Hastings to the Editor of the "Spectator".
[592] Ibid. See also *CAT*, June 23, 1906 in which a case was also being advance against the Elephant Marsh Game Reserve on account of the lions which were mauling "natives".
[593] T.M. Hastings to the Editor of the "Spectator", "The Curse of Big Game", *The Spectator*, 19 May 1906,
[594] R.S. Hynde, President of the Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce, Nyasaland to the Editor of the "Spectator", "The Curse of Big Game", *The Spectator*, 12 May 1906, accessed at http://archive.spectator.co.uk on 10 August 2014. This is a letter in which Mr Hynde is commenting on a letter by TM Hastings published in *The Spectator*, 23 December 1905 (accessed at http://archive.spectator.co.uk on 10 August 2014) on the subject of Game Reserves in Central Africa to which the Editor of The Spectator added a footnote that: "'If game sanctuaries can be proved to prevent the development of our African possessions, then most assuredly they cannot be maintained'". Mr Hynde felt that this was a very wise footnote and that his committee had advised him to write to the editorial that all what was said in that letter by Mr T.M. Hastings was actually true and that prior to the letter by Mr Hastings The Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture had sent a memorial to the Colonial Office on the same subject of game reserves standing in the way of development in Central Africa.

native population, and one of the principal seats of the coffee and tobacco industries, cattle rearing also being engaged into.'[595]

It is in this regard that Hynde eloquently contended in May 1906 that one of the great arguments that the Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture was making was that game reserves:

> [T]end to perpetuate the great tsetse scourge. This fly is a well-known to the development of Central Africa and until these reserves are abolished it will be impossible to get rid of the tsetse-fly. There is a further consideration in this connection, and that is the now proved fact that a species of tsetse fly is the carrier of the dreaded sleeping sickness disease. It may be the case that the true tsetse is not a carrier of this disease, but it is just as likely that it may be, or that where a true tsetse exists the allied form will also be found.[596]

The SPWFE's philosophy of 'Live and Let Live' for the big game in the Elephant Marsh was reflected in Alfred Sharpe's July and October 1906 responses to concerns about Tsetse and lions in the Marsh and other reserves in Nyasaland Protectorate.[597] These concerns on game reserves had also been made by the same Hynde, a notable critic of the colonial administration, in the *Central African Times (CAT)*. Reconstructed from Sharpe's responses Hynde's concerns were that game reserves, namely the Elephant Marsh, Shirwa [Chilwa] and Angoniland were habitats for the breeding of tsetse flies, buffaloes and lions and that considering the dangers of the flies and the beasts to humans and plantations, the reserves were not necessary. Sharpe, while noting that the Elephant Marsh Reserve was at that time only one fifth the size formerly demarcated by Sir Harry Johnston, asserted that: '"There is no tsetse in the Elephant Marsh now…"'[598]

Like Hynde, Ralph A. Durand, a correspondent to the *Morning Post* of 11 May 1906 seems to have supposed that the Elephant Marsh was acting as a reserve for both Tsetse Fly and game when Durand was attempting to advance an argument that the protection of big game 'involves protection of the disease-spreading tsetse fly.'[599] Austen, while also kow-towing the 'Live and Let Live' philosophy, counter-argued Durand's insinuation that 'death warrants' should be signed against game and lions in the Elephant Marsh. Austen suggested that while

[595] Hynde to the Editor of the "*Spectato*r". On the impact of tsetse fly on cattle in Nyasaland, see also *NT*, March 9, 1911.
[596] Ibid.
[597] See Alfred Sharpe, "British Central Africa", July 17, 1906 and October 13, 1906, *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 50-52.
[598] Sharpe, "British Central Africa", July 17, 1906, 50. It was also indicated that the Elephant Marsh was quite free from tsetse and that the tsetse was only found in the bush but not in the open country. For details refer to *CAT*, October 6, 1906.
[599] Austen, "To the Editor of the *Morning Post*", 43.

it had not yet been proved that the three species of tsetse present in Nyasaland could cause sleeping sickness, 'in the present state of our knowledge (or ignorance), the most stringent precautions' needed to be taken to prevent the disease from spreading into districts that were free from the disease.[600]

Despite the foregoing evidence regarding the presence of tsetse in the Elephant Marsh region, and the attempts taken by Alfred Sharpe and Austen to ensure that they were containing the complaints against the opening up of the reserve to free shooting to eradicate tsetse and its supposed hosts, as also noted in the preceding sections, efforts to shoot out game were mainly focused on Nyasaland's Northern Province (Mvera-Domira Bay region in Dowa) from 1908 up to 1913.[601] This was also probably due to the degazetting of the Elephant Marsh Reserve by Alfred Sharpe's successor, Governor Sir William Manning who, in April 1911, proclaimed Central Angoniland Game Reserve in Central Province of Malawi as the only one in Nyasaland.[602]

Regardless of the Elephant Marsh's being de-gazetted Rodney Wood, in 1928 took a keen interest in his report on Nyasaland game to contribute to the Tsetse-Game controversy in Southern Nyasaland with particular reference to the Elephant Marsh-Chiromo region in Ruo district in the Valley and Liwonde district in the Upper Tchiri Valley.[603] It is noted that as keenly observed by Johnston,[604] tsetse abounded in the Marsh as of 1897 and that there also abounded larger species of game such as elephant, a few black rhinoceros, lion, herds of buffalo, eland, sable, waterbuck, kudu, hartebeeste, reedbuck, impala, bush buck, duiker, Burchell's zebra, warthog and bush pig. The Marsh was thus noted as a haunt for different species of game.

Based on his extensive hunting experiences in the Marsh in 1912, and as a cotton planter in the vicinity of the Marsh, north of Chiromo particularly from 1914 as well as his wanderings throughout Ruo district during his several years of military service, Wood asserts that: 'In 1912 the same game abounded, with the exception of rhinoceros which were confined to a

[600] Ibid., 44.
[601] On the spread of sleeping sickness around this time see also *NT*, May 18, 1911.
[602] Denis D. Lyell, *Nyasaland for the Hunter and Settler* (London: Horace Cox, 1912), 10-11; *The Nyasaland Government Gazette*, April 12 (1911).
[603] Rodney C. Wood, "Game and Tsetse-Fly in Nyasaland", *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire (JSPFE)*, New Series, VIII, (1928), 110-116.
[604] See also Johnston, *British Central Africa*, 378. This is also acknowledged at the beginning of this section.

few wandering individuals. The buffalo existed in great herds right down to Chiromo.'[605] In particular, during his hunting expeditions it was possible for Wood, standing on anthills and using Zeiss glass, to see in a single day as many as 300 buffaloes, countless if not over 5000 reedbucks, at the same that water buck, hartebeeste and eland were a common sight as bushbuck, duiker and kudu were colonising every thicket and thorny scrub.[606] The migrating elephant were mostly confined to the north-west part of the Marsh. Was there anything missing so conspicuously during these hunting expeditions? '*But there was not a single tsetse fly to be seen*,'[607] Rodney Wood responded.

Wood's hunting experiences offer an interesting perspective to the controversy over the connection between game and the tsetse in Africa that as noted in the previous sections. This was the connection that some Europeans and "natives" were exploiting opportunities to further their hunting interests — laying charges on the game on account of tsetse and crop depredations, and advocating for the suspension of game laws that sanctioned for killing for conservation as argued in Chapter Three. These Europeans and particularly, the "natives," it can be deduced from Dr J.B. Davey's[608] report of around 1913 to the Society for Tropical Medicine, had the intention to prosper in their professions as hunters, caterers of hunters, providers of game meat or indeed as farmers whose farms and gardens could be free from game depredations while their livestock was free from the deadly *nagana*. Davey was quoted as having reported that:

> I do not think that there would be much difficulty in doing this (destroying the game) if natives were employed. It is work they would take up with some avidity. Having lately been a member of a Commission in Nyasaland, I remember that considerable anxiety was expressed, lest we should not be able to get some sufficient material, because during the previous year fifty rifles had been served in that area, and the natives had been encouraged to shoot game. If in that short time fifty rifles could clear a large area like that, after a year or two, they could make a great impression. As a matter of fact, that permission [to shoot the game] was only in force for about three months and they made a considerable impression on the amount of game.[609]

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[605] Wood, "Game and Tsetse-Fly in Nyasaland", 111-112. It needs to be noted that as a result of these experiences Wood claims to be speaking on the basis on 'good first-class knowledge' of the Marsh and the Ruo district. See also Lyell, *Nyasaland for the Hunter and Settler*, 10-11.
[606] Wood, "Game and Tsetse-Fly in Nyasaland", 112.
[607] Ibid. The emphasis is Rodney Wood's.
[608] Dr J.B. Davey was a colonial medical officer who was also involved in investigations on tsetse and its maladies in Central Nyasaland. For details see, Michael Gelfand, *Lakeside Pioneers: Socio-Medical Study of Nyasaland, 1875-1920*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), 298-306; see also "The Trypanosomes found in the Blood of Wild Animals Living in the Sleeping-Sickness Area, Nyasaland. By Surgeon-General Sir David Bruce, C.B., F.E.S.,.M.S. ; Majors David Harvey and A. E. Hamerton, D.S.O., E.A.M.C.; Dr. J. B. Davey, Nyasaland Medical Staff; and Lady Bruce, E.E.C", *Proc. of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, 86 (1913), 269-277.
[609] Warrington Yorke, *Proc. of the Zoological Society of London*, 327.

Dr Yorke was quoting Dr Davey at his presentation of March 1913 in the context of defending his proposal to drive back game arguing that although this shooting exercise in which natives were encouraged to shoot out game in Nyasaland had previously proved ineffective, if experiments like this one had been made in a scientific manner, they would work, as also alluded to above.

At a meeting of the Royal African Society (RAS) on 9 June 1913, Yorke reaffirmed not only his proposed experiment to drive back and /or exterminate game but also his responses to the rejoinders that had been made when he presented a lecture at the Proceedings of the ZSL on 13 March 1913. The title of the paper at the RAS meeting was: "The Relation of Big Game to Sleeping Sickness."[610] Sharpe, Vice President of the RAS, then remarked: 'The subject is one about which a great variety of opinions are held, and we have with us to-day a number of people who are able and well qualified to express their opinions.'[611] Amongst those who sent their views in writing about the topic of the paper because they could not be present, two former big game hunters and colonial administrators, Sir Henry-Seton Karr and Sir Harry Johnston echoed earlier protests against the proposal to destroy big game by, *inter alia,* emphasizing that: "'[T]here are large areas without any big game where sleeping sickness is prevalent, and there are also large areas with plenty of big game where there is no sleeping sickness…'" [and] that "'Do not forget that tsetse often swarms where there is no big game to feed upon.'"[612]

While these 'well-known African men'[613] expressed their doubts about the effectiveness of Dr Yorke's proposed experiment, some experts supported him during the discussion. Mr Cathcart Wason, a Member of the British Parliament noted that a point had been reached when the proposed experiment 'should be given a fair trial' and that 'over given areas big game should be absolutely exterminated.'[614] Wason made these observations on the basis of East African experience, and elaborated that the game needs to be exterminated for the sake

[610] Warringtone Yorke, "The Relation of Big Game to Sleeping Sickness", *Journal of the Royal African Society [*Hereafter*, JRAS]*, 13, 49 (Oct.1913), 23-32. This is a reproduction of the paper.
[611] "Meetings of the [Royal African] Society: Meeting on June 9 th. Discussion on Dr. Yorke's Paper", *JRAS*, 13, 49 (Oct. 1913), 62.
[612] "Meetings of the [Royal African] Society: Meeting of June 9 th", *JRAS*, 62-63.
[613] At this meeting the Chairperson, Sir Alfred Sharpe addressed these men as being among 'well-known African men' in the same category as Mr F.C. Selous, Sir Patrick Manson, Sir J. Rose Bradford who had sent their regrets for not being able to be present at the paper presentation and the subsequent discussion. This suggests that the Chairperson regarded these men as very experienced in African affairs including big game hunting.
[614] "Meetings of the [Royal African] Society: Meeting of June 9 th, *JRAS*, 66.

of the smaller number of white settlers who want to make Africa their home although a large number of white settlers who survive by shooting and organising hunting parties for rich people would desire to see large quantities of big game. Of particular significance was the response from Mr Ernest E Austen, who was introduced by the Chairperson as being 'perhaps the greatest authority on tsetse flies we have in England.'[615] Arguing with specific reference to Nyasaland and the works of Sir Harry Johnston, *British Central Africa* (1897) and Dr D Kerr-Cross, a missionary medical officer in Northern Nyasaland, Austen suggested that it was highly likely that what was referred to as sleeping sickness was probably suffered by "natives" in Nyasaland before the name assumed its household status.[616]

Mr Austen went on to assert that: [T]herefore it seems to me it does not follow that if we abolish big game within a certain district… we are going to wipe out the disease because human beings may also be "reservoirs" of the parasite. Austen highlighted that Dr Yorke was not advocating the extermination of game altogether but that within a given area game needed to be abolished. In spite of his assertion, Austen concluded his response by lending some credence to Yorke's proposed experiment: 'Before sitting down, I would strongly advocate the desirability of testing on a scale at least as large as Dr Warrington Yorke wishes, the dependence or not of the Rhodesian form of sleeping sickness [carried by *G.morsitans*] upon the existence of big game.'[617] Similar support hailed from Minchin, then from the Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine. While cautioning that practical conclusions, i.e., driving back of game, should not be made on the basis of recent knowledge and that it would be deplorable to see all the animals in Africa being wiped out, Prof Minchin noted that: 'On the whole, I find myself to a very large extent in agreement with Dr. Yorke so far as advocating that experiments should be made in a limited area.'[618]

Dr B. Blacklock argued further that destroying game in a small portion of Africa which had plenty of game swarming around would not be a loss even if the results turned out not to be the desired ones and that after all, the results of an experiment being carried out for the first

[615] Ibid. 67.
[616] Ibid.67-68. Mr Austen added that modern medicine held that humans could be responsible for being carriers of the parasites that cause sleeping sickness.
[617] Ibid., 69. The parasite for sleeping sickness which was discovered in North-Eastern Rhodesia by Dr Yorke and Kinghorn in 1910-1911 was called the Rhodesian or *Trypanosoma rhodesiense* and was also noted as the type affecting Nyasaland where the tsetse fly species, *G.morsitans* were found to be ubiquitous. See also Yorke, "The Relation of Big Game to Sleeping Sickness", 23-24.
[618] "Meetings of the [Royal African] Society: Meeting of June 9 th", *JRAS,*72.

time are rarely known.[619] Major A.S. Told, Head of the Army Veterinary School at Aldershot also concurred with those in favour of the proposed experiment on the basis of the little experience he had with diseases of animals. In his reply, Dr Yorke unequivocally agreed with those in favour of the proposed experiment and vehemently defended his position as he had in previous presentations: 'I could reply to all the criticisms that have been made; in fact I have done so in my paper. It seems to me it is useless to continue to discuss the matter; what ought to be done is an experiment such as I have outlined in some isolated area.'[620]

However, by October 1913 the Colonial Office began giving Dr Yorke's experiment some measure of recognition. The Secretary of State for the Colonies named a committee to report on the following:

> I. Upon the present knowledge available on the questions of the parts played by wild animals and tsetse flies in Africa in the maintenance and spread of trypanosome infections of man and stock. 2. Whether it is necessary and feasible to carry out an experiment of game destruction in a localised area in order to gain further knowledge on these questions; and, if so, to decide the locality, probable cost, and other details of such an experiment, and to provide a scheme for its conduct. 3. Whether it is advisable to attempt the extermination of wild animals, either generally or locally, with a view of checking the trypanosome diseases of man and stock. 4. Whether any other measures should be taken in order to obtain means of controlling these diseases.[621]

During that time, there was also a lot of attention drawn to the work of the Sleeping Sickness Commission as a result of the arrival in England of Surgeon-General David Bruce. Bruce was the leader of the Commission's work which was carried out in 'a wild and remote region' in Angoniland [Northern Province] in Nyasaland.[622] The findings of Bruce's Commission "tended to confirm the theory that the wild animals of the district are the chief source of infection to human beings….Being conveyed by *Glossina morsitans*, this variety of sleeping sickness should most probably be identified with the "tsetse-fly disease" of the Old South African hunters, known to the Zulus as *nagana*."[623]

In May 1914, the Inter-Departmental Sleeping Sickness Commission (related to Nyasaland) reported that although the opinions on the extermination of wild game in designated limited

[619] Ibid., 73-74.
[620] Ibid., 75.
[621] "Editorial Notes, *JRAS*, 13, 49 (1913), 101.
[622] Ibid.
[623] Ibid., 101-102. The emphasis is original.

area were not universally accepted, the committee thought that there were 'sufficient grounds to justify' an experiment which would bring useful results in terms of knowledge and strategies for dealing with the tsetse fly.[624] The report asserted the position of the members thus: '[T]hey recommend that if a suitable locality can be found where an experiment can be carried out at a reasonable cost it should be undertaken.'[625]

Despite the perceived practical challenges in terms of the success of the experiment as well as the stalemate that had been characterising much of the debate on the tsetse-game controversy in Nyasaland and in parts of East, Central, South Africa between 1906 and 1913 as noted in the preceding sections, game animals were wantonly slaughtered in the Elephant Marsh, where according to Wood, tsetse had been disappearing between 1897 and 1912 leaving only a small colony of its species as Sir Alfred Sharpe had also observed in his letter to the SPWFE in 1906.[626] Wood lamented that different varieties of game were destroyed in 1914 in defiance of the numerous calls for deference of the verdict against game and that this was in contravention of the game laws of Nyasaland.[627] This tragic nature of the killing is reflected in Wood's personal account of the events:

> In 1914 many natives were allowed to shoot game in this district with *modern rifles*. A ghastly tragedy ensued. *Females and young ones were killed and wounded wholesale*….All the other game were decimated. Where even hundreds of reedbuck and zebra [were present], today [1928] it is even hard to see one or two. And so on goes the sad tale. *One season of senseless uncontrolled slaughter had done it.*[628]

Even Maugham, writing in 1914 and commenting on this destruction of game said that when

> restrictions upon shooting in the more important of these [reserves] near Chiromo were largely removed, with the result that the area was promptly invaded by representatives of a type which is ever awaiting to take advantage of such an

[624] See "The Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Sleeping Sickness, *The Lancet*, 30 May 1914, 1547. This 26 paged report was presented to both houses of the British Parliament by command of his Majesty.
[625] Ibid., 1548.
[626] Sir Alfred Sharpe to the SPWFE, "British Central Africa", July 17, 1906, *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 50.
[627] This colony was located particularly around Masengere [Massenjere], and possibly comprised of the species *Glossina brevipalpis*, not *Glossina morsitans*, because according to a report by EE Austen of 1905 the British Museum did not have any specimens of *morsitans* but those of *brevipalpis* which were also found on the edge of the Marsh. The absence of morsitans seems to have been confirmed by a testimony that indicated that a herd of cattle had also been raised in perfect health for a long time around Massenjere and the nearby forest where *brevipalpis* existed. See also Gelfand, *Lakeside Pioneers*, 305, also indicates that 'in 1914…a large area in the Nyasa district was thrown open to the free destruction of game,' although the Inter-Departmental Committee on Sleeping Sickness had also bush clearing around villages, extensive clearings on the main roads in infected areas and that the clearing of the bush around villages had been taking place for some time.
[628] Wood, "Game and Tsetse-Fly in Nyasaland", 113. The emphasis is the present author's to emphasise that the spirit of the game laws, 1897, 1900, 1902 and their revisions had been abandoned by possibly experimenting with game extermination had been the case in Southern Rhodesia in 1901, 1905 and 1909 through the suspension of the game laws-summoning the execution of : 'One season of senseless slaughter,' as it were.

> opportunity. These doubtlessly worked their will upon the long protected and bewildered animals, and it is sad to think of what must have happened.[629]

The above accounts by Wood and Maugham reflect that the killing of the game in the Lower Tchiri Valley was not just a contravention of one of the key principles of the Nyasaland game laws of 1897 – prohibition of the killing of female game and the young ones, as subsequently upheld in the game laws of 1902 – but also one of the major principles endorsed at the 1900 London Convention for the Protection of Game and Fish in Africa as shown in Chapter Three. It was not only the laws about killing for conservation (killing more of the male species than the female species, as evinced in Chapter Three) that had been violated. Writing in 1928, Wood lamented that:

> The buffalo went and have never yet returned, only a few solitary individuals being met with to-day occasionally in the thickest reedbeds or densest thickets….It was not solely the amount that was killed that caused this *debacle*, the herds were so harried and scattered that they fled to remote wild uninhabited places along and over the Portuguese [Mozambique] border to the west.[630]

While they do not make clear connections between the fight against Tsetse and hunting in the Elephant Marsh region, most of the key informants from Mlolo and Tengani Chiefdoms observe that game disappeared in their region as a result of the depredations of over-hunting and that the few animals that remained sought sanctuary across the border with Nyasaland in the forests of Mozambique.[631] Although McCracken claims that there was a good deal of illegal hunting by "natives" in various districts in Nyasaland up until the beginning of World War One and even in its aftermath, Wood suggests that as a result of the disarming of the

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[629] Maugham, *Wild Game of Zambezia*, 360-61. The emphasis is the author's to underline the connections between Dr Davey's report, Wood's lamentation with Maugham's observation.

[630] Wood, "Game and Tsetse-Fly in Nyasaland", 113. The emphasis on *debacle* is original.

[631] See for example present authors' interviews with Mr Captain Kacholo, GVH Nkolimbo, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 23 May 2013. Mr Chigule Soda Phiri (TA Tengani), Chiromo Trading Centre, Nsanje, approx. 70 years old, dated 23 May 2013; Mr Danton Anyezi (TA Mlolo), Mlolo Court, GVH Chipunde, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 90 years old, dated 24 May 2013; Mr Plain Chilikumzako, STA Ndakwera, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, 74 years old, dated 27 February 2013; Joint interview with Mai Kusowa Mkuti, approx. 85 years old, Mai Kusela Sinapakwenda, approx. 75 years old, and Mai Dinala Falesi, approx. 80 years old, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, dated 24 May 2013; Joint Interview with Messrs Nyasaland Donivani, approx.80 years old, Stenelo Bande Anguleti, approx. 85 years old, Lesitala Esitade, approx. 80 years and Henry Fulailosi, approx. 80 years old, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, dated 24 May 2013. Mai Agna Magalasi, GVH Kamanga, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 19 April 2013; Mr Blantyre Magaleta, GVH Kamberengende, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old, dated 19 April 2013; Mai Agilesi Alindiamawo, GVH Alindiamawo, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx.. 85 years old, dated 18 April 2013; Mr Jenison Alindiamawo, GVH Kanyimbi, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. dated 18 April 2013 and Mr Magalasi Tchale, GVH Kamanga, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx.. 85 years old, dated 19 April 2013. It should be borne in mind that most of the key informants from the Mlolo Chiefdom claim that their parents and grandparents had been inhabiting parts of the Elephant Marsh and its fringes before the Marsh began inundating from the late 1940s. The informants from Tengani Chiefdom, however, recounted the ways in which game and their livestock suffered tsetse bites in the area that later became Mwabvi protected area.

"natives" during the Chilembwe uprising of 1915, some of the surviving game in the Elephant Marsh might have had a chance to outlive the practice of over hunting.[632]

Wood suggests that these chances were, however, thin because up until the late 1920s the colonial state in Nyasaland had not yet 'crushed in no uncertain fashion' the habit of "natives" to engage in poaching using all kinds of muzzle-loading firearms that they were hiding. However, in their reports, *Nyasaland Handbooks* of 1922 an 1932 corroborated each other in a refrain that: 'GAME is still fairly plentiful, except in the districts that have been thickly populated by Europeans' while emphasizing that 'Under the Firearms and Ammunition Ordinance, 1908, the importation of firearms and ammunition is regulated.'[633] In addition, in 1927 the Governor assented to the Game Ordinance of 1926 which provided for "native" hunting licences while prohibiting with penalties the hunting without licences and the hunting of young game.

Although this tragedy over game in the Lower Tchiri Valley tsetse control measures occurred in 1914, opposition to game as being responsible for tsetse continued well into the 1920s. In 1926 in the Legislative Council of Nyasaland, as elaborated upon in the next chapter, the Hon and Rev Dr William Murray, was among the unofficial members who argued that the Game Ordinance, 1926 should be rejected on account of the 'enormous increases of tsetse fly in the settled parts of the country.'[634] In particular, Murray,[635] argued that to him science had spoken that there was a connection between game and the tsetse that was destroying large herds of cattle and that there was 'no more to be said.'[636]

During the session in which Murray declared his position as regards the tsetse-game controversy, a memorandum had been circulated which was prepared by the Nyasaland

[632] McCracken, "Colonialism, capitalism and the ecological crisis in Malawi: A Reassessment", in D. Anderson and R Grove, eds. *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 70; Wood, "Game and Tsetse-Fly in Nyasaland", 113.
[633] S.S. Murray, *A Handbook of Nyasaland* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1922 and 1932), 197 and 328 respectively.
[634] "The Game Bill", *Summary of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland: Thirty-Second Session, 19 th April and 20 th April, 1926*, (Zomba: Government Printer, 1926), 14-16, MNA
[635] A former officer-in-charge of the Sleeping Sickness Commission in Zululand and on recommendations from David Bruce became part of the team of sleeping sickness investigators around Mvera in Central Nyasaland between 1910 and 1912, where he was also in-charge of the Sleeping Sickness Isolation Camp for nine months. For details, see William Murray, "Note on Relation between Tsetse-Fly (*Glossina morsitans*) and Game in the Proclaimed Area, Nyasaland", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene*, XV, 4, (1921), 118-121, and W. Murray, "History of the Introduction and Spread of Trypanosomiasis (Sleeping Sickness) in British Nyasaland in 1908 and the following years," Ibid., 121-128.
[636] See "Game Bill", *Summary of Proceedings*, 16.

Government entomologist, Dr W.A. Lamborn. The Attorney-General, Mr P.B. Petrides, in his introduction of the Game Bill, 1926, said that the memorandum had elaborated on why the Bill should not be rejected on account that the game protection it would facilitate would enhance the spread of trypanosomiasis.[637] Prior to the meeting of the Council, in his minuted reply to the suggestion made by the Chief Secretary on 26 March 1926 that Dr Lamborn's memorandum should be circulated to members of the Council, the Governor remarked that the memorandum would make an 'extremely valuable contribution to the argument'[638] that the Game Bill should not be rejected because of the controversial association between game and tsetse.

Elaborating on this in the Council's chamber and on what would happen if game was not protected, the Attorney-General said that:

> Dr Lamborn in this document has uttered a very solemn warning that if game is harried it will remove itself from the district and will not carry with it the tsetse fly. The fly will have to live somewhere and will then house itself on human beings. This has been done in the past and it will be? done here. The sound thing is to let game be steadily pushed back by the spread of cultivation when it will take the tsetse with it. If it does not we may have an epidemic in this country as they had in Uganda.'[639]

It may be recalled that McCracken also alluded to the halting of the advance of the fly in Central Nyasaland as a result of the opening of tobacco plantations from 1928.[640] From the World War One period until the late 1920s, efforts to control tsetse in Nyasaland were largely concentrated on the Mvera-Domira Bay region and other parts of Central and Northern Nyasaland,[641] which shared a border with the Central Angoniland Game Reserve (a subject worth a study of its own).

Apart from the Lower Tchiri Valley, Dr Yorke's experiment was also implemented in Central Nyasaland in the Marimba district. '[P]art of Marimba district was thrown open to free shooting from 1919, and again from 1922 to 1924 in the hope that the southern advance of tsetse might be stemmed'.[642] In his comment on this experiment as read by the Attorney-General, Lamborn argued that the shooting actually hastened the spread of the fly, rather than prevented the spread and that this facilitated the invasion of the fly into Dowa and Kasungu

[637] Ibid., 14.
[638] His Excellency, the Governor to the Hon. Chief Secretary, 31 March 1926, MNA/S1/665/26: Memorandum by Dr Lamborn on Game Destruction in relation to Glossina Morsitans.
[639] Ibid.
[640] McCracken, *History of Malawi, 1859-1966*, 161.
[641] See *McCracken, History of Malawi, 1959-1966*, 186; See also Gelfand, *Lakeside Pioneers*, 306.
[642] See "Game Bill", *Summary of Proceedings*, 15.

districts at 'a rate phenomenally rapid between 1915 and 1924.'[643] The free shooting that occurred in Marimba provided evidence to suggest, that in Nyasaland some European colonial officials who were also hunters, as well as hunters from neighbouring countries, had vested hunting interests in the implementation of the game destruction experiment as proposed by Dr Yorke. As part of lamenting the effectiveness of the game destruction experiment, Dr Lamborn noted, albeit at length that:

> Large shooting parties not only from Nyasaland but from N.E. Rhodesia took advantage of the opportunity, year by year, concentrating in the first place, as in Rhodesia, on elephants, animals less likely than those with softer skins to be attractive to the fly. It may be remarked incidentally that the gentleman, whose pen had been chiefly instrumental in 1922 in obtaining the concession from Government, was first in the field against these animals, securing three (unfortunately for him, cows) and then retiring; and that if the prowess of four others [hunters],…, succeeded in dropping out of one herd of eland, no fewer than twenty (leaving the carcasses to rot),affords any criterion then game in that area was must have indeed endured a very thorough harrying. The outcome as regards the fly was absolutely negative.[644]

Granted the amount of suffering that game in the Lower Tchiri valley and Marimba district were subjected to in the pursuit of Yorke's proposed experiments, it may be important to note that internationally, efforts to control the spread of tsetse continued well into the 1920s through the discussions in which Yorke's work was being critiqued by fellow scientists and entomologists. In his reply at one of the discussions in 1920: 'Professor Yorke summarized his views on the problem of trypanosomiasis by emphasizing that the problem to be considered was not a purely entomological one, but both epidemiological and medical requiring further lines of research into relations of the parasites to man and game.'[645] At its conference in 1925, the League of Nations also acknowledged an expanded approach to freeing Africa from sleeping sickness.[646] Noting that the disease was still of medical and economic importance, the League suggested that to eradicate the disease, there was need for the services of entomologists, veterinary and medical scientists and men of administrative and medical experience.[647] It can thus be seen that although the Lower Tchiri Valley and Marimba game animals were destroyed on account of tsetse, there was still need to 'suspend the death sentence' of the animals.

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[643] See "Game Bill", *Summary of Proceedings*, 15, and W.A. Lamborn, "Game Destruction in relation to Glossina morsitans", 17 March 1926, 2, MNA/S1/665/26.
[644] Lamborn, "Game Destruction," 2.
[645] Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, "Trypanosomiasis Research: Resumed Discussion", *The Lancet*, 4 December 1920, 1141. At that time Dr Yorke was referred to as Professor.
[646] See "Sleeping Sickness in Africa. League of Nations Conference", *The Lancet*, 30 May 1925, 1155.
[647] Ibid.

Conclusion

This chapter has mobilised previously under-utilised or totally neglected archival sources, coupled to fresh oral testimonies to demonstrate how white and African hunting impacted by and reacted to the politics of tsetse fly control. Equally, an analysis of Malawian historiography suggests that specific localities, such as the Lower Tchiri Valley, have rarely been analysed as microcosmic case-studies. Although the controversy over tsetse-game in the Elephant Marsh was conditioned by imperial and similar developments in Central, Eastern and South Africa which had sought an adjournment on a death warrant upon the big game as demonstrated in the preceding sections, the ruthless killing of the game was largely sanctioned by experiments such as the one proposed by Dr Yorke. This experiment provided opportunities for some hunting interests to prevail over the principles of the Nyasaland game laws. The chapter argues that although some of the Nyasaland cases in the shooting to eradicate tsetse were a hit and miss affair, a lot of game were harried and destroyed in the Elephant Marsh in 1914, while it had been observed that the presence of tsetse in the reserve had been declining since the late 1890s. Unlike in some parts of Northern Province, the Elephant Marsh region did not show evidence of widely expanding tsetse belts.

At the time of the destruction of the game, other parts of Nyasaland and East, Central and South Africa were advocating and putting into practice for some prophylactic strategies for getting rid of the fly without harming game. These approaches were both medical and environmental and at their most extreme prescribed the extermination of game, but then only game that carried the pathogens that caused human sleeping sickness and cattle trypanosomiasis. The chapter also explores in detail, the intricacies and shifts in the debates over tsetse in order to demonstrate the power of individual personality and strategy in the implementation of policy. This underlines the power of intimate, personal networks buttressing big intellectual networks in the history of science.

By contextualizing the politics of tsetse control, hunting and game laws in Lower Tchiri Valley with similar and concurrent developments in parts of East, Central and South Africa, the chapter also reveals that the hunting interests that triumphed were actually against the enforcement of game laws through game reserves that regulated free hunting. The next chapter investigates the interaction of this opposition to game reserves and the game preservation economy, particularly from the early around 1900 to 1940 when the commercial benefits deriving from tourism was taking root in Africa. During this time there was some

debate on the commercial value of game to local and national economies while there were game related menaces such as tsetse flies and increasing crop depredations by animals.

CHAPTER FIVE

"Wise too late, or Wise in time?": The Commoditization of Game and the Game Reserve Drive in the Lower Tchiri Valley, c.1900–1940.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, formal protests against African game reserves raged. These protests were often hidden by the teleological imposition of romanticized efforts towards wildlife conservation. In an attempt to close down African game reserves, several formal protests took place against them. In Nyasaland, these protests were directed at the Elephant Marsh, Lake Chilwa and later at Central Angoniland. As the preceding chapter has shown how the war against the tsetse fly, *G. Morsitans* – as a vector for deadly human and animal maladies – was part of a much larger battle against the abolition of the Elephant Marsh. This conflict lasted until the climax that resulted in the wanton slaughter of game in the Elephant Marsh and the Ruo district in the Lower Tchiri Valley in 1914.

Although the effects of this destructive drive continued to be felt in the form of scarcity of big game in the Valley well into the 1920s, preservationists, on the one hand, and European settlers with hunting interests and plantations continued to contest the continued existence of game preservation areas. From the turn of the twentieth century, the key protagonist in this struggle was the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce. However, from around 1914 to the early 1940s, as this chapter shows, the colonial state increased its bid to preserve the remaining numbers of game in the Lower Tchiri Valley.[648] The colonial state also wanted to avoid the situation that had taken place in which game was mercilessly slaughtered in the Ruo district, as shown in the previous chapter.[649]

[648] According to William Adams, game protection areas in Africa were set up against opposition from settlers and as such the classic approach to conservation of game was one of defence and as shown in the next chapter, 'once established continuous vigilance was needed to keep them intact' because the attempt to 'secure their future as national parks faced conflicting demands,' for land while poaching also continued to threated their existence. For details see, William A. Adams, *Against Extinction: The Story of Conservation* (London and Sterling, VA: Earth Scan, 2004), 111-112.

[649] For details, see also Reginald C. F. Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914), 363.

In the existing historiography, Brian Morris and David Njaidi[650] have analysed the implications of the Game Ordinances in Nyasaland. However, their analyses, while useful, overlook the dynamics and nuances relating not only to the Game Ordinance of 1926 but also to game preservation and the development of game reserves in the Lower Tchiri Valley. Elias Mandala's research into the subject only refers to how cattle-keeping began with the Magololo in the Lower Tchiri Valley, and how the cattle industry became problematic for the cultivation economy, particularly from the 1940s. Yet he does not show how game preservation and game reserves in the Tchiri Valley featured in the human–animal conflict as this chapter will explore.[651]

Indeed, as this chapter demonstrates, serious interest in the fight for the continued existence of game preservation areas drew inspiration from other imperial institutions and individuals: for example, game wardens like James Stevenson-Hamilton[652]; Game Preservation societies in South Africa; the East African hunting business; the review of the first 15 years of the May 1900 London Convention and the 15 points of William T. Hornaday, the American Game Preservationist. Moreover, the emerging game preservation economy that sanctioned the establishment of game reserves where game could live, migrate, multiply and thrive in an environment free from weapons, was driven by the impetus of both conservation and commercial interests.

While the imperial exchequer and the colonial treasuries were to fund the preservation of game, the commodification of game as part of the utilitarian philosophy of the day was to convince public opinion in the metropolis and colonies that protests against game reserves were not justified. By following the example of the game protection societies which were emerging in South Africa, various former hunters and others interested in game preservation argued for the establishment of game reserves in British dependencies. This chapter locates the commodification of game in a wider southern African historiography through showing

[650] Brian Morris, "Wildlife Conservation in Malawi", *Environment and History*, 7, 3 (2001), 357–72; Brian Morris, *The History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi* (Zomba: Kachere Monograph, 2006); David Njaidi, "Towards an Exploration of Game Control and Land Conservation in Colonial Mangochi, 1891–1964", *Society of Malawi Journal*,[Hereafter, *SMJ*] 48, 2 (1995), 1–25.
[651] See Elias C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley, 1860–1960* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 254–257.
[652] James Stevenson-Hamilton was the first warden of South Africa's Sabi Game Reserve where he served from 1902–1946.

that hunting and tourism went hand in hand with the adoption and adaptation of these sanctuaries in parts of the Lower Tchiri Valley.

Game Protection Societies and Public Opinion for Game Preservation

The highly influential Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (SPWFE), established in London in 1903, was composed of patrician hunters who essentially viewed colonial dominions as the natural extension of their Scottish hunting lodges and rural estates.[653] Adams has said only elite white men could engage with such animals legitimately.[654] It was an interaction not only shaped by race but also class.[655] Indeed, the SPWFE's leader between 1926 and 1945, the Earl of Onslow, Deputy Speaker in the House of Lords, drew a direct link between country estate's hunting regulations and national parks in Africa – both "needed" aristocratic leadership.[656] MacKenzie's three periods in the development of hunting in the colonies (which took local forms and overlapped): the first commercial hunting for ivory and skins by white hunters and from 1850s by some African elites; the second served the early colonial advance, generating funds and feeding workers on state projects and the third was an idealized ritual of the 'hunt'.[657] The period which followed saw the ideological shift towards "preservation".

From the beginning of the 20th century, African game protection societies arguing for the strengthening and establishment of imperial game reserves were characterized by members of different areas of expertise in African affairs and experience in big game hunting in Africa and other parts of the British Empire. This was evident in May 1903 when:

> A VERY representative group of English sportsmen, naturalists, administrators and explorers met last week at the Society of Arts to hear a paper read by Mr E.N. Buxton on the preservation of great game, and the creation and management of reserves for their protection. Some of the audience combined more than one, and some them all, of the capacities mentioned above, as may be seen by the fact that among those who took part in the subsequent discussion were Sir Clement Hill, who now controls the East African Protectorate, Sir Harry Johnston, Mr. F. Selous, Commander Whitehouse, and Sir John Kirk. Mr Buxton himself is one of the best-known sportsmen in this country [England], and is familiar with

[653] R.P. Neumann, "Dukes, Earls and ersatz Edens: Aristocratic Nature Preservationists in Colonial Africa", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14, 1 (1996), 81. G. Jawali, pers. comm.
[654] For discussion, see William Adams, "Nature and the Colonial Mind," 16–50, in William Adams and Martin Mulligan, eds., *Decolonizing Nature: Strategies for Conservation in a Post-colonial Era* (London, Earthscan, 2003).
[655] David Gess and Sandra Swart, "Hunting Status, Power and Buffalo Shooting in the Albany and Bathurst Districts of the Cape Colony c.1892–1916", *New Contree*, 2014.
[656] Neumann, "Dukes, Earls and ersatz Edens".
[657] J.M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988).

> most aspects of big-game shooting as well as with the habits and history of the larger animals of the world.[658]

Buxton's, a "penitent butcher" and preservationist, interest in the issue of imperial reserves was resuscitated by his visit to East Africa during which he observed the state of the game still remaining after the heavy toll exacted by the Uganda railway. The whole question of the needs and functioning of the imperial game reserves were noted in his remarks. In particular, he observed that the

> necessity for the establishment and vigorous upkeep of the reserves does not diminish with time. The international agreement as to the preservation of great game is practically only enforced by the British. In foreign territory, and in the portions which may still be described as "No-Man's-Land," the worst class of so-called sportsmen have things their own way.[659]

In Buxton's paper, there are notable instances of how "sportsmen" indulged in the destruction of game in various parts of Africa. This included the slaughter of thirty elephants, comprised of most of the females and young males in British Somaliland. The sports hunters who boasted that they had shot dead four elephants in four minutes (all of them cows or calves) using "hideously destructive and cruel … pump gun" rifles.[660] Moreover, the annual import of ivory from Africa to England alone represented the "destruction of thirty thousand elephants annually."[661]

As shown in Chapter Three, by the beginning of the twentieth century the measures that were being put in place in African protectorates to arrest the extermination of various game species were becoming more effective. Licenses had to be obtained before there could be any shooting of game. After shooting, returns had to be filled out, obliging the hunters to furnish evidence of all the game that had been shot, including the animal's species and sex. Although admittedly the returns were not always demanded or supplied by the hunters, as evinced in Chapter Three, Buxton's paper observes that the returns ought to have been demanded, because they provided a valuable record which enabled the British Government to know which game was available on the ground.[662]

He added that although British military officers and colonial officials may have grown accustomed to sport hunting as a professional prerequisite and that even "the public will

[658] "Imperial Game Reserves", *The Spectator*, 23 May 1903, Accessed from The Spectator Archive, http://archive.spectator.co.uk on 10 August 2014.
[659] "Imperial Game Reserves", *The Spectator*, 23 May 1903, 11.
[660] Ibid.
[661] Ibid.
[662] Ibid.

probably think the officers deserve the 'first cull'," more could be done to stop this by both increasing the sizes of small reserves and keeping them as sanctuaries to facilitate the recovery of game populations in parts of the empire.[663] In summing up his May 1903 case for buttressing and creating new imperial game reserves, Buxton said that: "[W]hat is wanted is not to limit, but to increase the reserves, and as matter of equal importance, to find enough money to enforce the license system and to carry out the law for the protection of the animals." Buxton drew on preservationist doctrine in the United States, adding that it was also extremely desirable that the British Government should have been publishing "an attractive Blue-Book, like the reports of the New York State Game and Forest Commission, showing the whereabouts of the hunting grounds and of the reserves, and giving details about the sport available."[664]

Writing in 1914 as a rejoinder to Buxton, Reginald Maugham, hunter, adventurer and colonial officer in parts of Central Africa, contended that although game laws and game reserves might be viewed as measures for safeguarding game, the long-lasting and thriving preservation of game did not lie in legislation, but rather in moulding public opinion. He suggested that this might be achieved through encouraging the activities of game protection societies that were beginning to emerge in South Africa from the turn of the twentieth century. That public opinion should be mobilized against the slaughter of game, was understood to be the key to saving the fauna of Africa from irresponsible and self-seeking individuals bent on destroying the empire's "heritage and birth-right."[665] In this regard, the societies, "penitent butchers" serving as colonial administrators, and writers of ethnographies on hunting in Africa, as well as all individuals, had the task of working as trustees of posterity in saving African game and fauna probably of the best quality compared to that of anywhere else in the world.

[663] Ibid.
[664] Ibid.
[665] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 362-363; See also SPWFE, "Minutes of the Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire to the Right Hon. Alfred Lyttelton (His Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies", *JSPWFE*, II (1905), 9-18.

The Spread of Hunting to South-Central Africa

In advertising for sport-hunting opportunities in what was claimed to be a long-ignored northern Zambezia region,[666] Maugham makes an interesting distinction regarding East Africa. While the hunting grounds of British East Africa, such as the Athi Plain, the Rift Valley, Taveita, Elgon and Naivasha were renowned sites for game shooting, more and superior hunting opportunities lay to the south in South-Central Africa or indeed the northern part of the Zambezia region. In Northern Zambezia there was no need for aspirant hunters to pay by check to finance a their hunting expeditions, because the philosophy of the over-commercialization of hunting, namely, "you draw the check and we do the rest," was not yet part of the hunting infrastructure.[667] In the Zambezia region, which had not yet experienced hunting as business on a larger scale, an inviting philosophy for hunters prevailed — "you get your shooting, as much as any man is reasonably entitled to."[668]

This vast region was there for European hunters to enjoy a less commercial hunting enterprise without being inconvenienced by other Europeans, and the cost of hunting was less than that incurred in British East Africa at the hands of commercial expedition caterers. The hunting experiences of the Zambezia region were advertised as capable of enabling European sportsmen to realize their fantasies of a pre-lapsarian Eden, a "Land of the Mountain and Flood."[669] This region's climate (during the hunting months) was both salubrious and harmless for the European sportsman. The landscape was not yet "spoilt" by economic infrastructures such as railways, motor roads or manufacturers, rendering the landscape as naturally "wild" as it could be. Hunting in the Zambezia region was also attractive due to its cost-effective *modus operandi*, in which peaceful "natives" were available as affordable guides.

Within the region, the game-rich plains of the Ruo and Tchiri Rivers in the Lower Tchiri Valley were noted as largely unfrequented and having a promising zoology, as well as other surprises for researchers in untrodden African fields, who were also interested in sport and travel.[670] The hunting advantages in the game-rich wide plains and forests bordering the

[666] Maugham claims that even during the second decade of the twentieth century, the lands to the north of the Zambezi River compared favourably with what formerly had been the finest hunting grounds south of the river, because they had a wide variety of different kinds of game. For details see Maugham, *Wildlife of Zambezia*, 369.
[667] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 366.
[668] Ibid., 366–67.
[669] Ibid., 367.
[670] Ibid., 369–70.

Zambezi River and in the lands to the north of the river were being advertised as places of great interest for those interested in sports and outdoor activities, as well as places worth pursuing while they were being preserved in sanctuaries to avoid the game "shoot-out condition" that was a characteristic of the hunting grounds further south of the Zambezi.[671] These sanctuaries would also be employed to acclimatize and facilitate the propagation of game from other parts of the world, where some animals were under the threat of extinction. From the 1890s to around 1914 little attention was given to the establishment of game protection sanctuaries, similar to botanical gardens, but which would cater for sport-hunting activities.[672] These sanctuaries were considered to be ideal for ensuring the long-lasting safety of both indigenous and acclimatized African wildlife.

Although sportsmen were invited into the hunting grounds of the northern Zambezia region, what was really needed was not a gun but a camera, as Maugham asserted:

> A herd of sable presents one of the most interesting and fascinating of all game pictures – indeed, as they sweep past one at a short range, a bewilderingly beautiful vision of strength, swiftness, and symmetry, one feels instinctively that the camera is the instrument one requires and not the rifle at all. *It is a moment for the art of the limner, not that of the destroyer*.[673]

Before 1910, there was not much that was being done to promote the preservation of game, except for the partial protection that was buttressed by the existing game laws which were being contravened by both white and African hunters as is made clear in Chapters Three and Four. It was argued that if game laws were to become efficacious and game reserves to serve the ends for which they were set up, untiring efforts were to be seen in game rangers ensuring that European and "native" offenders were brought before the law. Even John Kirk[674]decried the only partial protection offered to animals by game laws up to 1907:

> Game laws may for a time protect certain species, but it is only by creating game reserves or sanctuaries, within which, unless for administrative purposes, wild animals are not hunted, the Fauna as a whole can be saved.
> Such reserves, to be effectual, must be chosen in localities suited to the game and where they will least interfere with other undertakings, such as mining and agriculture.[675]

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[671] Reginald C.F. Maugham, *Zambezia* (London: John Murray, 1910), 241–44; Maugham, *Wildlife of Zambezia*, 370–72.
[672] Maugham, *Wild Game in Zambezia*, 370–71.
[673] Maugham, *Zambezia*, 259. The emphasis is mine, drawing attention to the implication that Maugham was announcing a new era for the hunting economies, when butchering game was considered to be a poor way to utilize all that nature offered.
[674] John Kirk was a Scottish physician, naturalist and a companion to David Livingstone, as well as the British administrator for Zanzibar.
[675] "Letters from Sir John Kirk, K.C.B.", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 45.

Noting the destructive effect of untamed elephants and wandering rhinoceros on agriculture and husbandry, Maugham thought that the protection of game beasts in upgraded sanctuaries would not be contested if authorities decided as to whether to utilize or destroy all the remaining elephants while ruling out that rhinoceroses and *hippopotami* were to be eliminated.[676] As elaborated below, the subject of the elephants and rhinoceroses was high on the agenda of an international conference in London for the protection of African Elephant and Rhinoceros of May 19–22 1914.[677]

The functioning of the new forms of preservation of African game were to be augmented by observing that the numbers of game designated on hunting licenses as part of the game laws were duly observed particularly by foreign hunters who were in the habit of shooting out as much game as they could in some parts of the Zambezia region. The enhanced preservation of game in the reserves also needed to control the activities of expert "native" huntsmen by enforcing restrictions on the sale of modern firearms, gun powder and the sale of skins or trophies as laid out in international agreements.[678] Kirk argued that if the "natives" were only confined to the use of their "old methods of hunting by means of the spear, bow and arrow, nets, and pitfalls" in a legal context where the sale and export of skins and horns of game were a preserve of holders of shooting licenses as stipulated in the existing game laws, the "natives" would not be tempted to kill more game than they needed for food.[679] In fact, in relation to the excessive destruction of African big game by travellers and others, *The Saturday Review* commented that:

> The native with his bow and arrow was the least formidable enemy of great game; it is doubtful whether any species was ever in danger of extinction through such a weapon. The danger really began when gun powder and rifles were freely imported into Africa, and the sport of big-game shooting became fashionable among rich and irresponsible young Englishmen. To this class of course the licence was absolutely no check. Not all the great game hunters have been quite thoughtless and selfish in their pursuit of their pressure: but we are bound to say that on the whole the English sportsman who has gone out to Africa with his pocket full of money, and his one idea of the excitement of the chase, has deserved ill of the empire. Much of the game had no doubt gone down, inevitably, before the settler and the spread of civilization; but vast numbers have been killed in and out of season without the smallest service to the nation. We believe in sport but it must be moderated by a full sense of responsibility….; and we are sorry that many big-game parties have been organised by young men who in this matter have about as much sense of duty to their country as have the game they pursue. Their one idea has been to pile up a triumphant total of 'kills.'[680]

[676] Maugham, *Zambezia*, 268–69.
[677] Malawi National Archives (Hereafter, MNA)/S1/365/20: Preservation, 1920–1922.
[678] "Letters from Sir John Kirk, K.C.B.", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 46.
[679] Ibid.
[680] "The Dying Fauna of an Empire", *The Saturday Review,* Nov. 24 (1906), Reproduced with permission in *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 76.

The changing hunting practices of the Africans and the European sportsmen meant that the old system of licenses and regulations did not do much in saving the African fauna. This was probably what largely stimulated Major von Wissmann, a German official, to set aside two great districts for game preservation in German East Africa [Tanzania], an initiative regarded "to have been the first really effective step towards sparing the fauna of Africa," which British Africa imitated.[681] It is also interesting to note that while Maugham and (to some extent), Kirk advanced a case for African game sanctuaries which would cater for some administrative hunting, Stevenson-Hamilton held a different position, perhaps mindful of the transformations in African and European hunting noted in the comment. He contended that it was necessary to set aside game sanctuaries in which killing of game was absolutely prohibited through policing activities involving an adequate number of officials and asserted further that:

> Above all things, no exceptions should be permitted, such as allowing privileged persons to shoot within them [the reserves], as this, by arousing discontent among the less favoured portion of the population, is pretty sure in time to work havoc with the scheme [of game preservation].[682]

Stevenson-Hamilton's stance, unlike the positions taken by Maugham and Kirk was contrary to general recommendation no. 5 of the Society for the Protection of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (hereafter the SPWFE) to the Colonial Office made in June 1906, which stated: "That no shooting whatsoever, except for administrative reasons, should be permitted in a reserve."[683] However, the perspectives advanced by Maugham and Kirk were in line with the following general recommendations to the colonial office[684]:

> (1) That the returns of all game animals killed should continue to be included in the Annual Reports of each Protectorate or Colony. To them should be added statements,
> showing the receipts from all sources connected with the preservation of game-such as licences, fines, &c.
> (2) That a map should be prepared showing the present game reserves in Africa.
> (3) That the sale of hides, horns, &c., of game animals in the British Dominions in Africa and at Aden should be prohibited.
> (4) That the sale of elephant tusks weighing less than 25 Ibs. should be prohibited and the tusks confiscated.
> (6) That a strict return of all game killed should be made annually by every licence-holder.

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[681] "The Dying Fauna of an Empire", *The Saturday Review*, in *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 76–77.
[682] Stevenson-Hamilton, "Opposition to Game Reserves", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 53. Hamilton was writing in his capacity as Warden, Transvaal Game Reserve.
[683] SPWFE to the CO, "Recommendations of the Society sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in June 1906", *JSPWFE* III (1907), 19.
[684] Ibid.

Although Stevenson-Hamilton argued for game preservation reserves in which all forms of hunting were to be outlawed, in eastern Africa it was contendedthat preservation of game in state preserves rather than game reserves was instrumental in furthering the importance of sport hunting so as to bringconstantly increasing sums of money to the Exchequer of the British East Africa Protectorate (Kenya). The SPWFE, in its recommendation for state preserves in East Africa, highlighted that the game of East Africa was of immense value. By 1906 the direct revenue and related hunting costs yielded between £8,000 and £10,000 a year, while indirect annual revenue deriving from the visits of sportsmen was estimated to be in excess of £20,000.[685]

Notwithstanding the financial argument for the preservation of African game, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, himself a former hunter, speaking at a deputation to the Colonial Office in June 1915, observed that while hunters and naturalists had their own motives for arguing for the setting up efficacious game reserves: "We owe the preservation of these interesting and valuable, and sometimes disappearing, types of animal life as a duty to nature and to the world."[686] In this regard, Lord Curzon asserted that: "reserves, which I am advocating to you, ought to exist not for the gratification of a sportsman, but for the preservation of interesting types of animal life."[687] Curzon emphasized that this principle of preserving game for nature's and the world's sake would be in the interests of both the public in the British Colonial Africa and the British Government. In his counter-argument to Curzon, Sir Henry Seton-Karr, an SPWFE delegate in the same deputation, maintained that in the utilitarian age of the day, the public would be satisfied with the game preservation schemes if the financial question — the commercial advantages of game preservation — was seriously considered (although the schemes should surely not gratify sportsmen).[688] Seton-Karr elaborated the utilitarian position as follows:

> [T]hat it is a practical advantage that to any wild country that the wild animal life contained in it should be maintained, not only for sentimental reasons and as matter of interest, but also because they are a valuable source of revenue while that country remains in a comparatively

[685] SPWFE to the CO, "Recommendations of the Society", 15. In his comments on the recommendations, Lord Elgin pointed out that they were reasonable and that the Colonial Office might recommend them to authorities in British Dependencies. He, however, suggested that on recommendations 3 and 4, it would be important to consult further with the authorities in the colonies on their implementation. For details see, SPFWFE, "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire to the Right Hon. The Earl of Elgin, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Friday, June 15, 1906," *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 29.
[686] SPFWFE, "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the SPWFE to the Right Hon. The Earl of Elgin", 22–24.
[687] Ibid., 24.
[688]Ibid., 27.

> wild state, and that the revenue derive therefrom may very well be utilised in enforcing and carrying out the laws and regulations for their [animals'] preservation.[689]

In his response to the concerns of the SPWFE Deputation, Lord Elgin, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, unequivocally stated that while the establishment of the reserves was to take into consideration future development of the colonies and pressures from increasing populations, the reserves were to be "kept sacred for purposes of the preservation of game and that the commercial side of the matter should not be ignored."[690] Lord Elgin added that the question of funds for ensuring that game was properly protected lay in the hands of the Imperial Treasury because not all developing protectorates were capable of generating enough revenue from game licenses for game preservation. The difficult task that confronted the Colonial Office was that of garnering support for convincing the Treasury to engage a deliberate policy for the funds to be supplied by the Imperial Exchequer. In its comments on the proceedings of the Deputation, *The Saturday Review* opined that:

> To do the thing [game preservation] to real, lasting effect the [British] nation must make up its mind to spend more than it makes…. It is a shame that we should have lagged behind America, Germany and even Norway. A large vote for game preservation in Africa would be popular in the country [Britain] and in Parliament. We wish that a game commissioner for the whole of our African preserves could be appointed with a large stuff and a good round of sum of money at his command. [Because] … every year almost the hunter gains some fresh advantage over his quarry. Of old he had to practise wood-craft. Then there was real sport, Today, with his arms of precision, he need scarcely stalk the wild creature to get within range.[691]

It was thus understood that it was not sufficient to merely "color spaces on a map" and claim that the spaces shaded green were game reserves, but that: "Reserves must be watched and policed to ensure that their limits are maintained inviolate and their regulations observed; [and that] this means men and men means money."[692] This heralded the entrenchment of what may be termed the "game preservation economy," in which saving game from extinction was not to be viewed an unprofitable enterprise, but one that catered for both preservationist and commercial interests. In this preservation economy hunting expenses were to be fed back into game preservation[693] while as suggested by Rt. Hon. Lyttelton at the

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[689] Ibid.
[690] SPWFE, "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the SPWFE to Right Hon. The Earl of Elgin", 29–30. On industrial development meriting consideration in game preservation schemes, see also, R. T. Coryndon, "Preservation of Big Game", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 71–72. Noteworthy is the editor's caution, on page 72, that the SPWFE did not agree with the views of Coryndon, in which the interests of the miner and farmer were to prevail over those of the Empire in preservation of fauna. Coryndon was writing in his capacity as administrator of the BSAC in North-Western Rhodesia.
[691] "The Dying Fauna of an Empire", *The Saturday Review*, *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 77–78.
[692] Whitbread, "The Year", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 12.
[693] Ibid.

2 February 1905 SPWFE deputation, the colonists were to be convinced on the great commercial value of big game.[694] S.H. Whitbread, MP and ordinary member of the SPWFE, also emphasized that the utilitarian value of game was evident in the way big game hunting stimulated exploration and settlement in the colonies.[695]

As part of this campaign for efficacious game preservation schemes in Africa and the British Empire, Theodore Roosevelt eulogised the work of the SPWFE by stating that: "It is perfectly evident to any intelligent man that the people who are protesting against what they call 'the curse of the big game' do not know what they are talking about."[696] As shown in Chapter Four, "the curse of the big game" argument was advanced by the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce and its European supporters in a bid to have the Elephant Marsh abandoned as a game sanctuary.

Creating sanctuaries for the protection of African game

In 1913, William T. Hornaday, Sc.D., Director of the Zoological Park, New York, proclaimed a persuasive verse in the form of questions in whose answers, he argued, "hang the fate of the wild creatures of the world—their preservation or their extermination."[697] Titled, "The Duty of the Hour," central among Hornaday's questions were the following:

> Surely the path of duty toward the remnant of wildlife is plain enough. Will those who read this book pass along my message that the hour for a revolution has struck. Will the millions of men commanded by the General Apathy now arouse, before it is too late to act? Will the true sportsmen rise up, and do their duty bravely and unselfishly? Will the lawmakers heed the handwriting on the wall, and make laws that represent the full discharge of their duty toward wildlife and humanity.[698]

The "Duty of the Hour" might have been stimulated by Hornaday's observation that prior to 1908 no effort had been made by American and English sportsmen to draw up a comprehensive and up-to-date code of ethics for shooting game.[699] Hornaday went on to note that despite this scenario, "real gentlemen-sportsmen of the world" were not insensible to the

[694] SPWFE, "Minutes of Proceedings at a Deputation from the Society of the Fauna of the Empire to the Right Honorable, Alfred Lyttelton (His Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies), February 2, 1905", *JSPWFE*, II (1905), 18.
[695] Whitbread, "The Year", 12.
[696] Theodore Roosevelt, "Extract from Message from the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States", *JSPWFE*, IV (1908), 8. As already evident, Roosevelt was writing in his capacity as President of the United States of America. This was before his widely lamented the game slaughter of 1909 in British East Africa.
[697] William T. Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife: Its Extermination and Preservation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 397.
[698] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife*, 397.
[699] Ibid., 383–82. Furthermore there were very few unwritten principles which had evolved which resulted in common consent. Moreover, these principles were characteristic of only a few clubs of hunters of big game.

duties of the hour because a sportsman in his love for Nature and in the enjoyment of his outdoor life and exploration, ensured that he took a reasonable toll of Natures' wild animals, and that he did not hunt for commercial profit or promote the extermination of species.[700]

To regulate this *status quo*, Hornaday proposed that there be an ethics of sportsmanship. He argued that in view of the disappearance of wildlife all over the globe, coupled with the extermination of some key species, by 1908 the ethics of sportsmanship had become a matter of great importance in attempts to save wildlife. Soon after this the Camp-Fire Club of America formally adopted the code of ethics proposed by Hornaday. His "Sportsman's Platform", consisting of fifteen articles, was "placed before the sportsmen of America, Great Britain and her colonial dependencies in that year [1908]".[701] To ensure that the code of ethics had far-reaching impact in British Colonial dependencies, the SPWFE published it in 1909. Stevenson-Hamilton[702] was also noted as having adopted the Platform and rendered it one of the most impressive endorsements individuals had given to the Platform. In three editions, published from 1912, Stevenson-Hamilton argued in *Animal Life in Africa*:

> the entire Platform with a depth and cordiality of endorsement that is bound to warm the heart of every man who believes in the principles laid out in that document. He says, "It should be printed on the back of every license that is issued for hunting in Africa.[703]

Hornaday referred to the situation whereby by 1913 game populations were recovering in some parts of the world although in Africa, for example, the future of the fauna was bleak. This was the case because big game was being killed faster than it was breeding, due to too many hunters and "open seasons that were too long, and bag limits that were far too liberal."[704] In some parts of Africa, settlers later to evolve into big game hunters steadily occupied in the fine grasslands where their hunting exploits were soon to be complemented by the triggers of sportsmen from overseas, pursuing the "rarest and finest of the game."[705] One of the arguments proposed by the settlers, on the pretext of which African game was being slaughtered was as follows: '"The zebras must go!" They break through our best wire

[700] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife*, 382.
[701] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife*, 384. See also James Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life in Africa*, (London: Heinemann, 1912), 35-37 where, particularly on page 37 Stevenson-Hamilton also urged true sportsmen and would-be reckless slaughterers and profit hunters to take their: "Hats off to Dr. Hornaday!" for the sportsman's platform to save wildlife.
[702] James Stevenson-Hamilton (1867–1957) was the first warden of South Africa's Sabi Nature Reserve from 1902 to 1916, which was expanded under his watch and became the Kruger National Park in 1926.
[703] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife*, 385. See also Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life in Africa*, 1-39 and James Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life in Africa*, II, *The Vegetarians* (London: William Heinemann, 1917).
[704] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wildlife,* 181.
[705] Ibid., 182.

fences, ruin our crops, despoil us of the fruits of long and toilsome efforts, and with much expenditure. We simply cannot live in a country inhabited by herds of wild zebras.'[706] Hornaday, despite agreeing that the argument was sound, counter-argued that when it became necessary for millions of men to say that the animals must go for the sake of peaceful agriculture, then "the animals must give way, which did not preclude but rather necessitate preserves".[707]

Hornaday went on to argue that the inevitable result of civilization and progress in wild lands such as those stretching from Bulawayo to northern Uganda (this included parts of Nyasaland) was that wild game were "doomed to be crowded out by the farmer and the fruit-grower." This being the case, Hornaday, argued further for the existence of game reserves and sanctuaries as follows:

> Marauding battalions of zebras, bellicose rhinoceroses and murderous buffaloes do not fit in with ranches and crops, and children going to school. *Except in the great game preserves, the swamps, and the dense jungles it is certain that the big game of the whole of Eastern Africa is foredoomed to disappear,* — the largest and most valuable first.[708]

He warned further that if game sanctuaries were not enforced, the country north of the Zambezi, i.e., northern Zambezia (Nyasaland included), where big game was still abundant, it was likely to degenerate into the South African scenario that extended up to the Zambezi where big wild game was decimated from the 1840s. The only hope of the best game surviving by 1913 in areas that still had big game in Central Africa was due to those districts that were "rapidly coming under British control, [and] it is a satisfaction to observe that the governing bodies and executive officers are alive to the necessity of preserving the big game from actual extinction."[709]

In May 1914 an International Conference was held in London, which focused on the "Protection of the African Elephant and Rhinoceros." The delegates deliberated on the importance of limiting the weight of ivory and horns to be exported from Africa to save the Elephants and the Rhinos. On 23 April 1920, commenting on the proceedings of the Conference dispatched to the Nyasaland Secretariat on 8 March 1920 by the Colonial office, the Nyasaland Attorney General noted that the provisions of the game ordinance appeared to

[706] Ibid., 182.
[707] Ibid.
[708] Ibid. The emphasis is the present author's to underline the case that Hornaday was making for game preservation areas.
[709] Ibid., 184.

cover all the provisions that Nyasaland had except that for Nyasaland the minimum weight for ivory was eleven (11) pounds (lbs.) and that the draft protocol needed to be accepted.[710] Key among the terms of the protocol were the restrictions of importation of arms and ammunitions that could be accessed by "natives," limiting the weight of the ivory and horns to be exported from Africa to 10 lbs. in general; and the confiscation of ivory and horns that did not abide by the regulations of the draft protocol.

The SPWFE had the sympathy of the Colonial Office as a major stakeholder in the African game preservation business. It ceased deliberating and reporting on game preservation during the period of World War I and only resumed in 1921. Annual Colonial Reports for Nyasaland for the same period did also not report on issues pertaining to the game preservation economy in Nyasaland.[711] The Annual Colonial Reports for 1914–1915, reported the efforts in Nyasaland to eliminate *G. morsitans* by attacking the fly itself, as noted in Chapter Four. Despite this, it is still important to analyse the implications of the protocol and its related processes in the functioning of imperial game reserves or sanctuaries in the Lower Tchiri Valley in the post-war period cognizant of the remark made by Hornaday in 1913 that "NYASALAND OR BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA [was] a small territory, but remarkably well-stocked with game."[712]

Post-war Game Conditions and Preservation Economy in the Lower Tchiri Valley to the Late 1930s

The fight against the abolition of the embryonic imperial reserves was part of the process of empire building, undertaken by brave and hardy men who viewed themselves as being responsible for "making the British people a grand empire in Africa."[713] These men saw a day's work being wholly constituted in the "white man's burden of game preservation."[714]

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[710] Malawi National Archives (MNA)/ S1/365/20: Preservation, 1920–1922.

[711] For details see, *Colonial Reports—Annual, No. 883: Nyasaland Report for 1914–15 Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, April 1916* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916). This and the following reports were all created by the Digital Content Creation Unit, University Library, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaigne, and accessed at libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu on 4.09.2014; *Colonial Reports—Annual, No. 955: Nyasaland Report for 1916–1917 Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, March 1918*(London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918); *Colonial Reports—Annual, No. 996: Nyasaland Report for 1917–1918 Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, June 1919* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1919); *Colonial Reports—Annual, No. 1041: Nyasaland Report for 1918–1919 Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, September 1920*, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920); *Colonial Reports—Annual, No. 1075: Nyasaland Annual General Report for the Year, 1919–1920* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921).

[712] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wild Life*, 367.

[713] Ibid., 364.

[714] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wild Life*, 364.

Little wonder then that the carving out of game preserves from Swaziland and Transvaal in the South to Khartoum in the North, was the work of merely a handful of British civil officers with the strong support of the SPWFE.

On the eve of the Great War game Nyasaland had one game reserve, namely he Central Angoniland Reserve, which was proclaimed on 31st October 1904 by Sir Alfred Sharpe.[715] The other one was the Elephant Marsh Game Preserve which had been de-gazetted as a Reserve in 1911. As shown in figure 5.1 below, these game preservation areas were among the notable game preserves in Africa, with the Elephant Marsh Preserve (marked as no. 8) being: "A small area in the extreme southern end of the Protectorate, on both sides of the Tchiri River, chiefly for buffalo."[716] The Angoniland Reserve (marked as no. 9) being chiefly: "Created especially to preserve about 1000 elephants. It is forty miles west of the south-Western arm of Lake Nyasa."[717]

[715] Colonial Reports—Annual: No. 472 for British Central Africa Protectorate, 1904–1905, *Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, November, 1905* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1905), Created by Digital Content Creation Unit, University Library, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaigne, accessed at libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu on 4.09.2014.
[716] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wild Life*, 367.
[717] Ibid.; Alfred Sharpe, "British Central Africa", *JSPWFE*, II (1905), 84 where it is noted that "the total number of elephants shot [in 1905] was six, as compared to with nine in the previous year….In Central Angoniland there is no doubt that the size of the [Elephant] herds has considerably increased of late; this is due to elephants from territory beyond the Protectorate borders entering and remaining in Central Angoniland , where they are comparatively unmolested." See, also, Alfred Sharpe, "British Central Africa", *JSPWFE*, III (1907), 50.

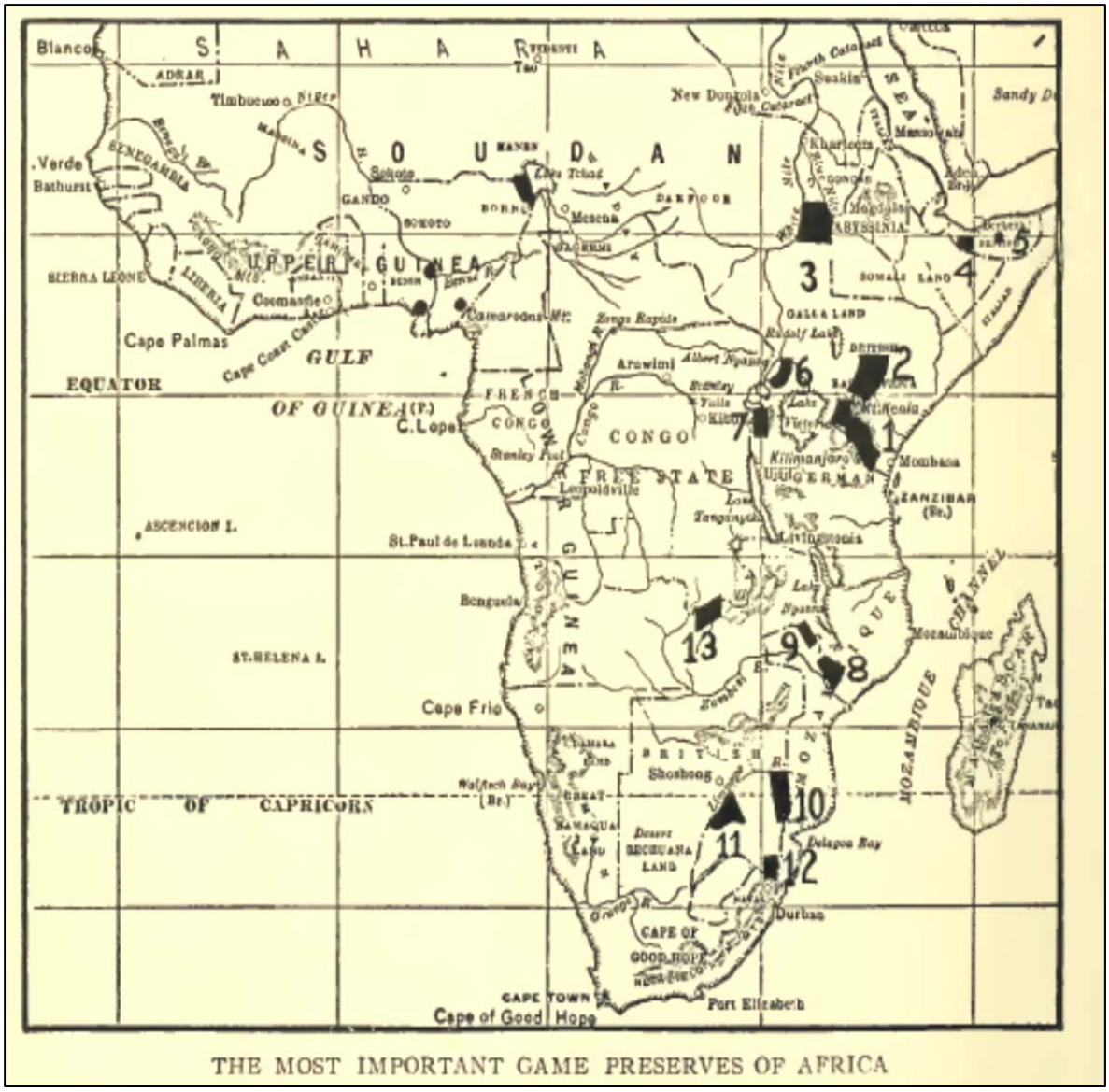

Figure 5.1: Map of Africa showing the Elephant Marsh Preserve (no. 8) and the Central Angoniland Reserve (no. 9) in relation to other most important Game Preserves of Africa.[718]

This suggests as that as regards game preservation in the Lower Tchiri Valley in the period of WWI, focus was still on the Elephant Marsh Preserve. The politics of the preservation of game in this preserve was supposed to be drawn from the work of one of the authorities, champion and exponent of the South African game protection societies, James Stevenson-Hamilton.[719] In 1912 and re-emphasized in 1917, he said that there were very few farmers in the Cape Colony, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State who would turn down the offer of having game populations increased on their private estates from the game reserves, given the

[718] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wild Life*, 366.
[719] Ibid., 365. See also Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animals in Africa*, I & II: Carnivores & Vegetarians.

previous wanton game destruction experienced in those areas from the 1840s, as also noted above.

He noted further that in parts of British protectorates which were still well stocked with game, any advice to destroy the game as quickly as possible needed to be turned down as the execution of that advice would have shown how vain and hopeless the teachings of history were. Stevenson-Hamilton implored that: "[T]hose in whose temporary charge [of game] it is may not cast recklessly away one of nature's most splendid assets, one, moreover, which once lightly discarded, can never possibly, be regained".[720] Stevenson-Hamilton suggested armour, endorsed by Hornaday, with which those in charge of game were to shield themselves from the attacks of game reserve abolitionists:

> It is idle to say that the advance of civilization must necessarily mean the total disappearance of all wild animals. This is one of those glib fallacies, which flows only too readily from unthinking lips. Civilization in its full sense—not the advent of a few scattered pioneers—of course implies their full restriction, especially as regards purely grass feeding species, within definite bounds, both as regards numbers and sanctuaries….*The fauna of an empire is the property of that empire as a whole, and not of a small portion of it where the animals may happen to exist; and while full justice and encouragement must be given to the farmer and pioneer, neither should be permitted to entirely demolish for his own advantage resources which, strictly speaking are not his*.[721]

The applicability of this armoury to the contestations over the Elephant Marsh Preserve dates back to the early years of the twentieth century, when in May 1906, R.S. Hynde[722], argued on behalf of the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce for the abolition of the Elephant Marsh as a reserve.[723] Arguing against the existence of the Elephant Marsh and other reserves in Nyasaland, not along the tsetse-game controversy of Chapter Four, but game preservation versus civilization, Hynde had this to say:

> As a matter of fact, we are accustomed to live among wild animals, and a lion hunt in the neighbourhood of a town [such as Chiromo on the fringes of the Elephant Marsh sanctuary] serves as an outing to the residents. The native in the villages, or the planter who loses his stock or has to go a lot of expense for watchmen and to build strong cattle kraals, does not see the fun of the thing [preservation of wild life] to the same extent….What progress would be made in any civilized country were the wild animals to exist in the woods and the forests? This whole idea of game sanctuaries rests upon the idea that Africa is a wild, uncivilized, and useless country, instead of which it is being pierced by railways in every direction, and is fast being turned into a civilized, well-populated, and productive territory. In conclusion, I would point out that the reserves are absolutely dangerous to human life and property; that the

[720] Hornaday, *Our Vanishing Wild Life*, 365.
[721] Ibid., 366; The emphasis is Hornaday's. See also Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life in Africa*, 24.
[722] This is elaborated on in Chapter Four of this thesis, in relation to the Tsetse–Game polemic.
[723] For details refer to R. S. Hynde, President of the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce to the Editor of "The Spectator," "The Curse of the Big Game," *The Spectator*, 12 May 1906. See also *CAT*, November 19, 1907.

> preserving of game in a thinly populated agricultural and stock-raising area is impossible without seriously hampering the progress of the country; and that even the presence of the larger game is incompatible with the vigorous prosecution of agricultural and stock-raising industries.[724]

The apparent salience of this argument can be deduced from the experiences of Sir Alfred Sharpe and Dr Jack Davey, a colonial medical officer with big game hunting interests[725] who also engaged in some pioneering work on sleeping sickness in Nyasaland, as noted in the preceding chapter.

The *Handbook* noted that although game was not plentiful in the Lower Tchiri District, there were still limited numbers of eland, waterbuck, kudu, klipspringer, reedbuck, bush buck, hartebeest and nswala (impala), as well as different species of the smaller antelope.[726] Opposite Chiromo township, the rare nyala (inyala) antelope was also known to exist in the area that later came to be Mwabvi Game Reserve. With regard to the game preservation vs. civilization conflict, although the foregoing game made some contributions to the conflict, the *Handbook* highlighted that:

> The hippopotamus is now seldom seen in the rivers but formerly it was fairly common [Chapter Three discussed the destructive effects of the *hippopotami* in the Valley]. Warthogs are rare, but bush pigs are plentiful and destructive to crops especially on the hills. Elephants have been known to pass through the northern part of the district [for the Elephant Marsh region, see Figure 5.2 below], and the same is true of buffalo, but neither animal can be said to frequent this locality. Carnivora are relatively plentiful and comprise lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals &c. Lions have at times done considerable damage to cattle and other livestock.[727]

As evinced in figure 5.2 below, the Elephant Marsh in Ruo district to which elephants, buffaloes and other game would migrate, and which lay to the north of Lower Tchiri district, suggests that the Elephant Marsh also served as a haunt for game and the carnivores, given their migratory habits in search of water and other dry season foods, as was previously indicated in Chapter Two. In the Ruo district to the north of the Lower Shire district and the Elephant Marsh was situated the condition of game in 1921 and was reported thus: "The district had formerly [had] a great game reputation as a game district, and even now almost

[724] Ibid., 18.
[725] Dr Jack B Davey's biography testifies that he had his 'first taste of big game hunting in the Cape Town area where he shot a buck in around 1902. While he was in Nyasaland, in his role as a hunter (apart from being Colonial Medical Officer) he shot a buffalo near Chiromo in the Lower Tchiri Valley in 1906. For details see, John and Pamela Beard, eds. *Nyasaland Days, 1902-1919: A Biography by J.B. Davey, M.B., Dip. Trop. Med.* (Bristol, England: The British Empire & Commonwealth Museum Press, 2005), 27 and 61.
[726] Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland* (1922), 71.
[727] Ibid. *CAT*, March 9, 1911 also praised a Mr Thomas Rule for killing a leopard and 2 lions while hunting at Chiromo (Elephant Marsh).

every species is to be found, including elephant and buffaloes, but in smaller quantities than formerly."[728]

The state of game in the Ruo district might also have been due to the 1914 mass cull and dispersal of game.[729] Nevertheless, the numbers of game animals suggests that there was still hunting, culling and maiming of wild animals, as was the case in the Lower Tchiri district, given that almost every species of the game was still available and tended to migrate to the Elephant Marsh. However, over time with the increased development of farming in the Lower Tchiri and Ruo districts, game animals were no longer welcome there:

> Cattle and small stock thrive in all parts of the district. In July, 1921, a census of cattle was taken, the figures were as follows:– Owned by Europeans, 1,133; owned by Asiatics, 445; owned by Natives, 28; total, 1,606. The numbers of small stock are approximately as follows:– sheep, 1,000; goats, 2,600; pigs, 1,900.[730]

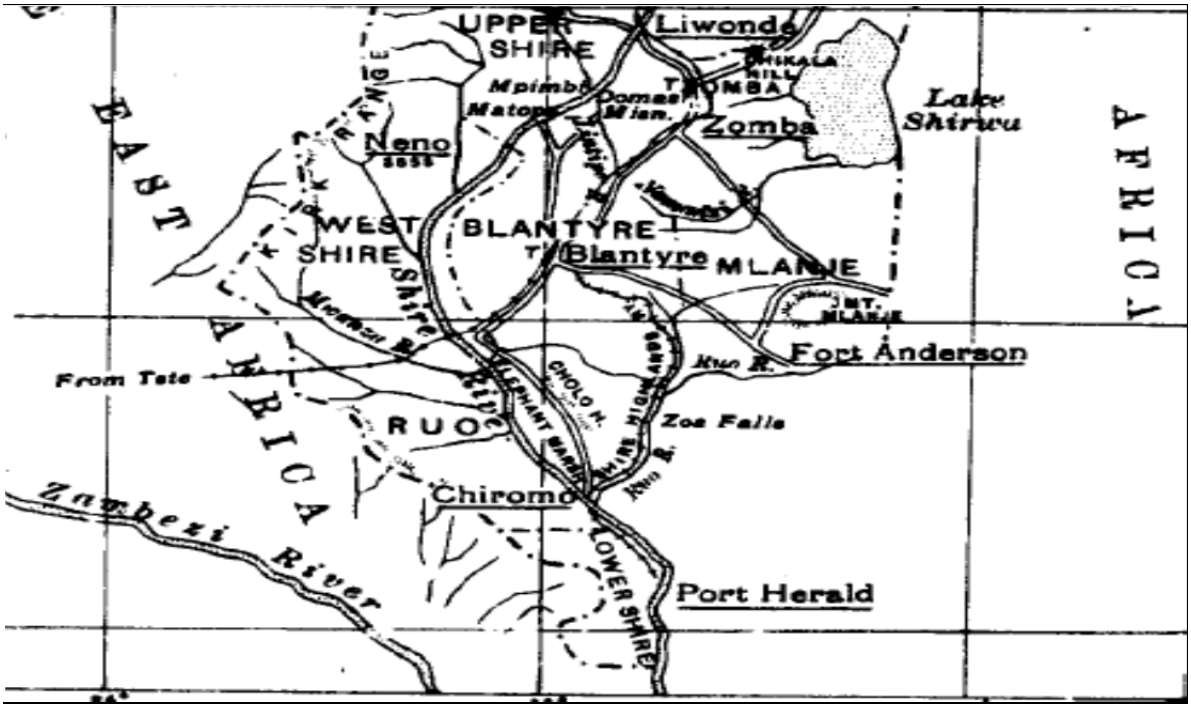

Figure 5.2: An Extract of the Map of Nyasaland Protectorate showing parts of the Upper and Lower Tchiri Valley.[731]

[728] Ibid., 77.
[729] See Chapter 4.
[730] Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland* (1922), 78. It should be noted that most of the European estates were situated between Chiromo in the Valley and Sank[h]ulani in the Tchiri Highlands where sisal was cultivated. As well as the destruction by game of crops in the Ruo district, it was also affected by droughts or floods.
[731] *Colonial Reports—Annual. No. 732: Nyasaland Report for 1911–12 Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, October, 1912* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1912), 21. Take note of the locations of the Elephant Marsh in Ruo District and its township of Chiromo, lying to the north of the Lower Shire district with its township of Port Herald. Also consider the location of West Shire district to the north of Ruo district.

The West Tchiri district, which was split into two areas, namely Chikwawa and Neno, and by 1921 the World Health Organization, suggested the following regarding the conflict between game preservation and agricultural development:

> There are about 350 head of cattle owned by Natives in the district, nearly all owned by the Angoni round Neno; native-owned sheep number about 1,000 and goats 2,000, while there are some 2,500 pigs chiefly in the Chikwawa division.
> Most of the game, including the protected Inyala, to be found in the protectorate is present in the district; buffalo are fairly common, and *elephants do a great deal of harm each year to the native gardens at Chikwawa*.[732]

Thus far, it has been shown that agriculture, cultivation and the cattle economies in the Lower Tchiri Valley districts of Lower Tchiri, Ruo and West Tchiri had been in conflict with wild life, and that the potential for the escalation of this conflict increased over time. In 1922, through Proclamation No. 3 of 1922 under the British Central Africa Order in Council of, 1902, the Protectorate was re-divided into three provinces, namely Northern, Central and Southern, which were in turn were subdivided into districts.[733] This necessitated considerable changes in the old district boundaries and as a result "Chikwawa District…was created in 1922 from parts of the old West Tchiri and Ruo Districts" as shown in figure 5.1.[734]

While the Lower Tchiri District was reconstituted by incorporating the southern parts of the Ruo District including Chiromo and the Elephant Marsh region, the Neno division became part of another reconstituted district of Central Tchiri, and might no longer have been regarded as part of the Lower Tchiri Valley. In this regard as from 1922, an outline of the Lower Tchiri Valley would roughly be as shown in figure 5.3 below with parts of the Lower Tchiri District, i.e., the Mlolo Chiefdom [Source of some of this study's oral testimonies] located close to the Cholo [Thyolo][735] District of the Tchiri Highlands.

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[732] Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland* (1922), 84. The emphasis is mine.
[733] *Colonial Reports—Annual, No.1162: Nyasaland Annual General Report for the Year 1922* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1923), 4. Created by Digital Content Creation Unit, University Library, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaigne, accessed at libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu on 4.09.2014.
[734] S.S. Murray, *A Handbook of Nyasaland* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1932), 188.
[735] It is interesting to see how the post-1922 Cholo [Thyolo] district was created from portions of the old Ruo and Blantyre districts and how it had formerly had "a good reputation as a game district." However, by the early 1930s there was practically no game left in Thyolo "owing to intensive European cultivation and [the] opening up of estates." In terms of the presence of game animals Thyolo was perhaps still a relevant part of the post-1922 Lower Shire District. For details see Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland* (1932), 180 and 183.

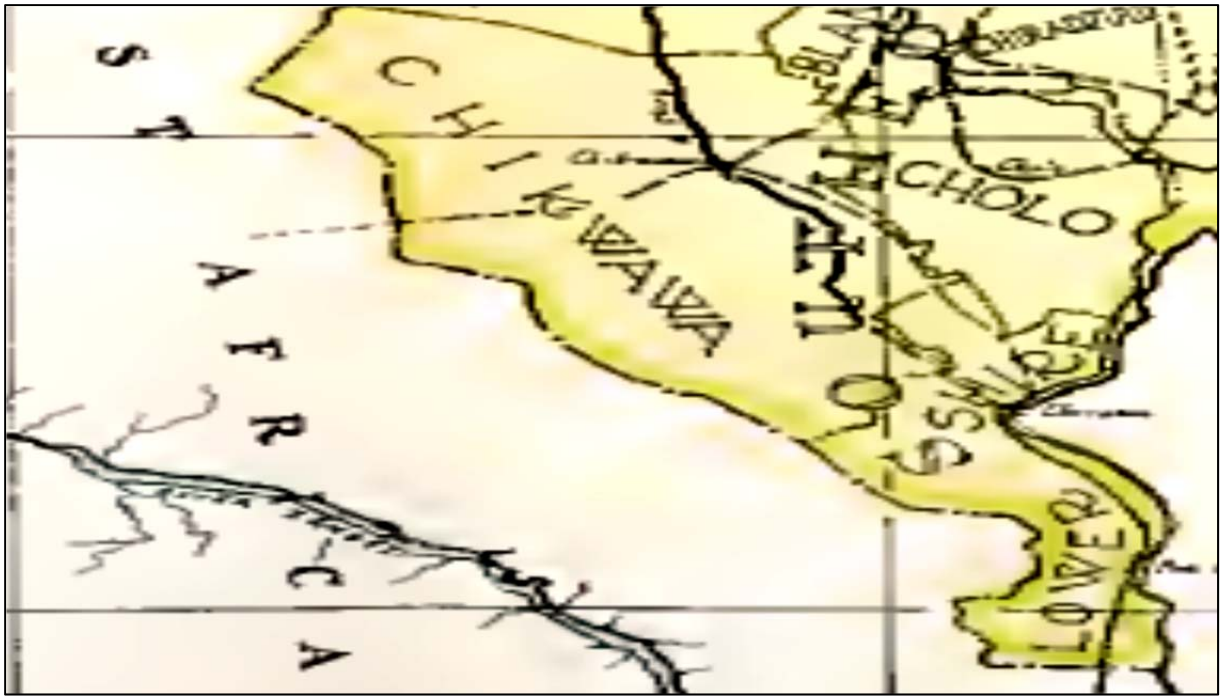

Figure 5.3: An Extract of a Map of Nyasaland Protectorate showing an Outline of the Lower Tchiri Valley (Chikwawa and Lower Tchiri District) after the Nyasaland Provincial and District re-organization of 1922.[736]

In spite of these conflicts, and as elaborated below, in 1928 the Lengwe Game Reserve was established in which the rare nyala antelope are preserved. The Reserve was established in the southern part of Chikwawa in the section of Principal Headman Beleu. This game sanctuary came into existence right in the middle of the actual and potential game preservation vs. civilization conflict as demonstrated here:

> Nearly all the different varieties of big game known to exist in the country are to be found in the [Chikwawa] district and in the more wild parts are fairly plentiful; *elephant can be said to be numerous and do great damage to native gardens, but heavy tusks are seldom heard of, 30 lb. being good; lions and leopards are numerous and buffaloes are fairly common*.[737]

Indeed during the 1920s and up to early 1930s Chikwawa district was also well wooded mainly with thick scrub and mature trees of most of the indigenous varieties found in the Nyasaland protectorate, particularly in the damper areas and foothills. Actual and potential game preservation in contrast to the civilization conflict, to the south of Chikwawa in the Lower Tchiri District, appears to have been in still in favour of game preservation during the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s:

[736] Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland* (1922), the *Handbook*'s introductory map is located on one of the opening pages.
[737] Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland* (1932), 190. Emphasis is the present author's to emphasize the prevalence of the human—animal conflict. This conflict might also have been exacerbated by some game still being available around Neno (formerly, a division of Chikwawa), as well as some lions that were causing problems in both Neno and Mwanza. For further details see Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland* (1932), 167.

> Game, which used to be plentiful throughout the district, is now practically confined to the area around Namalambo Hill, near Chiromo, where a small game reserve has been established with the object of protecting the rare nyala (*Tragelaphus Angasi*). Around this area [that later came to be Mwabvi Game Reserve] the following varieties of game may still be seen: elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, eland, kudo, sable, zebra, waterbuck, bushbuck, hartebeeste, npala, nyala, warthog and many varieties of small buck.[738]

The Legal Context of Hunting and Game Preservation[739]

In the post-war period, the Nyasaland colonial state kept on revising the Game Ordinance. This was in order to facilitate game preservation in its own right and hunting for preservation in the Lower Tchiri Valley[740]. Knowing that most visitors to and residents in Nyasaland indulge in game shooting as opportunity occurred, the colonial state promulgated this Game Ordinance through the Nyasaland Handbooks as was the case with the appendix of the *Handbook* of 1932. The handbook also emphasized that the best season for shooting game was from August to the time when rains began around November because 'during this period the long grass is burnt, and the scarcity of water keeps the game from scattering.'[741]

What is particular with the Game Ordinance in the *Handbook* was that it revealed the legal context within which hunting and game preservation were conducted in the 1920s. Indeed, central to the consolidation of the game preservation economy and establishment of the Lengwe and Tangadzi Stream Game Reserves in Chikwawa and Lower Tchiri Districts respectively, was the Game Ordinance of 1926 as asserted by Governor Charles Calvert Bowring on 22 February 1927.[742] In the *Handbook* (1932) Kasungu Game Reserve in the Central Province and Chidiampiri Island Game Reserve in the Lake Shirwa [Chilwa] were also declared as Game Reserves together with these two. A copy of the actual assent of the Governor whose extract is shown below in figure 5.4, as well as the a draft Bill[743] in the Nyasaland Government Gazette of 30 January 1926, only referred to Central Angoniland as a Game Reserve.

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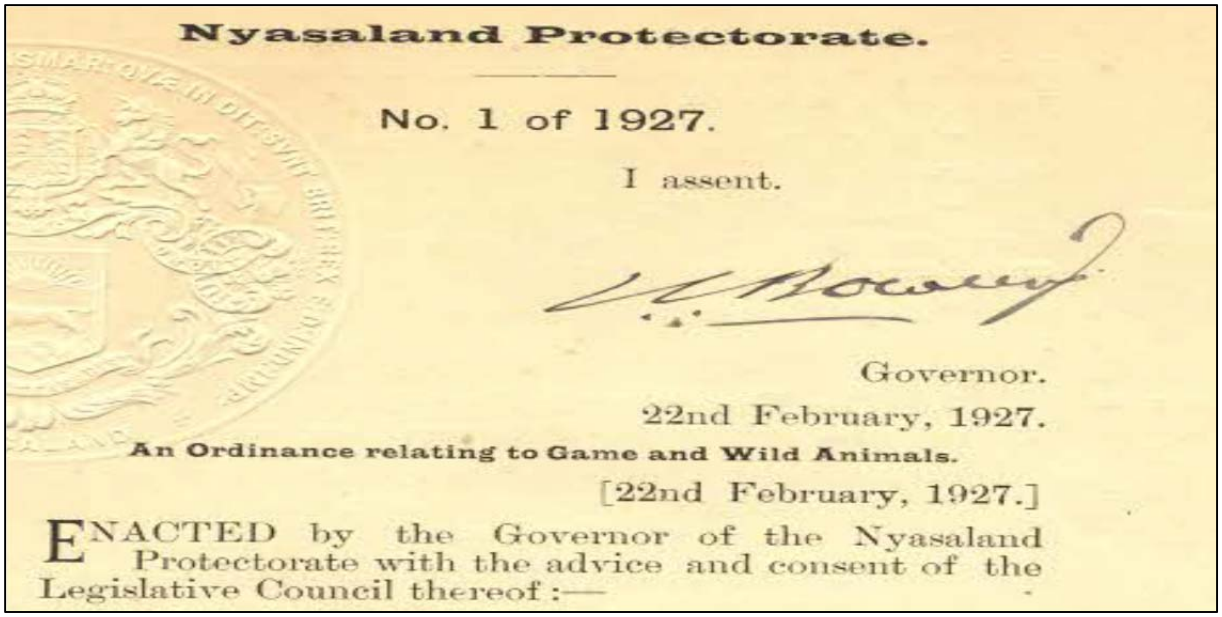
[738] Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland* (1932), 195.
[739] Noted from Honorable Tait-Bowie, unofficial member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council speaking in opposition to the Game Ordinance, 1926 for details see, MNA, 'Summary of the Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Session Legislative Council, 19 th and 20 th April, 1926,' *Nyasaland Protectorate: Supplement to the Nyasaland Government Gazette of 30th April, 1926*, (Zomba: Government Printer, 1926), 16. Tait- Bowie's statement was somewhat repeated as 'No economic progress is possible where game, carnivorae and tsetse are present' in the Petition against the Game Ordinance, 1926. For details see also MNA/ S1/558/27, Petition against the Game Ordinance, 1926, Nyasaland Protectorate, 3.
[740] See Chapter Three.
[741] Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland* (1932), 328.
[742] Ibid., 348 and 357.
[743] MNA, *The Nyasaland Government Gazette*, 30 January 1926, 21 and 31.



Nyasaland Protectorate.

No. 1 of 1927.

I assent.

Governor.

22nd February, 1927.

An Ordinance relating to Game and Wild Animals.

[22nd February, 1927.]

ENACTED by the Governor of the Nyasaland Protectorate with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof :—

Figure 5.4: The copy of the Nyasaland Game Ordinance, 1926[744]

A follow up of the omissions of the four Game Reserves from the copy of the assented Game Ordinance, in the April 1926 Proceedings of the Nyasaland Legislative Council suggests that there was opposition expressed against the ordinance even at the stage of a Bill as evident in part of the opening remarks of the Governor, Bowring, on Monday, 19 April,1926: "For reasons which I shall presently explain the new Game License charges will not affect the budget for 1926–27 and no other increases of existing licenses or fees are at present contemplated."[745] Indeed, after the Attorney General had moved that "a bill relating to Game and Wild Animals be introduced and read a first time,"[746] in the course of the proceedings, it was agreed, that the Bill should not be rejected but left pending. One of the bases for rejecting the Bill was the unconcluded (and therefore unconclusive) tsetse-game controversy as evident in the defence that the Attorney General, Mr P.B. Petrides indicated that he was in favour of the Bill regarding the connection of game preservation and game reserves as a measure for controlling the spread of tsetse and the evolution of human trypanosomiasis.[747]

In his opening remarks to the reading of The Game Bill, the Attorney General observed that the "object of this ordinance is frankly for the preservation of game. No bill has met with so much criticism as the present one and I venture to think that that criticism is as regards the

[744]: The Game Ordinance, 1926, Nyasaland Protectorate, No. 1 of 1927, MNA, Legal Deposit Library, 1.
[745] Ibid., 5.
[746] Ibid., 14.
[747] See Chapter Four of this thesis.

main objection entirely unfounded."[748] He went on to argue that the contentions were baseless, considering that the memorandum prepared by the entomologist, Dr Lamborn, who had been brought to the attention of the Chamber and Honorable Members, "had absolutely destroyed the contention put forward that this bill will cause the spread of *trypanosomiasis* in this country.'[749] He pointed out further that the strength of the contents of Dr Lamborn's memorandum laid in the fact that even Mr Swynnerton (in Tanganyika's fight against tsetse) and Dr Duke, the Chairman of the international commission on *trypanosomiasis* supported the memorandum. He emphasized that these three experts had issued a solemn warning that the 'harrying' game, which the game ordinance was meant to prevent, was likely to divert the fly to man:

> [T]hat the ordinary game trypanosome, harmless in the first place to man, eventually becomes virulent to him as the result of repeated transmission from human host to human host, the final outcome being an outbreak of human trypanosomiasis that may assume epidemic proportions'" [facilitated by direct transmissions through the presence of tsetses in the neighbourhood of habitations].[750]

The Attorney General was thus persuading the Legislative Council that the preservation of game in game reserves and the checking of game harassment through the ordinance would also reduce the spread of tsetse and human trypanosomiasis. He underlined his contention by quoting Dr Lamborn saying that: "If a ruthless attack on game is to be carried out a necessary preliminary would be the removal of man from all possible contact with the fly, for with dearth of wild animals it is certain that the fly will attack man freely and successfully."[751] He was of the view the consequences of harrying game, which had already been experienced in Swynnerton's Tanganyika: "The sound thing is to let game be steadily pushed back by the spread of cultivation when it will take the tsetse with it. If it does not we may have an epidemic in this country of sleeping sickness such as they had in Uganda, and that is the position that the unofficial members opposing this bill have got to face."[752]

The second reason for rejecting the Bill, was in consideration of the tsetse fly as well as the great damage that game was "doing on the lower river"' [Lower Tchiri] where there were

[748] "Summary of the Proc. of the Thirty-Second Session", 14.
[749] Ibid. Emphasis is in the original.
[750] Ibid., 14–15. This consequence of game attacking man was drawn from Dr. Duke's contributions corroborating both Dr. Lamborn and Mr. Swynnerton.
[751] "Summary of the Proc. of the Thirty-Second Session", 14.
[752] "Summary of the Proc. of the Thirty-Second Session", 14. As shown in Chapter Five, the turning point of the spread of Tsetse in Central Malawi was 1928 when expansion of capitalist tobacco farming started pushing back tsetse belts. See also McCracken, *History of Malawi*, *1859–1966*, 160-161; McCracken, "Experts and Expertise", 108-109.

herds of elephant, kudu and buffalo as well as in other parts of Nyasaland.[753] Despite the Attorney General's argument being supported by expert evidence, it did not evade the onslaught of the opposition team comprising of T.M. Partridge, W. Tait-Bowie and Dr W.H. Murray representing the interests of resident settlers (with plantation and cattle raising interests), missionaries and "natives." Before moving the rejection of the bill, Partridge noted that although he was entirely opposed to the indiscriminate slaughter of game, he did not 'consider the present time [1926] most opportune for the introduction of any fresh legislation.'[754] He illustrated his contention by a refrain of the economic (and ecological) argument against the game preservation economy and game reserves:

> I could never agree to the wholesale slaughter of game, because as has been pointed out the fly would attack man in the absence of game, that until we know more of the subject I would like to see Government withdraw the bill for the time being. An outbreak of trypanosomiasis in cattle has been reported within six miles of Blantyre [which shared borders with Chikwawa] during the past week [i.e., week beginning 12 April 1926]….I think settlers of the country are entitled to some protection for the time being. [Although] the indiscriminate slaughter of game is bad, but as the game is becoming so numerous in some districts it is not a question of harrying the game but of the game harrying the native and the European settler.'[755]

Echoing on the irrelevance of establishing new game reserves, Bowie contended that the 1911 ordinance that had been in place up to that time was a 'very effective ordinance' and that it was desirable 'to go into amendments to loosen this ordinance.'[756] He reiterated that:

> I understand from Dr. Murray that buffalo are moving south [from Central Malawi], and in the train of the buffalo is the tsetse fly. It is questionable, then, whether we should not consider free shooting with the object of driving the buffalo back. It is doubtful whether it has been proved that tsetse will leave game and attack man. *What is certain is, there is no doubt that game, development and settlement cannot go together*.[757]

Murray argued that the opposition against game preservation and the game reserves was not a campaign for the extinction of game because: "The present game reserves and the forest reserves are sufficient security against that. There is no intention on our [the opposition's] part of advocating the extermination of game … .In view of the fact of the large increase in the quantity of game it would therefore seem to be a serious matter to legislate for its further preservation. "[758] Drawing evidence mostly from the Central Province, Murray illustrated that apart from the destruction of herds of cattle due to the spread of tsetse fly: "I have a letter

[753] "Summary of the Proc. of the Thirty-Second Session", 15–16.
[754] Ibid., 15.
[755] Ibid.
[756] Ibid.16.
[757] Ibid., 16. The emphasis is the present author's to emphasize that Tait-Bowie in some ways shared the justifications of those who argued against game preservation and game reserves.
[758] Ibid.

from a European, one of the missionaries in that part of the country [Lilongwe and Fort Manning districts], who says it is simply pathetic to listen to the natives who come begging for help and giving accounts of gardens destroyed by the elephants."[759]

Murray augmented his stand by citing another consideration against game preservation and game reserves: "[T]hat where game abounds lions abound. The lion follows the game. Not only do lions abound where the game is, but there is also the fact that they are liable to become man–eaters."[760] Murray's strong opposition to the game ordinance and its implications in Nyasaland were clearly evident in the conclusion to his case: "In view of all this, how can I conscientiously vote for a bill which will result in the increase of game? Would we not lay ourselves open to a charge of inhumanity, in the face of these considerations, in regard to the destruction of the food, and the risk to life in the case of the natives concerned?"[761]

However, a turning point in the deliberations, which perhaps accounts for the rationale for the Governor to have agreed to the bill on the 22 February 1927 emerge from the contribution made by the Treasurer, K.R. Turker towards the end of the discussion on the Game Bill. Firstly, the treasurer conceding that the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council had drawn attention to the "great connection between game and fly,"[762] suggested that scientific examination had not yet determined what would happen to the fly if game were removed. Secondly, that there was no evidence that carnivora would increase if game continued to increase. Thirdly, that damage done to food stuffs in gardens and granaries was largely the work of elephants (upon which the tsetse fly also did not feed), which received greater protection under the existing 1911 ordinance at the same time that the ordinance did not provide similar protection to eland and buffalo. Fourth, that evidence implied that the fly would feed on humans in the absence of game.

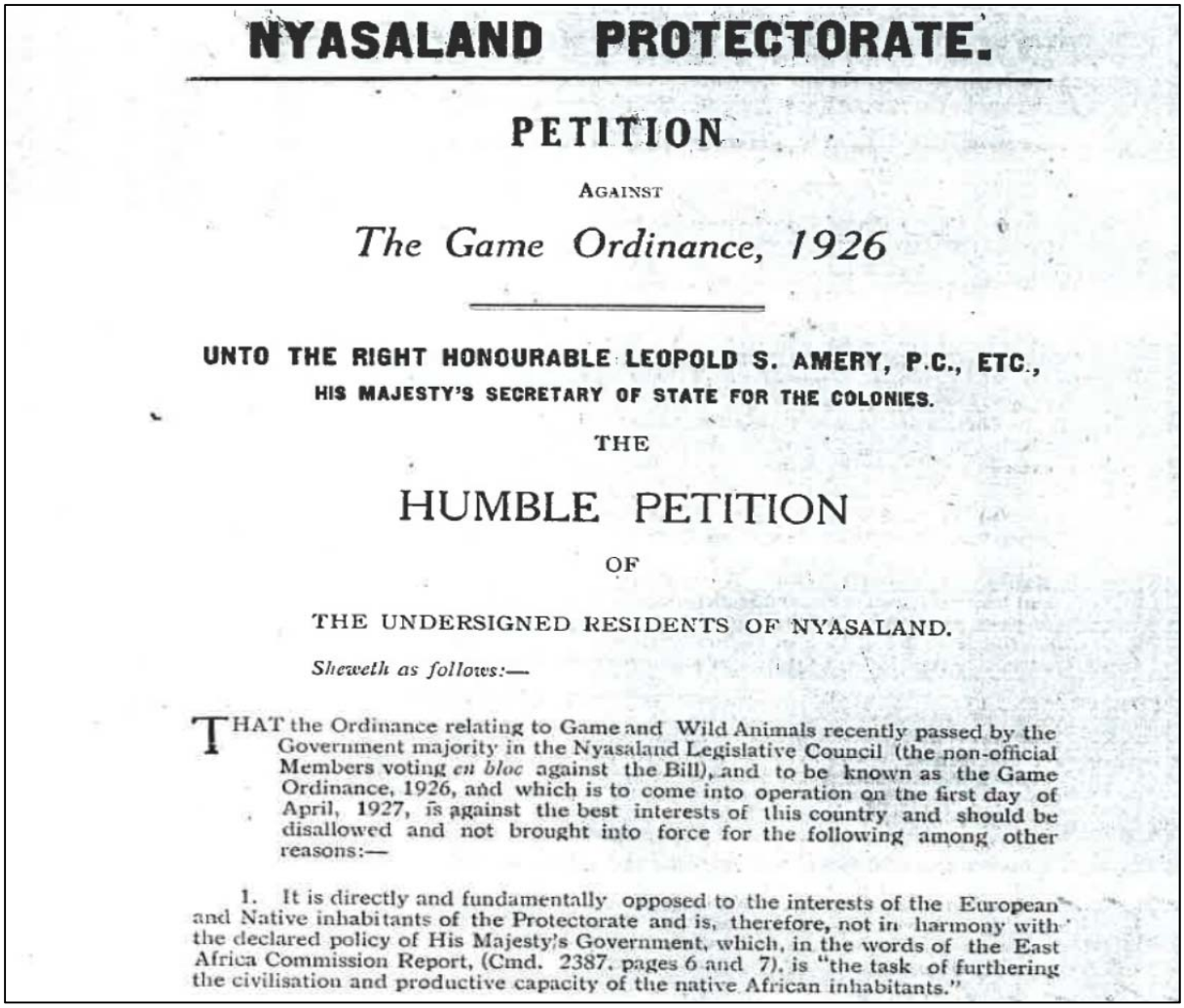
He concluded his contribution by imploring that there was need to choose the lesser of the two evils: oppose the game ordinance and its implications on game preservation and establishment of game reserves to open up opportunities for unregulated hunting by sportsmen? Or saving game through "the loss of a certain amount of food stuffs and cattle or

[759] Ibid.
[760] Ibid.
[761] Ibid.
[762] Ibid.

sickness and the loss of human life, among the large native population?"[763] For him, it was important to preserve the game because even if the license fees were raised (to £50 for visitors and £5 for residents)[764] or the number of reserves did not increase, the problems associated with game would still be there.

Although the Government referred the rejected Game Bill to a select committee for further discussion, after its second reading in the Legislative Council, evidence suggests that Governor Bowring assented to the Game Bill on 22 February 1927 as shown above.[765] This assented Bill did not extend its schedule to include the establishment of the Lengwe and Tangadzi Stream Game Reserves in the Lower Tchiri and Kasungu Game Reserve in Central Nyasaland but it only reaffirmed the scheduling of the Central Angoniland Reserve which was already in existence in Central Nyasaland.[766] Following this assent, but before the Bill became operational as Game Ordinance, on 1 April, 1927, the President of the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce, who was still R.S. Hynde as was the case in 1906, deployed a four paged petition to the Governor through the Acting Chief Secretary. As shown in the addressee, preamble, and first paragraph sections of the petition in figure 5.5 below, the 'Humble Petition' was addressed to the Right Honourable Leopold S. Amery, PC in his capacity as His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[763] "Summary of the proc. Of the Thirty-Second Session", 16.
[764] Ibid., 15. These fees were also being contested but during the first reading of the Game Bill there was no opposition that emerged. The other licences were: a visitor's temporary licence for £5, a Protectorate Licence for £2, a Private Land Licence £2 and a Native's Licence for £1. For details see, Murray, *Handbook of Nyasaland*, (1932), 359.
[765] This committee was chaired by the Attorney General, while the other members were The Hon. H. D. Aplin (Provincial Commissioner for Zomba), the Hon. and Rev. Dr. W. H. Murray and the Hon. T. M. Partridge. For details see "Summary of the Proc. of the Thirty-Second Session", 16–17.
[766] For details see, "The Game Ordinance, 1926, Nyasaland Protectorate, No. 1 of 1927", MNA, Legal Deposit Library, 14.



NYASALAND PROTECTORATE.

PETITION

AGAINST

The Game Ordinance, 1926

UNTO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LEOPOLD S. AMERY, P.C., ETC.,
HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

THE

HUMBLE PETITION

OF

THE UNDERSIGNED RESIDENTS OF NYASALAND.

Sheweth as follows:—

THAT the Ordinance relating to Game and Wild Animals recently passed by the Government majority in the Nyasaland Legislative Council (the non-official Members voting *en bloc* against the Bill), and to be known as the Game Ordinance, 1926, and which is to come into operation on the first day of April, 1927, is against the best interests of this country and should be disallowed and not brought into force for the following among other reasons:—

1. It is directly and fundamentally opposed to the interests of the European and Native inhabitants of the Protectorate and is, therefore, not in harmony with the declared policy of His Majesty's Government, which, in the words of the East Africa Commission Report, (Cmd. 2387, pages 6 and 7), is "the task of furthering the civilisation and productive capacity of the native African inhabitants."

Figure 5.5: The Petition against the Game Ordinance, 1926, Nyasaland Protectorate.[767]

What was particular about this "Humble Petition" as also evident in the preamble and paragraph 1 (figure 5.5) was that the petition was said to have been written considering the best interests of both the European and native inhabitants of the Nyasaland Protectorate. Indeed analyses of paragraphs 2 and 3 of the petition[768] as quoted below suggest that the utilization of game for the pursuit of "native" livelihoods and the commodification of game by the Europeans came under attack by the ordinance. This was somewhat reminiscent of the opposition that was mounted by the unofficial members of the Legislative Council at the Thirty-Second Session of April 1926, as analysed above:

> 2. The Bill turns the whole protectorate into a Game Reserve, and no Game animals may be hunted or killed by Europeans or Natives except under Licences, and this applies not only to areas occupied by Natives but also private lands, whether leasehold or freehold. The Licence fees have been raised and the penalty for a breach of the ordinance is £100 or six months imprisonment….The licence fees, the penalties, the confiscatory clauses, and the inquisitorial

[767] MNA/S1/558/27. MNA, Legal Deposit Library, 14.
[768] MNA/S1/558/27, Petition against the Game Ordinance, 1926, 1.

> methods of the new ordinance are widely resented and totally unsuited to the conditions of this Protectorate with its large native population.
> 3. The ordinance is resented by the natives as it withdraws from them their old established and ancestral rights of killing game for food (except under Licence, 7 (b), which most cannot pay), and also prohibits their own methods….The Governor has power under the Ordinance not only to deprive them of these ancestral rights, but confiscate all implements of whatever kind used in hunting. The Native thus loses a part of his food supply. As most of them cannot afford gun and game licences they also lose the means for defending life and property. The Ordinance undoubtedly lays Government open to charge of class legislation. For the benefit of those interested in big game the whole country and its native inhabitants are deprived of their rights, and their property put in peril in a manner reminiscent of the feudal times.

In the Petition, the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce together with the Conference of Missionary bodies of the Protectorate also echoed the economic and ecological arguments for the abolition of game reserves and game preservation advanced by the Chamber in 1906. Other than emphasizing that game preservation, which was so much encouraged by interested parties in England who do not suffer the risks, the losses to human life, as well as losses of cattle through carnivora and the tsetse fly disease, it was further reiterated in a resolution of the Conference that:

> The Game is a menace to the agricultural prosperity of the country, since elephants, antelopes, and other game destroy the grain stores of the natives, and their growing crops, and in this way render fruitless the efforts of the Government and the Missions to promote advancement in agriculture by the natives, since it takes away all inducement to grow more food and economic crops than they actually need, and *have to protect by watching night and day.*[769]

In this regard, it was contended that: "From an economic point of view, nothing can so impede the progress of the country as the indiscriminate preservation of game" because it "is a loss of revenue. What is gained or may be gained by the payment of licenses will be more than lost by agricultural crops not raised by natives, as given above."[770] In response to the lack of the embodiment (in the Game Ordinance) of the concerns of the SPWFE as noted in the October 1925 Occasional Paper No. 1 of the SPWFE, the resolutions of the Missionary bodies[771] suggested further that firstly, game preservation should be adopted "on a rational basis and [be] properly managed" and should also be practiced with due consideration to the population of the country. Secondly, that: "Reserves are recommended, and outside these areas the disturbance of the game should be such as to induce them to seek the shelter of the reserves and to remain in them. Such reserves should be established where they will be no menace to the progress of the country." Thirdly, that: "It is recommended that settlers should be allowed to control those game animals, which destroy their crops. In this case we would

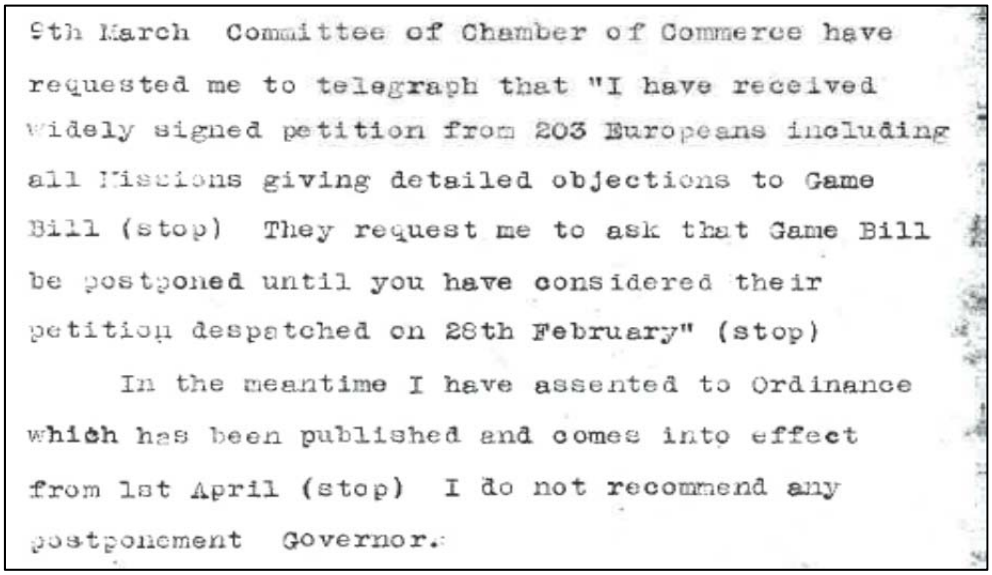
[769] Petition against the Game Ordinance, 1926, 3.
[770] Ibid.
[771] Ibid.

include along with the settlers, all Natives resident on crown lands, i.e., properly settled native residential areas."

Indeed evidence shows that the assented Bill was passed as Game Ordinance "at the suggestion of a Society for the Preservation of Game' although the recommendations that the Society had suggested for the ordinance were not employed in reviewing the Bill.[772] The Bill was also assented to, despite Hynde's requesting the Governor in a covering letter to the Petition in which (the Committee of the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce) made the following request:

> The Committee of the Chamber respectfully request his Excellency (The Governor) to transmit the Petition to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.
> The Committee also request His Excellency to telegraph to his Majesty's Secretary State for the Colonies informing him of the receipt of this Petition, signed by 203 persons, including all the missionary Bodies and forwarding a request by the Committee that his assent to the Bill be delayed until he has had an opportunity of considering the views and the arguments of the Petitioners.[773]

In this regard it is important to examine how? a copy of the actual Facsimile of the Telegram sent to the SoSC on 9 March 1927 was worded by the Governor as it had implications for the expansion of the schedule (IV) of the Game Ordinance, 1926:



9th March Committee of Chamber of Commerce have requested me to telegraph that "I have received widely signed petition from 203 Europeans including all Missions giving detailed objections to Game Bill (stop) They request me to ask that Game Bill be postponed until you have considered their petition despatched on 28th February" (stop)

In the meantime I have assented to Ordinance which has been published and comes into effect from 1st April (stop) I do not recommend any postponement Governor.

Figure 5.6: An Excerpt of the Facsimile of the Telegram from The Governor, Zomba, Nyasaland to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Chapeiris, London, 9 March 1927.[774]

[772] Petition against the Game Ordinance, 1926, 3.
[773] R.S. Hynde (for the Committee), Blantyre, Nyasaland to The Acting Chief Secretary, 24 February 1927, MNA/S1/558/27.
[774] MNA/S1/558/27.

What was significant for the expansion of schedule (IV) of the Game Bill was the last paragraph of the Telegram in which the Governor reaffirmed his assent to the Ordinance, which was published in the Government Gazette. The unequivocal position on the need to establish other game reserves taken by the colonial administrators, i.e., the Governor in his Telegram was also reflected in the Telegram of 21 March 1927, in which the SoSC responded to the Petitioners as follows through the Acting Chief Secretary: "Please inform the Chamber of Commerce that while *I am not prepared to instruct postponement of Ordinance, full consideration will be given to petitioners' view*."[775] Prior to the arrival of the telegram from the SoSC, the SoSC had made this position clear to the Chamber through the Acting Chief Secretary on 28 February 1927[776]:

> I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 24th instant enclosing a "Petition against the proposed Game Ordinance 1926" for transmission to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.
> The Petition has been forwarded to the Secretary of State today.
> I have to inform you that the Secretary of State has already notified this Government that His Majesty will not be advised to exercise his power of disallowance in respect of this Ordinance, to which assent was given accordingly on the 22nd of February, 1927.

Although Lengwe and Tangadzi Stream Game Reserves were not established immediately that the Bill was assented to on 2nd February 1927, they were established subsequently. Indeed on 3 June 1927, Rodney C. Wood (Honorary Game Warden for Nyasaland) re-engaged the process for the establishment of Tangadzi Stream Game Reserve (present-day, Mwabvi Game Reserve in Nsanje [Lower Tchiri] District): "I am writing to the Hon. Acting Chief Secretary so that he might bring the matter to the attention of His Excellency, the Governor". Wood noted: "Sir, I beg to enclose herewith a Memorandum I have drawn up on the subject of the advisability of creating a Game Reserve of the tract of country near Chiromo inhabited by the rare Nyala antelope."[777] With regards to native hunting economies, the cultivation economies and concomitant human—animal conflicts around the proposed area for the reserve since 1923, Wood noted:

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[775] Acting Chief Secretary to the Secretary, Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce, Blantyre, 29 March 1927, MNA/S1/558/27. See also Secretary of State to the Acting Chief Secretary, Nyasaland Post Office Telegraphs, 21 March 1927 (delivered at Zomba, 25 March 1927), MNA/S1/558/27. Emphasis is the present author's to underline the determination of the Colonial Office to expand the schedule for the game reserves.
[776] Acting Chief Secretary to The Secretary Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce, Blantyre, 28 February 1927, MNA/S1/558/27. See also the suggested wording that the cable to the SoSC was to bear in the light of the position expressed in "The Secretary, The Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce, Blantyre, Nyasaland to The Acting Chief Secretary, Nyasaland Government, Zomba, 4 March 1927". The wording was as shown in the image of the Telegram to the SoSC in figure 5.6 above.
[777] Rodney C. Wood, Magombwa Estate, PO Cholo, Nyasaland to The Hon. Acting Chief Secretary, Zomba, 3 June 1927, MNA/S1/1037/27.

> Small gardens are occasionally planted these villagers in isolated and far-scattered spots along the right bank of the stream the jungle recedes from it slightly which would come within the boundaries of the Reserve, but there is absolutely no reason whatsoever for them to be allowed to continue to do so. These gardens are never adequately watched or protected, and so far much depredation from animals, chiefly bushpig and baboons. They merely serve as a direct excuse to kill game of all kinds alleged to be damaging them [the gardens]. As it is known that there are many illicit muzzle-loading guns in possession of and hidden by natives all along the western border of the district, these gardens should be absolutely prohibited on this right bank of the [Tangasi] river.[778]

Wood suggested further that if the Governor required more details about the conditions of this locality, he needed to consult Mr. A.G.O. Hodgson with whom he [Wood] had the pleasure of camping "at Namulambo on several occasions, and know that he subsequently investigated that district carefully while he was resident at Chiromo."[779] Figure 5.7 shows the relationship of the proposed reserve area to the Nantana village and Namulambo hill (to the eastern corner of the Proposed Reserve) and Chiromo.

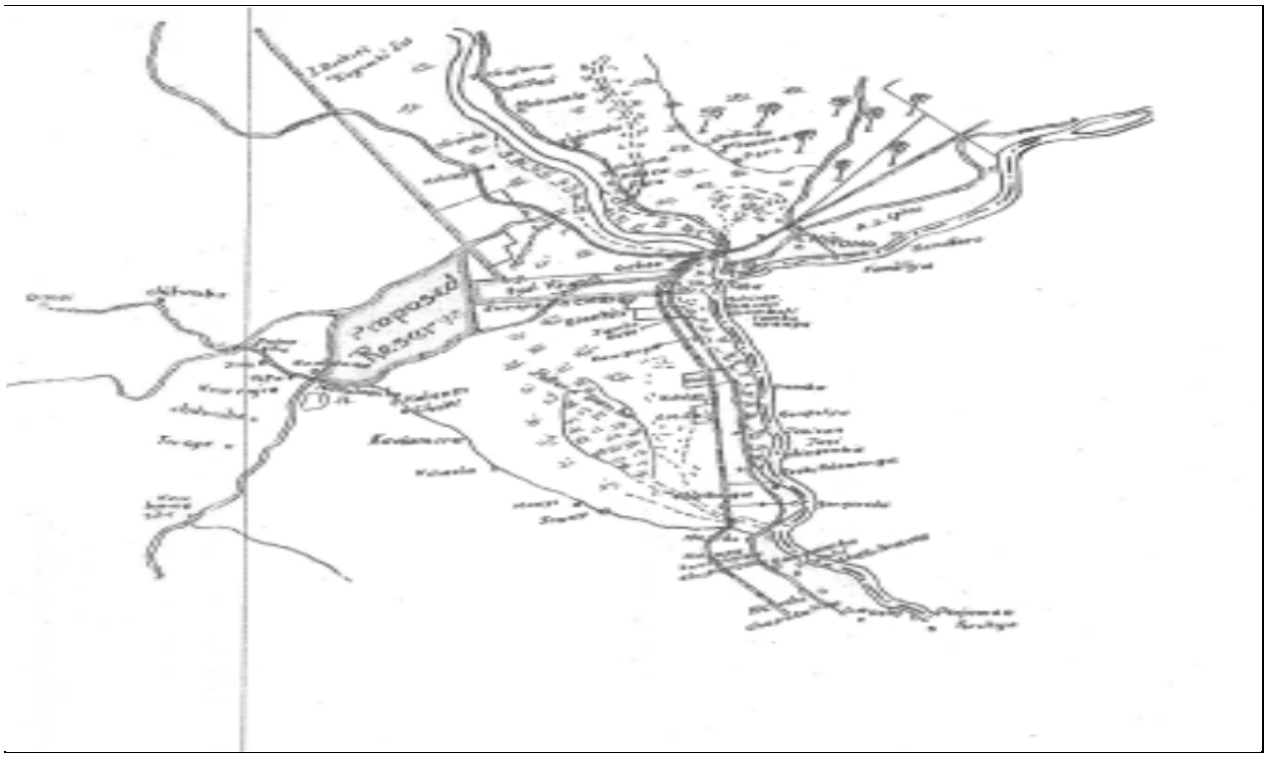

Figure 5.7: Map of Southern Parts of Lower Tchiri District showing the Proposed Reserve [Tangasi] or Tangadzi Stream Reserve.[780]

[778] Rodney C. Wood to the Acting Chief Secretary, "Memorandum on the Necessity for Proclaiming as a Game Reserve the Haunt of NYALA near CHIROMO, 3 June 1927", MNA/S1/1037/27.
[779] Rodney C. Wood to the Hon. The Acting Chief Secretary, 5 June 1927, MNA/S1/1037/27. Namulambo, also known as Namalambo to the Oral History informants consulted by the present author during fieldwork around Mwabvi Game Reserve, is situated close to the reserve and informants argued that in the past there also used to be a lot of game on the Namalambo hill but that with establishment of the reserve, the game went to reside there.
[780] Attached to "Wood to The Acting Chief Secretary", 5 June 1927, MNA/S1/1037/27.

Indeed it was noted later that apart from the Tangasi Stream Reserves, Nyala were mainly found in the Lengwi [Lengwe] thickets in Chikwawa district.[781] The district resident for Chikwawa noted the presence of the Nyasa antelope as follows:

> The Place where it [the Nyala] exists in [the] greatest number is the "Lengwe" thicket, a thick patch of continuous bush about 5 miles in length and 2 or 3 miles broad stretching on either side of the Nkomedzi River about 8 miles past of Mbuzi 1 and 1/2 miles (approx.) from Mlangeni village. I have seen Nyala myself round the southern portion of this thicket to the the south of the Nkombezi and I judge from their spoor that they inhabit outlying portions of the bush surrounding this thicket as well. I am informed by the natives that they [the Nyala] are found in all parts of the "Lengwe."[782]

As result Governor Bowring proclaimed The Lengwe Game Reserve which was later extended in its size in 1936 to enhance protection of the rare Nyala antelope on 9 January 1928 as follows:

> In virtue of the powers in me as Governor vested by section 4 of The Game Ordinance, 1927, I do hereby proclaim and declare the fourth schedule to the said Ordinance to be amended by the addition thereto of the following game reserve [Lengwe Game Reserve] to which the provisions of the said Ordinance in regard to game reserves shall apply.[783]

Bowring also proclaimed Tangasi (also known previously as Namalambo Game Reserve) as a Game Reserve by Proclamation No. 15 of 1928 under the Game Ordinance, 1926 on 13 December 1928. It should be noted, however, that in the run up to the proclamation of the Tangasi Reserve there were still conflicts with the cultivation economy of the natives as evident in the following communication of November 1928[784]:

> With reference to your letter No. 1037/27 of 19 September, I have the honour to inform you that assisted by My Boby, in the absence of Mr. Wood, I have provisionally marked out a Reserve for the Nyala in the Chiromo area of the District….
> Three natives have small gardens on the fringes of this area, but as they have already hoed and planted these gardens they have been told that they may retain these gardens during the coming season only, but that they must not increase them and they must hoe fresh gardens outside the Reserve next year.

It can thus be seen that establishment of game reserves and the consolidation of the game preservation economy was a contested process that was in other instances negotiated by the colonial state. This continued to be the case well into the 1930s when Colonial states in British Africa were being encouraged to implement the most suitable methods for preserving indigenous fauna in their territories as suggested by Major Hingston' investigations in the

[781] G. S. Inglis, Resident, Distribution of Nyala in Chikwawa District, MNA/S1/1037/27.
[782] Inglis, Distribution of the Nyala.
[783] Proclamation No. 1 of 1928, The Game Ordinance, 1927, The Nyasaland Protectorate, (Zomba: Government Printer, 1928), MNA/S1/1037/27.
[784] District Commissioner, Port Herald, Nyasaland to The Hon The Chief Secretary, Zomba, 22nd November, 1928, MNA/S1/1037/27.

East African group of Colonies and Dependencies.[785] During the early 1930s Lengwe and Tangadzi Stream reserves were considered as small sanctuaries which were protecting the rare nyala antelope and other game although they were among the sanctuaries that were found to be lacking 'the requirements necessary for the preservation of the fauna in perpetuity.'[786] Hingston recommended that these two reserves should be upgraded to the status of national parks to save the nyala because there was a general illegal tendency in Nyasaland for game to be killed by 'encircling it with fire' that caused 'much animal suffering through scorching and burning.'[787]

Partly as a result of Hingston's investigations and the subsequent influence of the 1933 Conference for the Preservation of Africa's Fauna,[788] Lengwe reserve was extended in the mid- 1930s as was the case with Tangadzi[789] later on as elaborated in the next chapter. Hingston argued that the future of fauna conservation lay in the upgrading of game reserves as part of their transition to national parks because: 'There is little doubt that as cultivation expands and settlement increases the wild game of Africa will be driven further and further from the settled areas. Cultivation and game are incompatible. Whether regulation of game exists or not, the game will disappear from every area that comes under settlement.'[790] Indeed there were protests from the mid-1930s staged by the communities whose cultivation land came to be incorporated into Lengwe reserve as part of the extension. Oral testimonies indicated that apart from increasing their poaching activities, members of village communities such as those in TA Ngabu's Therere area bordering Lengwe and Mozambique, continued to cultivate within the precincts of the Lengwe and when they were being pursued to account for their activities they would hide in Mozambique.[791]

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[785] Secretary, SPFE to His Excellency, the Governor of Nyasaland, 8 December 1930 and Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of Nyasaland, 18 December 1930, MNA/S1/701/30: Preservation, 1930-1933.
[786] R.W.G. Hingston, "Report on a Mission to East Africa for the Purpose of Investigating the Most Suitable Methods of Ensuring the Preservation of Indigenous Fauna", 4, MNA/S1/701/30.
[787] Ibid.
[788] See also Mark Cioc, *The Game of Conservation: International Treaties to Protect the World's Migratory Animals*, (Ohio, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 47-56.
[789] Morris, "G.D. Hayes", 4.
[790] Hingston, "Report on a Mission to East Africa", 16.
[791] Interviews with Mr Audilo Chipala, GVH Therere, TA Ngabu, Chikwawa, approx. 85 years old, dated 28 February 2013; Mr Robert Dzosuma, GVH Therere, TA Ngabu, Chikwawa, approx. 90 years old, dated 28 February 2013; Mr Tinasoni Therere, GVH Therere, TA Ngabu, Chikwawa, approx. 85 years old, dated 28 February 2013; Mai Awine Dobu, GVH Therere, TA Ngabu, Chikwawa, approx. 80 years old, dated 28 February 2013.

When Wood returned to Nyasaland in 1932 (after recuperating from illness abroad), he contributed to conservation of wild life through his articles some of which would be published in the *Nyasaland Times*. He also collected butterflies with his old friend, WA Lamborn, the Government entomologist and worked with the Governor in finalizing plans for a park in Monkey Bay.[792] In 1938 Wood took up a teaching post at Livingstonia Mission in northern Nyasaland where he enthusiastically taught 'conservation and natural history to local Africans'[793] well into the 1940s. Although Wood was directly involved in the mitigation of the conflict between game, game reserves and humans in Nyasaland and in the Lower Tchiri Valley in the 1930s, the colonial state attempted to devise a system in which game was hunted and killed by administrative officers and the meat given to "natives" on condition that the officers submitted game returns for the game killed for that purpose.[794]

Evidence suggests that by 1937, the colonial state was, however, not aware on how the system was being implanted. In a response to requests for an extension to other districts this system in which headmen and "natives" were to be given game meat, a refusal was recommended.[795] It was argued that while the privilege to hunt specific varieties of game for the natives 'would seem to have elapsed … if DCs are allowed to shoot without license other people may well claim a similar privilege.'[796] Considering the contestations that were taking place in the Lower Tchiri Valley in the 1930s over game, people were likely to take advantage of the privilege given to the administrators to enhance their illegal hunting activities.

Up to this point, the discussion in this chapter shows that while previous studies suggested that in the contestations over game reserves and the game preservation economy, Europeans and Africans, not only called for game reserves to be abandoned but killed the animals to protect their crops and livestock, the dynamics of this conflict worked in favour of game preservation in the Lower Tchiri Valley. As shown, Lengwe and Tangadzi Stream game reserves were proclaimed and later on upgraded although poaching and cultivation within the reserves continued as part of the struggle against game preservation. In other parts of

[792] David Happold , *African Naturalist: The Life and Times of Rodney Carrington Wood, 1889-1962* (Sussex: Book Guild Publishing, 2011), 131-132.
[793] Ibid., 150.
[794] Provincial Commissioner, to District Commissioners for Dedza, Lilongwe, Dowa and Fort Manning (Mchinji), 31 October 1929, MNA/S1/1721II/23: Preservation, 1928-40.
[795] Minute to His Excellency the Governor, 26 January 1937, MNA/S1/1721II/23.
[796] Ibid.

Nyasaland the colonial state attempted to mitigate the conflict but the lacked the capacity to monitor the system of providing meat to headmen and natives wherever the system might have been implemented.

Conclusion

Utilising primary archival and published evidence previously unused in the historiography of Malawi on game reserves and game preservation,[797] this chapter has shown that in Nyasaland and in particular in the Lower Tchiri Valley, the struggle against game preservation and the establishment or upgrading of game reserves ironically enhanced the proclamation of the Lengwe and Tangadzi Stream game reserves despite African and European protests. It has been argued that, although the Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce in its long-drawn out battle against game and game preservation drew on economic and ecological arguments and co-opted the Conference of Missionaries as well as the general public, colonial legislation did not favour the unregulated commoditization of game. The cost of licenses were increased, coupled with new ways in which illegal forms of hunting were to be compounded on the basis of the mechanisms derived at the international conference for the protection of the elephant and rhinoceros in 1914.

The chapter also demonstrates that central to the political will employed by the colonial administrators in both *Nyasaland* and in London were the works of preservationists-turned conservationists such as Maugham on the Zambezian Wild Game and Buxton, among others. These men began spelling out the agenda for game preservation in the early years of the twentieth century, and even argued against the calls for the abolition of game preservation in the public domain, particularly in the Press. The argument for imperial game reserves was nurtured by Stevenson-Hamilton of the South African game protection societies. This idea was also upheld by the international game conservationist, Hornaday of the New York Museum, who made more enemies than friends in the game of conservation. In this chapter I have illustrated how game preservation in Nyasaland, in particular in the Elephant Marsh Preserve and the Central Angoniland Game Reserves, was upheld. These observations have also reflected the need to save the wild game of Zambezia including the Northern Zambezia's

[797] These include colonial administrative correspondence such as a Petition, Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Newspapers and Nyasaland *Handbooks*.

Nyasaland, where in 1914 Reginald Maugham saw the great potential for regulated game-hunting and sportsmanship.

In this regard, it is perhaps in line with Hornaday's Sportsman's ethics that the case for the expansion of the game schedule (IV) of the Nyasaland Game Ordinance of 1926 prevailed over the demands of white settlers, planters, "natives," and the Conference of missionaries against game and game reserves. However, the recommendations in the "Humble Petition" suggested by the Conference of the body of missionaries suggested the significance of "rational game preservation" to cater for protection of crops, livestock and the wonderful fauna at the same time. These recommendations might also have been influential in the eventual assent of Game Ordinance, 1926, which empowered the Governor to proclaim the Lengwe and Tangadzi Stream game sanctuaries as game reserves in 1928.

He did so despite a history of game destroying crops in gardens and granaries, bringing tsetse fly disease that was killing cattle, bringing carnivora that also took a toll on livestock and humans themselves in the Lower Tchiri Valley. The colonial state attempted to mitigate the conflict through the provision of meat to headmen and "natives" although the arrangement was later on viewed as one that could offer opportunities for increased incidences of protest against game and game reserves through unlicensed hunting. As indicated at the beginning of this discussion, previous studies relating to conflicts as analysed in this chapter lacked the insightful explanations of the conflicts as they applied to the Lower Tchiri Valley. The next chapter extends the discussion by arguing that the triumph of the game preservation economy in the late 1920s and 1930s was just the beginning of the entrenchment of the contestations over game and other wild life resources in the Valley in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER SIX

"Meat for our crops": Hunting and the Economics of Wildlife in the Lower Tchiri Valley, c.1930 – 1960.

This chapter argues that the struggle against the establishment of game reserves and the game preservation economy in the Lower Tchiri Valley evolved into an attempt to consolidate the conservation of nature. This took the form of an ecological approach to conservation and gave rise, as reaction, to protracted and varied forms of protest such as poaching. Although the game reserves and non-shooting zones were meant to keep game away from community crops, problems of water scarcity within the reserves forced game to landscapes where not only was thirst alleviated but cultivated gardens were also destroyed. As a response, affected local communities devised strategies for compensating for the loss of the crops and sometimes livestock (from vermin and diseases transmitted by wildlife) by trapping and killing game under the pretext of crop protection. The communities situated between the Majete and Lengwe reserves came to specialize in these politics of "meat for our crops" as game animals in the traditional migration to other parts of the Lower Tchiri Valley, such as the Mwabvi and the Elephant Marsh reserves fell prey to their traditional weapons and even locally made *mfuti-za-gogodela*—muzzle-loaders.

Reports, original research papers and editorial notes of the Fauna Preservation Society (FPS) and oral testimonies from the communities adjacent to the Lower Tchiri Valley Reserve coupled with analyses of the reports of the Nyasaland Game Department, demonstrate that the politics of "meat for our crops" particularly from the 1940s up until about 1960 demonstrate a lively local resistance to the imposition of conservation laws. The chapter also shows that this accounted for the decline in game populations in the Lower Tchiri Valley reserves. International nature conservation efforts and financial support, however, came to mitigate the loss of game through the employment of game guards, who monitored game numbers while dealing with other conservation challenges. The chapter demonstrates a shift in the ideology of game use with the creation of a local hero, an African—Biton Balandow—who came to command local respect that might have been influential in saving the Lower Tchiri Valley game in some instances and certainly shows the rise of alternative narratives about local traditions of wildlife use. As part of harnessing local support to save game, local communities were also permitted to harvest indigenous fruits and other wild life resources

from the reserves, as the chapter concludes with arguing that the state had to win community support to achieve conservation success, rather than merely impose policy from above.

Colonial environmental interventions were often constrained by resistance from African communities, who came to offer a range of responses to state policy from above. They presented a gamut of shifting responses from acceptance to outright rejection, in the process, reconstructing and reformulating ideas about nature and its utilization in new directions. As argued in the preceding chapter, the conflict between wildlife preservation, on the one hand, and colonial state, cultivation and livestock economies, on the other, led to the consolidation rather than the abolition of the game preservation economy in Nyasaland and the Lower Tchiri Valley – although the process was disputed along the way. This chapter argues that the triumph of the game preservation economy in the late 1920s and mid-1930s was just the beginning of entrenchment of contestations over game and other wild life resources in the Valley, as was the case in other parts of East, Central and Southern Africa.[798] In fact William Adams argues that the premise that game reserves in Africa were set up against the opposition from settlers implied that a defensive approach to conservation needed to be implemented because vigilance was needed to keep the reserves in tact as part of securing their future as national parks.[799]

Available evidence suggests that from the 1930s, colonial thinking maintained that Africans were working the environment more as "poachers" and eroders of resources.[800] However, African and European hunters were not viewed through the same lens despite their mutual and overlapping engagement in hunting for sports, prestige, ritual and commerce. Thus apart from contestations regarding hunting, access to forested lands or protected areas by local people became a historically conflicted area. As shown in the previous chapter, from the 1920s African communities were generally driven out of forested areas when the colonial states decided that African cultivation were being used as pretexts for unregulated hunting and their hunting methods were detrimental to the protection of game and other wild life resources. In parts of British Colonial Africa it was argued that the parks and the game

[798] See William Beinart, "Review: Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa", *Past and Present*, 128 (1990), 185.
[799] William A. Adams, *Against Extinction: The Story of Conservation*, (London and Sterling, VA: Earthscan, 2009), 111-112. Adams notes further that it was important to secure the future of the reserves because they were bound to be affected by demands for land as well as poaching and an entrenched strategy of protest.
[800] Christian Jennings, "African Environments in the Colonial Era" in Toyin Falola (ed.), *Africa, Vol. 3: Colonial Africa, 1885-1939*, (Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 2002), 124-132.

reserves – as part of the imperial estate – were 'to be devoted to conservation, recreation, and the production of pleasure' while the original inhabitants were removed to the periphery.[801] As this chapter will argue in relation to the Lower Tchiri Valley, there were significant cases of resistance to this 'conservation imperialism' from the local communities as well as nationalists in the context of the decolonization movement. This draws on comparative work in which Beinart and Hughes point out that in sub-Saharan Africa, 'massive withdrawal of compliance' was more common than all out revolts as part of resistance against controlled access to the forest resources.[802] Indeed, one of the key themes in Malawian historiography on game and game reserves that has received meagre attention is the conflicted and conflicting relationships between Africans and in some cases Europeans with the institutions of game preservation in the Lower Tchiri Valley as the colonial period advanced from the 1930s to 1960. Although Commonwealth historiography argues that the ambivalent colonial legacy of exclusive conservation remained powerful and became the subject of intense debate and contestation in parts of British colonial Africa,[803] earlier works on Malawian history either eschewed the debate or analysed it only cursorily.

However, in relation to Nyasaland game reserves and game legislation, John Mackenzie argues, albeit in general, that in the period of the transition from preservation to conservation: 'African 'poaching' continued where it could, but in some places, notably Nyasaland, the game laws were credited with inhibiting traditional hunting thus leading to an increase in the game population."[804] On his part but without delineating the responses of the affected Africans and Europeans to game reserves in the Lower Tchiri Valley, Elias Mandala maintains that peasants avoided the resettlement projects in Western Chikwawa while showing that in 1932 man-eaters and livestock-eating lions, bull elephants and a leopard were killed in the Western and Northern parts of Chikwawa.[805] Brian Morris contends, albeit in a

[801] J. Mathew, "Review Article: *Environment and Empire", South African Historical Journal*, 61, 3, (2009), 651.
[802] See Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 269-288.
[803] See Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 289.
[804] John Mackenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 221.
[805] Elias Mandala, *Work and Control and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1859-1960*, (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 220-221 and 347. Mandala refers to the killings (by mostly non-Africans) of these animals in a section where he is discussing constraints on peasants' initiatives and agrarian change between 1930 and 1960, Mandala, in fact, contends that as a result of the repopulation of the Lengwe Game Reserve area due to a series of game control regulations, the ecological balance had been tipped against human settlements as the populations of elephants, lions, kudu, eland, waterbuck and other animals increased. Mandala draws his evidence from Chikwawa District Quarterly Report,

general sense, that although there was little effort to revitalize game protection in Nyasaland in the last five or so years of the late colonial period (to 1960), the post-war years were largely characterised by illegal hunting in the Nyasaland game reserves because the efforts of the colonial state were more focused on issuing firearms indiscriminately to be used in killing animals as a crop protection measure.[806] The dynamics of the battles over nature between the local communities and the colonial state's game reserves in the Valley are largelyinvisible.[807] This chapter analyses these dynamics and their previously unexamined perspectives, through exploitation of reports, editorial notes, and original research papers of the Fauna Preservation Society (FPS), coupled to oral testimonies from the communities bordering the Lower Tchiri Valley protected areas of Majete, Lengwe and Mwabvi [formerly Tangasi or Tangadzi]. A key perspective deals with the changing role of game conservation in an African economy.

Fauna Conservation and Territorial Economies

The boundaries between wild life protection, policies of preservation and conservation are often times difficult to draw.[808] Beinart and Hughes, however, suggest that preservation should generally be viewed as an earlier phase which prevented any active interference with wild life, while conservation needs to be seen as 'a later, more interventionist phase' which implied 'wise usage and management [of wildlife resources] to ensure the long term viability of the natural resource.'[809] Conservationist approaches, which as will be seen, began taking shape from the 1930s, came to be associated with both conservation and commodification of wildlife in other ways such as viewing, culling and sale of animal products, rather than hunting. From the 1930s it was argued that: 'Both on economic and material and on

July-September 1929, NSC2/2/1, Malawi National Archives (MNA); Chikwawa District Annual Report, 1932, NSC2/1/4, MNA; and Chikwawa District Annual Report, 1936, S1/66B/37, MNA.

[806] Brian Morris, *The History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*, (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2006), 138-152 and Brian Morris, "G.D.Hayes and the Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society", *The Society of Malawi Journal*, 50, 1 (1997), 1-12. In his evidence, Morris largely draws from the Report of the Commission on Forest and Game Reserves, June 1946, MNA/NN1/6/1; Annual Reports of the Department of Game, Fish and Tsetse Control, 1949-61; and Wildlife Society of Malawi's G.D. Hayes Papers.

[807] This is also true of W.O. Mulwafu, *Conservation Song: A History of Peasant-State Relations and the Environment in Malawi* (Cambridge: The White Horse Press, 2011),107-108, which merely observes that despite the opposition directed against the Game Ordinance, 1926, Lengwe and Tangadzi reserves were gazetted in 1928, while in the following years, particularly in the early 1950s, Mwabvi and Majete Game reserves were established through the strong lobbying of the Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society.

[808] Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 289-290.

[809] Ibid., 290.

intellectual and scientific grounds there is, then, good reason why science should give its aid in the effective conservation of wild life.'[810]

Indeed, by the late 1930s, the thinking within the SPFE was that despite the contestations against game reserves and the game preservation economies dating back to the early 1900s, as shown in Chapter Five, a new era to save fauna had dawned. The time had come when fauna preservation was to evolve into a significant component of the Imperial Government's "careful plans of research as well as development" as envisaged in the Government's *Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare* of February 1939.[811] In replacing the former Colonial Development Fund, the Government stated that in its efforts to fund Colonial Development in the broadest sense, it would set aside additional grants limited to £500,000 a year which would be applied to the development of various forms of colonial research upon the advice of a Colonial Research Advisory Committee.[812] They thus sought to ensure that in the British Empire, development proceeded on 'a balanced and comprehensive plan."[813] In this regard, the SPFE in its interpretation of the word "development" in the context of Statement observed that:

> The preservation and development of the native fauna may, obviously, run counter to the development of agriculture and occasionally, it may be, to the development of forestry. The question we have to consider is one of relative values and the balance of values. "The value of agricultural products," as the Government Statement points out, "varies from year to year as conditions fluctuate in the world market." That is no reason for discouraging agricultural development; but it suggests a reason for encouraging the conservation of the native fauna, at least in those cases in which the fauna is so grand, so beautiful, and so varied as, to invoke the outstanding example, in Africa.[814]

It was elaborated further that with scientific conservation in place, the value of the game and picturesque fauna of Africa, like that of other continents was unlikely to "fluctuate widely" but would increase steadily[815] and that this increase had four implications. First, it would become accessible to visitors from various parts of the world and function as a 'source of

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[810] "Science and the Conservation of the Wild Life of the World: Statement of the Policy urged by the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire—Lord Onslow, President", *JSPFE*, New Series, (XLIV) 1941, 18.
[811] "Colonial Development and Welfare", 17-19. This statement was a Command Paper, 6175, and was noted as one which would have wider political importance of the activities of the Imperial Government. Previous arrangements for financing deficits in Colonial budgets under the Colonial Development of Fund of 1929 had conditions which the new statement had proposed to be removed.
[812] "Colonial Development and Welfare", 19.
[813] Ibid. The SPFE was convinced that the Statement's plans of research and development were to take into serious consideration: 'The relation between forestry and agriculture, and between fauna conservation and forestry, and the bearing of the natural balance of wild life on both forestry and agriculture'.
[814] "Colonial Development and Welfare", 18.
[815] Ibid.

revenue in the form of invisible imports from the visits of sportsmen with gun and camera and of visitors content merely to see in their native haunts and in natural conditions animals which they knew previously only in pictures or behind bars.'[816] Second, the game would, to some extent, be a source of stock for export trade in the forms of ivory, horns, pelts and real-life specimens for menageries or zoos. Third, in some colonies wildlife would continue contributing to the welfare of the "native" populations as an essential source of meat. Fourth, granted that the prevention of soil erosion required protection of forests as collectors and reservoirs of humidity, the preservation of wildlife as part of the preservation of forests would be harmonious with agricultural development.

The SPFE calculated that, granted the lack of resources with which the Colonies were to implement these aspects of their Statement with regard to the protection of game, opportunity had arisen for the Imperial Government to provide substantial financial support to enable the Colonies protect animals for the lasting benefit of both, the Colonies and the whole world. The Imperial Government was seen as being a deeply committed champion in this endeavour of lasting wild life protection as a result of its 'active promotion, signature and ratification of the 1933 Convention relative to the Preservation of the Fauna and Flora in their Natural State, as shown in the previous chapter.[817]

The SPFE's interpretation of the Imperial Government's Statement had important implications for wildlife conservation in Nyasaland. Indeed, apart from suggesting that 'the 1926 ordinance may be viewed as a the most far-reaching game regulation, embracing, for the first time, the idea of game conservation in colonial Malawi,' (as confirmed in Chapter Five in terms of the Lower Tchiri Valley game reserves), Mulwafu also contends that this 'legislation was part of a much broader colonial initiative of natural resource conservation, which also encompassed soil, water and animal resources.'[818] Although Beinart and Hughes[819] in the case of the Commonwealth, and Morris,[820] in the case of Nyasaland do relate to conflicts around the game conservation economy between the late 1930s and the 1945, oral testimonies from and archival materials on the Lower Tchiri Valley demonstrate

[816] Ibid.
[817] Ibid., 19.
[818] Mulwafu, *Conservation Song*, 107.
[819] Beinart and Hughes, *Environment and Empire*, 290.
[820] Morris, *History and Conservation of Mammals in Malawi*, 138-156.

that there was considerable contestations over hunting and also simultaneously a subterranean economy predicated on harvesting of other wild resources in the game reserves.

Arguing that wild life was of great scientific interest and that although other wild life had 'economic values not yet recognised, or easily overlooked by the majority of the persons,' the SPFE emphasized the observance of the following dictum of the American Conservationist, the late Dr William T. Hornaday:

> The wild life of the world is not for us to dispose of as we please. We hold in it *in trust* for the benefit of ourselves, and equal benefits to those who come after us. As honourable Guardians we have no right to waste and squander the heritage of our children and grandchildren. It is our duty to stay the hand that strives to apply the torch.[821]

In December 1944 this commitment to the saving of wild life from destruction was evident in the editorial statement of the SPFE:

> It behoves us to be ready to raise the issue of the Fauna Preservation as soon as the war come to an end, so that whatever policies of development may come up for discussion under the general heading of "Reconstruction", the claims of the Fauna may not be overlooked, and may, indeed, be kept to the fore.[822]

Yet, by May 1945, reports on the war-time measures in the development of Fauna Preservation in Africa only focused on East Africa and West Africa[823] as attempts were still underway by December 1945 to encourage the world to move from 'a welter of destruction into the way of conservation.'[824] However, in June 1946, a *"Cri de Coeur*" from Kenya read as follows:

> The Plains are a sad sight—where used to be thousands of game you only occasionally see a small herd of Zebra or Thomson's gazelle. All have been shot off for meat for the troops—or moved off to a safer grazing place. Africa is not what it was and the game is fast disappearing. I would not have believed that twelve years could have made such a difference. There was plenty of game last time I was here."[825]

Although this was the case in Kenya, at the General Meeting of the SPFE in an October 1945 report, it was asserted that it was satisfactory that 'the war did not bring Fauna Conservation to a complete stand still.'[826] The report also noted that one of the key concerns of the SPFE was that some Governments in Africa were resorting to the destruction of game in order to

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[821] SPFE, "The Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire: Its Aims and its Activities, *JSPFE*, New Series, (XLVIII), 17 and 20. This was a contribution by the President of the SPFE to the Journal of the Audubon Society of the United States of America.
[822] SPFE, "Editorial Notes", *JSPFE*, New Series, L (1944), 4.
[823] SPFE, "Editorial Notes", *JSPFE*, New Series, LI (1945), 5 and 8-14.
[824] SPFE, "Editorial Notes", *JSPFE*, New Series, LII (1945), 4
[825] SPFE, "Editorial Notes", *JSPFE*, New Series, LIII (1946), 8-9.
[826] "Report of the Executive Committee to the General Meeting, 9th October 1945", *JSPFE*, New Series, LIII (1946), 59. It needs to be noted that as a result of the war, the last General Meeting of the SPFE was held on 15 July 1940 and that although the Executive Committee met annually, there was no meetings of any kind between 1940 and 1943. The first post World War II General Meeting was held on 20th July, 1946.

combat the tsetse fly menace and the SPFE was closely monitoring these developments while in communication with the Colonial Office and the Colonial Governments on theissue.[827] Indeed the period after 1945 was viewed as a time when in the varied, grandest and most beautiful African fauna was 'most grievously threatened.'[828]

In this period, the SPFE argued that wildlife was to be protected in as far as 'the protection shall be compatible with human necessities and the best human interests.'[829] The SPFE maintained that true "native" interests were not to be subordinated to the protection of game, although 'some material sacrifice' were necessary if nature was to be preserved for its spiritual, aesthetic and intellectual usefulness.[830] This position had important implications for human-animal conflict in Nyasaland. In its Memorandum on the Protection of Native Crops, the Nyasaland Forest and Game Reserves Commission of 1945[831] observed that the five-year war period had offered a chance for game populations to increase significantly because there was 'very little effective control of game, an important factor being the scarcity of suitable ammunition and no replenishment of firearms.' Indeed, as a result of this, there was serious uncontrollable material damage to "native" crops.[832]

The Commission pointed out that as of August 1945[833] evidence drawn from Europeans, officials and non-officials conversant with the destruction of crops by animals, as well as the testimony of Chiefs who appeared before the Commission, celebrated, firstly "that game is certainly more numerous in some areas of the Protectorate than it has been for several years", and secondly conceded, "that the material damage done to native food and other crops every season by marauding animals is in reality very great and serious."[834]

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[827] "Report of the Executive Committee to the General Meeting, 9th October 1945", 59. See also "Report of a General Meeting held on 21st February, 1946", *JSPFE*, New Series, LIII, (1946), 60.
[828] SPFE, "Editorial Notes", *JSPFE*, New Series, LIV, (1946), 4.
[829] SPFE, "Editorial Notes", *JSPFE*, New Series, LIV, (1946), 7.
[830] SPFE, "Editorial Notes", *JSPFE*, New Series, LIV, (1946), 7. It may be recalled that this argument was partly reflected in the Nyasaland Legislative Council in Chapter Five when the Treasurer was summing up the discussions over the protests against the 1926 Game Bill.
[831] "Nyasaland-Protection of Native Crops: Memorandum by the Forest and Game Reserves Commission", *JSPFE,* 54 (LIV), (1946), 24 and 30. This Memorandum was signed by the Chairman, Malcolm C. Barrow; F.D. Warren, G.W. Nye, J.B. Clements as Members; and Colin Smee as Secretary.
[832] "Nyasaland-Protection of Native Crops", 24.
[833] The problem of the destruction of crops by animals was initially discussed at a meeting of the Commission convened on 11 August 1945 to which the Acting Provincial Commissioners of the Southern and the Central Provinces were present by invitation. It was agreed at that meeting that a memorandum be written for the audience of His Excellency, the Governor. For details see "Nyasaland-Protection of Native Crops", 23.
[834] "Nyasaland-Protection of Native Crops", 24.

This state of human-animal conflict was unleashing humans into protracted annual struggles against the wildlife so much so that:

> In many areas during the crop-growing season native agriculturists are forced, in order to obtain a harvest of any kind, to spend every night for several months in hovels, constructed of poles and grass and offering little or no protection from the weather, erected in the gardens in their attempts to save their crops from destruction by wild animals, and a large proportion of their daylight hours are likely to be employed in the same manner.[835]

As part of this struggle, African cultivators had to also construct grass fences and ditches to keep away the animals. It was noted that this taxed the time and labour that the African cultivator could otherwise have employed in other economically productive activities. There was also health and environmental dimensions to the struggle. It was testified that the scaring away of the animals during the day and night affected the general 'bodily health and well-being' of the cultivators.[836] One of the environmental consequences was such that: 'In some districts the amount of "bush" used in the creation of the fences is a truly tremendous quantity and must contribute in no small measure to serious destruction of the natural environment.'[837]

It was in the light of the foregoing evidence that the Commission asserted that the subject of crop destruction by wild life was 'a contentious one,' because:

> In some quarters the opinion may be held that damage to native crops by wild animals is inevitably grossly exaggerated by the Africans in order that they may be permitted to kill, or obtain the assistance of Europeans in killing, those beasts that will provide them with much desired meat. Whilst this is a possibility that must be guarded against, it may be pointed out that, apart from the continual risk of partial damage, the total destruction of food gardens, or food stores, is by no means of infrequent occurrence in those areas where the larger game animals, elephant and hippopotamus, for example, abound. The pertinent comment may be made that such damage would not be tolerated in any purely European community.[838]

The Commission thus demonstrated that the complaints of the African cultivators were not exaggerated but were real and that even if it were Europeans in those circumstances, their grievances would have merited serious consideration. In its view, the SPFE contended that the case of the "natives" had been 'fairly and sympathetically' stated by the Commission.[839] The Commission argued that whether wild animals were classified by Europeans as "game animals" or not, any form of game protection policy would be acceptable in so far as it afforded adequate protection for the crops of the African agricultural population, and that as

[835] "Nyasaland-Protection of Native Crops", 24.
[836] Ibid.
[837] Ibid.
[838] Ibid. 23-24.
[839] SPFE, "Editorial Notes", *JSPFE*, 54 (LIV), (1946), 7.

such: 'No one will dispute the justice of such a demand.'[840] Despite the position taken by the Commission and endorsed by the SPFE, human-animal conflicts were still bound to proliferate in Nyasaland. This was evident in the Commission's analysis of the problem of crop destruction by the wild life.

The Commission observed that, while many types of wild animals were implicated to some extent: 'The existing game laws, under present day conditions may well be influencing the prevalence of animals likely to damage the crops in certain areas and the haphazard preservation of game by the creation of inefficiently controlled Game Reserves certainly does so.'[841] The Commission noted further that in dealing with the problem the African cultivator who did not have access to modern methods for defending property from the animals, was also handicapped by the law which prohibited his 'primitively effective methods' of hunting animals such as netting and hunting with fire.[842] In particular, crop destruction was wrought by pigs, monkey, baboons, warthog, buffalo, elephant, numerous species of antelope and hippopotamus in the case of gardens bordering rivers or lakes and some of these were protected by the game laws.

The Commission, however, drew attention to the provisions within the game laws that would contribute to the control of crop destruction by animals. Sections 37 and 38 of the Game Rules made by the Governor in Council in 1927 allowed for the killing of game without licence in self-defence and in defence of property using gins, traps, snares and pit falls after seeking permission from the District Commissioner.[843] The Commission suggested that the challenge with the provision actually lay in the fact that: 'The present wording of sections 37 and 38 of the Game Rules indicates that, in the case of "game animals", the killing of them can only be authorized or undertaken after proof had been obtained that they are actually damaging or have already damaged the crops.'[844] Apart from the context of the game laws, the potential for the escalation of the human-animal conflict in Nyasaland also surfaced in the testimonies from the African chiefs. The Commission reported that:

> We have been unable to find any argument to show that the larger wild animals of the country are of any value whatsoever to the Africans themselves. The Chief who gave evidence before the commission were emphatic that there their? agriculture was all-important and that they

[840] SPFE, "Editorial Notes", *JSPFE*, 54 (LIV), (1946), 7. See also "Nyasaland-Protection of Native Crops, 30.
[841] "Nyasaland-Protection of Native Crops", 25.
[842] Ibid.
[843] Ibid., 26.
[844] Ibid.,28.

> wished Government to help them in every possible way to counter the depredations of game and vermin. It is true that game and vermin may provide a scanty supply of food, but the chiefs were unanimous that their people were prepared to forgo this supply if they could thereby obtain improved yields from their agricultural efforts.[845]

Up to the time of the Commission, Government was dealing with crop depredations through the employment of Africans as Crop Protection Guards as well as Game Reserve Guards. However, the operations of the Crop Protection Guards, whose salaries ranged 'from 5*s*[Shillings] to 20*s* per month, and their period of employment from three months to twelve months' was described as chaotic and a mere waste of resources by a District Commissioner with long experience working in may districts in Nyasaland. The Commission quoted him as saying: "Small sums have frittered away in each year on so called Crop Protection Guards, ammunition, etc."[846] This was compounded by the fact that in districts in which larger game reserves were situated, or where there were many incidents of crop depredations, there was one European Administrative Officer, often located at the district headquarters, who in some cases, had to make long journeys to deal with marauding animals that were reported to be destroying crops.[847]

Although the Commission drew up recommendations for dealing with crop depredations which include the building up of a permanent Game Control Department led by 'the services of suitable Europeans,'[848] it was only around 1950 that serious consideration of the game preservation economy and game reserves was noted. The Fauna Preservation Society (formerly, Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire, SPFE[849] observed that:

> The Nyasaland Government considers that, owing to the present congestion of the territory and rapid rate of expansion of the population, the preservation of game is not possible for any length of time, except in reserves. Such reserves are, moreover, only practicable on a restricted scale and in areas unsuitable for cultivation. Nevertheless, while recognizing the probability of the eventual disappearance of game from the greater part of the territory as an inevitable result of the mere expansion of the? population, the Government has no intention of hastening that disappearance, except in the case of serious crop marauders. The plan is to promote, as far as possible, an ordered withdrawal of the game into the reserves.[850]

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[845] "Nyasaland-Protection of Native Crops", 27.
[846] Ibid.
[847] Ibid., 29.
[848] Ibid., 30.
[849] The name was changed to Fauna Preservation Society (FPS) by a unanimously agreed General Meeting held on 5 June 1950 and the name of the Executive Committee was changed to "The Council". For details see "The Society's Business", *Oryx: Journal of the Fauna Preservation Society* [Hereinafter *Oryx*], I, 1 (1950-1952), 53-54.
[850] FPS, "Editorial Notes", *Oryx*, I, 1 (1950), 7.

With regard to the Lower Tchiri Valley, these plans had implications for the Lengwe and Tangadzi Reserves and later, Mjeti [Majete] Hill area. Tangadzi River Game Reserve was considered as 'tiny' and hence 'merely nominal' while the Lengwe Reserve which was only 50 square miles in size was being surrounded by cultivation but had to be retained for the purpose of saving the rare antelope, Nyala and had two game guards.[851] The plans for the game reserves were part of the correspondence that was exchanged between the President of the Fauna Preservation Society (FPS), and Sir Geoffrey Colby, the Governor of Nyasaland regarding wild life conservation in general and game reserves.[852] The FPS reported that: '[I]n particular, our President suggested that Mjeti [Majete] Hill area in south Nyasaland might be considered for conversion into a game reserve or even into a national park.'[853] During his visit to the FPS as one of the outcomes of the correspondence, the Director of [Nyasaland] Game and Tsetse Control, Mr John Borley, who was also a member of the Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society (NFPS) and the FPS remarked as follows:

> In discussing the existing reserves, their possibilities and their probable future, [he] made it clear he was expressing his own personal opinion only and not making a statement of Government policy with respect to these particular areas. Of the Mjeti Hill area which it is thought might be made into a national park or game reserve, Mr. Borley was not able to give a personal opinion. He has undertaken to visit it and make a report. Mr. Borley particularly emphasized that his Department in spite of its name, was not concerned merely with game control, but equally with game preservation.[854]

In the run-up to the time when Majete Hill area was being considered for game preservation, Kenya's game conservationist, Captain Keith Caldwell's 1947 survey on African fauna had shown that there was 'a reduction of the fauna of Eastern and Central Africa to between a half and one-quarter of what it was half a century ago. The same applies more or less, but mostly more, to the whole of Africa south of the Sahara.'[855] Given the contestations regarding game animals and civilization in the Lower Tchiri Valley, the survey is perhaps the context in which the consideration of the Majete Reserve for game preservation should be looked at[856]:

> The question before us now is what will be the state of this unique assemblage of fauna, including many species found nowhere else in the world, at the end of the next half-century. We must face the fact that the activities of the wild fauna of Africa and those of man, are to a large extent, incompatible. The only exceptions to this incompatibility are to be found where man has found a definite use for wild animals….A use and value for wild animals is found

[851] Ibid.
[852] Ibid.
[853] Ibid.
[854] Ibid., 8.
[855] E.B. Worthington, "The Future of the African Fauna", *Oryx*, I,1, (1950), 44. This paper was delivered to a scientific meeting of the Zoological Society of London on 13th June, 1950.
[856] During that time the Colonial Office was also preoccupied with plans for research dealing with biology and ecology of African fauna as part of the era of economic development of natural resources. For details, see "The Future of the African Fauna", *Oryx*, I, 1 (1950), 50.

> also by the sportsman, and so long as shooting continues for sport (I emphasize sport and not slaughter) there is a future….Above all a use for fauna has been found in their educational, cultural, and scientific value and hence we see that development of national parks which is of inestimable benefit to the fauna itself and to the development of Africa.[857]

The survey also highlighted that if the task of conserving fauna in national parks and game reserves was to be pursued without facing opposition, Game Departments had to find means for dealing with 'undesirable animals' and other pests such as baboons, pigs, hyena, elephant, buffalo and monkeys.[858]

It needs to be noted that the conservation of the fauna in the area of the Majete Hill as part of progress of conservation in parts of the world proceeded with the area being closed to hunting—non shooting area— in 1951. And for at least three years assessments were done as to whether the area contained 'sufficient game all the year round to be suitable as a game reserve' and the NFPS made efforts to improve the water supply because water appeared to have been a limiting factor for the area to be a reserve.[859] 'At one time native hunters were closing the waterholes in the Mijeti in their commercial exploitation of game meat. The result was that streams of game animals including elephant were forced to go elsewhere and could not avoid areas of native cultivation.'[860] The Majete non-shooting area which was partly proclaimed to 'keep the elephants away from the cultivated Mwanza plain' comprised of low broken stony hills mostly covered in a very light and poor *Brachystegia* woodland.[861] Mitchell, a Nyasaland fauna preservationist, elaborated that:

> The elephants of the Lower Shire live in a barren and uninhabitable region around Mijete hill, some twenty-five miles to the north-west, where they can find ample food and water. For two reasons they periodically can move down and take up residence in the Lengwe thicket (see figure 6.1 below). Every year about February, when the cobs are beginning to form on the maize, they move into the Lengwe and use it as a base from which to raid native gardens. This is now discouraged by the Game Department who have a team of hunters standing by in an attempt to retain them [the elephants] within the Mijeti.[862]

[857] "The Future of the African Fauna", *Oryx*, I, 1 (1950), 44.
[858] Ibid., 46.
[859] The Fauna Preservation Society, "Editorial Notes", *Oryx*, I, 5 (1952), 217. As will be noted the water factor was exploited by poachers in the non-shooting area to hunt game. See also "The Society's Business", *Oryx*, I, 6 (1952), 311.
[860] B.L. Mitchell, "Game Preservation in Nyasaland", *Oryx*, II, 2 (1953), 102.
[861] Mitchell, "Game Preservation in Nyasaland", 102.
[862] Ibid.

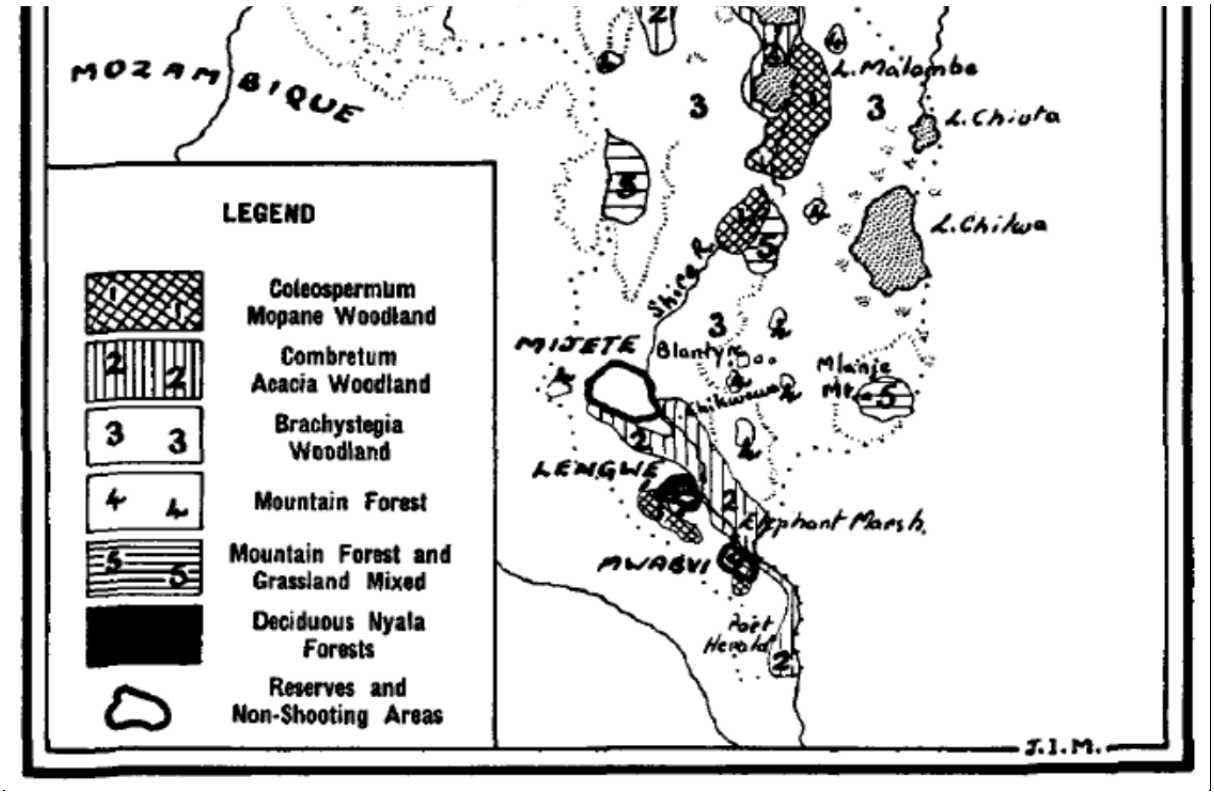

Figure 6.1: Extract of Map of Nyasaland showing the Lower Tchiri Valley Game Reserves—Mijeti [Majete], Lengwe and Mwabvi [Tangadzi]**.**[863] Also take note of the Elephant Marsh region

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In fact available evidence suggests that the setting aside of the [Majete] Mijeti as a non-shooting zone had its clear roots in human-animal conflict. G.D. Hayes, a former elephant hunter-turned "penitent butcher,"[864] as Secretary of the NFPS narrates the episode as follows:

> The idea of turning the Mijeti into a game reserve originated just before the outbreak of the last war [World War II] when a lone elephant bull, which had been raiding gardens in the Mwanza valley and was being hunted for his sins, led the pursuit into the heart of the hills on one of the hottest November days on record. Although he was sighted on more than one occasion the line he took was through such difficult country that he eventually got away without a shot being fired. It was realized then that this wild, uninhabited region would make an ideal game reserve if only the animals could be persuaded to remain within its boundaries. The war [World War II] intervened and nothing was done until 1947, when the Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society came into being. One of the first things the Society interested itself in was the selection areas suitable for game reserves, and the Mijeti was given priority.[865]

[863] **Source:** Mitchell, "Game Preservation in Nyasaland," 99.
[864] Morris indicates that in the 1930s G.D. Hayes hunted marauding elephants in the area of Phirilongwe mountain in Nyasaland and that when he joined the Agricultural Department at Chikwawa in the Lower Tchiri, he spent much of his time in the Lengwe game reserve. He was instrumental in the founding of the Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society (NFPS) in 1947. His activities in the NFPS promoted conservation of game in Nyasaland. For details see, Morris, "G.D. Hayes," 1-3.
[865] G.D. Hayes, "The Mijeti", *Oryx*, II, 5 (1954), 296.

Oral testimonies collected from communities around Majete claim that the poaching to kill game in game Majete from the time it was declared a non-shooting zone was part of reassertion of the people to access their ancestral resources in the form of game meat and land for cultivation.[866] To ensure that they were successful in claiming these resources particularly game, traditional medicine and other rituals were used. Mai Mary Mishoni elaborated that:

> When Majete was established men continued go hunting as had been the case with our parents in the past. We, the women were not supposed to just sit but we had to contribute to the success in some ways. For example, after cooking, we would turn the cooking pot upside down on the fireplace so that as our husbands are in the *Thengo* [bush], they should be saved from dangerous animals such as lions, pythons, leopards and they should not be caught by Government. When they came home with the meat, we would use some of the meat to exchange with maize. There was not much money exchanged at that time.[867]

Zenansiyo Chikatiyazi also added that:

> In the past when men used to tell their women that they are going to hunt in the Majete, the women would wait upon them, they would not engage in promiscuous behaviour because if the woman engaged in promiscuous behaviour the hunters' hunting dogs would just see darkness in their eyes and no game would be killed. But if the woman avoided promiscuity, the hunting used to be successful, the person would kill game come home and *amalowa m'nyumba* (would have conjugal relations). By abstaining from the sex, the dogs were properly taken care of and were therefore able to catch game. To make the dogs aggressive at hunting to catch many animals we would give the dogs *Lupanda* medicine made from a tree called *Mfunenji* (meaning what else will you search or hunt for?) which would be found in the Majete as well.[868]

Hayes, however, presents a different story regarding the contestations over the Majete which were leading to these forms of poaching as part of the protests to the closing of free shooting. He maintains that as part of setting aside the Majete as a non-shooting area and eventually as a reserve, investigations were carried out involving the District Commissioner for Chikwawa, and Government Officers from the Game and Tsetse Control, Forestry, and Agricultural departments.[869] The expeditions to the area were interested in 'information on water supplies,

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866 Interviews conducted by the author with Mai Melesiya Kalichero, GVH Simonzi, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 80 years old, dated 9 June 2013; Mr Sinosi Kashoni, GVH Simonzi, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 80 years old, dated 9 June 2013; Mr Silipuliyano Solobala, GVH Mwalija, TA Kasisi, Chikwawa, approx. 85 years old, dated 7 June 2013 and Mai Biti Anesi Chadzetsa, GVH Njereza, TA Kasisi, Chikwawa, approx. 80 years old dated 7 June 2013.

867 Interview conducted by the author with Mai Mary Mishoni, GVH Dausi, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 85 years old, dated 9 June 2014.

868 Interview conducted by the author with Mr Zenansiyo Chikatiyazi, GVH Njereza, TA Kasisi, Chikwawa, approx. 85 years old, dated 7 June 2013. Drawing on their oral testimonies, Allen Isaacman and Wapulumuka Mulwafu also suggest, albeit in general, that the Chikunda from the Zambezi River region in some ways conquered the Mang'anja although they eventually assimilated into Mang'anja society largely for pragmatic reasons—access to game, land and political authority—,introduced 'guns and new hunting techniques, including special medicines, called *lumphanda*, which transformed dogs into ferocious trackers.' For more details, see Allen Isaacman, and Wapulumuka Mulwafu, "From Slaves to Freedmen: The Impact of the Chikunda on Malawian Society, 1850-1920", *SMJ*, 52, 2 (1999), 17-18 and 19-25.

869 Hayes, "The Mijeti", 296-297.

grazing, [and] potential value of the land for agricultural or forestry purposes,'[870] among others. Hayes asserts that: 'Eventually no one laid claim to the area and in 1950 a request was made to Government that the Mijeti should be declared a game reserve.'[871] Indeed at the time the Majete was being upgraded to a reserve, in addition to the crop destroying elephants that needed to be controlled, it was home to eland, zebra, sable, roan, greater kudu, waterbuck, klipspringer and Sharpe's steinbuck.

During the early 1950s when these developments were taking place with regard to Majete, the other Lower Tchiri Valley reserves were also going through some transformations. The Lengwe game reserve was still a true habitat for the rare nyala antelope, while the Tangadzi was no longer a reserve because nyala had ceased to inhabit its forests. However, a tsetse survey of 1950 up the valley of the Tangadzi river showed that apart from a few black rhinoceros (the only ones remaining in the southern Province) 'the nyala population was not nearly as good as in the Lengwe game reserve, but the shyness of the animals suggested that it was due to poaching rather than the unsuitability of the area.[872] Mitchell notes further that during 1951 Mwabvi game reserve (see fig. 6.1 above) was declared to cover the area of the Tangadzi reserve which had poor soils but good water supplies and could not attract a dense human population on its fringes.[873]

However, oral testimonies from the communities adjacent to Mwabvi reserve locate its establishment to the removal and subsequent relocation of some villages and gardens. Messrs Medson Thete and Manson Khundi in substantiation of Mai Etiness Thomu,[874] suggested that before Mwabvi was established as a reserve there were villages such as Phudu, Mzondora and Dayo in the area and that these villages were forced to leave the area as the reserve was being expanded. They said that the people were told that the area was to become a protected *Nkhalango* (forest). They noted further that although the people were told to leave the area, they defied the orders and continued to live there and cultivate their gardens up until the years between 1957 and 1958 when they were again told to leave their villages, and they left. The

[870] Ibid., 296.
[871] Ibid., 297.
[872] See Mitchell, "Game Preservation in Nyasaland", 103.
[873] Ibid.
[874] Joint interview conducted by the author with Mr Medson Thete, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 17 April 2013, Mr Manson Khundi, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old, dated 17 April 2013.and Mai Etiness Thomu, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 90 years old, dated 17 April 2013.

informants said that when Dr H. Kamuzu Banda (later to become first president of the Republic of Malawi) came in 1959 (the crisis point of the nationalist anti-colonial struggle in Nyasaland in which the masses engaged in various forms of civil disobedience leading to the declaration of a state of emegency) the people carried on with their protests by reoccupying parts of the area of the Mwabvi reserve and reported to Kamuzu Banda that they were being harrassed. My informants highlighted that the people of Mzondora village returned to the reserve area, carried on with their poaching of game and cultivation of the gardens of their so called ancestors while other villagers did not come back or reoccupy their previous lands.

In his testimony, Lewis Mzondora, who indicated that he had lived in the area around Mwabvi since he was born, said that:

> In the past there were people in and around the Mwabvi reserve before it became a protected area. But from the 1950s all the people were sent out of the Mwabvi area. My family also had land in and outside the Mwabvi but we were also sent out in the 1950s to prevent us from disturbing and killing game on our own account in the Mwabvi.[875]

Mungo James's testimony elaborated on the nature of the poaching activities that characterised the relations between the villagers and the authorities in charge of the Mwabvi. He indicated that:

> Before and even when Mwabvi was declared a reserve, many people used to kill animals in the areas with their traditional weapons and locally made guns, *mfuti-za-gogodela* [muzzle-loaders]. They would do this behind the back of the Chiefs and Headmen. They would sneak out of the villages and hunt the game, cut it up in the bush and secretly exchange the meat with food or money. Sometimes there might have been some arrangements between the Chiefs and Headmen with the *Amisili* (hunters) because the traditional leaders also needed meat. In such cases a traditional leader would be given a whole leg of an animal. So the powers of the leaders became limited in preventing the hunters from stealing game in the Mwabvi. It was part of the society of that time.[876]

James added that later on the Colonial Government through the District Commissioner began to teach the people living on vicinity of Mwabvi about the importance of saving game from destruction. However, these people claimed to also have lost land and access to wildlife products as a result of the establishment of Mwabvi, kept on complaining about game animals wreaking havoc to crops in their gardens. In their testimonies Mai Harriet Mussa,

[875] Interview conducted by the author with Mr M Mzondora, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 17 April 2013.
[876] Interview conducted by the author with Mungo James, GVH Chinthumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 17 April 2013. One of the oral informants interviewed by Isaacman and Mulwafu in the Lower Tchiri Valley in 1997 indicated that *mfuti-za-gogodela* (muzzle-loaders) were introduced in the Valley before 1900 by the visiting Chikunda hunters from the Zambezi River region who came to hunt for meat and ivory before returning 'to the their homes along the Zembesi'. For details refer to Isaacman and Mulwafu, "From Slaves to Freedmen", 18.

Mai Malita Semba, Mai Falesi Julayi Hanoki and Mai Mifino Pilowe[877] highlighted that some people in order to protect their crops would set up *'misampha'* (traps) in their gardens and sometimes they would catch game and turn it into relish (side dish). They added that Chiefs and Headmen, however, continued to advise the people to desist from killing the game as response to the destruction wrought on their gardens, but should just be guarding their crops, which the people tried to do to the extent of even sleeping in their gardens to save their crops by just scaring away game. They went further to say that the people would sometimes ask for permission to get into the reserve to harvest some indigenous fruits but not to kill game.

Internationally, efforts to buttress drives, such as these ones relating to Majete and the other reserves in the Lower Tchiri Valley, to engage an ecological approach to wild life conservation were evident in the work on wild life conservation in the United States of America. The FPS in London drew attention to Fred Packard's argument that any system of reservations—national parks, wild life reserves or especially reserve areas— required the active support from all the citizenry to ensure that the reservations serve the 'highest good' and the citizens desist from the "let George do it" attitude but take their responsibilities.[878] It was further promulgated that the principle guiding wild life conservation in the United States was actually written into law by the Supreme Court in 1950 that: '[M]en do not own the land to use or abuse it as they see fit. Rather they hold but a life tenure in it, and have a moral and legal duty to ensure that they pass it in good condition.'[879] The section below elaborates on the moral and legal duty to save wild life in the Majete non-shooting area.

Biton Balandow – a small man with a big reputation[880]

During the 1950s Majete reserve continued to occupy an important position in the upgrading of Nyasaland game conservation spaces. The early 1950s were characterised by the realisation that discussions of nature protection and tourism were considered significant because delegates to the IUCN September 1953 conference noted that: 'Nature is everywhere

[877] Interviews conducted by the author with Mai Harriet Mussa, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old, dated 17 April 2013; Mai Malita Semba, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 17 April 2013;Mai Falesi Julayi Hanoki, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 17 April 2013,
and Mai Mifino Pilowe, GVH Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 75 years old, dated 17 April 2013.

[878] Fred M Packard, "National Parks—The Citizens Responsibility", *Oryx*, II, 6 (1954), 356. Packard was the Executive Secretary of the National Parks Association of the United States of America. He wrote in the light of competing interest between wild life preservation and industrial interests including livestock production and farming.

[879] Packard, "National Parks", 353.

[880] For details, see Hayes, "The Mijeti", 296.

threatened by civilization. Yet it is man's environment. He must learn to live in his environment without destroying it….Man travels, enjoys nature, begins to understand it and determines that it shall not be destroyed. That is what ought to happen and sometimes does.'[881] An article by R.Y. Edwards, "The Achilles Heel of Wild Life Preservation", also drew attention to two ideas 'not new but which are too often forgotten'[882] in saving wild life. They are that wild life preservation is complete only when the species concerned are maintained in their natural surroundings; and that preservation efforts often fail because of blind faith in reserves while the importance of the environment is ignored.[883]

Edwards' ("The Achilles Heel") emphasized that: 'Only when the animal and its habitat are preserved together is the animal truly saved…. The modern trend in wild life protection and management is to deal with the animal through its environment.'[884] Underlining the significance of game reserves and national parks, Edwards concluded that: 'Time is running out for much of the world's most spectacular wild life. Perhaps the ecological approach to preservation will succeed where others have failed.'[885] It needs to be noted that apart from the developments relating to Majete, there had been correspondence in the London *Times* on 'the possibility of creating a national park out of a part of the Nyika plateau [in northern Nyasaland]; notably the letter from the Secretary of the Fauna Preservation Society published on 6th April 1953 and that from Sir George Stapledon on 10th April.'[886]

According to Hayes, the Majete Hill non-shooting area, situated as it was in the north-west corner of Chikwawa district, needed improvements in water supplies even around the mid-1950s.[887] In the absence of water in the few permanent water holes, Hayes noted, the game had to make its way to the Mwanza River on the banks of which the game threatened cultivation and hence risked being shot as part of crop protection since the Mwanza River region was outside the non-shooting area of Majete as shown in figure 6.2 below.[888]

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[881] The Secretary, "An International Conference on the Protection of Nature", *Oryx*, II, 3 (1953), 150-151. The IUCN stands for International Union for the Conservation of Nature. Delegates to this conference emphasized the need for a partnership between tourism and nature protection and demonstrated how useful this connection was to the preservation of the flora and fauna although there had been challenges achieving the cooperation.
[882] R.Y. Edwards, "The Achilles Heel of Wild Life Preservation", *Oryx*, II, 3 (1953), 179.
[883] Ibid.
[884] Ibid.
[885] Edwards, "Achilles Heel of Wild Life Preservation", 180.
[886] C.W. Benson, "Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia: The Nyika Plateau and its Faunistic Significance", *Oryx*, 3 (1953), 158.
[887] G.D. Hayes, "The Mijeti", *Oryx*, II, 5 (1954), 294.
[888] Hayes, "The Mijeti", 294.

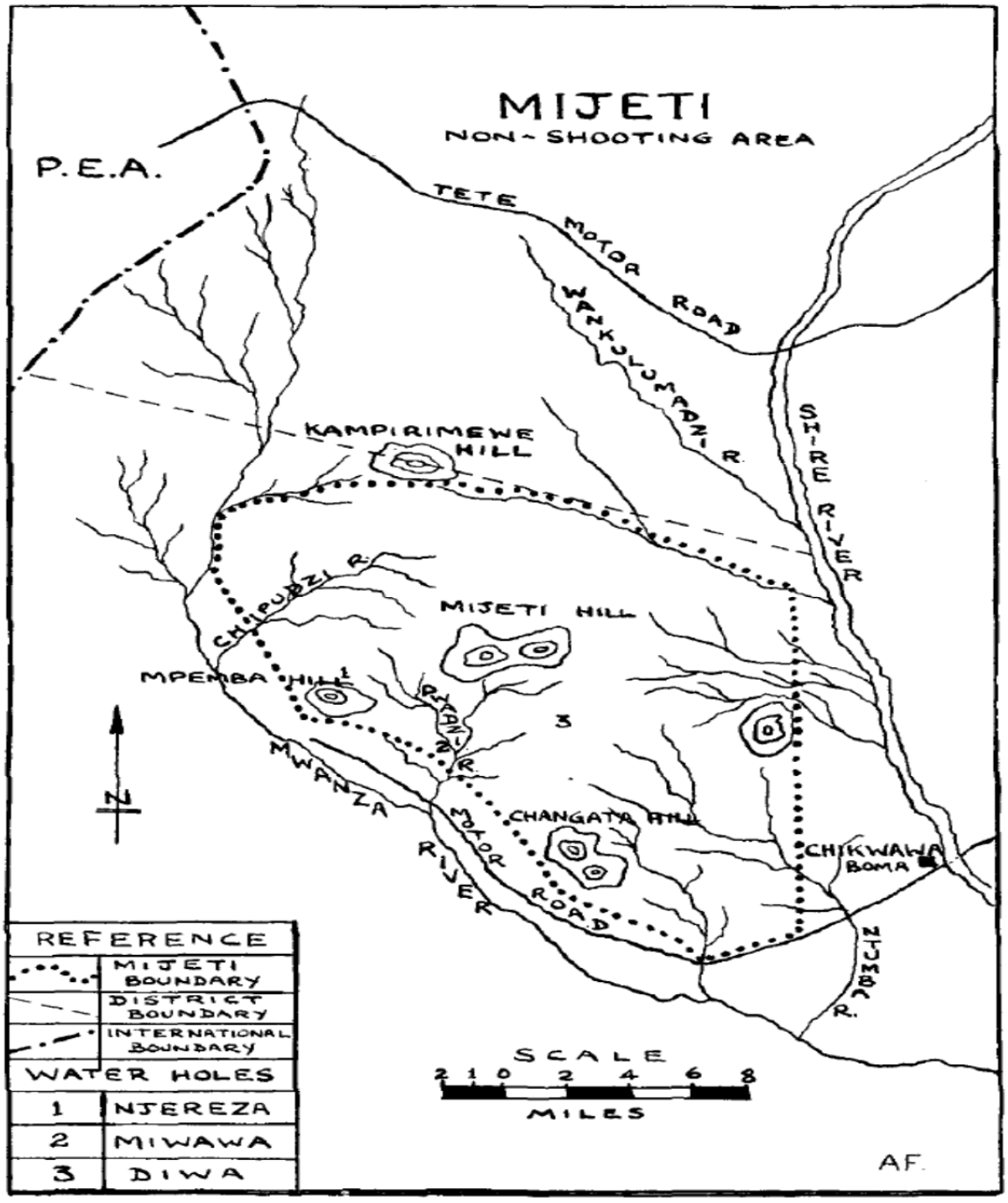

Figure 6.2: Map Showing the Mijeti [Majete] non-shooting area in relation to the Mwanza River.[889]

In making a case for water supplies to be developed so as to keep the game within the non-shooting area, Hayes pointed out that:

> [T]he area now affords considerable protection from poaching. It had been the practice in the past for native hunters to haunt the vicinity of the water-holes and to continue killing the game there until it became too shy and was forced to go through the cultivation in the valley, to the rivers outside the sanctuary of the hills; but the appointment of a native game guard in

[889] Hayes, "The Mijeti", 295. This is also mentioned in J.C. Cater "The Nyika Plateau, Nyasaland", *Oryx*, II, 5, (1954), 298-302.

> July, 1953, whose wages were paid by the Fauna Preservation Society, has gone a long way in putting a stop to the activities of these butchers. The guard, Biton Balandow by name, is a small man with a big reputation.[890]

Elaborating on Biton Balandow's efficiency in curtailing the activities of the 'butchers,' Hayes noted that Balandow was well-known and commanded a lot of respect throughout Chikwawa because he was a 'native' of Chikwawa, 'the son of a well-known medicine man,' had himself 'considerable knowledge of herbal remedies' and had 'for a number of years [been] a native agricultural instructor.'[891] Balandow's monthly reports submitted through the District Commissioner also offer some insights on how the non-shooting area developed. The reports used to supply details on the sections of the area that he visited, numbers of animals observed, and the state of water and food supplies.[892] Around the mid-1950s Biton Balandow reported as having seen:

> elephant, eland, kudu, water buck and warthog in fair numbers, and several small herds of sable and hartebeeste. He has also seen several bush-buck. He states that most of the herds were accompanied by quiet young ones….From Biton's own account he is quiet terrified by the elephants, and yet he takes the most fantastic risks so that he can count the numbers in each herd he finds.[893]

Balandow's reports also revealed ways of dealing with challenges in the pursuit of the internationally recognised strategy that true game preservation needed to occur in its habitat or took into account an ecological approach, as indicated above. Balandow observed that the dams which were constructed to keep the game within the Majete, and reduce crop depredations as was the case with the water holes known as "Njereza," "Miwawa," and "Diwa", were 'serving their purpose and that a big drive' was underway to increase the number of these dams funds permitting.[894]

'Ecological game conservation' and Human-Animal Conflicts in the Lower Tchiri Valley, 1950s-1960

As suggested above, in the 1950s the Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society (NFPS) came to be convinced that in the case of the Majete, the shortage of water was key to the business of game preservation and reduction of crop depredations. It was clear that the Majete area would not graduate from the status of a non-shooting area to that of a reserve if it was not proved

[890] Hayes, "The Mijeti", 296.
[891] Hayes, "The Mijeti", 296.
[892] Ibid.
[893] Ibid.
[894] Hayes, "The Mijeti", 298.

that game was going to be controlled from searching for water outside the boundaries of the area, in the process of which, conflicts with neighbouring communities emerged.

One of the critical steps taken was to assess the possibilities in which the existing water holes would be supportive of the dam construction initiatives. 'It was decided to start with the "Njereza", and a party with the necessary tools and materials visited this water-hole during the season of 1952.'[895] As noted in fig. 6.2 above, Njereza water hole or pool was situated in a small stream rising on the slopes of Mphemba hill and flowing roughly towards the north. Although this stream was largely a storm drain, permanent water emerged within a short distance above the Njereza pool. This water would drop over a series of small water falls into the pool which had a diameter of about 20 feet. From the pool water disappeared underground only to appear again at a distance of about half a mile further downstream.
In order to enhance the capacity of the Njereza pool as a water reservoir dams were constructed above and below it: 'With the idea of improving the reservoir above the water falls a small rock and cement dam was built in the bed of the stream. Another dam of a similar nature was constructed below the point downstream where the water [from the Njereza pool] rises to the surface.'[896] The second dam was situated at a 'long reach' which was at the same level with the stream bed and the hope was 'that the dam would have the effect of containing a large quantity of water beneath the sand, where the animals can be trusted to dig in case of need.'[897]

Towards the end of 1954, the FPS in London announced that work towards transforming the Majete into a game conservation area that prevented game from leaving the boundaries in search of water was still underway. The target was the improvement of the Miwawa pool as a water reservoir: 'Early in September Mr. G.D. Hayes, Secretary of the Nyasaland F.P.S., took a party to improve the water supply of the Miwawa waterhole. A mere mud hole has now been turned into a pool, fifty yards long, forty-five feet wide and two feet deep.'[898] The experiences of the party in the course of this exercise might have reaffirmed the usefulness of the Majete as a place for conserving animals in their natural state: 'While at Miwawa the party saw kudu, bush-buck, duiker, lion, hyena and the spoor of elephant. There was a herd of

[895] Ibid., 297.
[896] Ibid.
[897] Ibid., 297-298.
[898] FPS, "Editorial Notes", *Oryx*, II, 6 (1954), 343.

thirty-six eland with twelve young and one of eighteen sable including five young. A large sable bull walked past only seven yards from the party.'[899]

These efforts which sought to contribute towards preserving game amid growing human-animal conflicts were reinforced from 1955 by Mervyn Cowie, Director of National Parks in Kenya. He warned that if all the species of animals in a protected area were to survive, the area had to be 'faunally and ecologically complete' and properly administered.[900] He elaborated that authorities had to guard against a scenario in which:

> It would be illogical to seek the protection of all wild life, since there must be development. There will surely also be increases in population, and there must be food for millions of human mouths. It is, however, reasonable that, before it is too late, Africa should be divided into zones; so that each claimant for the use of the land can have a fair share. In this division there must be a place for the wild animal. Stock farmers cannot range their cattle with lions, nor can the wheat farmer allow his crop to be plundered by thousands of grass-eating antelopes. And so, on the one hand there must be areas for human development and on the other hand let me plead for areas for total protection of nature.[901]

Cowie went further to call on the FPS in London to take up the challenge 'to convince a greedy and blinded world that there must be a change of heart if the wild animals are to be preserved' in territories under British rule.[902] What was particularly significant about Cowie's lecture is that it not only implicitly applauded the transformations that were taking place in the Majete non-shooting zone and the other Lower Tchiri Valley game reserves but reasserted what one might call a post-mid-1950s business plan for wild life conservation—a plan meant to mitigate human-animal conflicts through its land management, moral, religious, judicial, and financial suggestions. In this regard, Cowie concluded his lecture as follows:

> We must set aside suitable areas for total protection in which human claims are only secondary. We must ensure that the places already allocated to wild animals qualify in all respects as animal sanctuaries, and not merely as eventual cemeteries [for the animals]. Such places must remain inviolate and free of continual counter claims.. The Judiciary must be convinced that the disastrous destruction of God's great beasts by ruthless poachers is a crime against the rights of posterity, deserving really effective punishment. Colonial treasuries must be made to admit the monetary value of game in developing the vast potential of tourism. We must preserve properly if we mean to preserve at all, and we must do it now before it is too late.[903]

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[899] FPS, "Editorial Notes", *Oryx*, II, 6 (1954), 343.
[900] Mervyn Cowie, "Preserve or Destroy", *Oryx*, III, 1 (1955), 10-11.
[901] Ibid., 9-10.
[902] Ibid., 11.
[903] Cowie, "Preserve or Destroy", 11. Cowie's plan may be called a business plan for wild life conservation when one also views it in the light of V.N. Serventy's (Department of Education, Perth, Australia), "The Requirements of a Conservation Programme", in which he argues that a good conservation programme may be considered under the following four spheres: first, the need for modern and flexible legislation to protect game from farmers and "sportsmen"; Second, control of reserves; third, policy formulation; fourth, enlistment of public sympathy. For details see, V.N. Serventy, "The Requirements of a Conservation Programme", *Oryx*, IV, 3 (1957), 119. This was a summary of a paper presented at a symposium dealing with Fauna Conservation held in Perth, 23 September 1955 during the Biennial Conferences of Australian Fauna Authorities.

In line with Cowie's plan for wild life conservation, the Annual General Meeting of the FPS of 4 April 1955 was to be informed by its Council that: 'In Nyasaland the [London Fauna Preservation] Society once again paid the wages of an African game guard [Biton Balandow] in the Mjeti non-shooting area. Action was also taken to aid the Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society in its efforts to keep intact the Lengwe game reserve, a sanctuary for the nyala'[904] and succeeded in preventing a road from Chigombe to Tomali from passing through the Lengwe.[905] In addition, in August 1955, the FPS in London drew attention to the contribution it had made through the NFPS for Majete to be officially declared a game reserve on 25th March 1954. The FPS having been informed by Hayes, reported that: 'By appointing the guard, increasing the water supply, and otherwise "working up" the Mijeti [Majete], the Nyasaland Society hoped to show that it was an area worthy of being set aside for wild life preservation.'[906]

In further pursuit of wild life conservation strategies as also outlined above by Cowie but with regard to poaching, in November 1955 the FPS announced that: 'Since 30th June, 1955, not only has the use of gin traps been prohibited in Nyasaland but also their ownership and sale. The Nyasaland Government thus sets a fine example to Great Britain.'[907] Key oral testimonies[908] confirmed that in the Lower Tchiri Valley game reserves such as Majete, Lengwe and Mwabvi and even the degazzeted Elephant Marsh poaching has historically been done using gin traps, muzzle-loaders and other tools constructed by the use local materials such as wood, iron pipes and iron sheets as shown in figure 6.3 below.

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[904] FPS, "Annual Report for the Year Ending December, 1954", *Oryx*, III, 1 (1955), 49. The report was scheduled for presentation by the Council to the Annual General Meeting of the FPS on 4th April 1955. On 4th April 1955, it was proposed by the Chairperson of the meeting and unanimously agreed that the report be approved and adopted. For details see, FPS, "The Society's Business", *Oryx*, III, 2 (1955), 112.

[905] FPS, "Editorial Notes", *Oryx*, III, 3 (1955), 118. It is noted that both the FPS in London and the NFPS had a very high stake in the matter of the road passing through the Lengwe reserve because it was one of the remaining few habitats saving the rare Nyala antelope from extermination.

[906] FPS, "Editorial Notes", *Oryx*, III, 2 (1955), 61. On the challenges in the payment of the game guards see also, Morris, "G.D. Hayes", 4.

[907] FPS, "Editorial Notes", *Oryx*, III, 3 (1955), 118.

[908] Interviews conducted by the author with Mr Demisitala Moffat (TA Kasisi), GVH Mbendelana, TA Kasisi, Chikwawa (Close to Majete Wild Life Reserve), dated 7 June 2013, approx. 85 years old; Paramount Chief Lundu, Mbewe Court, On the entrance to Lengwe National Park, Chikwawa, approx. 73 years old, dated 11 April 2013; TA Mbenje, Mbenje Court (near Sorgin), TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 60 years old, dated 22 May 2013; Mr. Chigule Soda Phiri (TA Tengani), Chiromo Trading Centre, Nsanje, approx. 70 years old, dated 23May 2013; Mr Danton Anyezi (TA Mlolo), Mlolo Court, GVH Chipunde, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 90 years old, dated 24 May 2013.

Figure 6.3: Showing a broken gin trap with its steel chain (that is tied to a tree to prevent a captured animal from running away with the trap in its foot), a gin trap without a chain and locally made Muzzle-loaders together with other paraphernalia that have historically been abandoned or confiscated from poachers in the Majete Wild Life Reserve.[909]

During the mid-1950s the problems of poaching with snares such as gin traps were not just critical in the Lower Tchiri Valley and other Nyasaland reserves they were also besieging game conservation efforts in Kenya's Tsavo Royal National Park. Poaching by the poaching tribes of Mtaveta, Wakamba, Wapore, Wanyasa and Teita would capitalise mostly on shortages of water in the Tsavo, as would happen with the Majete game. Peter Jenkins, assistant Warden of Tsavo elaborated that:

> During eight months of the year there is not a drop of water inside this part of the park, and every animal must leave it to drink. Poachers are then able to kill game on their doorsteps with little danger of being caught, and the meat can be cut up and removed at once leaving no trace. During the rains, waterholes are full and game scattered, small gangs operate far afield into the park.[910]

In underscoring the disastrous effects of snares and similar traditional hunting equipment such as gin traps that tended to be used in connection with water holes, Jenkins narrated that: 'Often these snares are laid—sometimes miles of them—and not visited again for weeks, if ever. The animals, if caught by the neck, die of suffocation, or *of starvation and thirst if caught by the leg. Skeletons have been found of game caught in snares months before and left*

[909] Majete Wild Life Reserve Heritage Centre and Museum, Majete Wild Life Reserve, Chikwawa (It is also a Curios and Day Visitor Educational Centre catering for Eco-Tourism activities.) These Images were taken with permission from the Majete Wild Life Reserve Manager, Mr Kamoto, 6th June 2013.
[910] Peter Jenkins, "Poaching in the Jipe Area of the Tsavo Royal National Park, Kenya", *Oryx*, III, 6 (1956), 323.

to die a slow and lingering death.[911] Jenkings added that a common practice of hunters who caught more animals than they could carry away as carcasses was to ham-string the others. Ham-stringing ensured that the animals did not escape but stayed alive for several days and that their meat remained fresh. Poaching positions where bowmen could lie during the day or on moonlight nights would be found covering all water points and salt licks frequented by the animals.

At the time when these scenes were being witnessed in the 1950s, even Earl Denman, editor of *African Wild Life,* lamented the destruction of African game in his *Animal Africa*: "African wild fauna is like a battered and broken army awaiting annihilation or an armistice".[912] Denman's lamentation came in the wake of 'his opportunity to study the destruction which has accompanied civilized man's entry into Africa, and his belated and partial attempts to mitigate the havoc he has caused.'[913] Were the efforts of the FPS and IUCN part of these 'belated and partial attempts' in Africa and Nyasaland's Lower Tchiri Valley? The following section attempts to respond to this rather challenging question in matters of wild life conservation in Africa and Nyasaland.

'[W]e no longer take our stand on game preservation but on nature conservation'[914]

In the 1950s the suffering that animals were being subjected to in and out of African reserves was increasingly giving rise to the rejection of the saying that "man's interests must come before those of wild animals."[915] During that time Hayes also noted that there was need for a radical proposal to conserve game because: [I]t was also firmly believed by many Europeans that the existence of wild animals in the protectorate was incompatible with "progress" and that an "extermination" policy was at the forefront of the minds of many administrators."[916] The Secretary of the FPS in London also argued that time had come to consider a proper coordination of conservation of nature even through the formation of a Nature Conservancy

[911] Jenkins, "Poaching in the Jipe Area", 323. Emphasis is the present author's to draw attention to what would similarly happen to game in the Majete and other Lower Tchiri Valley reserves in Nyasaland.
[912] "Reviews: Animal Africa. By Earl Denman. Robert Hale, London", *Oryx*, IV, 4 (1958), 275.
[913] "Reviews: Animal Africa", 275.
[914] See the conclusion, FPS, "The Secretary's African Tour: An Account by the Secretary of his visit with his wife to East and Central Africa Between June and October, 1957", *Oryx*, IV, 4 (1958), 269. It is indicated that the aims of this tour were for the FPS to touch base with bodies undertaking wild life conservation work, for the Secretary to gain knowledge of animals in the countries visited and their habitats and problems of their preservation.
[915] FPS, "The Secretary's African Tour", 269.
[916] Morris, "G.D. Hayes", 3.

for East and Central Africa in pursuit of an answer to his question: 'But can anything be more important to man than conservation of his environment?'[917]

Indeed as the IUCN was evolving into an internationally recognised institution as the main link in all matters of nature conservation in 1957,[918] Africans were also being urged to provide their support in furthering the establishment of game protection areas despite the pressures exerted by growing populations, the demands of agriculture and industry.[919] These developments in enhancing wild life protection which were reaffirmed at the 1933 London Convention for the Protection of African Fauna and Flora[920] had implications for the Nyasaland and Lower Tchiri Valley game reserves.

For example, efforts were continuing between the FPS and NFPS for the establishment of a nature reserve or national park on the Nyika plateau in northern Nyasaland although the Colonial Development Corporation had discontinued its experimental forestry plantation project.[921] In the case of the Lower Tchiri Valley, these developments on buttressing wild life conservation became evident in the context of the African tours of the Secretary of the FPS, Lt. Col. CL Boyle between June and October 1957.[922] The Secretary reported that in Nyasaland 'we were met by Mr G.D. Hayes, Secretary of the Nyasaland Fauna Preservation Society, with whom we were to stay. We spent three weeks in Nyasaland, including an entrancing three days on the shores of Lake Nyasa, where we were the guests of Mr Rodney Wood, a naturalist of great knowledge and charm.'[923]

Indeed the Secretary and his wife arrived in Nyasaland on 21 June and left on 7 July 1957. Apart from the Nyika, the Lengwe was the other important place visited in terms of wild life

[917] FPS, "The Secretary's African Tour", 269.
[918] FPS, "Editorial Notes", *Oryx,* IV, 1 (1957), 1.
[919] R.M. Bere, "The National Park Idea: How to Interest the African Public", *Oryx*, IV, 1 (1957), 22. Mr Bere was writing in his capacity as Director of Uganda National Park and this paper was presented at the East and Central African Fauna Conference, Entebbe, 1956.
[920] "Whither National Parks?" (With Special Reference to Africa), *Oryx*, VI, 3 (1957), 189. It is reiterated that this 1933 London Convention was the foundation of wild life preservation in Africa and the national park system geared towards mitigating human-animal conflicts.
[921] FPS, "Annual Report for the Year Ending 19th December, 1956", *Oryx*, IV, 1 (1957), 58. This report was presented by the Council of the FPS to its Annual General Meeting, 16th April, 1957.
"Annual Report for the Year Ending, 31st December, 1955", *Oryx*, III, 4 (1956), 213. This report was presented by the Council of the FPS to its Annual General Meeting, 17th April, 1956.
[922] FPS, "The Secretary's African Tour", 216.
[923] FPS, "The Secretary's African Tour", 216. Morris also suggests that in general, the visit of the Secretary, C.C. Boyle to Nyasaland where he was taken to Lengwe and Nyika, reflected progress that had been made in conservation in Nyasaland in the 1950s. For details, see Morris, "G.D. Hayes", 6.

conservation. At the time of the visit, the Lengwe, as a haunt for the rare Nyala antelopes in which the FPS had demonstrated interest for a long time, and its vicinity were as shown in figure 6.4 below prepared for the Secretary's report.

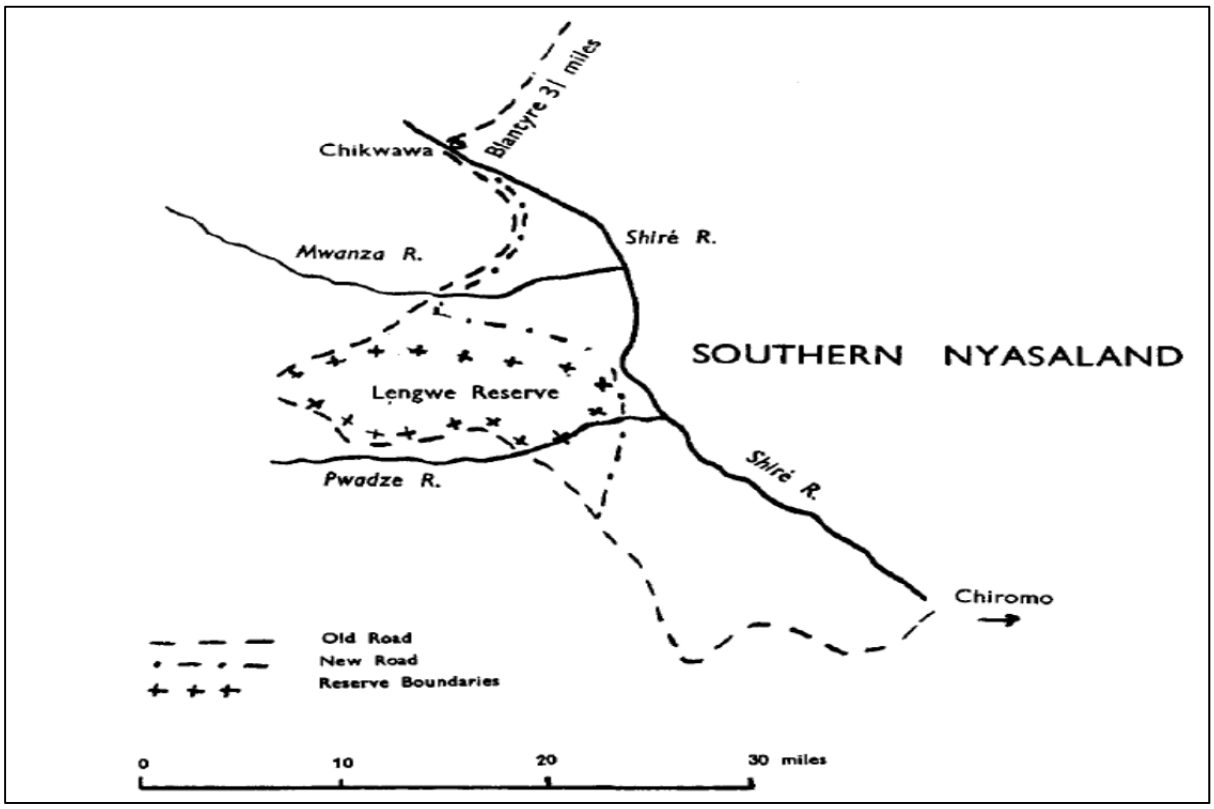

Figure 6.4: Map of Southern Nyasaland showing the Lengwe Game Reserve and the Mwanza and Tchiri [Shire] Rivers as sources of water for game in the dry season in the late 1950s.[924]

The Secretary noted that Lengwe in the late 1950s was not just an important habitat saving the rare Nyala from extinction, but was also protecting increasing numbers of bush buck, greater kudu and duiker which he described as 'permanent residents.'[925] He noted further, that: 'Elephants and buffalo come in [to Lengwe] from time to time especially during the hot weather,'[926] and it may be recalled that these elephants were mostly resident in the Majete and were central to the human-animal conflicts that characterised wild life conservation in the areas between the Lengwe and the Majete.

[924] FPS, "The Secretary's African Tour", 220.
[925] Ibid.
[926] Ibid.

Oral testimonies from the areas of STA Ndakwera and GVH Kamzimbi, [927] situated in between these two wild life protection areas (see also fig. 6.1) indicated that before independence, i.e. in the 1940s and 1950s migrations of elephants and other game were witnessed, and that Africans interested in hunting used to take advantage of such migrations to kill game, arguing that such forms of hunting were meant to be compensation for the crops that were destroyed by the game as well as by the natural disasters such as floods and dry spells, common to the Lower Tchiri Valley. Mr Plain Chilikumnzako of Ndakwera village had this to say about the migrations:

> The most important place which was reputable for having more elephants particularly from the time of David Livingstone was the Elephant Marsh. When there was some kind of drought most of the elephants and animals would get water from the Elephant marsh. And during that time the elephants would move from Lengwe to Majete and then proceed even to Liwonde when there were not many people and from Liwonde, they would proceed to Mangochi and then into Mozambique and then they would come back through the Elephant Marsh or indeed through some parts of the neighbouring Mozambican forests. I am not so sure of how these elephants would be travelling about but there is oral tradition that says that the elephants would move into the Elephant Marsh and there were many elephnats present and it is thought that this was their breeding ground of some sort. Lengwe was also known around that time because the elephnats would pass by Lengwe on their way to Majete from the Elephant Marsh or other parts of Mozambique. The elephants would be moving back and forth to the Liwonde and Majete reserves as well. At that time this was possible because there were not many people. In short the Elephant Marsh should be known even in books as a place where there were plenty of elephants and the Lengwe functioned as corridor for the elephants on their journeys.[928]

Mr Chilikumnzako also recalled witnessing a young elephant that had been terrorising inhabitants and destroying crops in gardens in his Ndakwera village when he was young.[929] He narrated the experience and traditions associated with turning the elephant into meat for household consumption as follows:

> In about the late 1950s I saw the last elephant close to this village of STA Ndakwera near where there is the water pump. The elephant was killed there. This was the first elephant for me to eat. I do not really know who actually killed the elephant, but I can find out. This appears to have been a calf but we tasted it in the late 1950s when I was being confirmed as a Roman Catholic. So I do not really know who killed it. However, there were traditional

[927] Interviews conducted by the author with Mr Francis Dzikolatha (Village Headman), STA Ndakwera, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 80 years old, dated 27 February 2013; Mai Edward (Group Village Head Person), STA Ndakwera, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 85 years old, dated 27 February 2013; Mr Yonas Nyampemba, STA Ndakwera, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 90 years old, dated 27 February 2013; Mr Master Tchale, GVH Kamzimbi, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 80 years old, dated 26 February 2013; Mai Aleya Galaundi, GVH Kamzimbi, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 90 years old, dated 26 February 2013.

[928] Interview conducted by the author with Mr Plain Chilikumnzako, STA Ndakwera, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 74 years old, dated 27 February 2013.

[929] Interview Mr Plain Chilikumnzako, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa. Edward Alpers also alluded to the tragedies wrought on human society by the African elephant. For details see, Edward A Alpers, "The Ivory Trade in Africa: An Historical Overview", in Doran H Ross (ed.), *Elephant: The Animal and Its Ivory in African Culture* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 353.

> regulations that whoever would have to open the elephant's abdomen needed to be people who had prepared or insulated themselves through traditional medicine because there was normally what is called 'Mwikho,'[misfortune that would follow] if the elephant was just cut up anyhow. There were special people who could perform this task and one of these people I can remember used to stay in Chauwa village. He is the one who came to perform the task, so that elephant could then be cut into pieces and shared among the people as food. So who killed it is not really known, it could be the colonial state's agent. But here there were also people who had their own locally made guns (*mfuti za gogodela*-muzzle-loaders) they made on their own and used them to kill animals.[930]

Indeed, a number of testimonies also indicated that the colonial state had mechanisms for dealing with the problem of crop destruction by sending in a Government hunter or *M'misili* although some of the inhabitants from the villages would decide to deal with the animals on their own terms.[931] Mr Amiteshi Teshi of GVH Therere area on the fringes of the Lengwe commented on Government-permitted and self-styled hunters and the benefits that accrued in the 1940s and 1950s as follows:

> Before Kamuzu Banda [the first President of the Republic of Malawi] arrived [in 1959] *Nyama* [game] had rights and people had rights. People were killing game but were not killing all the game they were killing so that they could eat. They were not selling as such but were mostly exchanging with other food stuffs. Even myself I was a hunter, I used to hunt and we used to make sure that we were not killing female game but only the male ones.
>
> It was not everyone who could also hunt land and water animals but for me I could also hunt crocodiles, *'ndimagwamo'* [I would come in]. I was helping two government hunters who were hunting elephants, lions, but with the permission from government. We were not just hunting or killing the lions, a lion would only be killed when it attacked a human being or cattle, this was the same with the crocodiles but without these actions they would not be killed.[932] The elephants were also killed when they were found in the gardens, but not when they were just in the reserve. The meat for elephants would be distributed to the people from

[930] Interview conducted by the author with Mr Plain Chilikumnzako, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa. In relation to the rituals that the informant talked about, Doran H. Ross also observes that in Africa's 'more sedentary cultures, the elephant is often butchered in formally prescribed ways; specific parts of the animal go to designated individuals based on their status in society, with hunters responsible for killing the kill generally receiving a favored portion…In many cultures the spirit of the dead elephant must be ritually placated.' Ross also elaborates that: 'Ironically, while the elephant may be a source of food, it is also a threat to crops. In agrarian cultures it is often hunted as much to protect the fields as for the meat' as is also suggested by the title of this chapter. For details, see Doran H Ross "Imagining Elephants: An Overview", in Ross (ed.), *Elephant: The Animal and Its Ivory in African Culture*, 4-5; Alpers also noted the dangers involved in elephant hunting and the considersble skill, organisation and ritual protection required. For further details see Alpers, "The Ivory Trade in Africa," in Ibid., 354.

[931] Interviews conducted by the author with Flighton Edward (Group Village Headman), STA Ndakwera, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 80 years old, dated 27 February 2013; Mai Siteriya Salijeni, GVH Kamzimbi, TA Chapananga, Chikwawa, approx. 90 years old, dated 26 February 2013; Mai Esther Bello, GVH Mpampha, Paramount Lundu, Chikwawa, approx. 80 years old, dated 11 April 2013; Mr Salika Phesi, GVH Mchacha-James, TA Mlolo, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old, dated 24 May 2013; and Mr Davison Mntintha, GHV Chithumba, TA Mbenje, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 17 April 2013.

[932] Available evidence suggests that the destruction of vermin in general in Nyasaland was stimulated by a bounty system although it was difficult to acceptable reports for each district because the system came to be regarded as 'a good will gesture rather than a serious attempt to control the vermin population in the attempts to increase crop production, and little effort seems to be made to exhort the cultivators to try to achieve decisive numbers in one season.' For details see, *Annual Report of the [Nyasaland] Department of the Game, Fish and Tsetse Control for the Year Ended 31st December 1960* (Zomba: Government Printer, 1960), 2.

> the areas in which the elephants were found destroying. It was given to the people who actually had gardens in the areas that were being ravaged by the elephants. Some of the meat would be used for feeding prisoners or schools. The same was with the hippo, if it was killed, it was distributed to the people from the surrounding villages. Even myself, I killed a hippo and I sold some of the meat and made some money for me to be able to buy ammunition. The other meat I gave to the people from the area.[933]

Teshi elaborated that in the Government work of hunting down animals that were destroying crops as well as vermin like lions, he was stationed at Chikwawa Boma and that there was a hunter in TA Ngabu's area (Chikwawa south) as well as another one in TA Kasisi's area (Chikwawa north) and that sometimes they worked together. In his report, the Secretary of the FPS also noted that the Game and Tsetse had some African game guards related to the Lengwe and that they were being supervised by only one European Officer for the Southern Region and as such: 'Control of poaching is difficult owing to the many villages nearby.'[934] It was hinted that the threat of poaching was likely to increase if villagers opened up gardens along the Chikwawa-Chiromo road because such gardens would stand in the routes that the game from Lengwe (and Majete) would use in search of water from the Mwanza and Tchiri [Shire] Rivers (see fig. 6.4 above) particularly during the dry season when the three ponds within the reserve would 'become mere mud wallows from September to November.'[935]

Morris observed that in the late 1950s there was a controversy over considerable poaching of game in Nyasaland by Africans who were being issued with shot guns indiscriminately on the 'poor excuse that they were for garden protection' while 'leading to the complete destruction of the country's fauna.'[936] In 1958, apart from his earlier appeal that game guards were the ones to be involved in the protection of crops and that possession of illegal firearms needed to be controlled, Hayes argued that to reduce the conflict between agriculture and wild life, the preservation of fauna needed to be confined to game reserves and national parks.[937] Nevertheless, by 1960 poaching either on the basis of crop protection by the self-styled hunters or in pursuit of meat for household consumption appeared to have affected game populations in the Lower Tchiri Valley reserves. From the records complied by Game Reserve Guards of game seen during patrols it was reported that while the Mwabvi Reserve

[933] Interview conducted by the author with Mr Amiteshi Teshi, GVH Therere, TA Ngabu, Chikwawa, approx. 90 years old, dated 28 February 2013.
[934] FPS, "The Secretary's African Tour", 221.
[935] Ibid.
[936] Morris, "G.D. Hayes", 4.
[937] Ibid., 4-5.

in the Southern Province suggested increases, particularly in the buffalo population, the data for the Majete and Lengwe suggested a considerable decline.[938]

It was however argued that the declining figures for Lengwe might have been not necessarily due to poaching but 'variations in the vigour, care, and locality of the patrols' as well as the very restricted hence inaccessible habitats (thickets) of such game as nyala.[939] Regardless of the special circumstances of the nyala, for example, the Nyasaland Game Department observed further that:

> Nevertheless their no doubt that increased poaching, partly a by-product of political pressures, poor rains [forcing game out of the reserves?] and the lack of a Game Officer in the field in the Southern Province during the second half of the year [1960], have combined to make a difficult situation particularly in the Lower River [Lower Tchiri] Reserves. It is only probable, therefore, that there has been a real decline in their [Lower Tchiri Reserves'] game populations.[940]

The years running up to the 1960s were characterised by anti-colonial protests in Nyasaland and in the Lower Tchiri as Mandala also suggests, the peasants fought seriously against colonial agricultural rules for making ridges, locally dubbed *Nkhondo-ya-mitumbira* [literally, battle or war of the contour bunds or ridges].[941] The escalations of the poaching offences in Nyasaland were generally attributed to the functioning of the Game Ordinance which rendered it difficult to secure many convictions. The Game Department observed that: 'Evidence in these cases is extremely difficult to obtain, especially under the state of political tension that pertains at present. The only hope is the imposition of a heavy sentence when a

[938] *Annual Report of the Dept. of Game, Fish and Tsetse Control,* 3.
[939] Ibid.
[940] Ibid.
[941] See Mandala, *Work and Control*, 218-242. On peasant agrarian grievances in relation to contour bunds and strategies for contesting them in the context of nationalism in late colonial period, i.e. in the 1950s to c. 1960 in Nyasaland, see also Wapulumuka O. Mulwafu, "'*Malimidwe*' and the Agrarian Origins of the Nyasaland State of Emergency," in Kings M. Phiri, John McCracken and Wapulumuka Mulwafu (eds.), *Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 Nyasaland State of Emergency and its Legacy* (Zomba: Kachere Series, 2012), 75-127 and Wapulumuka O. Mulwafu, "The State, Conservation and Sustainability in a Peasant Economy in Malawi, 1860-1964(Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1999), 152-251. MacKenzie also alluded to the fact the arrogant and unsympathetic ways in which conservation policies were enforced by colonial authorities in Nyasaland contributed to rural resistance in Nyasaland and that the nationalist protests of the late colonial period in Nyasaland also had their origins in the inequalities in economic opportnunities. For details, see John MacKenzie, "Review: Malawi in Crisis: The 1959/60 Nyasaland State of Emergency and its Legacy Edited by KINGS M. PHIRI, JOHN McCRACKEN and WAPULUMUKA O. MULWAFU Zomba, Kachere Series, 2012", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 42, 2 (2014),365-366. See also Pauline Peters, "Review: Communities at the Margin: Studies in Rural Society and Migration in Southern Africa, 1890-1980 by Alan H. Jeeves; Owen J. M. Kalinga", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 36, 3 (2003), 646-649.

case is brought home, and more especially the confiscation of the firearm with which the offence was committed.'[942]

It was pointed out that punishments such as these ones were rarely meted out in the practice of prosecuting game poaching offences and that in 1960 the heaviest and almost the only one was on 'one of £10 for shooting a roan antelope without a licence.'[943] In the view of the Game Department, the offender was merely ordered to pay for the value of the meat from the animal so that the payment of his offense was not more than the cost of his cartridge.[944] It was also observed that in Nyasaland, many magistrates were in the practice of taking a 'lenient view of offenses against the game laws—which mainly involved subsistence hunting.'[945] It can thus be seen that the struggle against the game reserves and the game preservation economy on account of the conflict over access to game meat, land for cultivation and crop depredations, in some ways benefited from the law, particularly on the part of those who protested through poaching.

Conclusion

With the use of oral testimonies, society minutes, editorial notes, reports and original research papers, this chapter demonstrates that the struggle against game reserves and the game preservation economy in the Lower Tchiri Valley evolved into the adaptation of the ecological approach to nature conservation that attempted to mitigate human-animal conflicts, yet which resulted in the increased poaching of game in some instances. Although Majete was a non-shooting area, which graduated into an official reserve, it was born out human-animal conflict: the transformations that were implemented in the reserve to keep game within it, stimulated international efforts that contributed to the conservation not just of game, but "nature" more broadly. These transformations became part of a utilitarian strategy for conservation, in which legal and financial considerations facilitated the enhancement of nature conservation through the use of game guards and harnessing of public support in the endeavour to put the interests of animals before those of people.

It was in this regard, that nature conservation strategies for the other Lower Tchiri Valley reserves – Lengwe, Mwabvi [formerly Tangasi or Tangadzi] – also began to be upgraded.

[942] *Annual Report of the Dept. of Game, Fish and Tsetse Control,* 3.
[943] Ibid., 4.
[944] *Annual Report of the Dept. of Game, Fish and Tsetse Control*, 4.
[945] Ibid.

Central to the upgrading of these strategies was the improvement of water supplies within the reserves to check the poaching activities that would capitalise on the scarcity and search for water outside the reserves to kill game as was also the case in Kenya's Tsavo Royal National Park. The chapter also demonstrates that crop protection activities which were utilised as contexts for hunting down game also offered opportunities for poaching and acquisition of meat for household consumption.

In particular, the village communities situated between the Lengwe and Majete benefited from the migrating animals such as elephants, some of which they would kill as compensation for the crops that had been damaged by the animals and other natural disasters. The Game Ordinance, leniency in handling cases against the game laws and the volatile political climate that reigned in Nyasaland from at least from the 1940s to the 1950s made it difficult to crack down on large numbers of poachers particularly in the Lower Tchiri Valley where *nkhondo-ya-mitumbira* (literally meaning battle of contour bunds or ridges) was already a major driver of the nationalist anti-colonial struggle that led to Nyasaland's independence in 1964.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions: A Maze of Transitions in Resource Stewardship

Africans in the Lower Tchiri Valley have a long history of exhibiting diverse strategies of resilience. This thesis has demonstrated that their control over their own labour enabled them to cultivate crops in times that would otherwise be associated with food shortages or even outright famine. Yet, the role of hunting, particularly from the 1850s, as a key element in African survival in the Valley has been marginalised in the works of earlier historians, as shown in the historiographical sections of each chapter. Using a socio-environmental approach, this thesis has shown that hunting in the Valley provided a social, economic and cultural context in which game functioned as a vital and concomitantly contested natural resource. Much of the political context of this draws on the robust wider historiography, especially the work of MacKenzie, Mandala and McCracken. What it contributes to this existing historiography is a stronglyarchival-based study of the consequences of and reactions to particular economic, legislative and socio-political processes in a specific region, with a strong focus on the environmental impact. It thus goes beyond the broader narrative of and generalizations about a hunting economy's transition to a preservation and later conservation economy to show how these policies were carried out in a particular sub-region and the variety of local reactions with which they were met. Oral memories, gathered through personal testimony on environmental change and adaptation, address the dearth of African accounts of nature and environmental resources.

Hunting was critical in strengthening socio-political power and connections, (later) enhancing scientific understanding of animals, facilitating commerce, and key in a plethora of cultural rites. As in other parts of Eastern, Central and Southern Africa, the participation of Africans in the Valley in hunting went hand in hand with the sport hunting practices of white or European hunters. Chapter Two demonstrates that there was a symbiotic relationship between African and European hunting practices in the Valley between from the 1850s to 1890. European hunters hunted alongside African hunters, particularly the Magololo who came to be identified as quintessential hunters in the new context of "white hunting" and who parlayed their skills into the acquisition of control in the Valley. Their knowledge in woodcraft, their abilities as trackers and gun bearers facilitated the collection of trophies by the white hunter. The participation of agents of the African Lakes Company (ALC) in

hunting for their own provisioning and collection of trophies created a market for the agricultural products of the agrarian communities that surrounded ALC stations. The communities would also sell animals hides, for example, to the agents.

Historical analysis uncovers a highly gendered process, but also a hidden history of women's involvement. Although women did not participate in hunting as conventionally understood in the historiography, their hunting took the form of dry season fishing in pools, locally described as *kugwa thamanda* (in which some men were also involved). The dynamics of power were evident, which serve to undermine romantic notions of pre-colonial "pre-lapsarian" egalitarian use of natural resources. Indeed, in all these forms of hunting chiefs and headmen were allotted their shares as "owners" of the lands in which hunting took place. The growing importance of the marketable (and later scientifically important) parts of the slaughtered animals, such as ivory and horns facilitated the evolution of hunting in the Valley. This precipitated both mutually rewarding alliances but also contestations between the white hunters and the Magololo, who also began to deploy the 'politics of the belly', using meat to consolidate their social, political and economic ties with their new Mang'anja subjects. With the advent of colonial administration, with big game hunters as colonial administrators, the competition over hunting necessitated the introduction of colonial game preservation by exclusion.

Chapter Three demonstrated that these gun licences and game laws enacted by the colonial administration from the early 1890s were transplanted into Nyasaland from the European Aristocratic hunting infrastructure and long traditions of alienating the peasantry by casting them as "poachers". The various forms in which the benefits of sport hunting were promulgated and the aspects of the game laws that were implemented revealed the intentions of the colonial state in preserving game for the sporting pleasure of white or European settlers, planters and officials in the early colonial era. The jurisprudence of these legal instruments had been borrowed from the English Game Laws System that only privileged elite hunting while subjugating the ordinary people's hunting. Meanwhile white hunters tended to defy these legal instruments. In fact, the chapter contended that the game preservation ethos of the eras of Harry Johnston and Alfred Sharpe, 1891–1910, was pursued to facilitate white sport hunting. However, Africans still participated alongside whites, albeit covertly. The chapter emphasised that there was a racial cross-over in strategies used to flout the laws: Africans and some whites also used the idea of culling problem animals ostensibly

to protect their gardens and plantations, as avenues that offered opportunities for killing game despite the game laws. Apart from hunting in contravention of the game laws, opposition in the Valley extended to the Elephant Marsh game reserve, which was also established within the context of these laws in their attempt to preserve game by exclusion. The opposition to the game laws and game reserves came to be invigorated in the context of the impact of tsetse on game, livestock and humans.

Chapter Four analysed the ways in which white and African hunting were impacted by and reacted to the politics of tsetse fly control, in the Valley, from around 1906 to the 1920s. The controversy over tsetse-game in the Elephant Marsh drew from imperial arguments waged in the metropole and in Central, Eastern and South Africa. Evidence suggests that in spite of plausibility of the arguments advanced by both sides of the controversy, game was ruthlessly killed in the Elephant Marsh region. As the chapter evinced, the extensive killing of the wildlife was largely sanctioned by *ad hoc* experiments, supported in the popular press and public intellectual space. It was shown that this experiment in game slaughter provided opportunities for some unscrupulous hunting interests to prevail over the principles of Nyasaland's game laws. A significant proportion of game was harried and destroyed in the Elephant Marsh in 1914. The effects of the mass culling and diaspora of animals lasted until the late 1920s. Although the tsetse-game controversy ran parallel with agitations for the abolition of game reserves and the game preservation economy, the politics of tsetse control did not overshadow the desire by some Europeans and Africans to force the colonial state to open the newly established reserves to hunting.

As Chapter Five demonstrated, the struggle against the development of game reserves and game preservation as witnessed from about 1900 to 1940 actually worked in favour of game conservation in the Lower Tchiri Valley, and Nyasaland in general. The chapter showed that the context of the struggle facilitated the consolidation of game reserves, which enhanced game protection. The Nyasaland Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce waged a protracted battle against game preservation by mobilising economic and ecological arguments and even aligned with the Conference of Missionaries as well as the general public. Yet, colonial legislation rejected the unregulated commoditization of game by both Europeans and Africans. In their constructive containment of the protests against the Game Ordinance of 1926, the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Governor of Nyasaland proceeded to proclaim Lengwe and Tangadzi Stream as game reserves.

However, as Chapter Six elucidated, this apparent triumph of the colonial state and the game preservation economy was really just the beginning of the entrenchment of protests against conservation of nature that continued long after 1960. Chapter Six drew on local community memory through oral testimonies to explain the struggle against the establishment of game reserves in the Valley, which shifted into attempts to consolidate the conservation of game as part of nature as a whole from the 1930s to 1960. This consolidation took the form of an ecological approach to conservation and gave rise as reaction to protracted protest. Local communities devised strategies – both covert and open – for compensating for the loss of crops and livestock from predation, vermin and diseases related to wildlife. The chapter shows the enduring strategy of trapping and killing game under the pretext of crop protection, just as had been the case in the early colonial period.

Running through as the key arguments in this thesis has been the contested state of game as a natural resource, which, with the passage of time and increased interests in its usefulness, bequeathed its contested status to its habitats as they evolved into game sanctuaries and later game reserves as colonial thinking began restructuring human-animal relationships in Nyasaland. When game was hunted in pre-colonial hunting grounds such as the Elephant Marsh, there was (as this has been emphasised) still intra-African conflict – this should be extended into a study which includes inter-generational change over (possibly through the use of family histories). Moreover, while Africans in the Valley and other parts of Nyasaland and East, Central and Southern Africa, were blamed for the declining numbers of game, the introduction and use of the game registers and game returns as means for enforcing killing for preservation, imply that game preservation was just a challenge, it did not matter whether it largely involved Africans or white hunters. Apart from the Governor of Nyasaland deliberately enforcing that game registers, from which he prepared the returns, be consistently adhered to, the statistics from the game returns for Valley suggested that the official statistics might not have been a true reflection of the number of antelopes killed, for example, which were noted to have been available in large numbers. However, the game returns for the Valley scored highly in their exhibition of evidence that there were attempts at killing for preservation in which reported killings of game showed that it was mostly the male species that had been slaughtered, and not the female and the young.

The game laws of Nyasaland had a clear stipulation on this killing for preservation that was also endorsed by the 1900 London Convention for game protection. The usefulness of the

game returns of the Valley, suggest that a study that analyses their contribution to game preservation in Nyasaland, might reveal important issues relating to killing for conservation because the data in the returns reported the sexes of the game killed.[946] Despite the challenges faced in the enforcement of the game laws and related legal instruments and processes, this thesis also speaks to the indispensability of legal or quasi-legal processes in game preservation. Within the tsetse-game polemic, the thesis shows how the controversy assumed legal dimensions particularly in terms of the progress on the debate and the terminology employed.

Of course, the tragedy that occurred over game in the Elephant Marsh region reinforced that the ever present challenges of using legal processes to preserve game while hunting was still seen as a non-negotiable aspect for some Africans and whites in the Valley. Considering that in Nyasaland and other parts of Southern Africa the tsetse-game controversy did not end in the late 1920s, this study recommends an investigation into the interaction of tsetse control and game conservation from the 1920s to the 1960s, particularly in Central and Northern Nyasaland where the spread of tsetse was 'even more alarming' despite efforts by the colonial state and entomologists to halt the advance of the fly.

As shown in this thesis, particularly in Chapter Five, the fight against the tsetse also extended into the already pre-existing calls for the abolition of the game reserves and abandonment of game preservation. The crisis point in the struggles against the reserves and game preservation was the opposition to the 1926, Game Ordinance. The so called, 'Humble' Petition was signed by members of the settler community who argued that they were also representing "native interests". Given that the settler community co-opted the Conference of Missionaries and not the "natives", an area for future research lies in investigating the dynamics of African opposition to game reserves over the *longue durée*, from the pre-colonial to the present. A study of this nature might also take into account actual challenges (as tentatively explored and partly shown in Chapter Six in the case of the Lower Tchiri Valley) that game preservation encountered from the Africans in other parts of Nyasaland from the 1930s when the game preservation economy in Nyasaland entered a phase where it was being managed under District Administration.

[946] As shown in Chapter Three, the SPWFE published game returns and game censuses for countries in East and Central Africa from 1904 up to 1913. In the case of Nyasaland, the returns show data for other districts other than those in the Lower Tchiri.

Such a study might also trace the contributions of not only "Great men" like Johnston and Sharpe but also those whom McCracken termed "Marginal Men," in the Conservation of game in Nyasaland. This tracks the dynamics of power away from the colonial state and explores agency (exercised for good and ill in complicated relationships over natural resources which showed competing visions of the future).[947] In this vein, the complicated stories of people such as Biton Balandow of the Majete reserve might be told in more depth than this thesis allowed, as an antidote against the hagiography of "heroes" of conservation and as an act of recovery of African agency. This thesis has also endeavoured to dealing with marginalisation of women in terms of hunting but not only showing their contribution to hunting, but also incorporating their oral testimonies in the discussion. A further gendered analysis of hunting – focusing not only on women but also on developing a more nuanced ethnographic understanding of the role of 'masculinity' in hunting – could be extended further. Moreover, oral history could uncover more about the role of women post-1960, particularly in post-colonial conservation.

There is an enduring role for environmental history in informing current policy and debate in conservation. Historical studies showing both the quotidian and exceptional environmental experiences and understandings of ordinary men and women, coupled to the interventions of key individuals, can facilitate our understanding of our relationships with nature.[948] Works of history explaining the multifaceted and shifting interaction between anthropogenic activities and ecological change are crucial to more informed policy choices. The historian's role is not necessarily to intervene directly, but certainly to reconstruct missing memory, thereby both exposing the historicity and impermanence of contemporary *status quo* and simultaneously offering a cure for the syndrome of policy amnesia. Hunting and the hunting territories in the Lower Tchiri Valley were historically significant in the pre-colonial and colonial eras as testified by the protracted contestations between the state, whites and Africans over the former hunting grounds of their ancestors – '*dziko lili mphonje*' – back in time when 'nature was nature'.[949]

[947] For example, conservationist intervention was promoted by self-styled moderniser Chief Tengani, a sometime employee of the South African Railways, who attempted an ambitious plan of conservation and agricultural reform, which, as Elias Mandala has shown, fostered rebellion. Elias C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi, 1859-1960* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

[948] Stephen Dovers, "On the Contribution of Environmental History to Current Debate and Policy", *Environment and History*, 6 (2000), 131-50.

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Blantyre Magaleta, GVH Kamberengende, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. 80 years old, dated 19 April 2013.

Frazer Jenisoni Alindiamawo, Senior GVH Kanyimbi, TA Tengani, Nsanje, dated 18 April, approx. 75 years old

Jenison Alindiamawo, GVH Kanyimbi, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. 90 years old , dated 18 April 2013.

Magalasi Tchale, GVH Kamanga, TA Tengani, Nsanje, approx. 85 years old, dated 19 April 2013.

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Oral Testimony: M/CK/I: Mathias Chimtanda Mlilima, A former Kololo Chief, Mlilima on 23rd January 1976, as quoted in Mandala, "Kololo Interlude", 109.

Oral Testimony: M/CK/IV: Chief (Joseph) Maseya (son of Maseya I), Kololo Ethnic Group, about 80 years old, on 30 January 1976 quoted in Mandala, "Kololo Interlude", 22.

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