

## **Imperial Pig-Sticking in Late Nineteenth-Century Morocco**

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### **Introduction**

The imperial hunting as a discourse can be read and analyzed as the self's attempt to survey the Other's space for the potential intention of getting spatial dominance. Different British travellers who journeyed to late nineteenth-century Morocco engaged in the sport of hunting to solidify the superiority of the self over the other, to reveal the British imperial display, spectacle and magnificence, to underpin Britons' daring masculinity and to celebrate the Anglo-Saxon virtues and values. Besides, imperial hunting as a discourse or strategy imposes the imperial presence on the Moroccan space in visible ways. The discourse of imperial display and spectacle marks a process of "imperial improvisation" in the spectacle of empire. The latter serves to transform governance, exploration, dominance and political power as main "civilizing" aspects into a grand spectacle for the natives to see, revere and hero-worship; the spectacle of boar hunting in which British travellers engage makes the natives feel a sense of awe and admiration. To have absolute dominance, the imperial structure needs to "naturalize" itself by becoming acceptable to the natives and to generate an aura around itself. This acceptability and aureole are made possible by improvisation and the production of the spectacle of empire.

The hunt played a major role in the imperial "performances" in precolonial Morocco. It was, along with other sports, a means of domesticating the colonial landscape and life forms, and a means of constructing ideas of masculinity and Englishness. We can maintain that the hunting of pigs in Morocco during the late nineteenth century symbolized for the British the triumph of culture over nature and of the self over the Other. In this context, William Beinart contends that in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, even before the scramble for Africa, European hunters were already "laying down claims to possession" of Africa by "demarcating their hunting ground: conjuring the empire as estate."<sup>1</sup> During the Victorian era, hunting took place

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1. William Beinart, "Review Article: Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa," 167.

in the out-of-doors, which was considered the proper arena for male action because manly values are embodied more by encountering other men in the natural world. Staying shut in one's house, it was believed, was a woman's tendency. Besides, hunting involved not only the challenge of the chase, but also the allied skills of horsemanship, which were considered among the highest expressions of manly virtues.<sup>2</sup> In other words, "hunting provided the opportunity to show mastery over physical space."<sup>3</sup>

Adventure itself, notes Patrick Brantlinger, had become a thing of the past in spaces like Barbary and Africa, forcing the British to turn to romance, dreams, and imagination,<sup>4</sup> and the hunt was a response to this sense of anxiety, loss, vulnerability and uncertainty.<sup>5</sup> Hence, British belated travellers to Morocco regarded boar hunting as a quest for the "distant exotic" in which the Englishmen voluntarily sought danger and risk, disciplining and domesticating thus this sense of exotic. The forest and the hill became not just a hunting ground but a space where the British could demonstrate and substantiate complete self-confidence, self-control, sportsmanship and their messianic role (as savior of the natives) but ultimately, absolute dominion over the "wild" landscape that was Morocco. More generally, boar hunting was an important symbol in the construction of British imperial and masculine identities during the second half of the nineteenth century. Precisely because boars were dangerous and powerful beasts, boar hunting represented a struggle with fearsome nature that needed to be resolutely faced "like a Briton," as Walter Campbell strongly put it.<sup>6</sup> Only by successfully vanquishing boars would Britons prove their manliness, virility as well as their fitness to rule over Moroccans.<sup>7</sup>

The main reasons behind the choice of these three British writers are twofold: first, these writers devoted much space to talking about pig-sticking,

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2. Munyaradzi Manyanga and George Pangeti, "Precolonial Hunting in Southern Africa: A Changing Paradigm," in *Archives, Objects, Places and Landscapes: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Decolonised Zimbabwean Pasts*. Munyaradzi Manyanga and Shadreck Chirikure, eds. (Bamenda and Buea: Langaa RPCIG, 2017), 277. See also the modern edition of the book written by various authors, *Pigsticking in Morocco and India* (Newberg, Oregon: Barclay Press, 2011), 22 pages.

3. *Ibid.*, 193.

4. Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British literature and imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 293.

5. Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840: 'from an antique land'*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 16.

6. "Never attack a tiger on foot – if you can help it. There are cases in which you *must* do so. Then *face him like a Briton*, and kill him if you can; for if you fail to kill him, he will certainly kill you" (Walter Campbell, *My Indian Journal* 162, emphasis added).

7. Joseph Sramek, "Face Him Like a Briton": Tiger Hunting, Imperialism and British Masculinity in Colonial India, 1800-1875," 659.

engaging themselves in this sport; second, less attention has been paid to their accounts and memoirs, and specifically to pig-sticking as a game deployed as imperial subterfuge. In this article, the focus is on how British writers (Hugh Stutfield, Joseph Thomson and John Drummond Hay) journeyed to precolonial Morocco and participated in the sport of hunting as a pre-emptive form of imperial surveillance and as a means of asserting imperial dominance and imperial masculinist values. The article asserts that pig-sticking, or hog hunting, the chase of the wild boar, as a sport, on horseback with the spear, is a central aspect of British imperial hunting activities in Morocco and that it is fashioned into an imperial spectacle in which different travellers can display their own masculine virtues.

### Colonial Hunt: Moorish Space (Re)appropriated

The influx of Spanish refugees and of migrants from southern Europe generally from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the city of Tangier led to the emergence of an ethnically rich society, which in reality as well as in fiction attracted disreputable elements. The pressures of this influx led, among other things, to efforts by the wealthier British and other European settlers to move beyond the town's gates. An underclass of Britons continued to live with these settlers in the town centre of Tangier, but their wealthier counterparts increasingly took refuge in the district known as "the Hill."<sup>8</sup> There, physically secluded from the excesses of the town, as well as from their socially inferior compatriots, they cultivated tropical gardens linked by avenues of eucalyptus, pine, pepper and palm trees. Advertisements in *Al-Moghreb Al-Aksa*, a newspaper which was the mouthpiece of the British community, suggested an availability of house furnishings and clothing which would have enabled wealthier expatriate Britons to replicate current English fashions. The Britons engaged in different activities such as "camping, picnics, gymkhanas, golf, polo, tea-parties, rounders and paper chases."<sup>9</sup>

In addition to these pastimes, there was fox-hunting, shooting, hawking and pig-sticking, and the Tangier Tent Club, a white, chiefly British, preserve, which embodied the values of the British community. Sir John Drummond Hay introduced this sport of hunting, but his departure from Tangier in 1886 was a blow to the sport of pigsticking.<sup>10</sup> Hay's successor Charles Euan Smith

8. John Fisher, "The Bible Dream': Official Travel in Morocco, c. 1845-1935," in *The British Abroad Since the Eighteenth Century: Experiencing Imperialism* Vol. 2, eds. Martin Farr and Xavier Guegan, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 727.

9. John Fisher, "Keeping 'the Old Flag flying': The British Community in Morocco and the British Morocco Merchants Association, 1914-24," 727.

10. see John Drummond Hay, "Reminiscences of Boar-hunting in Morocco," *Murray's Magazine* 3 (March 1888): 330.

formed the Tangier Tent Club in 1892, and many of the British, and to lesser extent American, diplomats participated semi regularly thereafter.<sup>11</sup> John Fisher observes that “only the foreign representatives could name members or serve as officials of the club, and Moroccans were largely excluded or involved simply as beaters. Europeans of lower social rank were also kept out and the club therefore served to impose and reinforce an alien social hierarchy.”<sup>12</sup> Besides, according to Susan Miller, the Club was a chief step forward towards the foreign appropriation of public space around Tangier.<sup>13</sup> In this context, in the late nineteenth century, the British who were involved in this game saw that the Club was one of the embodiments of the perpetuation of British values, and that “perceived encroachments upon their interests from whatever source were resisted.”<sup>14</sup>



Pig-sticking in Morocco by Richard Caton Woodville

11. The first president, Sir Charles Euan-Smith – the “Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of Morocco” (1891-1893) – believed it should be deployed as an avenue for greater influence in the affairs of the Sultanate. The subsequent arrival and activity of Sir Charles Euan-Smith, albeit reputed at the Foreign Office for his negotiating powers, was swiftly regarded by the Moroccan administration as a substantially negative development, given the envoy’s perception of Moroccans as cruel and corrupt barbarians whose regeneration could be effected only by the influence of European civilisation and wholesale commercial reform (Parsons, *The Origin of Moroccan Question*, 401; Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, 89; Stephen Bonsal, *Morocco As It Is: With an Account of Sir Charles Euan Smith*, 29 ff); On his brief career in Morocco as representative of the British Crown see also Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Briṭāniyā wa ishkāliyyat al-’iṣlāh fī al-Maghrib, 1886-1904* (Ar-Ribāt: manshūrāt kulliyat al-ādāb, 2011), 25-122.

12. *Ibid.*, 727. See also Susan Gilson Miller, “The Colonial Hunt in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Tangier.” Miller states that “In the fifty years that the Club actively operated only a handful of Moroccans became members ... Through the medium of the Tent Club, the motifs of exclusion and class consciousness so central to the functioning of European society at that time found their homological expression in Tangier” (197).

13. Susan Gilson Miller, “The Colonial Hunt in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Tangier,” 197.

14. John Fisher, *Outskirts of Empire: Studies in British Power Projection* (London: Routledge, 2019), 161.

As befitting an organization of diplomats, George Collins asserts, “the Tangier Tent Club had well-defined rules that included the selection of officers, membership and other fees, payment for guards and beaters, and the time and length of the hunting seasons. At least three pigsticking camps were to be held between November and June.”<sup>15</sup> A Director or Field Master was responsible for all hunting arrangements. While there was provision for other hunting, the stress was on pigsticking. The hunts were open to almost all foreigners either as members or guests, and to Moroccan officials and sportsmen without charge.

Katherine Mansel-Pleydell, a leading member of the British community, whose husband managed the Tangier Tent Club, and who recorded her time in Morocco in her travelogue *Sketches of Life in Morocco* (1907), states that her husband and she as part of the English expatriates in Morocco settled in Tangier and they used to set up tents miles away from Tangier. People of different nationalities participated in the sport of pig-sticking as the city was cosmopolitan, and the Moors served as beaters: “A party of Moors and dogs were waiting to commence beating. Very formidable they looked, fierce, wild, eyed savages, wearing tattered jellabas, aprons of roughly tanned hides, their heads bound round with pieces of rope, and their legs incased in plaited rush gaiters tied with palmetto string.”<sup>16</sup> Mansel-Pleydell represents the Moors negatively. The latter in this quote are implicitly juxtaposed with the dogs to make the reader bring into mind the main similar aspects between the Moors and the dogs which is wildness and savagery.

The pig-sticking camps were large operations. The “spears,” sometimes more than twenty men and women, together with those who came along to watch the spectacle, camped out for as long as a week. As many as one hundred Moroccans might be employed to provide for the party’s needs in pitching tents, preparing meals, or serving as beaters for the hunt. The Moorish natives were used as beaters and the author pictures the process of hunting as in a battlefield wherein a lot of hectic turmoil happened, a situation which showed a lack of order amongst the Moors and their need of a leader who could guide them in such types of sport: “After a long wait outside the covert, a chorus of fantastic cries filled with the warm air, dogs yapping and barking, men shouting, desultory reports of fire of arms. The men who had dismounted, sprang to their saddles and all gazed intently upon the exits to the covert.

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15. George Collins, “Diplomats at play: the Tangier Tent Club,” 21.

16. Kathleen Mansel-Pleydell, *Sketches of life in Morocco* (London: Digby, Long & Co., 1907), 29-30.

Suddenly a wild boar emerged, with heavy head and shoulders, bristles erect he appeared sufficiently alarming as he scurried across the bushy plain.”<sup>17</sup>

The British writers, John Drummond Hay, Hugh Stutfield and Joseph Thomson, engaged in the hunting of boars and other animals in Western Barbary, the first apparent motive of which was to past their time and enjoy themselves; still, and implicitly, these writers aimed at taming the Moorish exotic. By the same token, this engagement reveals the domestication of the boar which symbolizes cruelty, savagery and demonic deeds, and hence the taming and control of the natives because the latter, by implication, are associated with unruliness and savagery. They are like boars; they need to be tamed and domesticated. These wild and untamed people are the fertile ground against which the British could prove their mettle. The hunting/sporting accounts, having mapped the landscapes of picturesque scenery and risk, ensure that the British mastery of the land is underscored and sustained through detailed advice.

The hunting narratives functioned as a guide to future exploration and survey of the Moroccan wilds. They served prominently to enthuse the English to hunt. Mapping the territories where the animals could be found was a way of bringing even the relatively unexplored spaces of Morocco under Britons’ surveillance. The wild spaces of Western Barbary were filled with dangerous animals, savage beings, and dangers at every turn. In order to discipline this dangerous exotic, what was needed was a virile masculinity, combined with a strong sense of mission and an ethic of responsibility. It required control over one’s self, the weapon, the terrain/the space, and the native. So this discourse of hunting is so dovetailed onto other discourses such as self-discipline, spatial dominance, racial difference and British masculinity, enabling the British to confirm control on the “wild” landscape and to aid the construction of the saviour-hunter.<sup>18</sup>

British travellers to precolonial Morocco did their best to survey and explore the Moorish landscape to control and dominate the inhabitants. One of the most well-known travellers is John Drummond Hay (1816-1893). As the successor of his father Edward Drummond Hay, who had also been consul-general from 1829 to 1845, and as the Envoy Plenipotentiary at the Court of Morocco from 1845 to 1886, the traveller/diplomat began his diplomatic activity which involved considerable personal initiative and freedom of action, which lasted without interruption for more than four

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17. Ibid., 30.

18. J. A. Mangan and Callum C. Mckenzie. *Militarism, Hunting, Imperialism: ‘Blooding’ the Martial Male* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).

decades. During his long stay among the Moors, his shrewdness, energy, and thorough knowledge of the Oriental character and mentality made him able to exert an amount of influence, both on the Makhzan and on the natives of all classes with whom he encountered. Hay took decisive actions such as his signing of the General Treaty of “Commerce and Friendship” with the Makhzan in 1856, a decision which led Morocco to a precipitous decline and anarchy. Hay was also known for his political and diplomatic manoeuvres to the extent of making the Moors believe him as the “friend of Morocco” and the Britons (*Ingliz*) as gracious.<sup>19</sup> During his long stay among the Moroccans (the Moors), John Drummond Hay explored the Moroccan lands, named by British travellers as Western Barbary; his frequent visits to the Moroccan court and his meetings with three successive Moroccan sultans – (Moulay Abderrahmen “1820-1859,” Mohammed Ben-Abderrahman “1859-1873,” and Moulay Hassan “1873-1893”), – enabled him to explore a variety of territories and to encounter different tribesmen and to study their ways of living, thinking and their tribal mentalities. John Drummond Hay wrote two books about Morocco: *Western Barbary: Its Wild Tribes and Savage Animals* (1846) and *Memoir*, in which Hay devotes adequate chapters to talking about the colonial hunt in precolonial Morocco.

During Hay’s long residence in Morocco as the Envoy Extraordinary, Morocco was not yet colonized nor would it be until the beginning of the twentieth century (1912); yet already in the 1840s foreigners in Morocco were acting out many of behaviours of control, subjugation and domination closely related with the last phase and process of colonization. More than representing simply a “love of sport,” the colonial hunt would be construed as a topos rendering deeper desire on the part of the European to domineer over the native people and spaces.<sup>20</sup> One of the purposes of this article is to demonstrate how hunting served to fortify in the minds of European a particular sense of social order that complemented the project of colonization; Hay and his friends, especially officers, sought from the Makhzan the right to regulate and police the pursuit of the game. In his *Memoir*, Hay recounts how he led the campaign to gain authority over hunting rights:

“I made known to the Basha of Tangier how the sport at Sharf el Akab [21] had been spoilt by the too frequent hunting, both of my party and of the mountaineers [...] I requested that orders should be sent to

19. Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco during the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*. Trans. Malcolm Williams and Gavin Waterson (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005).

20. Susan Miller, “The Colonial Hunt in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Tangier,” 193.

21. An area of forest and swampland south of Tangier, a natural habitat for boar, which became the heart of the diplomatic reserve known until today by the “*diplomatic*” forest.

the mountaineers who were under the Basha's jurisdiction to keep to their own hunting-grounds, and not hunt at Sharf el Akab; and that the peasantry also of the villages round Tangier should be warned not to shoot boar in that district unless they joined our hunt, which had always been open to sportsmen, 'Moslem or Nazarene,' of low or high degree."<sup>22</sup>

In his *Memoir*, Hay devoted an adequate part to dealing with his desire for adventure as he spent his free time hunting different animals in the peripheries of Tangier, especially in Sharf el Akab, even if after he became out of harness in 1886 and although he was a septuagenarian. To quote Hay, "[m]y wishes were granted, and a document was signed to that effect by the Basha and Foreign Representatives, and in 1868 I introduced hunting on horseback with the lance known in India as pigsticking."<sup>23</sup> The quest for boars from horseback with steel-tipped wooden lances was known as "pigsticking"; it was esteemed in India as "the most delightful, noble and exciting of all sports."<sup>24</sup> The hunt and the main rituals that were related to it are behavioural expressions of hierarchal social order imported from outside as the result of the experiences the British culled from their long settlement in colonies (in this case the Indian one). In showing the spectacle of pigsticking the Europeans were teaching Moroccans about how the life in colonies would be like. The perusal of the rites of the British hunt at the beginning of the nineteenth century manifests that in the 1840s, the introduction of this sport in Morocco, Hay regarded himself as an equal to the Moorish hunter because of the power balance; in the late nineteenth century, yet, the relations of equality between the British hunter/the self and the Moorish hunter/the other were ruptured, contributing hence to the emergence of the social, political and cultural patterns of superiority/subordination.

The last chapter in *Memoir* is devoted to dealing with the sport of boar hunting. After he got retired, Hay made up his mind to settle in Morocco for a while to hunt and practice his favourite sport which is pig-sticking. His interactions with the natives always showed his superior and strong personality as an astute diplomat-cum-traveller, revealing some feats that were purely "British" such as boldness and challenge on the one hand, and stressing on the natives' cowardice and inactivity, on the other. The editor of Hay's *Memoir*, L. A. E. Brooks, observes that Hay was an ardent supporter of hunting of birds and animals such as partridges, hawks and boars: "Whether

22. L.A.E. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay: Sometime the Minister at the Court of Morocco Based on His Journal and Correspondence* (London: John Murray Albemarle Street, 1896), 372-3.

23. *Ibid.*, 373.

24. Harriet Ritvo, "Destroyers and Preservers: Big Game in Victorian Empire," 268-9.

he [Sir John] was organising a boar-hunt, or a day after partridge, or enjoying a run with the Calpe hounds, there was always the same keen interest, the thorough enjoyment of sport, which characterised the man. Under his guidance you were always sure of finding delighted boar, or of getting a good bag of partridge” (xi).<sup>25</sup>

Through this game, Hay aims at controlling space and taming the wild as well as exploring the impenetrable territories; besides, Hay comes across and interacts with different people on his way, so this is an occasion to get familiar with the natives’ mentalities, their ways of thinking as well as their standpoints towards the Britons in general,<sup>26</sup> and to “domesticate” these natives as he portrays them as unruly and wild. Boar-hunting helps the traveller make personal interactions with tribesmen; his ability to abolish piracy amongst the Rifians is a good instance of his courage and influence. He managed to stop piracy in the Rif against the Spanish: “The Sultan, who is the friend of the powerful Queen of England, my Sovereign, under whose sway there are fifty million of Mussulmans whom she governs with justice and kindness, issued his Sherifian commands to you Rifians to cease from these outrages; but you paid no attention to the orders of the Kaliph of the Prophet.”<sup>27</sup> At the outset, he describes the Rifians as a race that is difficult to conquer because of the tribal mentality that is deeply rooted in them. Disloyalty and disobedience are two main features of this race.

Hay’s *Memoir* is permeated with the Representative’s “great feats” in the “Land of the Moors” and the hunting narrative he includes within this fold is a reflection of the author’s tendency to praise himself and his deeds; the author describes the boar and how this act of hunting shows his courage and persistence. While in the outskirts of Tangier with his friend Colonel C., the author emphasizes his courage and gallant actions as well as his long experiences and British masculinity:

“Colonel C. followed the boar with me, and as soon as he neared the beast, it turned and charged; but received a severe wound, the lance remaining in the boar. Then, as no sound lance remained, I presented myself. No sooner did the boar hear me in his wake than round he came, at a hundred miles an hour, upon my short lance, the point of which, being badly tempered and very blunt, bent to an angle of ninety degrees. My gallant little horse leapt over the pig, as he passed under his barrel.”<sup>28</sup>

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25. L.A.E. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay*, xi.

26. *Ibid.*, 70, 143, 158, 159.

27. *Ibid.*, 155.

28. *Ibid.*, 367.

In contrast to Hay's and his friends' deeds as the personification of the British masculinity and manliness, the natives/beaters are depicted as cowardly and unable to take action; they just decline and watch Hay in awe; Hay always comes out of this hunting expedition triumphant. The more bothersome the boar, the superior the feats of the hunter; the following episode, which is worth quoting in length, clearly shows Hay's exploits:

“beaters, who ran up to the rescue, were followed again by other boar, who, wounded in their turn, pursued the beaters that were hurrying after the first boar; then came dogs, pigs, beaters, more dogs and pigs. Volleys were fired, up, down, and across the line, regardless of the rules of the hunt. Great was the excitement; several beaters were knocked down by the boar, but no one was ripped, though dogs and boar lay wounded on the sands all around. I shot five boars: one great tusker, being wounded, sat on his haunches in the defiant posture of the Florentine boar, so I ran up, assassin-like, from behind and plunged my knife into his heart.”<sup>29</sup>

There are abundant depictions of different scenes wherein the author takes part in different hunting activities to show his superior manliness. Hay and other sportsmen describe Moroccans as “wild,” “strong” and “brutal,” but when the boar came closer, “they all fled in the direst terror without firing a shot.”<sup>30</sup> Hay asserts, albeit implicitly, that he is a very important model that the Moors should follow to succeed in their hunting adventure; besides, their situation which is premised on unrest and instability can be solved if they cling to the author's guidelines and pieces of advice: “I stooped low, and raising the muzzle of my gun, shot the boar through the heart. The huge carcass fell upon Sheba, who, when released from the weight, got up and shook me by the hand heartily, saying, ‘Praise be to God the Merciful! Thanks to you I have escaped death.’ I withdrew the ramrod, which had passed right through the body of the animal.”<sup>31</sup> By practising such a kind of sport, Hay searches for the exotic and he wants to take risks and thrills.

### **Aesthetics of Risk and the Search for the Exotic**

Hay's accurate knowledge and bravery when dealing with a landscape enables him to survive. This type of hunting is the search for what Pramod K. Nayar dubs “the extreme exotic.” For him, the extreme exotic is marked by a rhetoric of authenticity and highly subjective experience. What is more, “[t]he extreme exotic is the quest for thrills and dangers in a landscape that

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29. *Ibid.*, 368.

30. *Ibid.*, 298.

31. *Ibid.*, 369.

is harsh, threatening and inconvenient. It *represents* the dangers of particular encounters even as it searches the landscape for potential sites of such dangers. It is both an attitude and a strategy of exploration.<sup>32</sup> Hay aims at disciplining the exotic, a process which is therefore a domestication of the landscape, but also a self-fashioning of the “true” imperialist. This self-fashioning is intended also as a spectacle, performed in the full gaze of the travel writer. This, it could be guessed, is aimed at upholding the cultural, technological and moral superiority of the Englishman over the landscape, the animals, and the people of Western Barbary. We can maintain that the extreme exotic is the territory between civilization (the English) and barbarism (the animal world/the natives). The risk narrative of the hunting narrative is an account of control and conquest of the extreme exotic that is Morocco by the English colonial.

The aesthetics of risk in which Hay, Thomson and Stutfield take part locates the English in the midst of life-threatening environments to demonstrate not only the completely unsafe exotic that is Morocco, but also the English person’s courage in actively seeking such spots. The aesthetics of risk “uses two principal modes. It first details an extreme exotic. Later it produces risk narratives of the English experience in this extreme exotic.”<sup>33</sup> Hay’s, Stutfield’s and Thomson’s hunting narratives and memoirs capture the hunting and exploratory experiences of Englishmen. In order to do so, they adapt the conventions of triumphal spectacles of exploration, discovery, conquest and power from the Victorian ethos itself. In his *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism 1830-1914*, Patrick Brantlinger sums up the age’s desire for spectacle and adventure as follows: “the great [Victorian] explorers’ writings are nonfictional quest romances in which the hero-authors struggle through enchanted, bedevilled lands towards an ostensible goal [...] The humble but heroic authors move from adventure to adventure where there are no other characters of equal stature, only demonic savages.”<sup>34</sup>

In this quote, Brantlinger portrays not only the exploration-discovery narrative but also the hunting account. The latter is closely aligned with the exploration narrative in terms of the rhetoric of heroism, suffering, harsh landscapes, and triumph. Besides, the extreme exotic is the active pursuit of danger and authentic experience in such locales such as forests, ravines, unmapped terrain, hills and potentially dangerous spots. The picturesque is

32. Pramod K. Nayar, *English Writing and India, 1600-1920: Colonizing Aesthetics* (London: Routledge, 2008), 135, italics added.

33. *Ibid.*, 147.

34. Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism 1830-1914*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 180-1.

only a preliminary moment in what turns out to be a very dangerous place. The complete enjoyment of the foreign is made possible by confronting the more dangerous aspects of it. Wild environments are deliberately sought after and “encountered” so that a heroic self-image is created. The picturesque is recast as the extreme exotic when the traveller perceives the landscape or animal’s power (and desire) to harm the hunter-onlooker. The landscape, with its untamed boars, becomes an allegory for lawless and uncontrollable Barbary.

For the British in the very late nineteenth century, the boar represented all that was lawless about/in Morocco. It was, therefore, the British hunter’s task to ensure a disciplining of the lawless. The conquest of Moroccan wilds is, of course, predicated upon the killing of the boar. The dangers of the hunt were far greater in Morocco than in the relatively more controlled system in England (Ritvo 2002). Thus, the deliberate seeking out of the most desolate or dangerous spaces in Morocco is an interesting ethos in itself. As we have seen, these British travel writers emphasize the radically unruly and untouched nature of the Moroccan territories. These serve to underscore the pioneer role of the hunter who, facing very real dangers, manages to penetrate the wilds, extend the frontier and explore the unexplored.

This combination of thrill and danger is captured by the travel writer, Hugh Stutfield. On November 1881, Stutfield travelled to Morocco as a retired judge to stay in it for a period of time because of his health problem. The traveller got spellbound by Tangier and its fascinations as this city was the microcosm of Western Barbary. His search for the exotic and the eerie among the Moors prodded him to extend his journey to four months which was succeeded by another journey which took place in 1883. *El Maghreb 1200 Miles’ Ride through Morocco* (1886) is the result of the traveller’s journey to Morocco between the years 1882-1885. During his journey, Stutfield took part in the sport of hunting boars in the suburbs of Tangier:

“The sport *par excellence*, however, of the place is pig-sticking, for which expeditions are periodically organised by Sir John Drummond Hay, our Minister to the Court of Morocco. I enjoyed few things more than these hunting trips: the pretty encampment on the hill at Awara, the excitement of the day’s sport, the pleasant company and chat round the big camp-fire at night, are among my pleasantest memories of the country.”<sup>35</sup>

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35. Hugh E M. Stutfield *El Maghreb: 1200 Miles’ Ride through Morocco* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1886), 7.

Stutfield finds it a great pleasure to depict this sport. He reveals that one method of boar-hunting is the “*battue* system” when “the guns being posted in front, and the game driven up to them.”<sup>36</sup> For the traveller, this system, if not equal to pig-sticking, is very funny and thrilling: “The *shrieking* and *uproar* of the *beaters*, accompanied by the *barking* of dogs, the *braying* of horns, and the *discharge* of the guns, rendering it very exciting. The *curses* and *imprecations*, mingled with the most *biting sarcasms* that are showed on the unfortunate animals, are enough to *oust* the most stubborn boar from his lair.”<sup>37</sup>

This depiction is reflective of a sense of commotion on the grounds of the lack of discipline and order amongst the natives whose main pastime is squabbling and jabbering. The above portraiture also shows the ability of Stutfield as an Englishman to take dangers and risks for the sake of saving the Moorish natives’ lives; the aesthetic of risk sets the scene, as it were, for the transformation of the forest into a landscape of triumph. This is a civilizing discourse or the burden of the “White Man” to intervene and rescue the helpless and hapless Other from any danger that may impede him. We can argue that boar hunting during the above-mentioned period was “one of the sites which colonial project tried to construct and affirm the difference between its “superior” self and inferiorized “native other.”<sup>38</sup> So it is the duty of the “White Man” to intervene to discipline these unruly and wild natives in an attempt to improve their character and build it to embrace civilizing feats. Central to White Man’s attempt was the discourse of moral and physical improvement, especially from the end of the nineteenth century. Central to this discourse also was the discourse of sport and character training. The discourse of discipline and improvement in the domain of sports and games had a dual origin: (1) the racial stereotyping of natives as cowardly, physically weak, “unmanly,” and lazy; and (2) the idea(1) that sport resulted in cultivating physical appearance as well as moral improvement through a disciplining of the *body*. Such stereotyping downplays the Moroccan body, and enables a new discourse to circulate: the improvement of this body through Western cultural practices such as hunting.

Sports therefore functioned as colonial instruments of disciplining the native body. It was argued that Western sports such as hunting would teach the natives loyalty and obedience, and enable appropriate ideas of both physical development and manliness. Drawing upon Victorian public school

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36. *Ibid.*, 7.

37. *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

38. Anand S. Pandian, “Predatory Care: The Imperial Hunt in Mughal and British India,” 239.

ideals of athleticism and their games ethic, the British who saw the natives as effeminate and given to indolence thought they could make them more like themselves through sport. Thus sport was seen as a means of improvement, a means of “moral training,” as J. A. Mangan put it (2010), which therefore fitted neatly into the larger project of the civilizing mission.

The British travel account *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco: A Narrative of Exploration* (1889) is one-year journey in Morocco by Joseph Thomson (1858-1895), a Scottish geologist and explorer, who played an active role in the “Scramble for Africa.” Because of his activities in the Royal Geographical Society, the latter’s members offered him their Founder’s Gold Medal in 1885. Hence, he became “Honorary Member of the Royal, Scottish, the Manchester, Italian, and the Netherlands Geographical Societies.” On the 17<sup>th</sup> of March, 1888, Thomson took an expedition to the Atlas Mountains. He took notes on the geography, history, geology, and botany of the Atlas Mountains. Thomson was encouraged by the members of the Royal Geographical Society as well as by the Lord Salisbury, the British foreign representative in Morocco and Sir Joseph Hooker. The author is not alone, but he keeps company with “C.-B. (Lieutenant Harold Crichton-Browne, 2<sup>nd</sup> Batt. King’s Own Scottish Borderers) – anxious to see something of African travelling and widen his experience of life, had volunteered to accompany me, and share my hardships, dangers, and expenses, and I had agreed at once to the proposal” (14-15).

Joseph Thomson and his companion hunted in the suburbs of the city of Mogador; in the words of Thomson, “[w]henever we became tired of the ordinary routine of life in Mogador, we could always pass the time in the favourite British fashion: we could go and kill something.”<sup>39</sup> During this hunting, the traveller and his companion participated in boar hunting near the city of Mogador: six Europeans and many servants all mounted on horses and mules under the leadership of Mr Ratto: “On the afternoon previous to the day of the hunt, we assembled before our leader’s house to the number of six Europeans and as many servants, all mounted on mules and horses. All the necessaries for a night out having been safely stowed in the packs, we left the town.”<sup>40</sup>

From the second half of the nineteenth century, an English traveller’s hunting tour through and exploration of certain territories of Barbary was a

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39. Joseph Thomson, *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco: A Narrative of Exploration* (London: George Philip & Son, 1889), 79.

40. *Ibid.*, 79-80.

massive spectacle, where the entourage of mules, horses, bearers and servants (beaters) accompanying the English travellers often extended for miles. The job of these servants was to help these Europeans discover the space which seemed impenetrable and unknown to the Europeans. The purpose is to discover this space and try to domesticate it to pave the way for colonization, French and Spanish conquest mainly. Precolonial exploration and expansion is a kind of imperial spectacle and improvisation as the traveller just makes a kind of training through this type of hunting. On their way to hunting on the periphery of Essaouira, they discovered some places which were unexplored for most of Europeans, which means that this hunt was also an occasion for the traveller and his companion to discover other unknown places under the guidance of the natives and servants.

Writing about colonial exploration narratives in Africa James Duncan has argued that the “rhetoric of absence” in exploration narratives was clearly racist because it relegated the Africans to something less than human and therefore unworthy of representation.<sup>41</sup> English people do not see anything “between” themselves and the land: the native is invisible. What is ironic in the case of the hunting narrative’s theme of dangerous solitude is that a team of beaters and native assistants accompanied almost every English boar-hunter. Despite the presence of so many natives in the same space, the English treat the wilds as “empty.” The picturesque here is constructed precisely through this process of emptying: the only way of rendering the landscape scenic was to empty it of natives. The traveller and other Europeans represent themselves as the masters of the space and the inhabitants are just eclipsed, reified and faded away from the scene to emphasize the idea that the space to be discovered are stripped of the inhabitants.

Before starting their hunt, these Europeans make a council very similar to that organized by the leaders of a war. The boar is very symbolic of evil and savagery, and the Moors believe that there is a strong affinity between evilness and swine. The natives are depicted as lacking experience, bringing into the fore the idea that there is no difference between the native, the topos and the boar. The job of the Europeans here is to civilize the uncivilized, penetrate the impenetrable and to kill the boar. What emerges from these narratives of hunting is the intrinsic link between hunting and colonial cultures of pioneer-masculinity and domination. The hunt helped the creation of soldier-like qualities. Thus, the battle against the elements and wild animals in Morocco

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41. James Duncan, “Sites of representation: place, time and the discourse of the other,” in J. Duncan and D. Ley (eds.) *Place/Culture/Representation* (London: Routledge, 1997), 57.

was a preparation for other battles. In the colonial context, the hunt was another means of asserting colonial, racial, masculine control.<sup>42</sup>

Numerous English belated travel writers emphasize the radically unruly and untouched nature of the Moroccan territories. These serve to underline the pioneer role of the hunter who, facing very real dangers, manages to penetrate the wilds, extend the frontier and arrive at certain exotic scenes in an era when the exotic had virtually disappeared. It is in this context of a disappearing exotic, excessive tourism, the sense of vulnerability and the desire to reassert colonial control that the picturesque is revived in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The search for picturesque scenes in an era of greater imperial control, mapped terrain and improved transport facilities called for and resulted in a new version of the aesthetic.

These travellers survey the Moors' landscape, the purpose of which is to bring to the fore different geographical aspects of Morocco. The desire for discovery of the Moroccan topos is very strong. The looking for footprints of the boar is a good instance of this desire for discovery and exploration: "Hour after hour passed, however, and nothing added fuel to our bloodthirsty hopes beyond the discovery here and there of a footprint, round which we gathered more eager than geologists round fossil traces of the amphibian."<sup>43</sup>

Though the natives are present and they participate in the hunting process, they are reified and effaced to downplay their role in the sport. This is how such discourse work; the reification of the other and sometimes as if they were not there. Despite the presence of so many natives in the same space, the English treat the wilds as "empty." The picturesque here is constructed precisely through this process of emptying: the only way of rendering the landscape scenic was to empty it of natives. As an example, "we all felt very indignant at the unsportsmanlike disturbance of our friend, and after that he kept in the rear, partly because the thorn made him lame, and partly because he felt that he had disgraced himself."<sup>44</sup> Thomson and other travellers debase the Moors, make them passive and cast them in a null mould, suggesting, hence, the necessary imminent coming of the colonizer to make the Other come out of this animal-like situation. This strategy of negation is mainly deployed by colonializers to justify their intervention and their colonizing enterprise. Here, the use of discourse of negation prepares the ground for the positive exercise of western military and economic power against the abuse of that power by Moroccans. The empty spaces of Barbary which are saturated

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42. *Ibid.*, 138.

43. *Ibid.*, 82-83.

44. *Ibid.*, 85.

with “absences and lacks”<sup>45</sup> should be filled with the European interests and resuscitate them. Indeed, the metaphor of Barbary as a spatial nullity and void is deeply rooted in western travel writing.

The Moorish spaces that the traveller visits are regarded and perceived as anti-space as they kindle in the author a sense of disorder, impenetrability and danger. If the space is infused with a sense of inscrutability, so the indigenes, a fact that is reiterated among these travel writers. For the travellers, the boar hunting is a kind of imperial spectacle and magnificence. The importance of which is to make the spectators/natives feel a sense of awe and admiration; unable to react:

“Picturesquely the Shellach grouped themselves around the pig, leaning against their long silver-ornamented guns, while in an outer circle we stood or sat on horse or mule eagerly watching Mr. Ratto’s movements. Satisfied of the condition of his knife, he set his teeth firmly and braced himself for the last *coup*. Almost before we were aware, the knife had entered the old sow’s heart; there was a gush of blood, a death-quiver, and then all was still.”<sup>46</sup>

Thomson and his companion feel proud because at last they kill a pig, praising their prowess and heroism: “Arrived on the spot, we gathered in an admiring circle round the unhappy sow, delighted with our achievements and proud of our prowess,”<sup>47</sup> and getting applauded for their great success by the natives: “we return from the chase being hailed by admiring crowds.”<sup>48</sup> Thomson and his companion continue to describe the spectacle thus: “[n]o boar was to be seen! The battle had been short, bloody, and decisive. Only some drops of blood showed where a baby-porker had met a terrible death. There was no doubt this time, however, but that the game was of the genus boar, though it had not reached boarhood.”<sup>49</sup>

The understanding of the boar hunting is the understanding of British presence in precolonial Morocco as a prelude to Morocco’s loss of independence. Ambivalently, these travellers try to engage as many natives as possible who play the role of informants, on the one hand, and to reify and efface them, on the other. British boar hunting in precolonial Morocco was thus curious but probably not unique context in which Britons were

45. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 53-61.

46. Joseph Thomson, *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco*, 87, emphasis in original.

47. *Ibid.*, 86.

48. *Ibid.*, 87.

49. *Ibid.*, 85.

able to build social bridges with Moroccans from a variety of social groups, overcoming several barriers of colonialism. By engaging the natives in the process of hunting, the latter would improve certain imperial ideals such as self-reliance, athleticism and physical and mental toughness. This is the first activity for Stutfield as he manifests that it is the job of the white hunter to intervene to protect the natives from the predator animal that they describe as devilish and unclean. Indeed, the traveller as a gentleman has that messianic role which can be associated with the civilizational and colonialist discourses. The travellers here see themselves as daring and bold, for they are ready to subject themselves to all aspects of perils in contrast to the natives who are unable to take risks; in Stutfield's words:

“There are perils of the pig, which, if wounded, will turn and rend you; perils of the gentleman who *will* ride with his lance in rest, instead of carrying the point in the air, or of the no less objectionable individual who shifts from his post and fires wildly down the line; of the ambushed Moors who shoots impartially in any direction; while, unless you are well mounted, you have a very tolerable chance of breaking your neck.”<sup>50</sup>

In these three travellers' accounts, there are indications to the natives' cowardice, and in John Drummond Hay's *Memoir*, the indication is clearly conspicuous. The discourse of discipline and improvement in the domains of sports and games has a dual origin. The following scene is worth quoting in length:

“The other young Moor had a smart-looking double-barrelled gun, a muzzle-loader, so I *challenged* him to enter. He replied he was not going to risk his life with such a savage brute still strong in limb. ‘Hark!’ he cried, as a rush, followed by a piteous howl from a hound, was heard. ‘*You are a coward,*’ I retorted angrily, ‘to remain *passive* whilst our dogs are being killed’ ‘You say that I am a coward,’ he replied, handing me the gun; then show that you are not!”<sup>51</sup>

This imperial masculinity the traveller shows towards the native hunters is suggestive when Hay accuses one of the hunters of cowardice. The author proffers the brave hunter a gun and a sword as a sign of his courage that he learns from his master Hay. For the latter, this sport of hunting requires dexterity, patience and courage which are part of his personality. Hunting can be seen as a spectacle managed by the traveller as a means of discovering and exploring the unexplored with the help of the native beaters and hunters.

50. Hugh E M. Stutfield, *El Maghreb*, 8-9.

51. L.A.E. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay*, 379, emphasis added.

Hunting therefore functions as colonial instruments of disciplining the native body. The western sport teaches the natives loyalty, courage and obedience, and enables appropriate ideas of both physical development and manliness: “When desirous of showing sport to any friend who had never seen pigsticking I mounted him on “Snabi” and my advice was to let the horse take his own direction after the pig, and have his own way when closing with the enemy.”<sup>52</sup>

Despite their intimate knowledge of the animals, the narratives suggest, it often requires an English person to effect a complete conquest. When the traveller and the natives go on hunting there should be the leader or *sheik* of the tribe as well as many people: “As the day wore on, we were joined by numbers of hunters from the villages round about, all armed with their long guns, the consequence being that, while waiting for the boar, we were surrounded by these fellows, all standing with their guns “at the ready,” in attitudes of the most intense expectation.”<sup>53</sup>

Stutfield downplays the natives for their cowardice and “effeminacy” and he stresses upon the Britons’ manliness and boldness. This sport aims at substantiating some politics of masculinity in British society: “If the boar appeared at a safe distance, they blazed away at him anywhere, and for a while we seemed to carry our lives in our hands; only, if he came their way, they all fled in the direst terror, without firing a shot.”<sup>54</sup>

For Stutfield, the intervention of the white hunter is necessary to save these people. The entire apparatus of the hunt co-opted the natives into it, not just as beaters and servants. In the outskirts of Larache, the traveller’s second destination after Tangier, he states the following: “The first few beats were in a wild, hilly country, covered with dense bushes.”<sup>55</sup> Again, by hunting there is the taming of the animal, the natives and the space, “They never touched the pig by any chance, but simply jeopardized their neighbours; so that the next time we stipulated that no native sportsmen should be allowed, or at least, that they should be kept under proper control.”<sup>56</sup> Besides, the hunts raised diplomatic issues. One involved the use of the Moroccan beaters. The hunt can be seen as the context in which the local rulers, here in this context the *Sheiks* of the villages, could show their loyalty to the traveller as the representative of the West, and the hunt can also be represented as integral to

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52. *Ibid.*, 377.

53. Hugh E M. Stutfield, *El Maghreb*, 16.

54. *Ibid.*, 16.

55. *Ibid.*, 16.

56. *Ibid.*, 16-17.

the imperial project of assimilating the natives into the imperial structures of order and discipline. To exemplify, as a reward for those who take part in the hunting sport, they are conferred protection, guns and swords.<sup>57</sup> Hay offers many consular protections to boar beaters and his guards “a small village of 300 persons, whose inhabitants were employed as beaters, etc. at boar hunts organized by the United States consulate, refused to pay a tax to the Sultan. When the basha inquired at the consulate, he was told that the villagers were employees of the consulate and must be exempt from taxation.”<sup>58</sup>

The disciplining of the exotic was therefore a domestication of the landscape but also a self-fashioning of the “true” imperialist. This self-fashioning, as should be obvious from the reading, was intended also as a spectacle, performed in the full gaze of the colonial subject. After his long journey through Morocco, the traveller takes the same track; Stutfield reveals that “the boar-hunt as a great failure, like our other experiences of the same sport in this place. The hunters did not understand their work, and withal held the Father of the Tusks into great dread to oust properly from his lair.”<sup>59</sup> He gets engaged in the boar-hunting sport near Larache with the *sheik* of the tribe. The latter knows, consciously or otherwise, the traveller’s intention of discovering the territory. Because by hunting, the author can discover this far-flung territory, so the *sheik* insists on the impenetrability of this territory when the author decides to go alone and discern the forest; the *sheik*’s threats of the main dangers that may face the traveller just prods the latter to explore the surroundings. His insistence reveals his virility and bravado. For Stutfield, the *sheik* “tried hard to dissuade me from the project, saying that no Christian could venture by night into such a lonesome part of the forest, as it was peopled by *jins* and robbers, and that if I went I should not know how to set about it.”<sup>60</sup> Stutfield added: “I ventured to suggest a clean shirt as a means of meeting this novel difficulty, but it appeared that such things were not known in the country.”<sup>61</sup>

This first quote also suggests some techniques the indigenous people deploy to deceive and camouflage the colonizer and to pretend that the Moroccan territory is difficult to expand and deterritorize. The traveller aims at exploring Moroccan territories stealthily far from the retuning gaze/eyes of the natives. He disregards the advice of the native *sheik* and tries to expand and discover. There is the stereotyping of the natives as physically weak, “unmanly” and lazy. Such preconceived vignettes of course “negated” the

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57. L.A.E. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay*, 382.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Stutfield, *El Maghreb*, 303.

60. *Ibid.*, 303.

61. *Ibid.*, 303-304.

Moroccan body, and enabled a new discourse to circulate: the improvement of this body through western cultural practices such as hunting. Hay narrates certain events which take place in predator-ridden environments and harsh mountain conditions. The traveller's intimacy with the natives and wild animals gives his narrative a sense of authenticity.

Hunting narratives invariably mention instances of falling, injury and death. Pain, as Elaine Freedgood argues, is a mode of un-making and re-making the world. When pain is invoked voluntarily and remains under the control of the "creator," it remakes the world into a place over which its creators can exercise greater control.<sup>62</sup> In the sporting narrative, the world is remade through suffering and pain so that it allows the English colonials to imagine themselves as indomitable, danger is subject to his military, administrative and physical control. Instances of injury, near-death situations and pain are recurrent features of the sporting accounts.<sup>63</sup> Regardless of all aspects of pain they encounter while hunting, such sufferings are thus integral to a reassertion of nationhood, possession and imperial power. These people see themselves as saviours and pioneers. The conquest of landscape generates a sense of mastery and control on harsh terrains and unruly animals.

These travellers and the English in general consider themselves as the personification of saviours who manage to save the natives from all aspects of dangers and risks. Weaponry and modes of hunting are markers of cultural and racial difference in the sporting narrative. Knowledge, military control, adventure all come together in the person of the English hunter. The traveller/hunter who seeks out and experiences the Moroccan exotic proceeds to provide instructions on the arms to be used, the habits of the animals, the method of hunting, and other subjects. Natives also supply information about animal haunts and movements to the English hunter, in a good example of what Chris Bayly has identified as the colonial information order. However, the narratives' emphasis on the technological superiority of the English hunter suggests that local knowledge needs to be supplemented with English courage and firearms.

The natives, hired only as assistants to the English hunters, are subordinated to both the English hunters and the land. The Englishman is of course the imperial master. The land alters from being mere "scenery" (a process that involved treating it as empty through a rhetoric of absence, as noted above) to a heroic "setting" or "environment" for the English actions.

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62. Elaine Freedgood, *The Victorian Writing of Risk: Imagining a Safe England in a Dangerous World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 112-114.

63. Nayar, *English Writing and India*, 159.

This process not only renders the land a site of conquest and triumph, but also is alienated from its primary users: the tribes and the natives. The sporting narrative, in short, serves as an exploration narrative, a conquest narrative through its risk narrative: the English hunters who risk their lives in the wilds emerge triumphant rather than the tribal or the natives who live there all their lives. The sporting memoir converts the land into a foreign space for the native itself. The sporting narratives of three travel writers facilitate the reiteration of identities – of the colonial master who would just make Morocco through conquest, suffering and pain, of the Moroccans who are cowardly and weak, of the Moroccan landscape which is a site of danger but which can be conquered and controlled by the adequately equipped English person. These sporting accounts thus shift from the passive picturesque to a triumphal landscape via the aesthetics of risk in order to show colonial mastery. The landscape is transformed and “domesticated” by the colonial hunter even as hunters themselves have been transformed into heroes.

These three precolonial voices about hunting in late nineteenth-century Morocco shed light on a sport and its main rituals which was first a pleasure for Europeans who started this sport from Tangiers and its surroundings. The Moroccans who had been seen as strong, courageous and “wild” and who shared in the chase were now excluded from it; “the once-noble stalkers of lions had become the beaters, the porters, the grooms, the colourful “natives” participating as seconds in a predominantly European display.”<sup>64</sup> The Englishman’s appropriation of the place of the master-hunter went along with his unchecked domination over Moroccan space. The European hunters did not confine themselves to the uncultivated lands and forests, but they trespassed beyond them with impunity as they sought wild animals on cultivated soil. The Moroccan was replaced by the British hunter in his space; besides, the hunting process was accompanied by aggressive and violent acts, marking therefore the imperialist tendencies in general at the time. The colonial hunt “may thus be understood as a metaphor the wider processes of physical and cultural domination that characterized Moroccan-European relations in the era.”<sup>65</sup>

### Conclusions

These Precolonial British travellers, who journeyed in late nineteenth-century Morocco, the era of “high imperialism,” engaged in the sport of boar-hunting, the colonial purpose of which is to survey the Moroccan topos and at the same time practice some modalities of power on the Moors and their space

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64. Susan Gilson Miller, “The Colonial Hunt in 19th Century Tangier,” 199.

65. *Ibid.*

such as surveillance, cultural superiority, domination and the masculine gaze. Besides, Hay's, Stutfield's and Thomson's travel texts aim at underlining the cultural, technological, and moral superiority of the Englishman over the landscape, the animals, and the people of Western Barbary. These British travellers aim at accentuating and celebrating the Anglo-Saxon virtues in the "land of the Moors" which is permeated with decadence and impenetrability. We can state that the disciplining of the exotic is therefore a domestication of the landscape but also a self-fashioning of the "true" imperialist. This self-fashioning, as should be obvious from the reading, is intended also as a spectacle, performed in the full gaze of the colonial subject. This, it could be surmised, is aimed at underlining the cultural, technological, and moral superiority of the Englishman on the landscape, the animals, and the people of the would-be colony. It is with this assured sense of superiority developed through practices such as the colonial hunt that the British attempt to transform Western Barbary from a mere would-be colony into a possible place of residence, a dwelling.

Hired only as assistants to the English hunters, Moroccan beaters were subordinated to both the English hunters and the land. The Englishman was of course the colonial master. The land alters from being mere "scenery" (a process that involved treating it as empty through a rhetoric of absence) to a heroic "setting" or "environment" for the English actions. This process not only renders the land a site of conquest and triumph, but also is alienated from its primary users: the tribals and the natives. The sporting account, in short, serves as an exploration narrative, a conquest narrative; the English hunters who risk their lives in the Moroccan periphery emerge triumphant rather than the tribal or the natives who have lived there all their lives.

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ملخص: الخطاب الإمبراطوري البريطاني في سياق كتابات الرحلة ذات الصلة بصيد الخنزير البري في مغرب أواخر القرن التاسع عشر

شارك مختلف الرحالة البريطانيين ممن سافروا إلى المغرب قبل عهد الحماية في رياضة صيد الخنازير. ولا يجسد الصيد في حد ذاته ما يمكن تسميته بالمحاولة الإمبريالية للسيطرة على المناظر الطبيعية وإتقانها فحسب، ولكنه لا يخلو من الأهمية أيضًا في بناء خاصية الذكورة الإمبراطورية البريطانية وتصورها. وقد حل كتاب الرحلات البريطانيون بالبلاد لاستكشاف الفضاء المغربي بغية تعزيز مكانة الذكورة الجريئة لدى البريطانيين، والتمكن من التحكم في ناصية الطابع الغرائبي وتمجيد الفضائل الأنجلوسكسونية. ويستخدم الصيد الإمبراطوري كخطاب في نصوص الرحلات هذه بغرض "ترويض" تمثيلات الطرف الآخر والسيطرة عليها. وتبحث هذه الورقة في الروايات الصادرة عن بعض كتاب الرحلات البريطانيين (هيو ستوتفيلد وجوزيف طومسون) ومبعوثين سفاريين بريطانيين اثنين (جون دراموند هاي، تشارلز إيوان-سميث)، مع محاولة التركيز على الروابط المعقدة بين الإمبريالية ورياضة صيد الخنزير المثيرة بشمال المغرب في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر. وقد قدم نادي الخيمة بطنجة أرضًا خصبة لتملك البريطانيين لحيز من المجال المغربي وتحقيق الترابط بين حجب الدسائس وفرض الاتفاقيات بما ينافي رغبات المخزن المغربي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: مشهد إمبراطوري، صيد الخنزير، تمثيل، ذكورية بريطانية، دبلوماسية.

#### Résumé: La chasse impériale au sanglier au Maroc à la fin du XIXe siècle

Les voyageurs britanniques qui se sont rendus au Maroc précolonial se sont livrés au sport de la chasse au sanglier. Cette activité sportive, dite impériale incarne non seulement la tentative de dominer et de maîtriser le paysage, mais elle est également importante dans la construction et perception de la vision de la masculinité impériale britannique. Des écrivains de voyage britanniques se sont rendus au Maroc pour explorer l'espace marocain, renforcer la masculinité audacieuse des Britanniques, discipliner l'exotisme et célébrer les vertus anglo-saxonnes. La chasse impériale en tant que discours est déployée dans ces textes de voyage dans le but de "dompter" et de gérer les topos de l'Autre et d'en obtenir la domination. Cet article explore les récits de deux écrivains de voyage britanniques (Hugh Stutfield et Joseph Thomson) et de deux envoyés britanniques au Maroc (John Drummond Hay – Charles Euan-Smith), en se concentrant sur les liens complexes entre l'impérialisme et la chasse du gros gibier au nord du Maroc à la fin du XIXe siècle. Le Tangier Tent Club a permis au voyageurs britanniques de s'approprier l'espace public marocain et de fomenter des intrigues qui avaient abouti à l'imposition de conventions au Makhzen marocain.

Mots-clés: Spectacle impérial, chasse au sanglier, représentation, masculinité britannique, diplomatie.

#### Abstract: Imperial Pig-Sticking in Late Nineteenth-Century Morocco

Different British travelers who journeyed to precolonial Morocco engaged in the sport of pig-sticking. Hunting not only epitomizes the imperial attempt to dominate and master the landscape, but it is also important in the construction and envisioning of British imperial masculinity. British travel writers journeyed into Morocco to explore Moroccan space, to buttress Britons' daring masculinity, to discipline the exotic and to celebrate the Anglo-Saxon virtues. The imperial hunt as a discourse is deployed in these travel texts for the purpose of "taming" and managing the Other's topos and of getting dominance over it. This paper probes into the accounts of two British travel writers (Hugh Stutfield and Joseph Thomson) and two British envoy to the Moroccan Court (John Drummond Hay & Charles Euan-Smith),

focusing on the intricate connections between imperialism and big-game of pig-sticking during the late nineteenth century. The Tangier Tent Club provided for the British breeding ground to appropriate Moroccan public space and to knit intrigues and impose conventions to the Moroccan Makhzen.

**Keywords:** Imperial Spectacle, Boar Hunting, Representation, British Masculinity, Diplomacy.

### **Resumen: Caza del jabalí imperial en Marruecos a finales del siglo XIX**

Los viajeros británicos que frecuentaron el Marruecos precolonial practicaron el deporte de la caza del jabalí. Esta actividad no solo representa la tentativa imperial de dominar y controlar el paisaje, sino que también tiene un papel importante en la construcción y visión de la masculinidad imperial británica. Los escritores de viajes británicos viajaron a Marruecos para explorar el espacio marroquí, reforzar la atrevida masculinidad de los británicos, disciplinar lo exótico y celebrar las virtudes anglosajonas.

La caza imperial como discurso se difunde en estos textos de viaje con el propósito de “domesticar” y manejar los topos del Otro y dominarlo. Este artículo explora los relatos de dos escritores de viajes británicos (Hugh Stutfield y Joseph Thomson) y un enviado (John Drummond Hay), centrándose en los complejos vínculos entre el imperialismo y la caza mayor a finales del siglo XIX. El Tangier Tent Club ha permitido que el caldo de cultivo británico se apropie del espacio público marroquí y teje intrigas mientras impone convenciones al makhzen marroquí.

**Palabras clave:** espectáculo imperial, caza del jabalí, representación, masculinidad británica, diplomacia.