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1. Introduction

In this thesis four women travel writings to Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century will be discussed: Anna Hinderer's *Seventeen Years in The Yoruba Country* (1877), Mary French-Sheldon's *Sultan to Sultan: Adventures among the Masai and other Tribes of East Africa* (published in 1892), Zélie Colville's *Round the Black Man's Garden* (1893) and Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* (1899). My hypothesis is that those four women share a similar cultural background since they were all females in a society of patriarchal dominance and supposedly have at least partly racist attitudes towards blacks, because they lived at a time of colonial subordination of blacks by whites.

It will be analysed whether and to what extent those women are embroiled in racist assumptions current at their time. Moreover, a matter of investigation will be how liberally those women deal with subjugated black people; being oppressed and restrained themselves in patriarchal society. Possible differences between their opinions and positions will be analysed and suggestions for possible reasons for the differences in their attitudes will be given.

The selection of these four texts is because of their difference to one another. These female travellers come from different social backgrounds, have different marital statuses, travel because of different motives, and travel in different party formations; either with or without male white company. Furthermore, they differ in the length of the time spent in Africa, they travelled to different areas of the continent and they differ in the way of how they travelled. Africa has been chosen because of its interesting position as being almost completely colonized by Europe and therefore constituting a place of direct encounter between white and black people, producing a clash of cultures and generating prejudices on both sides. This thesis focuses on females, because they are especially interesting in this context, because the patriarchal hierarchy of their time subjugated them just as the white people subjugated the blacks through colonialism. Since those women were subordinated to males in society, it is all the more interesting to analyse how they encountered natives and their

cultures; whether they seized the power they suddenly had in Africa or whether they identified with the oppressed. Those women are remarkable, because the restrictions and expectations about Victorian females were rather opposed to their travelling abroad, and nevertheless they could not be deterred from it. How those women coped with the problem of doing what is against the role they were educated to fulfil and whether or how they tried to maintain feminine ideals, even when being abroad, in order to embody "proper" Victorian women at least to some degree, will be discussed in this thesis as well. The time span chosen is explainable through the fact that this was the high-time of African exploration, as well as a time when it was possible for at least some women to abandon their domestic duties and go abroad, let alone publish their own travel accounts.

The thesis will be structured in the following way: First an introduction on what travelling was like at the time under analysis and how women were regarded back then will be given. Furthermore, it will be elaborated on racist theories, their genesis, as well as on their usefulness for legitimatising the colonial enterprise. Subsequently, the four travellers and authors of travel narratives will be presented, addressing their biographical development, their travel routes and their reasons for travelling. In the Following, the authors' perception of the natives will be discussed; in what way they internalize racist stereotyping, whether they perceive and present natives as individuals or as a mass, and the personal relationship with the Africans and whether they allow physical contact . Consequently, the authors' perception of Africa will be analysed, as well as several African institutions, practices, beliefs and other aspects of African life, and the white women's reaction to them. Afterwards, the particularities of the four authors travelling as females of their time will be analysed, focusing on how they do or do not maintain their femininity and which particular problems they have to face. Finally, concluding remarks on the results of the thesis will be given.

2. Travelling, Women and Racism

2.1. Africa and Travelling in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

The coasts of Africa have been used for (slave) trade prior to the year of 1850, 90 per cent of Africa, however, had been untouched by Europeans until then. Only when David Livingstone, a Scottish missionary and explorer ventured into the African interior, saw and named the Victoria Falls, several Europeans followed him, mainly with the support of their governments or other institutions. Additionally, technological progress made the exploitation of African natural resources like diamonds, gold, copper, cotton and rubber in the interior of Africa a profitable enterprise. Moreover, travel increased because the malarial prophylactic quinine, which reduced the probability of coming down with this deadly disease, became widely available. (Lloyd 451f) On the basis of these developments, “a race to reach the inner parts of Africa” started in the 1850s and lasted until Africa had been “fully explored, mapped and eventually conquered” by the end of the century (Koivunen 2).

While Africa was being fully explored, back in Europe the printing technology became more and more advanced and made dissemination of print materials at low cost and high speed possible. Furthermore, the standards of living improved insofar that even some working class members could enjoy parts of the consumer culture. Therefore, the great African adventures, narrated in travel accounts, magazines and newspapers could be followed by a wide audience. (Koivunen 3)

In the nineteenth century, travelling was insofar different from now, as that the travellers could not collect as much information about their destination, as it can easily be done nowadays. However, travel narratives and descriptions of “discovered” places could be read as a preparation before departing, as well as books giving advice on travelling in general. Those travel conduct books, however, differed greatly according to which gender they were aimed at. The majority, of course, was written for male explorers and discoverers, focussing on practical hints concerning the journey.

Scientific observation was seen as a traveller's duty; as the Royal Geographical Society stressed, it "is the duty of every civilised traveller in countries newly opened up to research, to collect facts [...] for the information of those leading minds of the age who, by dint of great experience, can ably generalise from the details contributed from diverse sources" (Freshfield & Wharton 446, qtd. in Blunt *Travel* 65). Thus, the aim of travellers was to collect information in order to enable great leaders and thinkers in Europe to draw their conclusions from it.

Books for male travellers therefore advised on how to use the required equipment and which methods to apply for scientific research and observation. They also included information about how to deal with indigenous people, manage native servants as well as practical hints about the weight of the stores and even the amount of alcohol to take with them on a journey (see Freshfield and Wharton 27, qtd. in Blunt *Travel* 66). For example, in regard to the native servants it was advised that the traveller should "adopt [...] a brisk but [...] essentially good-humored tone of command" (Blunt *Travel* 66). Concerning encountering the natives, Galton advised the following proceeding:

If a savage does mischief, look on him as you would on a kicking mule, or a wild animal, whose nature it is to be unruly and vicious, and keep your temper quite unruffled. Evade the mischief, if you can: if you cannot, endure it; and do not trouble yourself overmuch about your dignity, or about retaliating on the man, except it be on the grounds of expediency." (Galton 308, qtd. in Blunt *Travel* 66f)

In this account one obtains the impression that encountering native people is similar to taming wild animals. Furthermore, the white traveller was advised to avoid retaliating acts, probably because they see a certain threat in the natives.

Interestingly, the books specifically aimed at the few female travellers did not extend on that kind of information; they rather focus on the proper conduct of the female traveller herself. As Blunt (*Travel* 65) puts it, "[t]his distinction reflects the professionalization of male travel in contrast to the personalization of female travel". Female travel, hence, was not taken seriously. It was not expected that female travellers contribute to the fields of exploration and scientific observation and no new knowledge, may it be geographical, biological or ethnological, was expected to be gained from them. The women's only charge was to represent their home countries as well as possible, the emphasis being on their

appearance and appropriate clothing as being of uttermost personal, as well as national, importance (see Blunt *Travel* 68). Thus, instead of giving information about scientific methods and ways of dealing with native people, the information the female reader obtains is rather focussed on baths, dress, etiquette, handbags, packing, soiled linen bags, and tea-pots (see Davidson 5f).

One of those “conduct books” was *Hints to Lady Travellers at Home and Abroad*, written by Lilius Campbell Davidson in 1889. According to Blunt (*Travel* 68), “[t]his text attempted to inform women how to maintain respectability while violating the codes of society by traveling beyond the domestic sphere”. Travel was seen as a danger for the weak Victorian females and they were advised to keep up the ideals of Victorian society. Interestingly, although being in the actual active occupation of travelling, they were, for example, advised to maintain the passivity they were ascribed. Thus, in the section dealing with accidents, the recommendation for the female traveller was the following:

As a broad general principle, a woman’s place in the moment of danger is to keep still and be ready for action. It is so much an instinct with the stronger sex to protect and look after the weaker, that in all cases of the sort, if there is a man at the head of affairs, he had better be left to manage matters without the hampering interference of feminine physical weakness. If there is no man, the woman will have to act for herself, but even then she will find it the best plan to keep still till the decisive moment arrives. (Davidson 15)

Thus, the ‘weak’ woman is supposed to be completely incapable of dealing with danger herself. Women travellers, when in danger, are advised to rely on strong men saving them. Even if there is no man near to save them, they should never abandon their passive role.

Since travelling was also a matter of financial resources, not everyone could travel who wished to do so. Some could afford travelling because of their private fortunes, however, quite often certain organisations functioned as sponsors for (male) travellers. Geographical Societies were founded, among them *The Royal Geographical Society* in Great Britain, which soon became one of the most renowned societies for travellers. It was founded in London in 1830. Fellows were male only, until debate arose in 1892/1893 whether women should be admitted as members. At this time, the ruling Queen Victoria was the

R. G. S. 's patron. Until then no woman had even been proposed as a fellow. (see Maddrell 28)

However, the achievements of Isabella Bird Bishop, who had made an expedition to Tibet, which was hitherto unknown to Europeans, and was therefore well renowned and respected, made it difficult to exclude women in general from the society, as they were apparently able to contribute to geographical work (see Boisseau *Sultan* 28). Following the debate, in the summer of 1892 the R.G.S. decided that women membership should be made possible by giving the following argument:

The increasing number of ladies, eminent as travellers and contributors to the stock of geographical knowledge, and the number of women now interested as students, or teachers, in our branch of science, coupled with the evidence brought forward of a desire among both classes to enjoy the practical privileges conferred by our Fellowship, were, in the opinion of the Council, sufficient reason for at once making the proposed extension, which will it is believed, be to the advantage of the Society. (R. G. S. 553, also published in *The Times* (6 July 1892); qtd. in Maddrell 31).

Twenty-two women were finally proposed and elected fellows of the R. G. S.; among them Mary French-Sheldon and Zélie Colvile (Maddrell 34). However, opposition remained strong, and when Lord George Curzon, “a powerful social figure” (Maddrell 32) entered the debate after being abroad, he presented a possible R. G. S. membership of women as diminishing the Society’s market value, calling them derogatively “female globetrotteresses” (Maddrell 32). He stated in *The Times* (1893, qtd. in Maddrell 32) that “[w]e contest *in toto* the general capability of women to contribute to scientific knowledge [...] their sex and their training render them equally unfitted for exploration”. This means that contribution to the epistemology of geography was seen as the application of scientific methods and exploration only, and despite the growing number of females obtaining degrees in scientific fields, women were excluded on the grounds of their biology as well as their gender (see Maddrell 32).

Opponents raised arguments that were “clearly based on the desire of a particular group within the R. G. S. to maintain the Society as an exclusively masculine physical space and discursive arena, based on the ethos of a male social club which depended on the organisational/structural exclusion of

women” (Maddrell 33). The debate was also present in the media. For example, the *Punch* magazine published on 10 June 1893 an anonymous, satirical comment about the R. G. S.’s attitude toward female fellows (qtd. in Maddrell 32, Blunt *Travel* 160, Birkett *Spinsters* 179):

A lady explorer? A traveller in skirts?
The notions just a trifle seraphic:
Let them stay and mind the babies, or hem our ragged shirts;
But they mustn’t, can’t and shan’t be geographic.

Hence, women were regarded as incapable of male explorers’ activities; they rather were supposed to stay in their domestic realm, and care for children and housework.

Finally however, “social change and women’s accreditation through education made it difficult for the R. G. S reactionary faction to exclude women” (Maddrell 35). Thus, in 1913 163 women were elected fellows of the Royal Geographical Society (Maddrell 35).

2.2. Women in 19th Century Travel

During the Victorian age, women were perceived as fragile, helpless beings, who should be confined to their homes and care for their husband and children. They were denied the same rights as their male counterparts because they were regarded as being naturally inferior to them.

One literary work of that time which enforced that notion of women was Coventry Patmore’s narrative poem “The Angel in the House” (Patmore 4ff). In this poem, Patmore describes what is the perfect woman to him: his wife Emily. This notion of the Angel in the House became the ideal that Victorian women should aspire to fulfil: they should be submissive and devoted to their husband, self-sacrificing mothers, passive and powerless, charming, sympathetic, graceful, pious, and above all pure human beings. Although this poem had already been published in 1854, it was rather unimportant at the time of publication, but became increasingly popular during the second half of the

nineteenth century (the time examined in this thesis) and continued to be influential in the beginning of the twentieth century.

The “separate sphere” ideology prevalent at that time ascribed women to the domestic sphere. The world of travelling, clearly belonging to the public sphere, was reserved for men; women allegedly being too weak to cope with the dangers entailed by it.

However, with a gradual loosening of the constraints concerning women, as well as the improved means of communication and transportation, there was a considerable increase in women travelling to foreign countries. For financial reasons, upper class women could afford to travel, unlike members of lower classes. Geographical societies, which often sponsored journeys, excluded women from membership, thereby restricting the possibility to travel for women who could not pay their journey from a private fortune. For female travellers, their journeys often were an opportunity for redefining themselves and breaking free from the restrictive confines of Victorian society. (see McEwan 25)

As Ciolkowski (338) argues,

“[...] nineteenth-century women’s travel [...] is still frequently understood as the means through which the repressed bodies of Victorian angels can leave their English homes and drawing rooms, burst the sexual restraints that define proper ladies, and thereby challenge in their eccentric reinvention of English femininity the ideals and principals of bourgeois womanhood.”

Thus, for many women travelling was regarded as a liberating experience. On the other hand, some women saw travelling as a kind of moral duty. Either they needed to follow their husbands in order to live up to the ideal of the self-sacrificing wife of an official employed in a colony or a missionary; or they regarded it as their imperial or Christian duty to go to the “dark continent” and bring “civilisation” to the native Africans. Those latter kind of women then simply transferred their domestic, submissive life to another continent; taking the effort to maintain their role of the Victorian angel under changed circumstances on all accounts.

Women, who experienced their travel to a foreign country as a liberating experience in which they could break free from fulfilling the Victorian ideal of femininity, nevertheless were forced back into their “natural” role when returning to their countries of origin. While they were regarded as Europeans by the African natives, and not necessarily differentiated by their sex, but subsumed in the notion of “white man”, the need to be and be considered as feminine reappeared at last when returning “home”. (see Birkett *Spinsters* 183) “While the woman travellers had been botanists, anthropologists and archaeologists in foreign lands, at home the guise of a professional could not be so easily maintained. In Britain, the importance of their femininity came once again to the fore” (Birkett *Spinsters* 183).

Since evidence and facts spoke against the argument that women were unfit to meet the challenges of travelling, the press employed several means to undermine the danger that women might consider travelling instead of occupying themselves with more “appropriate” activities. On the one hand, the press manipulated the accounts of female travellers, so that they might fit a pattern that was considered more suitable for women. On the other hand, they presented those women as very unique and bearing characteristics that an average woman simply would not possess. (see Birkett *Spinsters* 185f) Quite often, female travellers themselves enforced the image of their uniqueness by claiming that they were the first woman travelling to a certain area or accomplishing certain things. Thereby they prevent their female readers from identifying with them and thinking that they could accomplish similar things as well. (see Birkett *Spinsters* 186)

The response to the women travellers was in no way uniform. In Birkett’s words “they were an awkward set of female figures to fit into prevailing feminine imagery, and because of this they might be portrayed in different ways by and for different audiences.” (*Spinsters* 197)

However, the question that arises is whether the voices of female travellers do actually differ when compared to their male counterparts. Besides, do they perceive things about Africa and its inhabitants that men do not? It seems to be the case that women were more interested in and commented on African

women than their male travellers did. (see Romero 10) This can possibly explained by the fact that female travellers could often come closer to native women, for example, they might be allowed to see a harem, which European men probably could not do (see French-Sheldon 91ff). Furthermore, women often write about quite trivial matters concerning their servants, who were sometimes ludicrous and thereby sometimes (unconsciously) aided the diffusion of some stereotypes about Africans (see Romero 10). Moreover, women also wrote about the fear they experienced while travelling, and they usually did not adopt the role of an heroic explorer, like their male counterparts did (see Romero 10). Romero states that “[f]or women travellers accent was on detail; intensity of individual experiences; empathy for some people; criticism of others. The *personal* nature of their experiences distinguishes the women from their equally adventuresome male colleagues.” (Romero 10)

However, when discussing women as a group, it is important not to ascribe essentialist notions of gender, but regard gender as a product of a discourse at a specific point in time at a specific place in the world constructing notions of “feminine” in contrast to “masculine”. Women in different areas at different times experience the world, their gender included, differently. It is furthermore important to keep in mind that in the nineteenth up until the twentieth century, gender was an essential factor in regard to the admission to education, the access to employment, as well as the possibility for production and the kind of reception of one’s work. (see Maddrell 4) As Madrell (4) states, “[i]t is important to remember the particular gendered social mores which combined with those of class and race in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth-century, result[ed] in institutional and symbolic discrimination”. Therefore, it is significant to examine the experiences that women had separately, in order to discover possibly different experiences.

Generally, it can hardly be doubted that “[t]hrough travel and subsequent writing, women travelers expanded their own range of possible activities, reinvented their subject positions as women in a male dominated society, and created an audible public voice.” (Brisson 327)

2.3. Racism

2.3.1. Origin of the Concept of Race and the Rise of Scientific Racism

First of all, the notion 'race' must be clarified:

'Race' is a term for the classification of human beings into physically, biologically and genetically distinct groups. The notion of race assumes, firstly, that humanity is divided into unchanging natural types, recognizable by physical features that are transmitted 'through the blood' and permit distinctions to be made between 'pure' and 'mixed' races. Furthermore the term implies that the mental and moral behaviour of human beings, as well as individual personality, ideas and capacities, can be related to racial origin, and that knowledge of that origin provides a satisfactory account of the behaviour. (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 198)

The concept of race emerged when, through the contact with people in Africa and other places in the world, Europeans constructed schemata concerning the natives' "corporal properties, such as hair, skin colour and other phenotypical difference [...] not only for anchoring difference, but for placing different groups of humankind into different types" (Back & Solomos 29). In the beginning race was a folk idea of the colonisers to explain the differences between themselves and the colonized native people they encountered (Smedley & Smedley 4, 7). Based on (often subjective) descriptions of the colonisers, scientists back in Europe in the 18th century tried to categorise and classify the varieties of human beings. From the 1790s until up to the 20th century it was the role of science to confirm folk beliefs on race by examining and comparing the physical features of people of the respective racial categories. (Smedley & Smedley 21)

Between 1770 and 1850s phrenology and physiognomical ideas were quite popular and widely accepted in scientific circles. (see Richards 8) While phrenology's focus was rather on the brain and the skull, physiognomical research emphasised external form (like skin colour, form of nose, thickness of lips), which generally made it more suitable for racist theories. In British phrenology, however, racist and racialist comparisons concerning head-shapes were commonplace. (see Richards 11)

In Scientific Racism, physical characteristics were measured, which supposedly reflected on psychological features. This "research" was Eurocentric in that the

things measured (brain size, 'facial angle', shade of colour, etc.) were evaluated according to their proximity to an European ideal. (see Richards 15)

The basic level explanations on the conflation of biological and cultural characteristics were considered as "scientific". "Bad", as well as "good", cultural traits were regarded as straightforwardly expressing the innate racial character. The increasing amount of texts of white people employed in parts of the Empire often provided "authentic" evidence about the failings of the non-whites. In Europe, people like Arthur de Gobineau were "weaving a web of pseudo-scientific political fantasising which it would take eight decades and millions of lives to break" (Richards 9). (Richards 8f)

Thus, although beginning as a simple folk idea of people encountering phenotypically different people, science enforced the notion of the existence of different races. After the classification into different races, moral evaluation was carried out: the external characteristics of a certain race would let one pre-tell about the moral and intellectual qualities a person supposedly. This, in turn, led to the establishment of a hierarchy of different races. Naturally, in this Euro-centric ethno-chauvinism of the time, white people were regarded as superior to the black people.

Since Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* ideas about evolution, selection taking place in a "struggle for existence" (Hawkins 25) and thus, "the survival of the fittest" (originally not Darwin's expression, but Herbert Spencer's and only taken over by Darwin for the fifth edition of the *Origin*) were occupying the minds of the second half of the nineteenth century (Hawkins 4). Darwin's findings on evolution and the survival of the best adapted were taken over by others (who did not call themselves Social Darwinists, but were later referred to by this designation), who transferred his ideas to humankind and spoke of the survival of the fittest; the naturally inferior ought to die out. This gave rise to the discussion on Eugenics, which claimed that one needed to defend inheritances of a nation to keep its race clean; to carry out "race hygiene" (Richards 34).

For 19th century whites there were several facts apparently "known" about the inferiority of Africans; several characteristics allegedly proved their being on a lower evolutionary level than the Europeans: Blacks

(a) matured earlier than whites, (b) were less individually varied than whites, (c) were rigid and unadaptable in habit and lifestyle, (d) were, on average, smaller brained, especially the frontal lobes, [e] were more impulsive and emotional than whites and (f) performed best on 'lower' level functions such as sensory acuity and imitation, in which they usually excelled whites. (Richards 15)

The state of the art seemed to be that the white race had won the "struggle for existence". Their imperial dominance seemed to prove that they were "the fittest" race in the struggle for existence. Contradictions in this line of argument, however, were largely ignored, like the issue concerning the immutability concerning racial features, which suggests that evolution had simply stopped at that point in time. (see Richards 14)

The conception of race became a strong mechanism of regulating access to power. The "ideology [of race] arose as a rationalization and justification for human slavery at a time when Western European societies were embracing philosophies promoting individual and human rights, liberty, democracy, justice, brotherhood and equality" (Smedley & Smedley 22). Thus, in the need to justify why those new rights and ideas were not applied to black people, they argued that they were fundamentally different from whites and therefore could not be treated the same way. This was a useful way to justify slavery and the white presence in Africa.

It was only in the 20th century, when genetics gained prominence, that race conception was mostly dismissed. The theory of distinct races could not be validated and the similarity between different varieties of human beings were emphasised by genetic findings. It was discovered that humans are 99.9 per cent alike, and depict only 0.1 per cent genetically different (see Littelfield, Lieberman, and Reynolds 1982, qut. in Smedley & Smedley 19). Therefore, the concept of race as a biological factor could not be maintained.

2.3.2. Racism in Colonial Discourse

2.3.2.1. Definition of Racism

One definition of racism might be: “[Racism is] a way of thinking that considers a group’s unchangeable physical characteristics to be linked in a direct, causal way to psychological or intellectual characteristics, and which on this basis distinguishes between ‘superior’ and ‘inferior’ racial groups.”(Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 199)

Between the two World Wars, the validity of race as a biological concept was challenged, though there existed already doubts in the years before. It was only in the 1930s that the use of “racism” as a pejorative word was recorded; the need for the introduction of a neologism, however, suggests that the discrediting of theories on race and their implications had begun far earlier. (Barkan 3)

2.3.2.2. Racism as Legitimation

The division of humanity into different races was a precondition for the colonialist powers to establish an imperialist oppression over the subjected peoples and legitimise this enterprise (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 198). The presentation of Africa as the ‘dark continent’ and its natives as an ‘inferior race’ implied the need for a strong power to develop the country and educate the natives. The whites therefore could see themselves as saviours, bringing light into these dark places, to the dark people.

Several literary works of the time stress the duty of the white man to civilise black people. One of these works was Rudyard Kipling’s *The White Man’s Burden*, which was originally written in regard to US imperialism in the Philippines. The burden of the white man soon became an euphemistic expression for imperialism worldwide. It emphasises that imperialism is actually for the sake of the colonised and a sacrifice the white man has to make. The colonisers regard themselves as “seek[ing] another’s profit/ [a]nd work[ing] another’s gain” and should not be irritated when the natives hate them and are not thankful, because they are too “sullen” to know what is for their best interest

(Kipling 320). Actually, this was a perverse presentation of the actual situation, in which the white colonisers were mainly interested in the economic profit they could gain in exploiting the African natural and human resources. In regard to missions and the 'civilising' efforts of the Europeans, it is questionable if the Africans would have urgently needed Christian religion or if they would have been satisfied with their former traditions, rites and ways of living.

In *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, the Tunisian writer Albert Memmi stresses the role of racism as an instrument of imperialism:

All the efforts of the colonialist are directed toward maintaining [the] social immobility [between colonizer and colonized], and racism is the surest weapon for this aim. In effect, change becomes impossible, and any revolt would be absurd.

Racism appears then, not as an incidental detail, but as a consubstantial part of colonialism. It is the highest expression of the colonial system and one of the most significant features of the colonialist. Not only does it establish a fundamental discrimination between colonizer and colonized, a *sine qua non* of colonial life, but it also lays the foundation for the immutability of this life.

The racist tone of each move of [...] the colonizer is the source of the extraordinary spread of racism in the colonies. (74)

Thus, racism is a crucial instrument for preserving the power inequality in the colonies. It is intrinsic not only in the imperial enterprise but also in the colonizer, and thus his whole thinking and acting is tainted by it. Thereby an unchangeable system of unequal power relation is first established and then eternally perpetuated.

Racism, however, existed not only in the remote colonies. Through the growing number of travel reports, hand in hand with the expansion of the means of publishing, white people in the "mother-countries" who had never themselves experienced a non-white human being, were inflicted with colonialist racism. Thereby, those who planned travelling to the colonies were *a priori* pre-influenced against the natives, before even gaining any personal experience with them. Whether consciously or not, racist stereotyping was perpetuated and continually used to explain the unequal power structure in imperialism.

2.3.2.3. Colonial Discourse on Race

According to Memmi (70), colonial racism was becoming an inherent part of the colonist's identity:

[Being a] mixture of behaviors and reflexes acquired and practiced since very early childhood, established and measured by education, colonial racism is so spontaneously incorporated in even the most trivial acts and words, that it seems to constitute one of the fundamental patterns of colonialist personality.

However, colonial racism does not only change and pervade the colonisers, but also the colonised. As Memmi (23) asks, "who can completely rid himself of bigotry in a country where everyone is tainted by it, including its victims?"

For Bhabha (18) one main feature of colonial discourse is the notion of 'fixity' in the construction of difference. The concept of 'fixity' is paradoxical "in the racial, historical, as well as cultural construction of otherness in that "it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition" (18). Bhabha (18) continues that

[I]kewise the stereotype, which is [the] major discursive strategy [in colonial discourse], is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known, and something that must be anxiously repeated ... as if the essential duplicity of the Asiatic or the bestial sexual licence of the African that needs no proof, can never really, in discourse, be proved.

This ambivalence is what makes stereotypes so powerful; they can be repeated in changing historical situations and discursive formations, and "produce [...] the effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in excess of what can be empirically proved or logically construed [...] [ambivalence is] one of the most significant discursive and psychical strategies of discriminatory power [...]" (Bhabha 18). Hence, the notion of fixity is ambivalent and so are colonial stereotypes. Because of the inherent ambivalence, stereotypes can be used continuously, irrespective of changing circumstances, and this is what lends them so much power. As no proof was needed, nothing could ever be falsified and so this racist discourse could continue to justify the colonialists' presence in Africa. For it was necessary to present the colonised Other as inferior, savage and primitive to legitimise the

white men's exploitation of the natural resources, the slave trade, the civilising of the natives as well as the taking over of power in Africa.

The ambivalence in colonial thinking was clearly shown in the double-sidedness of prevalent stereotypes in regard to black people:

The black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical, primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and manipulator of social forces. (Bhaba 34)

This ambivalence of stereotypes was needed: how could one otherwise explain the inferiority of a black man, when he, for example, did not behave in the expected savage way, but obediently carried one's luggage? – The image of the simple-minded native who needs guidance needed to be constructed in order to justify the top-down structure of power between whites and blacks. Hence, in the construction and maintaining of colonial stereotypes it was vital that they contained quite opposing images, as long as all images presented the native as inferior, since this alleged inferiority and helplessness called for white intervention. Those stereotypes needed to be ambivalent; otherwise they could too easily be falsified.

Texts written in the 19th century are to a certain degree challenging to read for a 21st century reader, because one has to keep the different background knowledge into mind. One must not judge too hard on people writing things that would nowadays be called racist. Sometimes it was knowledge accepted as common-sense in their time and they just did not know any better. Therefore, readers of these days needs to be careful not to evaluate according to their own 21st century schemata, but must perceive writers before the background of their time. Some were quite anti-racist when compared to their contemporaries and still would be called racist today. Thus, although it is of course important to point out racist tendencies in their writing, not everybody who simply perpetuated the prevalent stereotyping and imperialist discourse of the time was necessarily a person ill-disposed towards African natives.

3. Hinderer, French-Sheldon, Colvile and Kingsley: Their Lives, Journeys, Motives and Writings

3.1. Anna Hinderer

Anna (née Martin) Hinderer was born in Hempnall, Norfolk in 1827, on 19 March. Her mother died when she was five years old and in 1839 she came to her grandfather and aunt to Lowestoft for reasons of health. When visiting church with her grandfather, she came into contact with the Reverend and Mrs. Cunningham, whom she deeply adored. She taught some children at Sunday school, and assisted Mr. Cunningham with work in the vicarage. She got more and more dedicated to church work and her faith and strongly wished to be employed in mission work. In 1852, on the 14th of October, she married Rev. David Hinderer from the kingdom Wurtemberg, Germany, who had already been working with the Church Missionary Society in West Africa, in the Yoruba country. (Hinder 1ff)



Figure 1: Anna Hinderer, frontispiece of *Seventeen Years in the Yoruba Country* 1877

David Hinderer had already been employed from 1848 in a station in Abeokuta that the Christian Missionary Society had established. In connection with a new missionary station being planned in Ibadan, Hinderer returned to England. (Romero 25) It was fortunate for her dreams of doing missionary work in Africa that David entered her life and a marriage was arranged, because in the middle of the nineteenth century, a single woman - even as determined as Anna was - would not have been qualified for missionary work abroad and it was not until that 1880 that those rules were loosened to some degree (Romero 25, 11).

Already in the winter subsequent to their wedding, Mrs Hinderer and her husband travelled to West Africa, where they settled at Ibadan (see Hinderer 21f). She had to stay temporarily alone in Abeokuta, while her husband travelled to Ibadan to prepare a house for them. He came back for her and they both arrived in Ibadan in late April 1853. Due to illness she had to spend some weeks away from the mission in Abeokuta to retrieve her health in the beginning of the year 1854. She returned to a bigger and more European-style house in May. 1855 was marked by persecutions against the Christian converts. In 1856 the couple visited Oyo just before going on vacation to England. When they were returning in 1857, they went via Sierra Leone, to recruit two agents. Another trip to England was taken in January 1858. In January 1860 a war between Ibandan and the neighbouring town Ijaye broke out. Although Ibadan could destroy Ijaye in 1862, the fight continued on other fronts between the Ijebu and Egba people, Ibadan being shut in and Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer being isolated and suffering from the circumstances the war entailed. The couple undertook another travel to England in summer 1865, from which they returned to Ibadan only in December 1866. Ill health and continuing fevers plagued the couple since they had arrived at Africa, and throughout the years they had lost several missionary friends who fell victims to the tropical climate. It became obvious in 1868 that Anna Hinderer was in such a bad state of health that she had to go back to Europe. A secret expedition was sent to the still shut-in Ibadan to retrieve Anna, who returned with them to Lagos on 5 January 1869, her husband followed later. She died on 16 July 1870 in England at her last home in the small village Martham. (Hinderer; Bonk)

She was the first woman employed in mission work to offer an account on how it was for Europeans to be posted in remote lands (Romero 25). The narrative was published after her death and without her knowledge, with her husband's consent by The Religious Tract Society and was "derived chiefly from her own journals, letters, and other papers, nearly all of them intended only for the eye of personal friends, while some were even of a more private nature" (Hinderer iv). Thus, the narrative consists of material Anna wrote herself, without thinking that it would be read by a great audience and only in-between small passages by the publishers are inserted to contextualise her writing. Although it is definitely problematic, to some degree, to regard travel narratives as autobiographical, it might be increasingly possible when the writing is based on materials like those mentioned above (see Blunt *Travel* 62). Therefore, it can be assumed that the author herself experienced and felt about the things she mentions just as is described in the narrative, since she was not even aware that a larger audience would read it, but it was just as a reminder for herself.

Her main motive for going to Africa was her strong wish to bring her religion to the Africans. She was convinced that they must abandon their own beliefs and follow the Christian way of living in order for them to be safe in heaven after death. She dutifully performed her role as the wife of a missionary and did what she thought was her duty as a Christian. She "wish[ed] to be a martyr" (Hinderer 5), who risks her own health and well-being to go to a remote, dangerous and sickness-bringing country where local wars even aggravated the bad situation, for the sake of the Africans whom she wished to convert. Her motive was the one of the four travellers that carries most resemblance to the duty described of *The White Man's Burden* in so far as she saw her journey as sacrificing herself for the sake of bringing Christianisation and civilisation to the native Africans. Her reasons for travelling to Africa were a public and religious duty to the church, as well as a private responsibility to her husband, whom she was obliged to support and follow, even if it meant sacrificing her life (see McEwan 26).

3.2. Mary French-Sheldon

Mary (May) French-Sheldon was born on 10 May 1847 in Bridgewater, Pennsylvania. She was the daughter of Col. Joseph French, a well renowned civil engineer whose grand uncle was Isaac Newton, and Elizabeth J. Poorman French. May French-Sheldon received her education partly in New York and partly abroad. She married Eli Lemon Sheldon in 1876, who was American-born, but became a publisher and banker in London. (Eagle 131)



Figure 2: Mary French-Sheldon, frontispiece of *Sultan to Sultan* 1892

Eli Sheldon was a husband who was willing to let her undertake her unusual expedition and he could financially cater to her extravagant wishes. She set up a salon in their London home in which people interested in travelling to Africa could associate. The acquaintances she made thereby throughout the 1880 established the basis on which she could venture her journey in 1891. (Boisseau *Sultan* 15) For example, MacKinnon, Stanley and Blaine wrote letters introducing French-Sheldon and asking for her assistance to the I.B.E.A. company (Boisseau *Sultan* 18).

French-Sheldon wrote several essays, short stories and novels and owned the publishing house Saxon & Co in London, which issued "Everybody's Series" (Eagle 131). She became known for translating Gustave Flaubert's *Salammbô* into English blank verse and throughout her life she translated and wrote original drama. She also wrote a history of Belgium, but it, as most of her projects was not published. Only some of her works she published with her own publishing house. (Boisseau *Sultan* 14f) She studied medicine with European experts and she also studied art. In 1891 she travelled to Africa on an expedition, without any white male attending her. (Eagle 131) Among the Africans she established the impression, that she was a white queen, and they addressed her with Bébé Bwana, which meant "woman master" (French-Sheldon 131f, 201, 232, 399).

French-Sheldon started her journey by train from London to Dover. She travelled on a ferry to Calais, from there took the train to Naples, where she went on the steamship *Madura*, on its usual way to the coast of east Africa and the island Zanzibar. In Mombasa she wanted help from the representatives of the I.B.E.A. company in regard to the employment of a sufficient number of *askaris* (guards) and porters to travel into the interior. Since they did not approve her undertaking and did not help her, she travelled to Zanzibar, where she began negotiations with British authorities and the Zanzibari sultan. Enough porters and *askaris* could finally be employed and a sufficient amount of food, guns and supplies was obtained for what was planned to be a three-month trip. She travelled to Mombasa, and from there lead her caravan of over 100 men across territory where it was still equivocal whether it was in British or German jurisdiction as well as Masai and Chaga control, until she reached the foot of

Mount Kilimanjaro. On her way back she and her caravan travelled south to Pangani and the coast under German control, what is today Tanzania. (see French-Sheldon; Boisseau *Sultan* 18ff)

French-Sheldon was a member of the Anthropological Society and the Writer's Club and similar renowned organisations, and was admitted as a Fellow to the Royal Geographical Society (F. R. G. S.) of Great Britain. (Eagle 131) However, it can be argued that her admittance to the RGS was rather an instance of good timing than of geographical accomplishment, since the circumnavigation of the small lake Chala for which she was elected F. R. G. S. has already been "discovered" before by other whites (see Boisseau *Sultan* 28).

By far fewer American women travelled to Africa than British women did. The reason is obviously the lack of colonial infrastructure and the resulting intentions to travel (see Boisseau *Sultan* 23). She had no apparent purpose for undertaking her trip (Boisseau *Sultan* 21). Although she was not trained in any way as an ethnographer (Boisseau *Sultan* 11), she regarded herself as one, and she intended to demonstrate that one could peaceably travel in the interior of Africa without using inhumane means she criticised colonisers for (see French-Sheldon *Expedition* 131). In a lecture "An African Expedition" (see French-Sheldon *Expedition* 131) she states the following about her motives:

"For what good?" "Why?" "What prompted you?" are inquiries confronting me on all sides. In brief: Having listened unwillingly to the officious opinions volunteered by all classes and conditions of men and women, as to the utter absurdity of my project; denounced universally as a fanatic, entertaining a mad scheme, if not mad myself—principally mad because the idea was unique, a thorough innovation; there was no precedent on which to predicate action or draw deductions upon which to formulate a feasible line of procedure; it never had been done, never even been suggested, hence it must be beyond the conventional pale of practicability; and above all, having ever flouted in my face the supercilious edict that it was outside the limitation of woman's legitimate province, I determined to accomplish the undertaking.

Thus, one major motive for her was to accomplish what no one would think her capable of doing. Thus, her motive had nothing to do with any geographical, exploring, civilising or Christianising mission; it was solely to prove that (at least some) women could achieve what men have been doing for decades.

As a reason for publishing her narrative, she gives the following:

Yes, it was worth while, if it lies in my feeble power after the quest I ventured to make to contribute something substantial towards the betterment and enlightenment of the natives, as well as to be instrumental in convincing their future rulers and teachers that more humanity and practical common-sense will be more fruitful. (French-Sheldon 428)

Thus, instead of female humbleness she shows a strong sense of self-confidence and even a certain arrogance in claiming that future ruler could learn from her how to deal with the natives.

3.3. Mary Henrietta Kingsley

Mary Henrietta Kingsley was born on 13 October 1862 in London. Her father was George Kingsley, who was a doctor, but spent most of his time as an explorer. Her mother, Mary Bailey, had been cook of the Kingsley household; she and George married only four days before Mary was born, leading an emotionally distant marriage for the rest of their lives (see Birkett *Adventuress* 15f).

Mary and her younger brother spent their early years in Highgate. Mary had a quite solitary childhood, confined to her family's small house and their garden. She saw their father once every couple of years, but when he was at home, the tales of his travels evoked great fascination in Mary. Mary did not receive any formal education, only a little tutoring in German so that she could help her father with translations of scientific papers. She read a lot and picked up knowledge on her own. George Kingsley had collected a lot of material during his travels and Mary helped him with preparing it for publication. His main focus was a study in which he wanted to compare rites of sacrifice all over the world. When George Kingsley's health failed, he and his family moved to Cambridge. His wife had been invalid as well for some time, and so Mary had to care for both of her parents. (see Huxley 1ff)



Figure 3: Mary Kingsley in 1897

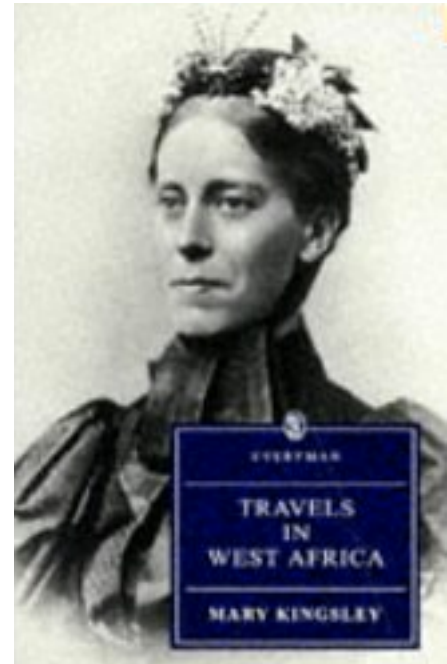


Figure 4: M. K. on cover of republished ed. of *Travels in West Africa*

In Cambridge, she could enlarge her circle of acquaintance; she had contact with academics and met people of note, like the famous explorer of Africa, Henry Morton Stanley (see Birkett *Adventuress* 5). After several years of housework and the care for her parents, both George and Mary Kingsley senior died in 1892 within only a few weeks of one another, and this burden fell off her shoulders. But “Mary Kingsley belonged to an age and generation when women’s subjugation was so complete that even the death of both parents did not really set her free. There was still her brother Charles. So long as he needed her services, she felt in duty bound to postpone her own plans” (Huxley 3). Only when Charles finally went on a journey to China in 1893, Mary could prepare for leaving the country. (see Huxley 3)

Kingsley first made a relatively short trip to the African coast; it lasted only from August to December 1883. She mainly travelled on the coast of the Gulf of Guinea and came back with several specimens she had collected, among them a monkey which sat on her shoulder. Maybe the rather unadventurous first journey made her come back for a more audacious one a year later. She set out on December 1884 for almost one year, determined to study fish and

fetishes. This journey definitely could be called adventurous; for this time she ventured into the African interior, relying only on local natives to guide her such as the Fangs, the M'pongwes and the Igalwas. She went through the Gabon as well as travelling the Ogowé Rivers, trekking through the Rembwé River swamps and lastly mounting Mount Cameroon. (see Brisson 237f)

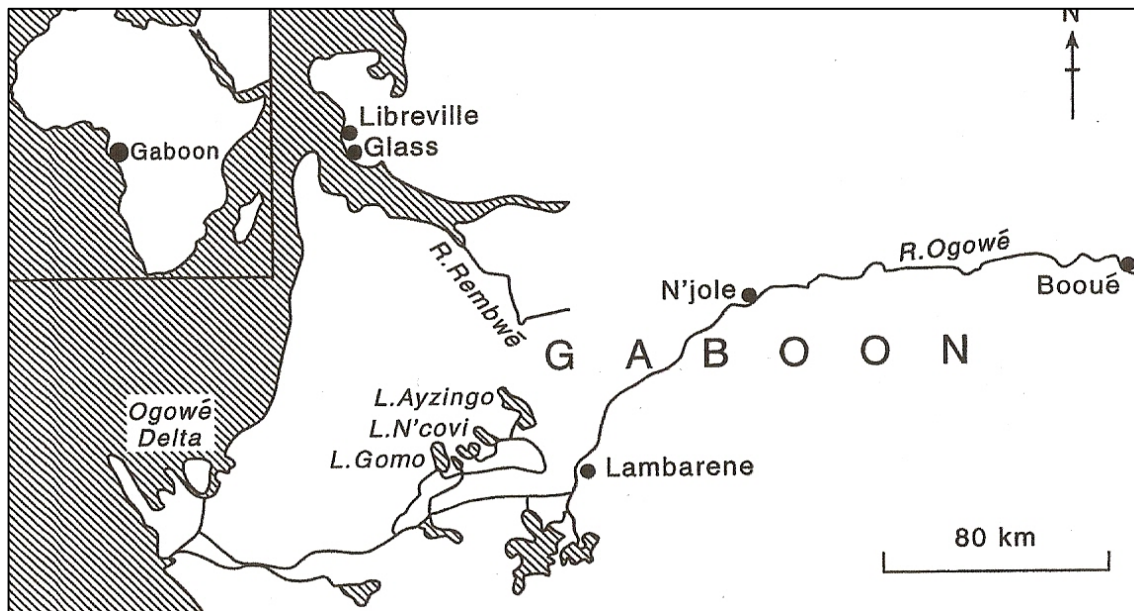


Figure 5: Area of Mary Kingsley's second journey to West Africa, adapted from Campbell 1957 (taken from McEwan 31)

She published *Travels in West Africa* in 1897. In 1899 her second work, *West African Studies*, was put on the market. Only after having published those two books of her own, did Mary publish a collection of her father's work (G.H. Kingsley. *Notes on Sport and Travel*. London: Macmillan, 1900). Mary Kingsley "repudiated any desire to become a member of the RGS" (Maddrell 32). Towards the end of her life she worked as a nurse in a Boer prisoners of war camp at Simonstown, where she caught West African fever and died at the age of thirty-eight on 3 June 1900. (Huxley vii, 1ff)

Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* was written in Great Britain, but it was based on letters to friends and diaries she wrote during the two journeys to West Africa in 1893 and 1895. Therefore, the travel narrative is based on quite personal sources. (Blunt *Writing* 57) In her writing, she misspelt the name of the Fang

people on purpose, referring to them as Fans, probably because she wanted to avoid “cheap jibes” by the press (Maddrell 86).

Her journeys to West Africa were not famous for any discovery, but they were remarkable

[...] because the traveller, a sheltered, middle-class, Victorian spinster lady of no unusual physique, without experience, without protection, without (to start with) any knowledge of African languages [...] went entirely alone into regions that were lethally unhealthy and primitive in the extreme, the territory of known cannibals, where a solitary, unprotected female, without possessions, travelling on foot, was an open invitation to be chopped and eaten like any stray wild beast.

Concerning her motives for her travel she generally states that she wants to complete her father's work on fetish. Furthermore she states as a reason for her second journey that “her main aim [...] was to get up above the tide line of the Ogowé River and there collect fishes; for my object on this voyage was to collect fish from a river north of the Congo” (Kingsley 23). As Brisson (326) summarises, “Kingsley had not come to West Africa as a missionary wife to Christianize the natives or as a colonialist to cultivate foreign soil but to do scientific fieldwork, an activity which stood in stark contrast with the more traditional image of a woman's place in the Victorian home.”

3.4. Zélie Isabelle Colville

Little biographical information can be obtained about Zélie Isabelle Colville. Some details about her life can be found in entries on bibliographical information about her husband, Sir Henry Edward, who was Major-General and stationed in Africa: She was Henry's second wife, they married in 1886 and she was the daughter of Pierre Richard de Prévile, who lived in Basses Pyrenees, France. During a sick leave of Henry, who suffered from pneumonia and pleurisy (Colville iv), the couple made a tour in Africa, after which Zélie published the book “Round the black man's garden”. (Wills & Barrett 30) In her writing, she slightly changes the name of her husband, referring to him as Harry instead of Henry.



Zélie Colville..

Figure 6: Zélie Colville, frontispiece of *Round The Black Man's Garden* 1893

Colville's travel route can be tracked when looking only at the table of contents of her book, for she subtitles every chapter title with the journey between point of departure and arrival of the journey. Thus she adds the subtitle (*Suez to Aden*) to the title *The Sea of Islam* of the first chapter, and continues with chapter two *The Land of Rocks (Aden to Lamu)* and so she continues, furthermore mentioning Zanizbar, Mojànga, Durban, Cape Town, the Canaries and the West Coast of Africa as points on their route of travelling. (see Colville xi) Her journey can be tracked on the map below:

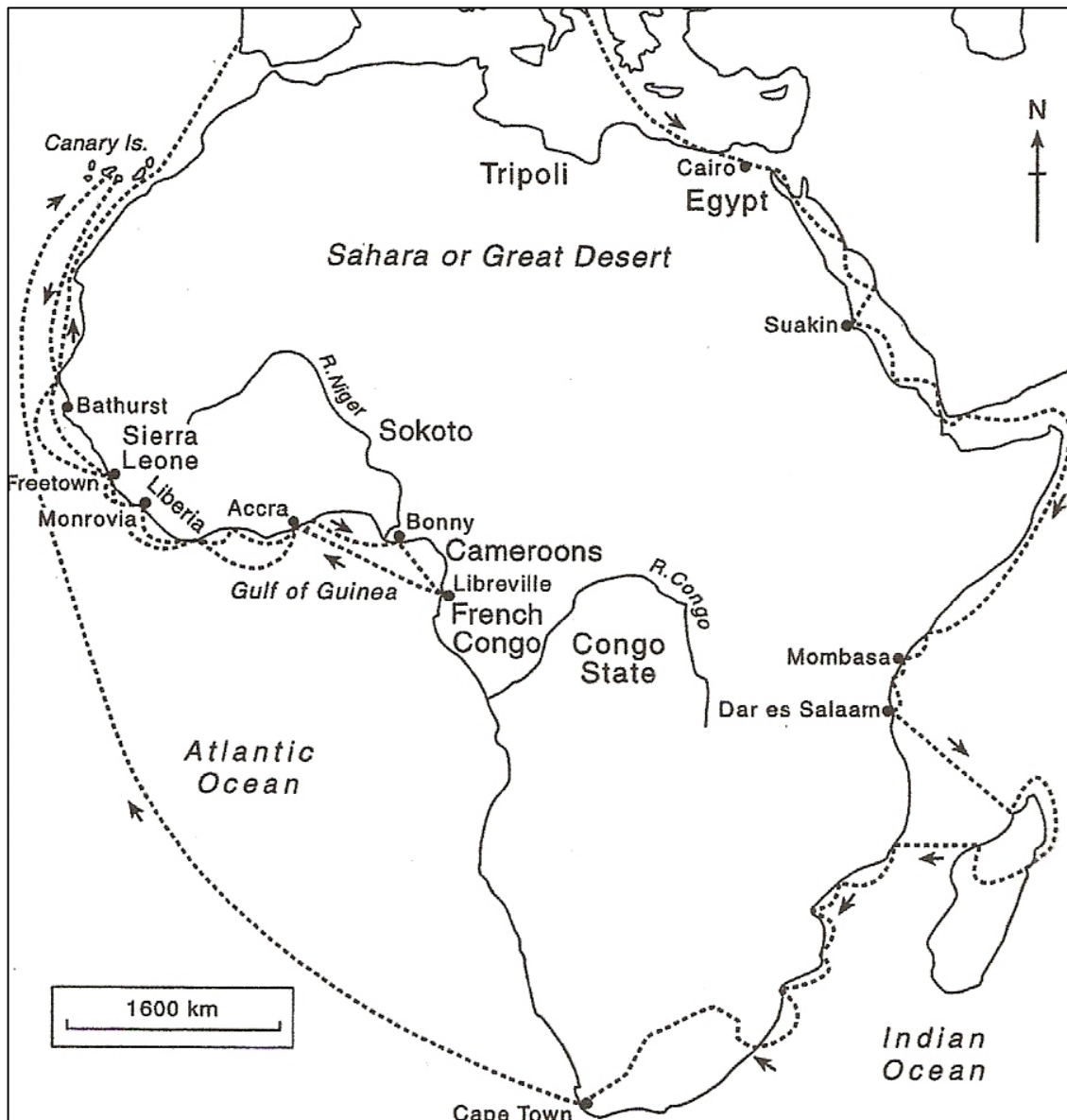


Figure 7: Zélie Colville's journey around Africa, adapted from Colville 1893 (taken from McEwan 27)

Zélie Colville's name can also be found on a list of the Royal Geographical Society; in the course of the debate about female members in the years 1892 and 1893 Colville was elected Fellow (see Madrell 34).

Coming from an aristocratic household, Colville indicates of certain class snobbery throughout her narrative (see McEwan 106). For instance, Colville complains about second-class travel passengers being allowed on the first class deck (Colville 81) of the ship. Moreover, she depicts a Syrian fellow passenger on a steamer a "a sly, thin, cringing, despicable piece of humanity,

like most of his class” (279), despising him not on grounds of his ethnicity, but due to his lower class status. In the preface, written by her husband, he points out that Colvile rejected his suggestion to substitute the term “Black Men” in the title with “Gentlemen of Colour” by stating that she could not identify a man as gentlemen who hanged their relations by hooks through the heels over a hole with snakes in it (viiiif).

The fact that Henry Colvile wrote the preface to his wife’s book served the purpose to verify Zélie Colvile’s experiences and to authenticate the publications, which indicates that women were restricted by conventions that were based on their gender (McEwans 43). Colvile obviously felt the need to let her husband confirm the value of her book, who found it not even important enough to read it before it was bound, but simply asserted that he saw his wife diligently writing in her diary during the journey and assures the reader “that if the authoress is only half as good at writing as she is at roughing it, we have a treat before us” (Colvile x).

Among the four women analysed in this thesis, she was the only true ‘tourist’. She did not feel the duty of transferring any ideas of civilisation or Christian religion, as little as she felt the need to contribute to any field of natural science. She just travelled for personal entertainment. She did not even have a special interest in Africa, as the destination of the journey was rather arbitrarily chosen (Colvile 1).

3.5. Conclusion on Authors

All female travellers examined in this thesis were married, except for Mary Kingsley. Hinderer differs from the others in the way that she stayed by far the longest time in Africa and that she stayed mostly in one place. Colvile was also accompanied by her husband; both travelling around as tourists. French-Sheldon and Kingsley both travelled on their own and wanted to contribute to the male dominated fields of exploration and scientific research. For most of the authors (all but French-Sheldon) it is known that they wrote their travel narratives by sticking to diaries and letters they wrote while in Africa. Therefore,

it can be assumed that the narratives reflect the personal thoughts of the authors about Africa and the African natives, thus in this thesis, no distinction between author and narrative persona will be made, except when there is reason to doubt the authenticity of the impression given.

4. Conception of Blacks by the Authors

4.1. Stereotypes

4.1.1. Indolence

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the stereotype of the indolent African was pseudo-scientifically constructed by the rise of environmental determinism, which suggests that climate influences the qualities and personalities of the people living in it. As Cairns (75f, qtd. in McEwan 105) describes the image of that time, “[t]he tropics evoked stereotypes of sensuality and indolence in contrast to cold climates which signified puritanism in morals and diligence in work”. Balanced and temperate climatic conditions generate virtuous people, which should rule over “‘lesser’ domains where populations are more lethargic, less courageous, and less intelligent” (Moran 24). Environmental determinism was utilised by the colonising countries to explain the power-relationship between them and their colonies. The image of the indolent African was useful for imperialists, for it demanded a strong leading hand that controls the incapable natives, and thereby legitimised the European presence in Africa.

Traces of the perception of Africans as indolent can be found in the four works of travel literature examined in this thesis. Anna Hinderer, although she usually tends to describe African natives in a rather positive way, makes a quite generalising statement by referring to the “natural idleness of Africans” (252), which she has to work against in order to make the children in her charge “industrious” (252).

French-Sheldon actually seems to agree with Hinderer's idea about the supposed laziness of the natives and tries to give a reason for it by referring to the climate as a factor reducing the motivation for manual labour. She illustrates that by speaking about the natives at the shipping port of Aden: "[...] there seems to exist a great aversion to manual labour. Unless absolutely driven to do so by pressing need, the labouring classes are not possessed with any ideas of bettering their position or of a thrifty provision for the future [...] It is climatic as much as aught else" (46). Interesting in this statement is that she transfers her own American ideas about work and "the pursuit of happiness" by working as hard as possible directly to the completely different surroundings in Africa, and looks down on those native people because they do not share her ideas of constantly trying to achieve an amelioration in their living conditions.

The point about the alleged laziness of the natives is made in Colvile's work through the description of a night travel by boat where "the lazy natives let the dhow drift with the tide, taking no trouble to steer her" as soon as the white heads of the travel group had fallen into a slumber. Colvile thereby presents her black crew as not only indolent but also unreliable, regardless of consequences.

Kingsley takes the black men's laziness as a given fact and speculates about one tribe's indolence being the reason for the introduction of arranged marriages in this tribe, since "the earlier courting method of the Igalwa involved a certain amount of effort on the man's part, a thing abhorrent to an Igalwa" (88) and therefore "[a]ny institution that involved being out at night amongst crowds of these Lambaréné mosquitoes would have to disappear, let that institution be what it might" (89). It is in no way scientifically validated that this is the reason for this tribe's change in pre-marriage rituals. It is only Kingsley's own opinion and says much about her perception of the natives if they are too lazy to even make the effort to find a partner to spend the rest of their lives with.

It is interesting to observe that French-Sheldon, as well as Colvile, seem to make a distinction in terms of perceived laziness in regard to native men and native women. Thus, French-Sheldon states that the elders of the Masai tribe engage in "bead work, just as might a young white girl engage in fancy work; these effeminate warriors leave the toilsome avocation of tilling the ground, and

caring for the cattle, and packing loads and the duties of the kitchen to the women” (225) and that even in some other tribes, she reports, the “warriors and *paterfamilias* do all the strutting about and fancy work” whereas the women do all the hard manual labour (292). Colvile seems to have gained a similar impression when she describes that “it was the women who carried the water from the wells and did all the heavy work”(58) whereas she soon afterwards mentions “a few men sitting on their heels in one of the huts sewing, but most of them seem to spend their time smoking” (60).

However, whereas French-Sheldon quite admiringly speaks of mothers with their babies on their back working hard “without evincing any fatigue”(74) Colvile, in another instance, describes men, but also women, “with little clothing and apparently less to do” while on the other hand children were the toilers in this situation, who “staggered under the enormous water-jars” (325). The amazement about the way the African women (in this one instance also children) apparently do the more physical work whereas the men are rather employed in the more prestigious work shows the authors’ Eurocentric attitude. They, coming from a non-working class background, they were not at all used to doing physical labour, but probably occupied themselves rather in areas considered to be more ladylike by European and American society. Their evaluation of the native distribution of work is thus very Eurocentric and they are not open to accepting alternate traditions of labour distribution apart from their own.

To conclude, stereotypes about natives’ alleged laziness were prevalent in the nineteenth century, and its contemporaries influenced by them. Although probably not on purpose, the four authors perpetuate prejudices about the Africans being indolent, thereby enforce those opinions of their readers, and aid the imperialist cause. They cannot step back from their schemata concerning work and its gender distribution, but judge from a detached Eurocentric standpoint. Their inability to evaluate the cultural level of indigenous people shows that some racist opinions prevalent at their time had taken root in their minds.

4.1.2. Infantilisation of Africans

A prevalent stereotype about black Africans in Victorian society was that of a immature children. As Cairns states,

The child analogy was useful to whites for it denied to Africans the privileges reserved for adults. [...] Most important, the analogy acted as a sanction and preparation for white control, for its main implication was paternalism which denied the African the right of deciding on his own future. (95, qtd. in McEwan 100)

Through infantilising native Africans, Western societies legitimise their presence in Africa, their argument being, that the Africans (like children) are not able to care for themselves, but need a strong guardian. They are “half-devil and half child” (Kipling 320) and thus colonisers have the moral duty to govern and develop Africa according to their ideas, and take care of the exploitation of the natural resources. They justify this as being their “White Man’s Burden” to enlighten Africa, while probably imperial and economic interests were their major motivation.

That the argument of the alleged childlike state of Africans is used for strategic purposes in colonial politics is clearly shown in a speech by Cecil Rhodes in 1894:

As to the question of voting, we say that the natives are in a sense citizens, but not altogether citizens – they are still children [...] Now I say the natives are children. They are just emerging from barbarism [...] To us annexation was an obligation, whereas to the natives it will be a positive relief, for they will be freed from a seething cauldron of barbarian atrocities. (qtd. in Ashcroft 43)

In this way, natives are denied the rights of adult citizens; like children they should not be allowed to vote. In the colonisers’ eyes, the natives should be glad if someone “[takes] up the white man’s burden” (Kipling 320) to take care of them, teach them and help them to abandon their former way of life in order to make them more “civilised”.

Moreover, the difference in education between the white colonisers and the black colonised strengthens the image of the childlike African. As an adult

differs from a child in terms of education, the concepts of education and literacy become a dividing feature between the colonizing “civilised” countries and the illiterate, “barbarous” colonies in imperialism. The white child is instructed, surveyed and corrected, just as the colonised (juvenile and adult) African is, as a means of education. (see Ashcroft 186)

Cairns (95, qtd. in McEwan 100) also argues that “[the child analogy] both reflected and strengthened the idea that African cultures did not represent worthwhile achievements and were too loosely formed and inchoate to offer any significant resistance to an inrush of westernisation.” Thus, the previous cultural development of the Africans, their knowledge, experience and way of life were regarded as insignificant. The colonisers were blind to African cultural achievements and only what looked like Western learning was accepted as culture and education. This again shows the Eurocentric evaluation of black people and their culture. Thus, natives are often referred to as “untutored”, as in “untutored fellows” (French-Sheldon 124), “untutored primitives” (French-Sheldon 298), “little untutored children of Ibadan” (Hinderer 142), or “untutored and unclothed inhabitants of the lower Niger” (Colville 292).

The role of white people as educators of the “poor heathen” (Hinderer 184, 224, 235) is clearly perceivable in Hinderer’s work, where she constantly refers to her and her husband’s role as teachers, who instruct the natives to read and teach them about the Bible and Christian values. She articulates her thought that the natives are childlike because of their lack of education when writing about the natives’ prayers in the following way: “Touchingly simple and childlike must their petitions be, when we think that such a little while ago they were all enveloped in heathen darkness” (181). In a way she thereby compares the prayers of the natives, which naturally lack the sophisticated vocabulary she would use when addressing her Lord, with the simple language (white) children would use. Hinderer clearly associates the life the natives led before they converted to Christianity -in her words, the “heathen darkness” - with lack of education. To her, the natives in a way just begin their “real lives” from the moment they start with Christian education. Like white children they do not possess much knowledge at the starting point and never can learn enough. In complete accordance with what Cairns describes above, in Hinderer’s opinion

“African cultures [does] not represent worthwhile achievements” (95, qtd. in McEwan) and all experience and knowledge those native adults have gained in their African lives is of no value to her. Thus, in her eyes those adults are like children, because they are not (yet) educated in the European way.

Among the four authors examined, French-Sheldon is the one who most overtly compares adult natives to children and directly describes them as being childlike. For example, she writes about her native porters and assistants or that “[t]hey are so child-like in their dread of disappointment” (374) or that “like children they would flock about me to express their delight over the departure of a guest” (262), judging by European rules of polite (middle class) behaviour. In one instance, she apparently wants to say something positive about natives, but actually achieves the contrary by comparing them to children: “[...] these trifling circumstances are mentioned in evidence of the native’s susceptibility in appropriation of useful ideas, and it shows that their brains have the same receptiveness one looks for in children” (342).

Colvile does not really seem to regard the natives surrounding her as children; only once does she remark about a tribe that they were a “cheery lot of natives, amusing themselves like children with a baby porcupine”. She does not adopt a parental role in regard to her black travel-group, but that of a mistress. Her upper class background gives reason to believe that she was used to having command over black servants (see McEwan 18).

Hinderer, however, completely fulfils the role of a mother to the natives. She is called “Iya” (=mother) by the natives around her and takes over not only the nurturing function for the children; whom she takes into her home, but also that of an educator of all the converts in her mission. In one instance, she describes an old native whose “eyes [were] gleaming with perfect child-like belief and trust” (318).

The only one among those four authors who directly argues against the prevailing stereotype of the infantile African is Mary Kingsley (165): “And you cannot associate with them long before you must recognise that these Africans have often a remarkable mental acuteness and a large share of common sense; that there is nothing really ‘child-like’ in their form of mind at all”.

Although Kingsley is generally opposed to perceiving natives as children, she does acknowledge the parental role ascribed to white people in regard to black ones by imperialism. Sometimes, Kingsley is caring for her small travel party members as a loving mother would do, for example, when ascending a mountain, she puts the freezing natives into blankets and tries to make a fire even though she gets stuck by thorns into her hands. Other times, however, she presents herself as an authoritarian leader who has to be obeyed; adapting the role of a father in those times. Thus, Kingsley fulfils the role of an imperial mother as well father in relation to the natives, who are then the colonised children.

4.1.3. Animal imagery

Like the stereotypes mentioned above, the likening of black people to animals was used as a racist means to deny Africans the role of able, intelligent adults and was used as “an argument” for the need of a strong guardian. In terms of evolution, animals are less evolved than human beings, what makes animal imagery an ideal tool for imperialist argumentation.

Thereby, it is essential to keep in mind that “[i]f Negroes were likened to beasts, there [also] was in Africa a beast which was likened to men” (Jordan 28): the chimpanzee. The chimpanzees were typically living in the West of Africa, where the early trading took place. Thereby the Europeans came into contact with this creature, that unlike monkeys they had seen before, could walk on their two hind legs and had no tail, which made them resemble human beings quite a lot. The white traders and travellers came into contact with the native Africans and the human-like apes at the same time, which proved to be problematic as it gave rise to speculations about their relatedness. (Jordan 29)

White people were disturbed about the chimpanzee being in some aspects so similar, in some aspects so different from human beings. Just like they felt uneasy about the similarities and differences between them and the native Africans. Thus, it was predictable that the white colonisers would perceive similarities between “the man-like beasts and the beast-like men of Africa”

(Jordan 30). Thus, tradition of comparing African natives to apes, and later also monkeys, began. It can be supposed that the ape-like image was a very useful one for colonialist argumentation, because apes do have some resemblance to human beings, but are farther down on the evolutionary scale. Apes could therefore be seen as in a pre-human state in terms of evolution, which would make them a perfect image for colonialist thinkers to argue that the white race is superior to the black “ape-like” one.

Out of the four books examined, those of French-Sheldon and Colvile manifest the use of animal imagery. Also with them, the image of the monkey is a prevalent one. French-Sheldon makes a double-sided statement regarding the prevalent monkey image of the time:

Although we are in the habit of considering Africans as being simply progressive monkeys, a species of rudimental human beings, with their arms awkwardly pendent, hands and feet large and ungainly, and a certain cattish movement when not shuffling, and flat footed, I am free to say it is not the case with these Chaga people. (363)

While obviously trying to make an effort to reason against the monkey stereotype in regard to the Chaga tribe, French-Sheldon actually enforces the monkey-image by implying that all the other natives actually do look like monkeys, the Chaga people being only an exception to the rule. French-Sheldon reinforces the idea that African natives are “simply progressive monkeys, a species of rudimental human beings” by describing the alleged similarities in terms of appearance between the Africans and monkeys: hanging arms, clumsy movements and big hands and feet. She does not distance herself from this prevalent view among white people; she uses the pronoun “we” to introduce the conception of Africans as monkeys and not “they”. Therefore one can assume that French-Sheldon generally was “in the habit of considering Africans as simply progressive monkeys”, and was only surprised by the Chaga people not correlating with this stereotype.

Colvile uses the image of a monkey in order to describe the native people. About native pilgrims embarking on the ship she says: “they looked more like a troop of monkeys than anything else, as they bounded over any cargo that happened to be in their way, swinging themselves from rope to rope about the

rigging" (10). In this scenario, Colvile is reminded of monkeys because of the jumping and swinging of people embarking the vessels. Apart from "[m]ost of the men look[ing]) perfectly wild", she does not describe them any further; for her readers it was considered to be enough to think of "a troop of monkeys" when imagining those people. Instead of admiring their agility, she compares them to apes, because whites will not (or indeed cannot) behave in the same way. In another instance, Colvile again feels reminded of monkey because of a native's movement: "[He was] a jolly, bright faced black boy, as quick and active in his movements as a monkey" (18). Furthermore, when Colvile says; "a native was sent to climb a palm-tree for [a coconut], making him look more than ever like a monkey" (11), she seemingly is reminded of a monkey because of the climbing movement, but through the "more than ever" she actually conveys that she generally thinks that at least this native usually does look like a monkey.

In another instance, it is not even "monkey-like" movement that triggers the image of a monkey when looking at a black person, but she simply describes "small Hadendowa boys [...] the smallest, a bright-eyed little monkey... was a great pet of one of the officers" (29), thereby reducing the boy not only to an animal, but to a very docile and domestic pet that lives for the sole purpose of pleasing its master. Interesting is that "[a]fter dinner Mr. Gordon made [those Hadendowa boys] dance and sing music hall songs" and some days later, some real monkeys entertained the passengers. Hence, those boys were performing the same job, namely entertaining the higher-class passengers, which monkeys did, and probably were seen as the same sort of exotic entertainment.

Remarkably, in one scenario, towards the end of the book, Colvile remarks that a real monkey looks like a human being: "[...] ugly though the monkey was – the very image of a sallow-faced old woman [...]" (334). She does not say whether she thinks of a black or a white old woman, but this description might show that in her mind the idea had taken root that monkeys and human beings bear a certain similarity, and she follows the established tradition of comparing the, in her view, "less evolved" human beings, to the on the evolutionary scale less evolved apes.

The last monkey image that should be remarked on is French-Sheldon's "spirit of monkey-like imitation with the untutored primitives" (298). In contrast to the above-mentioned images, this one is not concerned with the appearance or movement of human beings or monkeys, but is rather concerned with the nature of the natives. Apparently, those "untutored primitives" simply imitate (white people) just as monkeys do, unable to do some genuine thinking.

In two instances, Colvile uses another animal metaphor from that of a monkey when she is talking about her means of transport, a "filanzana", which is carried on the shoulders of four natives. Colvile compares being carried on a filanzana by natives to a camel ride (116) and complains that "shopping from a filanzana [...] is like shopping on elephant-back" (163). In those instances, Colvile does not see her porters as human beings, but as animals that are used for her transportation.

Comparing people to animals is extremely degrading for it denies them the status of a human being. Colvile and French-Sheldon are in this respect certainly more racist than Hinderer and Kingsley, who do not use animal imagery. That they do not liken blacks to animals might be accounted for by the fact that they have closer contact to the natives. The one being occupied in a mission and the other dealing with natives for research about their habits, get to know them as good as to recognise that they are certainly not animal-like but human beings just like them.

4.1.4. Lustfulness

Partly connected with the animal image is the assumption about the Africans' lustfulness. As Jordan (32f) states: "To liken Africans [...] to beasts was to stress the animal within the man". Furthermore, the natives' nakedness and their practice of polygamy may have conveyed the impression to Europeans that Africans are sexually very potent and licentious.

French-Sheldon mentions the supposed licentiousness. She claims that "in Taveta [there is] no manifestation of licentiousness, excepting the matter of their dances" (259). Thereby she states that their dances might be licentious,

but the natives in general are not. She also explains that “[p]olygamy exists [...] almost as a necessity more than licentiousness” (247), thus implying that the practice of polygamy does not necessarily indicate an abnormal sex drive.

The other authors do mention the issue of the natives’ alleged lustfulness even less than French-Sheldon. It might be assumed that, as women of their time, they did not consider it appropriate to speak about sexual things.

4.1.5. Treacherousness and Greed

Hinderer clearly sees the native priests as betrayers, because they preach lies, according to her view of the world. When there are troubles between the Christian community and the heathen, and converted Christians are being persecuted by their former communities, Hinderer argues: “The country priests fight under their master’s banner, because their cruel lies and deceit are being exposed” (131). In Hinderer’s view, the country priests are enraged because the “true” Christian ideas make the natives aware that their former priests’ preaching must be “untrue” because of the opposing articles of faith. Hinderer, of course, never considers that she cannot prove that the things her husband preaches are in any way more “true” than the things the natives originally believed in, she just takes it as given that Christianity is the only true religion. She probably also misses the irony that those native priests probably would call her doctrine and teaching “deceit” as well.

She is very pleased with the honesty of the boys she took into her home, because it “is truly wonderful for heathen boys, brought up all their lives, hitherto, in the midst of every kind of deceit” (96). She presupposes that in their lives at their parents’, in their “heathen way”, they were surrounded by dishonesty and treachery, which makes it all the more surprising that they could be “good” children in their new Christian lives. Of course, Hinderer is not able to give some evidence that those children have not been the same honest and trustworthy children for their whole lives. However, this shows that heathen faith is equated with moral dishonesty.

In all four books, the authors remark on the natives' stereotypical extortion in prices when dealing with white people. Hinderer mentions an encounter in which some natives were actually treating her husband in a fair way: "[...] when he came to settling the price of them, he was content with a mere trifle; so unusual with these people, who generally want white men to pay three times as much as others" (126). Although Hinderer reports a case, where natives did not demand more money from her husband only because he was white, she does reinforce the idea that natives are avaricious when bargaining with whites.

French-Sheldon remarks on this impression of natives several times. They are "overcharging for any little article one desires to purchase" (24), she claims, and they "always ask strangers double price [and then] lessen the price, until they voluntarily accept what they can get from the customer" (42). One time, she identifies their party's reputation as a rich safari as the reason for the high prices "[...] [At] Mata the prices were even more exorbitant than at Teita. This can be accounted for from the fact that our reputation had preceded us, and we were heralded as a big and rich safari, and that Bébé Bwana was a white queen" (201). However, she seems to understand their motivation in doing so; her group being (supposedly) rich and they being poor makes them ask for more money, which seems to be a perfectly natural thing to French-Sheldon.

Out of the four authors discussed, Colville is the one who complains most about the bargaining and moneymaking of the natives when dealing with white people. So she tells the reader that when she went marketing with her steward Ibrahim, the vendors asked him for twice as much as usual because of her presence (see 53). Later, this same Ibrahim is being described as a "rogue of the first water" because he made the Colvilles "pay £20 for our food alone, and having written out his bill in Arabic, he felt safe, especially as [they] had made no contract beforehand" (47). Another instance when she remarks on the problems of there being no contract is when a man, whom she positively describes as "a perfect gentleman in appearance", nevertheless demanded a very high price for giving them a ride in his vehicle and "as there are no rules and regulation about fares, we had to pay" (252). With this, Colville shows that she thinks of the natives as deceptive people, exploiting the fact that the Colvilles are not familiar with Arabic signs. Additionally, she conceives the whole

African system as favouring exploitation, because there are no regulations protecting the customer as there are in England. About the filanzana porters, Colvile remarks that “they are never satisfied with what is given them, and for the first day or two they try to find how much they can get out of their employers” (119). This statement portrays the porters as greedy and ungrateful. This argument is strengthened when she keeps describing natives as trying to get more and more money and never being satisfied with what they receive (e.g. 253, 341). This shows that Colvile judges from a Eurocentric standpoint and simply does not understand that in Africa (as well as the Orient) bargaining is a widespread custom. In one instance she repents that some money has been given to natives by her group of white people, because “in consequence of our generosity [...] we were shortly afterwards invaded by the whole population” (199). She also remarks on the natives’ practice on giving the travelling group “so-called presents” (162) when arriving which practice they, according to her opinion, are “[playing] again the good old game of trying to get a penny bun for a halfpenny” (161). Again, she thereby evokes an image of the natives being calculating and crooked.

Mary French-Sheldon generalises that “[e]xtortion seems a latent trait with all African tribes” when describing the natives’ bartering with the whites. Colvile is quite annoyed by the bartering: “[They] are overcharging for every little article one desires to purchase” (24) and “[they] always ask strangers double price [at first, and then] lessen the price, until they voluntarily accept what they can get from the customer- (42).

Kingsley does not only understand the natives’ motives, she actually “rather enjoy[s] the give-and-take fun of bartering against their extortion” (53). In one instance, she even appears to admire the Fang women’s competence in deceiving white traders. She describes how during the moulding process they put some sort of clay into the rubber balls to be sold to white traders, because the rubber balls are bought according to their weight. Kingsley seems to be rather impressed how those women manage to adulterate even very small pieces of rubber. She is amused that the Fang cause constant problems to the white traders who have to cut open every single rubber ball because their adulteration is so excessive (see 125).

However, Kingsley comments on the natives' treacherousness in another context. When she wants to climb a mountain with a small group of natives, they, not being enthusiastic about this expedition, do not tell her that there is no water to be obtained at this side of the mountain. She remarks on this instance as follows:

This means failure unless tackled, and it is evidently a trick played on me by the boys, who intentionally failed to let me know of this want of water before leaving Buea. Had I known, of course I should have brought up a sufficient supply. Now they evidently think that there is nothing to be done but to return to Buea, and go down to Victoria, and get their pay, and live happily ever after, without having to face the horror of the upper regions of the mountain. They have worked their oracle with other white folk, I find, for they quote the other white folk's docile conduct as an example to me. (241)

The natives in this passage are described as calculating, and they try to sabotage her enterprise although they are paid to aid her with it. Mentioning that it is not only her they want to betray, but that they have also done it before with other white people stresses that she regards this is not a single instance of some natives' misconduct, but thinks that treacherousness is an inherent characteristic of natives.

However, this she does not hold true for her favourite tribe, the Fangs. About them, she states the following: "I ought to say that other people, who should know [the Fangs] better than I, say [they are] treacherous, thievish, murderous cannibal[s]. I never found [them] treacherous [...]" (144). Thus, she excludes this tribe, which is one of the tribes with the worst reputation, from assumptions about the alleged treacherousness of African natives.

To sum up, the authors often perceive the natives as treacherous and greedy simply because they are not used to African customs and judge according to their Eurocentric views. Thereby, for example, religion deviating from Christian faith is seen as deceit and the usual habit of bartering is seen as extortion. However, partly the native cleverness in deceiving white people is even admired, and sometimes, the authors just happened to meet some natives who really played a trick on them, as could probably be the case with white people as well.

4.1.6. Simplicity and Primitivity

Hinder never explicitly calls the native Africans simple, but through her story the reader obtains the impression that to her, the blacks are rather helpless, “poor souls” (302) who need to be helped, enlightened and “saved” by the white missionaries.

French-Sheldon uses the word “simple” several times to describe African natives in a quite generalising way. For example, she states “the simple native will not sell both [items of purchase] together, but one at a time” (158) and describes a sultan’s court as “simple, hospitable folk” (372). The same court is judged as “simple natives” because they consider the stage jewels she gives them as being very valuable and regard her as extremely generous and incredibly rich.(371) To French-Sheldon, the natives’ naïve simplicity makes them inferior to her, because she can make them believe whatever she wants and be celebrated as a white queen among them.

Colville seems to have experienced the native people as simple throughout her travel. Therefore she writes in the very final sentence of her travel narrative: “With this final experience of the simple black man we bade adieu to the confines of his garden [...]” (341). This indicates that although she has travelled through different regions of Africa for a considerable time, she has not had close enough contact with the natives to expand her view on them or that she simply does not wish to deviate from the conception of the black man as being simple.

Kingsley criticises the conception of natives as being simple children of nature. In one instance, she uses “simple children of nature” under quotation marks to show how ironic it is that those who are conceived by whites to be so simple still can manage to aggravate white traders’ lives with their clever tricks (125).

Thus, some of the authors’ impressions are in accordance with the prevailing stereotype of natives being simple, naïve and primitive. However, some perceive this stereotypical image also with a hint of sarcasm, suggesting that there is more in the natives than Europeans might think.

4.1.6. “Wild Savage”

Hinderer perceives the “wildness” of the native children she takes into her home as something that must be overcome; something “they will lose [...] in time” (71) by means of her Christian education.

French-Sheldon never directly calls the blacks savage or wild, but rather describes their behaviour as wild. For example, she talks about “the wild, riotous performance of the utterly nude fellows” (221) or one native “swirling [a weapon] from right to left in [a] wild manner” (288). One time, she also depicts her frightened black porters and assistants as being “thrown into a wild state” (154) when a pariah dog attacked French-Sheldon, which she simply killed with a headshot. This indicates that she does not generally regard natives as wild when they accompany her and nothing special happens, but if their routine is disturbed, they immediately fall into a “wild state”, instead of behaving coolly as a European apparently would.

Colvile, however, directly denominates some natives as wild savages. Often, she uses the words savage and wild in connection with a description of the black people wearing none or little clothing. Thus, she describes “wild, picturesque-looking fellows, with the scantiest of clothing, their only ornaments consisting of fish-bones struck through their hair” (8), “very wild-looking men, worn and emaciated, with their clothing in rags” (10) and “half-naked savages” (152). To Colvile, clothing seems to be an indication of civilisation, so the sparse garments of the native folk apparently signify to her a state of pre-civilised wildness, no matter how more appropriate the native’s apparel may be to the African climate.

Like Colvile, Kingsley directly uses the word savage to describe some blacks. She tells, that she has been “stalked as a wild beast by a cannibal savage” (73) and that “never – even in a picture book – [she has] seen such a set of wild wicked-looking savages” (99). In the first example, the, for European perception, unusual, even horrible, practice of cannibalism makes the black man a savage. In the second example, Kingsley refers to stereotypical way of portraying Africans in picture books as wild and evil-looking savages, and she emphasises that the natives that she saw on her journey were actually looking

even more wicked than portrayals of this stereotypical image. Thus, she certainly strengthens the image of the savage African.

4.1.7. Conclusion on Stereotypes

The four female authors examined in this thesis use racist stereotypes prevalent at their time. Although they sometimes argue against them, they frequently use stereotypical images, perhaps not even consciously, but because they are used to it by the discourse of the time. As can be noticed, the stereotypes employed often contradict one another. This ambiguity is, as mentioned before, a prominent feature of colonial discourse. For the case that one stereotype cannot be applied, another, often quite opposing image can be used, thus capturing the native in at least some kind of derogatory stereotype. Most stereotypes used in the female travellers' narratives are double-sided as well: There is the simple, naïve primitive opposing the cunning treacherous liar; there is the innocent, childlike native, in contrast to the lustful, licentious black man; and there is the indolent, lethargic African in opposition to the wild savage, possessing ungovernable passion. Those stereotypes, all equally pejorative, can be applied no matter how the natives that are encountered behaved because they are so ambivalent, and this is what lends them so much power.

4.2. Generalisation and Mass Representation

During the 19th century, generalising about native Africans was a widespread habit. Diversity between ethnic groups or individual people was disregarded, but the notion of "the African" was created. Through the denial of difference between and individuality of the native people, a homogenous mass was created and stereotypes could be applied to this mass as a whole. (see McEwan 95) As McEwan summarises: "In general [...] the individual was lost in the 'tribe', and the 'tribe' within the 'race'. All Africans were alike, and all were equally inferior" (95).

Hinderer, like stated above, has the closest contact to the natives and should therefore know the individual features of their black friends, does nevertheless generalises about “Africans”. For example, she makes generalising statements about “the African character” like “[t]heir power of endurance is wonderful. There is, no doubt, something of this in the natural character of the Africans” (131). Moreover, she makes generalising remarks about Africans, like, “African children have hearts, and very tender loving ones” (95), and uses generalising stereotypes when referring to the “natural idleness” (252) and “usual indifference” (252) of Africans. Thereby, she enforces prevailing stereotypes and does not apply them to individual people, but to the whole of Africa’s native population. Sweepingly, she generally claims that “[t]he Africans have not sweet voices [...]” (183) without giving any thought about her generalising the impression founded on only a few converts in her mission to the whole of Africa’s inhabitants.

Kingsley also tends to generalise about “the African”. Although she does not necessarily always use stereotypical images when generalising about African natives, it is obvious from her writing that she thinks the impressions she has gained can be applied to the whole African people. She writes that “the African is undecided, he is also very ingenious, particularly in dodging inconvenient moral principles” (82), as well as “the African is teachable and tractable” (158), “[t]he African treats his religion much as other men do” (158), and “[t]he African is not indifferent on the subject of witchcraft” (204). It is quite surprising that Kingsley, who sees herself as a scientific explorer, makes quite unqualified generalisations, for even if she had valid reasons to generalise, it was only the “West-Africans” she observed.

Colvile makes quite generalising statements as well. One time, she does not only restrict herself to Africa, but speaks quite globally of a “sense of locality common to *all savages*” (142, emphasis added). Within the space of Africa, Colvile generalises about individual areas and tribes and speaks of “the Malagasy mind” (163) or states that the Sakalava-tribe was “a fierce and savage race” (183).

French-Sheldon sometimes makes generalisations in her statements as well. Thus, for instance, she states that “Africans all have a particular taste and desired preference for rotten eggs” (242) or explains that “all African tribes” (361) tend to bury valuable property. However, she does not really circulate prevailing stereotypes.

Those women are children of their time and therefore are predisposed to talk, write and probably also think about the native races in the generalising way that was prevalent at this time. The more detached the traveller is from the native people, the more generalising her observations are. Thus, Colville, who travels with her husband and other Europeans, visits station officers rather than indigenous people and does not seem to have obtained a close relationship to her porters, rarely describes individual natives. Hinderer on the other hand, who daily works with natives, also describes their personal traits in character and appearance. In Hinderer’s writing it is evident that she often does not distance herself as a white from the blacks by the use of pronouns. When she speaks of the native children she has taken into her house, she speaks of them intimately as “my children” (245), “my four boys” (82) or “my eldest girl” (275). To her, the natives in her mission are not “they”, but “we”, like in “[w]e sang [...] [and] we did enjoy it” (34).

Since Hinder does not consistently differentiate between “us” and “them”, her narrative in this respect can be seen as challenging colonial thinking. According to Mills (106, qtd. in McEwan 97f)

[t]he stress on people from other countries as individuals is in marked contrast to much Orientalist work, where the divide between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is carefully policed. It is this lack of demarcation in women’s writing which constitutes the point at which colonial discourse is most unstable, and which women’s writing helps to expose.

Hinderer therefore diminishes the distance between the white and black people by writing about the natives as if they were her family and including them into the pronoun “we”. She sometimes does make generalising statements and reproduces stereotypes, but this may be seen as the influence of her time. Through her actual experience, however, she sees Africans as human beings with individual faults and virtues and therefore cannot deny their individuality.

Although Kingsley does make some stereotypical generalisation about “the African”, she usually is very specific about individual tribes and their particular features. So, for example she states that “[t]he Igalwas are a tribe very nearly akin, if not ethnically identical with the M’pongwe” (84) and she proceeds with “African culture [...] varies just the same as European in this, that there is as much difference in the manners of life between, say, an Igalwa and a Bubi of Fernando Po, as there is between a Londoner and a Laplander” (84).

In contrast to the other three female authors examined in this thesis, French-Sheldon does explicitly emphasise in her travel narrative that natives are not all the same, but differ from tribe to tribe as well as from person to person. Personally, she is eager to get to know her troop of guides and porters as well as the peculiarities of different tribes, not at least to ease her way. Hence, she states that “[her] constant study was to know [her] porters, to learn their personal characteristics, and to put each man at his best” (134). In regard to an incident, in which some natives are frightened that the traveller wants to enslave them because of a strange reflection of her hand-mirror, French-Sheldon emphasises that is important to “[strive] to understand the peculiar characteristics of different tribes, in order to know what impression they are likely to receive when experimented upon” (280). In the same context, French-Sheldon states: “[L]ittle traits of character, based upon superstition, are like stepping-stones to the index of their character; and one who is careless in the study of what may on the surface appear to be frivolous and unimportant, will miss the finest points in the individuality of any people” (282). By this, she indirectly criticises the prevalent habit of generalising about African people and refusing them their individuality.

In those generalising statements the typical stereotypes of the time are often employed. According to some of the authors, all Africans are willing to be taught, generally indifferent and idle and, of course, savage. Even if the generalisations do not enforce stereotypical images, they strengthen racist discourse in denying the Africans individuality and letting them vanish into the masses. However, in some parts some of the authors examined stress the differences among the natives and are eager to find out about individual traits of character.

4.3. Closeness of Contact

4.3.1. Physical and Spatial Closeness

Since she works in a mission, Hinderer naturally has quite close contact to the natives. She states about them that “their black skins make no difference to [her]” (44) and proves this insofar, as she does not refrain from having physical contact with the native children. The native children in the mission want to be physically and spatially close to her and she allows them to do so, as is shown in the following passage: “As I sat on my chair, one little black fellow had clasped my arm with both hands, another every now and then resting his chin on my shoulder, the other two sitting close at my feet [...]” (64). Not only in this single instance close bodily contact between Hinderer and the native children is described. The occasions when “[a black boy] [springs] into [her] arms, with his legs round [her] waist” (99) and another black boy falls asleep on her back – in the country fashion – (201) show that close physical contact between the white woman and the native children is maintained throughout her years in the Yoruba country. The most touching incident in the novel is probably when a little black boy is repeating prevalent racist thinking by saying to her: “You can’t kiss me, because I am black, and you are white” (124) to which she responds by instantly kissing him several times. This shows that she caresses the black children in the mission just as she would white ones, irrespective of their skin colour.

French-Sheldon and Colvile adopt a rather ambivalent position towards close physical contact with the natives. On the one hand they allow physical contact in some instances, for example, when the natives carry them from a boat ashore or across a stream (French-Sheldon 200, Colvile 18, 302). As mentioned in section 4.1.3. it can be argued that “riding” on the natives’ shoulders could mean that they simply regard them as means of transportation, just like animals. Thus, French-Sheldon and Colvile being carried on the natives’ shoulders should not be used as an argument that they allow physical contact with the blacks, because they would not refrain from sitting on a horse either.

Colville, in one instance, wants to be photographed with a black baby (182). Thus, she is not afraid or disgusted by touching a black human being. However, probably she simply does it to have an exotic accessoir to decorate her on the photograph. When Colville suffers from a fever, she accidentally embraces one of her black fellow travellers (226), whereas when she is in full conscience, she usually avoids physical contact with natives.

French-Sheldon usually refrains from physical contact with natives. She carries with her an Alpine stick on which a banner saying “Noli me tangere” (touch me not). However, since the native porters would not understand Latin, this inscription must rather be seen as “a declaration of [French-Sheldon’s] sexual purity aimed at white audiences back home” (Boisseau *Bebe* 124f). Although her banner cannot inform the Africans about her rule, she obviously makes it clear in some other way, since she does never report of any instance when a native man touched her without her consent. Only in one case, when a sultan admires her bright hair, she, “waive[s] for once [her] rule of *noli me tangere*” and lets him stroke it (399). French-Sheldon is generally opposed to close physical contact - also within the black race - regarding it as uncivilised. This becomes evident when she remarks on a native dormitory in a mission that there is “no attempt to provide that order of privacy, which develops the refinement of civilized decency” (73).

Concerning privacy while sleeping, Colville is “somewhat aghast [...] that one of the native passengers had spread his carpet within a yard of [her and her husband’s] mattresses” (42). Apparently, she does not approve at all of a black being close to her while resting. Quite generally, she might not be in favour of white people mixing closely with black people, describing both races together on a boat as a “strange assortment of blacks and whites packed close together” (22).

Kingsley does not really mention whether she touches native people or not. This can be interpreted as there being no physical contact at all. However, it can also mean that to a woman, all the while travelling with natives, it was so commonsensical that she touches them when necessary, that she does not even feel the need to mention it.

Not surprisingly, Hinderer allows the closest physical contact with natives. She deals with native children who live with her and whom she teaches. Therefore feels like a mother to them, and allows corresponding physical contact, kissing and hugging them as if they were her own children. Colville and French-Sheldon touch the natives if necessary, but generally restrain from physical contact and with Kingsley it can be supposed to be the same, although this is not evident from her writings.

4.3.2. Personal Contact and Involvement

Hinderer sees herself as the convert native children's "mother, playfellow [and] teacher" (87). She nurtures the children living in her mission, sings and plays with them and teaches the children in the church school. Accordingly, she is emotionally involved in their wellbeing. For example, it is painful to her to see them shivering in the cold (257) or suffering from hunger (220).

French-Sheldon frequently seeks close contact with natives of the towns she visits. Mostly, she achieves to attain a closer relationship by entertaining and fascinating them. She uses "soap bubbles [...] huge coloured balls [...] masks of animals' heads and grotesque human faces [...] Japanese kites" (233) as well as "bright feather toy birds" (279). One time, she entertained children with "one of the pranks of [her] childhood" (125): she cut fake teeth out of orange skin, put them over her own teeth and opened and closed her mouth – "delight[ing] the natives beyond expression" (125).

Colville does not seem to be personally involved with natives; neither her porters, not the inhabitants of the villages she visits. She does not seem especially interested in them, but rather sees them contributing to the exotic scenery.

Kingsley, on grounds of her aim of finding out about the natives' fetishes, seems to talk with Africans a lot in order to obtain information. Furthermore, she speaks with the members of her travel party, as well as the chiefs and traders of the towns she visits, for organisational purposes. However, she does not establish close emotional attachment to individual natives, like Hinderer does

with her mission children. She also does not feel the need to entertain the natives in any way or to impress them with articles from other countries, like French-Sheldon. Therefore, one can suppose that Kingsley's relationship with the natives, although it is friendly, is rather on a professional level.

Thus the four authors differ in their closeness of attachment to the natives. The most extreme positions are those of Hinderer and Colvile: Hinderer dearly loves some children in her mission and sees herself as a mother to them, whereas, in striking contrast, Colvile does not display any emotions in regard to them. French-Sheldon and Kingsley do get involved with the natives, but do not get closely attached to any individual Africans.

5. The Authors' Perception of Africa and its Inhabitants' Lives, Rituals and Beliefs

5.1. Perception of Africa

Hinderer recurrently compares Africa and her life there to England. For example, she believes that in neither country she is nearer to or farer away from her God and heaven as can be seen in "[n]ot the more passive life in Africa, or the more active and busy movements of Lowestoft, will help us in communion with our god, or lead us nearer to heaven [...]" (89) as well as in "we are as near to Him in the wilds of Africa as in dear privileged England" (122). In both accounts Africa is rather negatively presented when compared to England. The impression is given that in Africa life is rather slow, uneventful, and unadvanced, whereas in England it is modern, progressive and fortunate. In another comparison this image is not that obvious, because when celebrating Christmas, she writes in a letter to England that while they are probably "gathering in the dark and cold, we [are] in the glaring sunshine of Africa" (232). In this instant, England is presented as dark, which is an image mostly used in connection with Africa, however, Africa in this comparison is the brighter

country. Apart from the fact that there is definitely more sunshine in December in Africa than in England, it could also express a change in her attitude: after having spent some time in Africa, she learns that it is not so “dark” as it is often presented in Europe. Hinderer actually starts to regard her residence in Africa as a home, as evident in phrases like “my African home” (284). However, her opinion is not consistent, whether Africa or England is her home. When on board on a steamer travelling from Africa to England she says “the steamer [is] homeward bound, though I think I then felt that I was rather leaving home” (158). This example shows, that although England is still regarded as “home”, Africa has become her home as well. Probably, Hinderer’s deepest feeling of hope can be shown with her following statement: “[...] though we have the comfort of a dwelling, we may never forget that this is not our home, but a tent pitched for the day” (100), meaning that her actual home is only in heaven with God.

Furthermore, Africa is being characterised through its sickening effect on Europeans. Hinderer states that “the African climate is fearful” (92), she speaks of the “injurious influences of the climate in Africa” (334) and refers to Africa as the “land of sickness and death” (177). It is understandable that she obtains this impression as she has to experience the death of a lot of colleagues from the mission. Out of the 14 people who came to Africa together, two years later only four could attend to their missionary duty; the others were either dead or sent back home for reasons of health (116). Colvile also mentions Africa as a sickness-evoking continent. She speaks of the “unhealthy east coast of Africa” (62), and of an island being a “hotbed of fever” (105). French-Sheldon catches the fever only towards the end of her narrative. She states that only very rarely does a traveller manage to escape this “insidious African complaint” (422). Mary Kingsley seems to be one of these rare exceptions to the rule, being not afflicted by these kinds of problems. However, she is aware of them, and reports of being severely warned to travel to the “white man’s grave” (12).

Colvile often complains about the African scenery being monotonous and uninteresting. For instance, she describes the coast of Somalia in the following way: “[T]he Somali coast [is] an uninteresting mass of bare stratified rock, the appearance of which fully justified the want of interest the land-grabbers of

Europe have hitherto taken in this – nearly the only unannexed – part of the African littoral” (56). Also put in relation to white colonisers is the following piece of information she gives about the settlement Antiserane: “Though man had given a certain air of life to the place, the whole scene was singularly dreary and monotonous. Not a tree was visible to break the straight horizon, and almost the only bit of colour was that given by the red tiles imported from France” (95f). Also the forest she regards as “deadly monotonous” (139). All this lamenting and boredom while travelling to a continent, which differs greatly from the environment she is used to and is supposed to be an exciting experience, implies that she is actually a rather cool aristocratic lady who is not easily impressed.

As towards lots of the issues examined in this thesis, Kingsley has ambivalent feelings towards Africa. On the one hand, she complains about things like mosquitoes and flies (26) and when stuck in the mangroves because of the ebb she reflects on this:

[w]hat little time you have over [from keeping off crocodiles and flies] you will employ in wondering why you came to West Africa, and why after having reached this point of absurdity, you need have gone and painted the lily and adorned the rose, by being such a colossal ass as to come fooling about in the mangrove swamps. (25).

On the other hand, Kingsley has an open eye for the beauties the African nature offers. She emphasises, however, that sometimes it needs time to get used to the surroundings until one can perceive its beauty. Thus, she states that when

entering the great grim twilight regions of the forest you hardly see anything but the vast column-like grey tress stems in their countless thousands around you, and the sparsely vegetated ground beneath. But day by day, as you get traird in your surroundings, you see more and more, and a whole world grows up gradually out of the gloom before your eyes. Snakes, beetles, bats and beasts, people the region that at first seemed lifeless.

It is the same with the better lit regions, where vegetation is many formed and luxuriant. As you get used to it, what seemed at first to be an inextricable tangle ceases to be so. (33)

French-Sheldon paints a positive image of Africa when reflecting on her travel towards the end of her narrative. Although she acknowledges the dangers like

falling ill from the African fever, she states that “Africa is a hard but irresistibly fascinating mistress, holding fast with magnetic sway her votaries.” (423) According to this, she is, like other travellers, filled with a longing to return (423).

5.2. Polygamy

Anna Hinderer, being an advocate of a Christian lifestyle, naturally denounces polygamy. Hinderer explains that in Africa, apart from slaves, many wives make people rich, and this is the reason why Christians always belong to the poor in Africa (245). Of course, she expects from the converts to adopt a monogamous lifestyle. Mary Kingsley reports on a problem arising from this requirement. She states that African men often “hesitate about turning off from their homes women who have lived and worked for them for years” (81). Abandoning loyal wives would actually be quite unchristian behaviour. However, church membership is denied to those who cannot abandon their polygamous lifestyle (see Kingsley 81). According to Kingsley,

[p]olygamy is the institution which above all others governs the daily life of the native; and it is therefore the one which the missionaries who enter into this daily life, and not merely into the mercantile and legal, as do the trader and the government official, are constantly confronted with and hindered by. (81)

In Kingsley’s opinion, several men who would make excellent Christians are excluded from Church membership, only because they fail to be so cruel as to send their faithful women away (81).

French-Sheldon gives an account of the Zanzibari sultan, who presents his harem to her and asks about her opinion of it. After she declares it “[w]ith true American frankness [to be] atrocious” (96), he says that he would be glad to abandon his harem, but he could not for fear of losing his Arab constituency (96). French-Sheldon describes that the 142 members of the sultan’s harem were all in a different degree adorned with jewels, reflecting on the sultan’s favouritism. When they come in one by one and French-Sheldon wants to stand up to greet them, the sultan detains her from doing so because, in his words, “[t]here are too many, all alike, and not worth it” (94). This, again, indicates his

disregard of his harem's members. Probably, he would actually be, as he claims, glad to live without his harem, and be married with one sultana only.

In another instance, French-Sheldon reports on polygamy leading to inbreeding and following aggravation of physical and mental health. She says:

Polygamy exists, and a degenerate outcome of the men's thriftlessness leads them to marry their own mothers and sisters and even their own children, because they are too improvident or actually in some cases too poor to purchase an unrelated wife; hence the offspring of these consanguineous marriages, which enervate alike their mental and physical forces, must retrograde and develop vicious tendencies in their degenerate progeny, if they do not in time happily become sterile. (195)

In this extract polygamy is seen as a result of the excessiveness of native people, which combined with poverty and ignorance about the consequences of inbreeding, leads to viciousness and corporeal problems of the offspring. However, to a certain extent, she defends the practice of polygamy in the following passage, also introducing the issue with the words "[p]olygamy exists":

Polygamy exists. It seems almost as a necessity more than licentiousness, considering the environments. A man accumulates more land or more cattle than his first wife can attend; he purchases another wife, and so on. The wives are far from being jealous of each other; in truth, are delighted to welcome a new wife [...]. (247)

Thereby, she presents polygamy not as the result of the natives' voluptuousness, but as a practical need. She, furthermore, wants to dissuade the readers from their schemata in regard to monogamy and jealousy, in saying that for those native people, jealousy is not a problem, on the contrary; they are happy having fellow wives.

Thus, although French-Sheldon does not conceal the negative aspects of polygamous practice, and is critical about it, she also accepts that to some degree it makes sense in terms of labour sharing among the wives and that the natives are perfectly happy with it.

This argument concerning labour sharing can also be found in Kingsley's narrative. She regards polygamy as a need for reasons of labour, since "it is totally impossible for one woman to do the whole work of a house – look after the children, prepare and cook the food, prepare the rubber, carry the same to

the markets, fetch the daily supply of water from the stream, cultivate the plantation, &c., &c.” (80). Like French-Sheldon, she conveys the impression that African women actually like polygamous marriages: “The more wives the less work, says the African lady” (Kingsley 81) and states that she knew African men who would prefer to have only one wife and spend the money they save by this on themselves (81). The following passage might offer an insight into Mary Kingsley’s attitude towards polygamy:

[The Bantu’s] present methods [of cooking] are bad for his morals and drive the man to drink, let alone assisting in riveting him in the practice of polygamy, *which the missionary party say is an exceedingly bad practice for him to follow*” (81, emphasis added)

She could have just stated that polygamy is a bad practice, however, she does not give her opinion, but refers to those of the missionaries. This could imply that she herself actually does not condemn the practice of polygamy.

Colvile does not comment on polygamy. A reason for that might be that she keeps rather remote from native habitations and is not very eager to learn about the natives’ daily lives.

5.3. Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice and Killing out of Belief

5.3.1. Cannibalism

Colvile gives an account that she has heard of three German deserted sailors who wanted to form a little kingdom of their own in Africa, but failed and ended not only being killed by the natives, but also being eaten, for the natives allegedly believed that that eating the flesh of a white man increases their power and knowledge (69). This evokes suspense in the reader, for the possibility is given that Colvile herself might be devoured by some natives who have a desire for a white person’s flesh.

Kingsley, however, states that the “cannibalism of the Fans, although a prevalent habit, is no danger I think, to white people, except as regards the

bother it gives one in preventing one's black companions from getting eaten" (145). She continues:

The Fan, is not a cannibal from sacrificial motives like the Negro. He does it in his common sense way. Man's flesh, he says, is good to eat, very good, and he wishes you would try it. Oh dear no, he never eats it himself, but the next door town does. He is always very much abused for eating his relations, but he really does not do this. He will eat his next door neighbour's relations and sell his own deceased to his next door neighbour in return; but he does not buy slaves and fatten them up for his table as some of the Middle Congo tribes I know of do. He has no slaves, no prisoners of war, no cemeteries, so you must draw your own conclusions. (145)

As the comment about the fear one only needs to have about one's black servants being devoured, but not having to worry about oneself, the above quoted passage is probably meant in an ironic way. Through the description of the Africans alleged ruthlessness, she evokes the constant danger of being devoured herself. For instance, she informs the reader in a by-the-way manner, that perhaps "the whole party of [them] might spend the evening at [the Fang town] Efoua [...] simmering in its cooking-pots" (113). Staying for the night in the house of the Efoua chief, Kingsley notices a strange smell and finds out that it came from bags hanging from the roof. Being curious, she shakes the bag's content into her hat, and finds that they are small pieces of human bodies, all in different stages of decay. Subsequently inquiring about this issue, she learns from one of her Fang party members that it is a common practice of the Fangs to keep parts of the human beings they have eaten as a memento, a habit to which Kingsley ironically refers as "a touching trait in [the Fang's] character" (115). (115) This instance also reminds the reader of the ubiquity of cannibalism in the regions Kingsley travels and perhaps evokes a feeling of suspense and a fear about the protagonist's wellbeing. The reader is more worried about her than about Colvile because Kingsley travels alone, and more than about Hinderer or French-Sheldon because they do not mention cannibalism as a threat they are facing.

5.3.2. Human Sacrifice

In Colvile's opinion, unlike cannibalism, human sacrifice is regularly practiced in some parts of Africa. For example, she reports that at Bonny, once a month a virgin is sacrificed to the shark-god. This is done in the cruel way of tying her to a stake at the water's edge where she has to await death either by some sharks' teeth or by the rising tide. (307)

Hinderer describes the instance when a slave man in his late twentieth is sacrificed in the course of the preparation for war. Some of Hinderer's converts see him and report "that he looked as proud as possible of the horrors that awaited him. From being a poor slave, on that day he is all but worshipped, and has the power of saying and doing all he likes, except escaping his death in the evening" (214f). Furthermore, it is believed that the victim will return to the world as an infant and become a king and therefore all the attending women caress the dead body, hoping to become his future mother (215). Hinderer pities the "poor fellow" (215) for his belief and condemns this practice as "the blindness, the darkness, the foolishness of heathenism" (215).

5.3.3. Killing out of 'Superstition'

Colvile mentions the belief in a world after death in regard to the killing of people. She tells that a few weeks before she and her husband arrived near Bonny, thirty slaves were killed in order to serve their deceased master in the "land of the spirits" (306). Furthermore, she mentions an instance which happened also near Bonny, where not only two slaves of a dead chief were buried in his grave alive, but two further ones hung up with hooks through their heels over spikes until their flesh has rotten away and they – still alive - fell into a pit onto spikes which pierced and killed them (306f). This latter instance is the one Colvile refers to when she disagrees with her husband's suggestion of calling the blacks "gentleman of colour" in the title of her narrative (viii). Hinderer also speaks of the practice of black men taking their wives with themselves beyond the grave when they died, mentioning an instance when the forty-two wives of the King of Oyo poisoned themselves when he deceased. She regards this as an awful, heathen practice. (195)

According to Kingsley, “[t]he belief in witchcraft is the cause of more African deaths than anything else. It has killed and still kills more men and women than the slave trade” (181). This is, because nearly every time some native dies, the suspicion arises that there is witchcraft involved in the death of this person. Therefore, a witch-doctor has to detect the guilty person that has bewitched the victim. (181) The accused person then has to suffer an ordeal by fire or poison and “if these point to guilt, as from their nature they usually do”, the alleged bewitcher is doomed to die a dreadful death, like “slow roasting alive – mutilation by degrees before the throat is mercifully cut – tying to stakes at low tide that the high tide may come and drown – and any other death human ingenuity and hate can devise” (181).

If a mother of a small baby dies, the child is thrown away into the bush to perish, because it is feared that otherwise the spirit of the mother will come back. Twins are also killed out of superstitious belief in regions that are not under English control, their mother is killed as well. (188) Kingsley states that she has

tried to find out the reason of this widely diffused custom which is the cause of such a pitiful waste of life; for in addition to the mother and children being killed it often leads to other people, totally unconcerned in the affair, being killed by the relatives of the sufferer on suspicion of having caused the calamity by witchcraft, and until one gets hold of the underlying idea, and can destroy that, the custom will be hard to stamp out in a district like the great Niger Delta. But [she has] never been able to hunt it down, though [she is] sure it is there, and a very quaint idea it undoubtedly is. (191f)

French-Sheldon also mentions twin killing, although in her account it is the habit to kill only one twin and not the mother when it comes to human beings; only with animals both twins and the mother are killed (128). She regards these practices as “seemingly senseless deeds, based undoubtedly upon some long-abiding superstition” (128). Hinderer also states, that it is native practice to kill one of the twins. As a reason for this she says that the native “gods do not like twins”, naturally not taking this as a good motive for the natives’ killing of innocent children. (179)

Kingsley, however, defends the violent practices of African natives. She states that “[t]he African is far from being the brutal fiend he is often painted, a

creature that loves cruelty and blood for their own sake. The African does not [...]” (203). Their practices arise only out of the fact that in the African culture there are no institutions designed to cope with people who are different or have special needs, like prisons, lunatic asylums, workhouses and the like. Therefore it is logical to Kingsley that they need to employ practices like slavery, corporal punishment and the death penalty. (203f) Thus, Kingsley endorses practices that seem cruel to Europeans as a necessity for coping with people deviating from the average in the conditions given.

She furthermore defends the practices, by forcing the reader into imagining how they see their beliefs and arousing sympathy:

The African is not indifferent to the subject of witchcraft, and I do not see how one can expect him to be. Put yourself in his place and imagine you have got hold of a man or woman who has been placing a live crocodile [...] into your own or a valued relative's, or fellow-townsmen's inside, so that it may eat up valuable viscera, and cause you and your friend suffering and death. How would you feel? A little like lynching your captive, I fancy. (204)

In regard to the practices of cannibalism, human sacrifice and other killings, it ought to be added that none of the four authors ever actually observed one of these practices. People they encountered told the mentioned accounts to them, and since they are no first-hand observation, it is not unlikely that they are exaggerated or even made-up. However, by including those accounts into their narratives, suspense is definitely added to their travelogues.

5.4. Native Belief, Spirits and Superstition

Concerning the native beliefs, Hinderer is very critical and condescending, which is actually quite to be expected given her position in the Christian mission. She states about native religious celebrations that “the eating and drinking, dancing, and drumming, are awful” and describes them as “noise and confusion, dark and evil doings” (292). She continually compares the rituals prevalent in the area in which she lives with the Christian ones, generally presenting the latter as the more favourable. Thus, for instance, she describes the mission's church services as “quiet and orderly services [...] so different

from anything of their own" (295). This reveals traces of her Eurocentrism since she only believes services must be quiet because she is used to them that way. She disregards the natives' beliefs in a world after death, especially in regard to the practice of killing slaves or wives after a person's death to accompany the deceased person in the other world, about which she remarks "Oh, heathenism! What can it not do what cannot its superstitions lead to" (195). Hinderer does not seem to acknowledge the irony in her condemning the natives' strong trust in a reunion after death while she at the same time continuously comforts her friends by claiming that if they do not get a chance to meet again in this world, they will at least be together in the next (e.g. 2, 50).

She is not liberal in regard to other beliefs, but dooms native adults as teaching "senseless words over wood, and stone and charms" (104) referring to the belief in spirits of inanimate things. She describes the "idolaters": "some worship[...] the god of water, others the god of war, and another the god of thunder" (184). She presents the mission project as a struggle against the natives' heathenism and talks of the resistance among the natives and persecution of the converts. It is very hard for her to see that some, whom she thought converted to Christian faith, return to their former belief. For example, she states when one boy, who has lived with her for a long time, is withdrawn by his parents that she "would rather have laid him in our quiet burial ground" than not knowing whether he has returned "to former fashions" (138). Thus, she rather wants a small child dead, but, in her belief, safe in heaven, than alive and among its family, practicing the rituals of its forefathers. She laments that more and more children whom she has taken to live in the mission are taken back home by their parents, ridiculing this by saying the reasons for this are "the orders of the gods of wod and stone" (119). This again shows her Eurocentric idea that only white people follow the "right" faith and she therefore presents it as an absurd deed by the parents to take their children back home. However, she certainly would not approve of people taking children away from English families in order to teach them a completely foreign belief system and abandon the traditions of their families.

However, she greatly emphasises instances in which natives were very welcoming concerning the Christian faith. For example, after the death of a

small girl, Moleye, who was not afraid of dying because of the belief in heaven, Hinderer stresses the great effect it had on her heathen associations: "Their heathen relations, and neighbours, who were constantly in and out, were greatly struck by hearing her talk about death, and said, 'This must be a wonderful religion, which could make anyone not afraid to die!' [...] Her heathen aunt [...] wanted to 'learn how to die, like Moleye'" (311). Furthermore, she tells how local chiefs promise her and her husband protection against some natives wanting to get rid of the white people in their country, claiming that they said to them "your ways please us [...] you are our friends, and we are yours" (304). Moreover, Hinder reports how a native man admiringly exclaimed "[w]hat strength do these white people give! What charm have they!" (134). She thereby presents the mission work as a project well taken-up by the natives, enforcing the importance and usefulness of her enterprise.

French-Sheldon takes the native belief quite seriously. In contrast to Hinderer, who naturally constantly refers to her own beliefs and her religion and claims that she follows the "right" religion, French-Sheldon does not do so, but is nevertheless condescending about the beliefs of the Africans. She states that "their religion", qualifies it with "such as it is", and continues with "may be safely called fetich [sic]" (195); thereby implying that she does not even regard their beliefs as real religion. Another similarly qualifying statement is made later: "Superstitions concerning death are decidedly obscure and extremely heterogeneous in East Africa, and yet there are little threats which have various origins, running through the tissue of what may be called their religion" (224). She thereby does actually concern herself enough with the issue to acknowledge that there are heterogenic beliefs, but she denounces them as superstitions, and qualifies them by referring to it as "what may be called their religion".

Kingsley does not take the beliefs of the natives, which even lead to the killing of people, very seriously, and definitely does not believe in spirits and charms and the like herself. Nevertheless, she does not portray the native beliefs as something completely foolish, at least not more so, than the beliefs of people in England, as becomes evident in the following passage:

I confess that the more I know of the West Coast Africans the more I like them. I own I think them fools of the first water for their power of believing in things; but I fancy I have analogous feelings towards even my fellow-countrymen when they go and violently believe in something that I cannot quite swallow. (204)

Colvile gives her opinion on the religious practices of the natives in the following passage:

Although it is an open question whether the West African negro has yet arrived at a stage which fits him for the reception of our religion and civilisation [...] there can be no doubt that the world at large can no longer tolerate the cruelties and abominations attendant on ancestral and devil worship, nor live cheek-by-jowl [...] with a people which practises them. Whatever may be thought of the advantages of missionary work among members of more advanced religion, the thanks of the civilised world are certainly due to the missionaries, who have at all events stamped out the outward and more objectionable forms of West African superstition. (305)

According to this passage, Colvile is opposed to the native practices. She sees it as impossible for the 'civilised' world to ignore the "objectionable" practices caused by "superstition" and is grateful to the missionaries for fighting against these. Hence, it is surprising that only two pages later in her narrative, she defends the native religious doings. On concluding an account on the cruel practices that the native religion entails, Colvile points out the advantageous side of the violent implementation of 'superstitious' thinking: "Horrible as [the native] religion is, it has the advantage of putting enormous power into the hands of the rulers, and thus enabling them to maintain a degree of order which [the white people's] milder methods fail to effect." (307). Those two extracts from her narrative display her ambivalence towards the native practices: On the one hand she cannot detach herself from the Eurocentric condemnation of native practices as cruel and inhumane; on the other hand she is able to perceive advantageous aspects that they might entail.

The four authors differ in their evaluation of native beliefs and practices. Most of the deviations, however, can be logically explained. Hinderer, being a missionary's wife and aiming at convincing the natives of Christian faith, naturally is totally opposed to the native religion. Kingsley, on the other hand, who conducts ethnological research, is interested exactly in the peculiar rituals and beliefs behind them. Therefore she does neither condemn native practices

and beliefs, nor try to change them, but objectively observes and learns about them. With Colvile it is not surprising that she condemns native practices, because she often judges from a Eurocentric point of view. French-Sheldon, although she accepts that different people have different beliefs, is slightly condescending about the natives' religion, depreciating it as superstition.

5.5. Misunderstandings and Wrong Assumptions of Whites

Out of the four authors, French-Sheldon is the only one who frequently and directly addresses the wrong assumptions white people have about Africans and their culture. She mentions several times that among white people wrong ideas about some issues concerning African life and rituals are circulating. She explains a burial custom, in which the flesh is burnt off the corpse until only the bones remain and then the bones are deposited in special places in the forest. (222f) This habit, French-Sheldon claims, "account[s] for the suppositions that there have been massacres committed or that disease has ravaged the land when found by caravans" (223). Furthermore, she explains that a "casual observer is often misled in supposing [the filed teeth of the Wa-Taveta women] to be [a tribal custom]" (239), whereas in fact it is not and those women who file their teeth are those who have been married from other tribes into this one (239). She thereby warns the reader not to observe only casually and arrive at the most obvious conclusions, but rather investigate matters more deeply.

French-Sheldon mentions the white men's misunderstandings of the natives' intentions and gestures as a reason why some negative images of Africans prevail. For example, she remarks on the practice of black women to offer rotten eggs to white men, as a sign of gratitude, a practice which is often not conceived in the way it was intended:

Even [the natives'] gratitude has been impugned by almost every explorer and traveller, simply because the natives' expression of this sentiment is at variance with the white man's conception of what it should be. They gave what they valued most, yet this has been attributed to a mean trait of deception in their natures, which are judged so utterly devoid of gratitude." (242)

In this case, the stereotypical image of the native as being deceptive is already in the mind of the white person encountering the native. Being presented with the rotten egg, he is convinced of this to be true and thus this image is furthermore enforced in his accounts, producing a vicious circle of treacherous Africans, based on wrong assumptions. French-Sheldon criticises that white people coming to Africa apply their own schemata to any situations they encounter in an unknown surrounding:

The civilised man is [...] intolerant of the natural diversities of human nature, unjust and illiberal once he departs from the limitations of his own studied environments. He deliberately makes his reason impervious to new truths by a heterogeneous composite of principles and his own accepted theories. (242)

This pointing out of mistakes that white people make when trying to make sense of what they encounter in Africa correlates with her self-understanding as a role-model from which others can learn how to proceed in the right way in Africa. That she is the one most stressing the colonisers' and explorers' faults might also be accounted for by the fact, that thereby she mainly criticises Europeans, and being herself American could more easily do so as the other European authors.

5.6. Slavery

One aspect of African life is the institution of slavery. Hinderer remarks on native slavery that the African slaves are "generally treated with kindness" and that they get the possibility to liberate themselves (61). However, she raises awareness of problems entailed by this institution. For example, she mentions difficulties regarding proprietorship. She gives an account of a boy on the road who is not even three years old begging passers-by to buy him, for he is in a desperate situation: his mother has been sold and his former master sent to war, "so what was everybody's charge [has become] nobody's" (104). Nobody dares to take the poor, half-starved child with him or her, because they do not want to risk of being accused of the stealing of a slave. The Hinderer couple, being shocked about the natives' indifference, immediately take the boy into

their house, not worrying about possible consequences, but doing what they feel to be right. (see 104)

When Mr Hinderer leaves his wife alone in Ibadan in order to go on a missionizing trip, she rejoices in the thought that due to her husband's work un-Christian practices and institutions will be reduced. She sees the spread of Christianity as a means against slavery: "It will be a wonderful blow to slavery and all sorts of cruelties, if the banner of the Cross be erected, and light and salvation be proclaimed and accepted [...]" (110).

Colville mentions transatlantic slave trade. She says that a huge number of natives have been captured and brought to a newly established slave settlement, where her captain offers that she could take a small black boy as a servant back with her to England. Although it was fashionable to have small black children as accessoires in English aristocratic households she "thought it advisable not to accept" (67). She does not give reasons for her denial and does not indicate what she thinks about the fact that slaves are being captured and locked-in.

Kingsley mentions the interesting fact that when a native buys a slave, he asks what the slave's *lbet* is, which is a certain kind of food that makes exactly this person sick according to their belief. This shows that the native masters care for the wellbeing of their slaves. Whether this is for humane or for economic reasons is not revealed in Kingsley's narrative.

French-Sheldon also acknowledges, that there are people who sell themselves into bondage voluntarily. She mentions the Wa-Duruma people, on which "[h]ardship and thriftlessness, if not poverty seem[s] written on their lineaments. They suffer so from famine that they gladly sell themselves into bondage" (160). French-Sheldon mentions the interesting institution of slaves owned by people who are slaves themselves (160f).

The travel accounts examined convey the feeling to the reader that slavery is a ubiquitous characteristic of African life. Although it is mentioned that slaves in Africa are generally treated quite well, negative aspects of this institution are also remarked on.

5.7. Style of Clothing

The nakedness of the natives is often connected with their alleged primitive- and savageness. Kingsley, for example, uses the nakedness in connection with savageness, when she talks about “naked, or nearly naked savages” (53), thereby implying that those two concepts go well together. Kingsley, furthermore, seems to draw conclusions from the little clothing on their state of wealth, as can be seen in the following passage: “[t]he people were evidently exceedingly poor; clothes they had very little of”. She thereby uses Eurocentric schemata, because in Victorian England it can probably be assumed that a person who wears layers and layers of clothing is wealthier than one dressed in some rags. That this might be different in a completely different country with different traditions and environmental conditions does not seem to come to her mind.

The nakedness, nevertheless, can also be regarded as natural because of the climatic conditions, as it becomes evident in French-Sheldon’s writing. She does not connect nakedness with savageness, but simply mentions the natives’ being sparsely dressed by the way when actually talking about other things like in “the rain [was] pelting furiously down upon their half-naked bodies” (119) or describes it in a neutral way as in “[t]he men, when not naked, wore a bit of hide about them, or a filthy fragment of cloth” (156).

As mentioned in section 4.1.6, Colville sometimes seems to connect the natives’ lack of clothing with their alleged savageness. In other instances, however, she does not judge upon half-naked natives, but only describes their clothing or lack of clothing as a matter of fact, not being interested in any speculations about its reasons. Thus, for example, she speaks of the “unclothed inhabitants of the lower Niger” (292) or “three naked little blackamoors” (302).

One interesting instance, which Colville mentions in regard to the clothing of natives, is when she and her party visit a native dwelling and when going through it with the king they are wondering why there are no people to be seen. On inquiring, it is found out that the king has commanded that all inhabitants of the town ought to stay in their huts because they are not “dressed in a style to which [Zélie Colville is] accustomed” (321). This might either show that the king

was ashamed of the native dress in front of his “civilised” and cultured visitors, or that former European visitors have given him the impression that it is not suitable for a white woman to see the sparsely dressed natives. Colville continues her narration with “[a]s we were anxious to secure some photographs of native types, this was the last thing we wanted, and the king was accordingly asked to rescind his order” (321). This might show that they see the native in their usual apparel as exotic objects they want to capture on their photographs. The king and his people are in this scenario only marionettes that obey the white people’s wishes: First the king thought to please them by not putting his people in front of them, but as soon as he notices his error, the travellers’ wishes must be followed and the natives need to display themselves in their clothing.

Hinderer does not remark on the natives’ nakedness. In her mission, like in other missions, the converts are dressed “properly” according to European standards.

French-Sheldon discusses the strange appearance of a sultan dressed in bits and pieces of European garments:

I discovered that the pivot of attraction consisted in a personage standing upon a huge boulder, a native, tall and distinguished, who appeared a perfect guy, tricked out in a pair of military trousers, with side stripes, a white knitted shirt with a brilliant pin on the bosom, a celluloid high collar, a cravat of the most flaming color, a striped woollen Scotch shooting-coat, a flamboyant pocket-handkerchief, a pair of Russia-leather shoes, exposing blue silk clocked socks. His fine head was disfigured by wearing a black silk pot hat, which was canted backwards, bonnet fashion, by the long porcupine quill ear ornaments thrust through the rims of his ears. He carried an English walking-stick with a huge silver knob, and held in his hands a pair of kid loves. This clown then was Mireali, conceded to be the handsomest native man in East Africa, the most noble and most majestic sultan [...]” (357)

In this passage, it becomes evident that French-Sheldon does not approve of the sultan’s attempt to dress in a European way. She ridicules the mixture of his garments by assigning them to different nations who do not fit together and by calling him a clown. She thinks that the hat actually disfigures the sultan’s head and describes it as being canted with quills through the ears, which seems to be a native adaption of the European style. She seems to think that for such a

noble person this style is totally inadequate and diminishes the sultan's authority. On laboriously letting one of his subjects take off his hat because he knows that this is European etiquette when a guest is present, French-Sheldon remarks that "[i]t is a shame a man like Mireali should be so imposed upon by those who should have known better" (357f). She thus is critical about Europeans colonisers for influencing the natives, even in matters such as the way they dress. She dares to criticise the sultan, and says: "Mireali, why do you wear these clothes? They make you look like a goat. I want to see you in your own native cloth, and see you as Mireali, the great African sultan that you are" (359). This results in him presenting himself the next day in a native cloth, which French-Sheldon thinks is "wound around him, and thrown over his shoulders in the most graceful and artistic manner, trailing regally behind him" (359), now looking "truly majestic" (259). These words are admiring and stand in striking contrast to the way she describes the sultan when appearing in "cast-off finery of various persons of different nationality, who had but recently left his province" (357).

In regard to native dressed in un-native-like ways, Kingsley talks of Hubbards, which are garments made for native female converts in missions, which are generally made by European working parties and sent to Africa. (85) She introduces this passage with "[f]orgive me, but I must break out on the subject of Hubbards; I will promise to keep clear of bad language let the effort cost me what it may" (85), thereby indicating that she does not esteem this piece of clothing highly. She complains about its impracticality; its "constant habit [...] to fall forward and reap the dirt whenever the wearer stops forward to do anything, going into the fire, and the cooking, and things in general, and impeding all rapid movement" (85). Since they are quite huge, she states "what idea the pious ladies in England, Germany, Scotland and France can have of the African figure I cannot think, but evidently part of their opinion is that it is very like a tub" (85). It might be assumed that those European Hubbard makers act on the assumption that black females have enormous hips and breasts, as some stereotypes of the time predicate (see Bower 4). These passages display Kingsley's criticism of the Europeans' inability to put themselves into the position of the Africans and to really think about what is useful for their

purposes and practical in their surroundings, as well as how African women actually look like.

6. Travelling as a Woman

6.1. Female Role and Femininity

For some female travellers, Africa was seen as a place where they could break free from the fetters laid upon them by Victorian society. The critic Catherine Barnes Stevenson, for example, suggests that West Africa was a place which was “free from gender-based restrictions [in which] the woman can become what her imagination dictates” (7, qtd. in Ciolkowski 346). However, not every female traveller did feel the wish to do so, quite on the contrary, some embraced their ascribed role and simply wished to transfer it (just like many other values and ideas) to the colonies.

Anna Hinderer was one of the latter; she was a woman who embodied the feminine ideals in Africa. She strongly wished to become a missionary. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the only thing she could do to come close to her “work and calling” (12) was to marry a male missionary, because the Church Mission Society (C. M. S.) did not allow woman missionaries (McEwan 41). This was different with the famous female missionary Mary Slessor, because she worked for the Scottish Missionary Society, which was less restrictive about the employment of women as missionaries (McEwan 41). Hinderers did enjoy some sort of empowerment in Africa because of her being white, however, she was not able (and did not even express the wish) to abandon the feminine role ascribed to her by British society. The narrative presents a woman that dutifully performs the tasks of a missionary’s wife, never questioning the restrictions of her own ‘separate sphere’ and fulfils the female, maternal role for the converts in her mission. She does not go to Africa to break free from the fetters of Victorian society, but rather stays in the same realm, just

in a different country. The Church Missionary Society, which was responsible for the publication of Anna Hinderer's notes on her life in Africa, describes the different spheres of David and Anna Hinderer in their mission work:

[David Hinderer] was the Lord's chief instrument for gathering disciples, organising the church, and exercising discipline for its government. Besides ministering in the congregation, he preached in the open places in the town, planted and watched over the new branches of the church, instructed the converts privately, diffused a knowledge of the Gospel among the teachers, quickened their zeal, and cultivated amongst them firmness and consistence of character, introduced to the inhabitants the art of reading and writing their native language, and moreover conducted exploratory visits to towns more or less remote.

On the other hand her work [...] was chiefly within her own compound, amongst its few men and women, and frequent visitors, and still more amongst the happy children whom she was winning by her kindness and love, civilising, training, and teaching, and for whom perhaps she was even doing still more by the silent influence of her Christian character. (viif)

Hinderer teaches children just like she did before in England from the teenage age onward (see 11) and she nurtures and plays with the children in her charge just as if they were her own and she were in England. She is "within her own compound" and does not try to take over some of her husband's - probably more important - activities. As C. M. S. approvingly states: "Mrs. Hinderer necessarily fills nearly the whole space in the following memorials; but an observant eye will perceive that she [is] always engaged in her own proper sphere" (vii).

The feminist critic Jeanette King describes the Victorian ideal of femininity, the Angel in the House, as follows: „In Coventry Patmore's narrative poem, 'The Angel in the House' (1854-63), the figure of the sexless angel crosses into domestic ideology, embodying all the Christian virtues of love, purity and self-sacrifice so as to act as moral centre of the family.“ (King 11).

Hinderer can be seen as an embodiment of this angel-notion since she is loving and pure and her whole being in Africa is self-sacrifice insofar that she has to be parted from her English friends her health suffers severely under the conditions in Africa (see 316, 319) and she has to suffer great trials during an intertribal war (see 290). That she has the "wish to be a martyr" (5) and "rejoice[s] in the thought of living and dying for Africa" (13) enforces the image

of duty and self-sacrifice that constitutes the ideal Victorian woman. The C. M. S. correctly describes her as “always engaged in her own proper sphere”, because she accepts the role attributed to her and never tries to break with those 19th century ideals of womanhood (Hinderer vii). Her travel to Africa is in no way a breaking free from fetters laid upon her by Victorian society, but rather the export of feminine ideals to the colonies. To her, her journey to Africa is not self-liberation, but “domesticity [merely] translocated in a foreign country” (McEwan 32).

Colvile, however, is not the typical Christian, self-sacrificing angel, but the typical upper-class, “drawing-room” lady. She, who like Hinderer also travels with her husband, never really mentions anything concerned with her female role. Neither does she adopt any maternal role in regard to the natives nor does she comment on her role in regard to her husband or the way she dresses. She probably rejects the maternal role with reference to the natives because firstly, as a white upper-class lady she feels strongly superior and does not approve of close contact with those “inferior” servants. Secondly, because as an upper class woman she is not supposed to be very motherly, as one can see in the fact that she leaves her own baby child at home while she and her husband travel to Africa (218). Supposedly, she does not really comment on her role as a wife because to her, the Victorian upper-class wife role is self-evident anyway. The same probably holds true for her lack of description of the way she dresses. Unlike Kingsley, she does not feel the need to stress her femininity by emphasising that she wears dresses and uses hairpins, because it is probably so common-sensical and self-evident to her, that she does not even think of commenting on such trivial things. She is just the upper-class lady society expected, accompanying her husband on a voyage as some sort of exotic entertainment, maintaining her feminine role and not even attempting to exonerate herself from the prescribed restriction of the 19th century female.

The two lone travellers, French-Sheldon and Kingsley, allow the most direct comparison. Although French-Sheldon is married, quite contrarily to the spinster Kingsley, both venture their journey completely on their own, without any male aid to ease their way. It can be argued that in this they break free and abandon their typical female roles in order to adopt male ones: They put themselves in

leading positions in their travel groups, they command over their subordinates authoritatively, they carry and use guns, they are not opposed to or frightened by violence and are in no way the shy, obedient, dependent little women they are supposed to be, according to Victorian values. In Kingsley's travel report passages like "I communicated my feelings to my pilot, who did not seem to understand at first, so I feared I should have to knock them into him with the paddle, but at last he understood" (84) do not evoke the image of a 19th century woman, but rather that of an aggressive, brutal man. The passage where French-Sheldon amputates the leg of a dead black woman to obtain her leg-lets, which are "so imbedded into the flesh and muscles of [the dead woman's] legs [that] amputation was necessary" (306) cannot be perceived as really lady-like either, but is rather likely to shock the angel-like female reader back home in England.

Nevertheless, Kingsley directly states that a dangerous situation is better coped with by the means of a man. Thus, when she encounters "a situation [which is] more suited to Mr Stanley than [herself]", she tries "to emulate his methods" (127) instead of thinking of a solution to the problem herself. French-Sheldon also applies pieces of advice that Capt. Wm. E. Stairs, "an officer of famous repute in African exploration" (French-Sheldon 168) has given her in a letter before she left for Africa. In this respect, they try to behave like those male advisors would, in order to succeed.

That Kingsley partly seems to be proud to be seen as a man, in fact, as a rather unpleasant man, becomes clear in passages like the following: "[A trader has] to be a 'Devil man'. They always kindly said they recognised me as one, which is a great compliment" (135).

One can regard the fact that both French-Sheldon and Kingsley are often addressed as "Sir" by their subordinates (see French-Sheldon 34, 38, Kingsley 120) as an argument enforcing the impression that they behave in a male way and are thus regarded as males by the natives. However, it can be counter-argued that their being addressed as "Sir" was simply because the natives lacked the word to address a woman in a superordinate position, being not used to white woman leaders and most of them probably having never

encountered one before (French-Sheldon stresses numerous times that she was the first woman to venture a journey into the interior of Africa). Like Ciolkowski suggests concerning Kingsley, the “Sir”-address is simply because Kingsley’s traveller “occupies a position of gender-coded authority” (343), and not because she is behaving like a white man. French-Sheldon gave a similar reason: “not one of my men ever learned to answer me other than “Sir” [...] They never could seem to reconcile my sex with my post, which, in their eyes, indubitably belonged to a man [...]” (380).

As Stevenson observes, the female travellers’ abandonment of prescribed roles and the freedom to “become what [their] imagination dictates” means “in Kingsley’s case [...] becoming a man” (7, qtd. in Ciolkowski 346). It could be argued that the adoption of the role of a male white is the easiest way for women travellers to be accepted. It might have been enrooted in their mind by their education that only men can achieve something, thus, if they want to do something great, they have to be just like them.

However, Ciolkowski describes Kingsley as an “unwomanly woman” while Stevenson describes her as “long[ing] to be considered feminine [...] [feeling] deeply her early exclusion from the female world of courting, emotional intrigue, fashion, and love” (95, quot. in Ciolkowski 340). Kingsley had never been the typical Victorian angel back in England; her being a spinster alone keeping her from being the dutiful, self-sacrificing wife. Being the daughter not only of Dr. George Kingsley, but also the working-class housemaid Mary Bailey, (see Birkett *Adventuress* x, McEwan 33) she struggled with her ambiguous class status and being not really accepted as a lady among the upper-class society. Her travel to Africa was not necessarily a breaking-free from Victorian gender-restriction – even more because she did not really fulfil them anyway – but perhaps rather a way to emphasise her femininity, which was denied to her back home in England, because she did not meet the prevailing ideals.

According to Ciolkowski, Kingsley’s female traveller does enforce “the shape of bourgeois womanhood and the female body-in-danger with which it is associated” by her description of the dangerous journey “through foreign territories and among numbers of wild animals and seemingly life-threatening

African tribes" (346). Her describing of dangerous situations and peoples keep up a constant suspense and make the reader fear for the white woman's well being. For example, she builds up suspense when she has to cross a dangerous stream, in which the native, who went before her, already fell (119) or when she describes how natives cruelly tortured and finally killed a white man (118).

French-Sheldon, although she travels without male white company, does not so much evoke the image of the "female body-in-danger". Probably, this is because she travels with a large group that protects her from outward dangers; the natives within her group as it becomes clear in several passages, are extremely loyal to her and accept her as "the white queen" whom they would never harm.

Kingsley furthermore stresses her femininity through referring to appearance and behaviour she considers lady-like. Sometimes, quite oddly, some pieces of information that she considers to be feminine concern are included in her writing, no matter whether they are really appropriate or relevant in the respective contexts. One example of this can be found on page 46 when she states in a by-the-way manner "[...] whenever I am happy, comfortable and content, I lose all knowledge of the date, the time of day, and my *hairpins*" (emphasis added). Moreover, she mentions that she does not do things about which she assumes that they are not considered ladylike. For example, she states that "[she has] never hurt a leopard intentionally; [she is] habitually kind to animals, and besides [she does] not think it is ladylike to go shooting things with a gun" (228). Furthermore, she stresses her supposedly feminine qualities like fear and distress, as is evident in the following passage when a road they want to pass is blocked by the Fangs: "'How are we going to get through that way?' says I with natural feminine alarm. 'We are not, sir,' says Grey Shirt." (95). The fact that the same woman that is described as "treating hardships and dangers, such as being charged at by wild animals, or fired on by angry natives, as trivialities on a par with an April shower during a Sunday afternoon stroll" (Kingsley backside blurb) but presents herself in the book as being frightened and refers to her "natural feminine alarm" cannot not be taken seriously. Rather, it lets one conclude that in this situation, Kingsley would not have been actually

alarmed, but since Kingsley thinks that a “proper” woman should be frightened, she describes the female traveller as being alarmed and hence as feminine according to prevalent ideas. Interesting in this passage is furthermore the discrepancy between the reference to the feminine alarm in the one sentence, and the native addressing her as ‘sir’ in the next. It might be that it was for that effect that the author chose to report on this conversation in direct speech. Possibly, Kingsley herself was in a way sarcastical about her own trying to feign that she was a very feminine 19th century woman.

Both Kingsley and French-Sheldon refuse to wear male garments and travel in their usual dresses. Kingsley always wears “long, black, trailing skirts, tight waists, high collars and [a] little toque-like fur cap” (Huxley 4). French-Sheldon not only wears dresses, but furthermore possesses a very extravagant dress which she calls her “court-dress”. This dress has stage jewels on it and she wears it when she is meeting the chiefs of the towns she visits. Thereby Sheldon reinforces the impression that she is a white queen.

When Kingsley tells the reader that she gets constantly addressed as “Sir” although, she is - according to her own view - “a most lady-like old person”(205), she feels the need to assure that she never provokes this wrong address by wearing male attire: “I hasten to assure you I never even wear a masculine collar and tie, and as for encasing the more earthward extremities of my anatomy in – you know what I mean – well, I would rather perish on a public scaffold” (205). That she states her aversion to wearing trousers in such an extreme way – rather dying than wearing this piece of garment – shows that it is of uttermost importance to her that the readers would not think she was dressed in an un-ladylike way.

French-Sheldon states that her “woman’s costume was never a hindrance to [her] progress, and [she] cannot conceive how masculine attire would have in any way been an advantage” (412). French-Sheldon emphasises her femininity when describing how she wants to hide her garment that is dirty from the long travel under a “long silk gown [that was] just feminine enough to feel more comfortable to have [her] short travel-stained frock well covered down to [her] feet when standing among [her] porters” (412).

The following passage shows how much Kingsley is concerned about her appearance:

[...] when in Cameroons I had one dress, and one only, that I regarded as fit to support the dignity of a representative of England, so of course when going to call on the representative of another Power I had to put that dress on, and then go out in open boats to war-ships or for bush walks in it, and equally of course down came tornadoes and rain by the ton. I did not care for the thunder, lightning, or wind. What worried me was the conviction that that precious rain would take the colour out of my costume." (267)

For Kingsley it is especially important that she makes a good impression on white people. It might be assumed that Kingsley was self-conscious because of her working class mother, her nearly illegitimate birth and the rejection by the upper class Kingsley part of her family. Probably it was therefore that she feel the strong need to prove that she has upper class qualities and deserves to carry the name Kingsley. When being invited by a sister of a Roman Catholic Mission get off her ship and spend the night at the mission via a messenger, she declines the offer because she "[feels] quite unfit for polite society after the long broiling hot day and getting soaked by water that ha[s] washed on board. [...] If [she] had been able to dress up, ashore [she] would have gone, but as it was [she writes the sister] a note explaining things and thanking her" (152). Thereby she declines an offer of comfortable night ashore because she thought that with her travel appearance she would not convey the impression she would like to convey. A similar worry about her appearance before a white officer can be noticed in a passage describing her thoughts and doings just before reaching a German station:

I hesitate on the bank. I am in an awful mess – mud-caked skirts, and blood-stained hands and face. Shall I make an exhibition of myself by going unwashed to that unknown German officer who is in charge of the station? Naturally I wash here, standing in the river and swishing the mud out of my skirts; and then wading across to the other bank, I wring out my skirts [...] (236)

She laboriously tries to clean herself and her clothes instead of simply accepting her trekking through the wilderness as a good excuse not to appear in perfect appearance. Nevertheless, she does not succeed in obtaining a respectable appearance, for "[her] efforts to appear before [the German officer

in charge of the station] clean and tidy have been quite unavailing, for he views [her] appearance with unmixed horror, and suggests an instant hot bath" (236).

In one instance, it is evident that she makes an effort to make a good impression on a man, who is actually a black African, but "appears[s] to [her] to be an English gentleman who had from some misfortune gone black all over and lost his trousers and be compelled to replace them with a highly ornamental cloth" (149). In the following extract one can notice that not only the native, who is a prince and had spent some time in Europe, endeavours to convey that he is an educated gentleman, but also Kingsley tries to establish herself as an upper class lady:

Taking a large and powerful cigar from his lips with one hand, he raised his hat gracefully with the other and said:

‘Pray excuse me, madam.’

I said, ‘Oh, please go on smoking.’

‘May I?’ he said, offering me a cigar-case.

‘Oh, no thank you,’ I replied.

‘Many ladies do now,’ he said, and asked me whether I ‘preferred Liverpool, London, or Paris.’

I said, ‘Paris; but there were nice things in both the other cities.’

‘Indeed that is so,’ he said; ‘they have got many very decent works of art in the St George’s Hall.’

I agreed, but said I thought the National Gallery preferable because there you got such fine representative series of works of early Italian schools. I felt I had got to rise to this man, whoever he was, somehow, and having regained my nerve, I was coming up hand over hand to the level of his culture [...]” (149)

In this conversation, both the native and Kingsley try to impress one another with cities and works of art they allegedly know. Keeping Kingsley’s confined childhood and youth and her restraining care for her parents in adulthood in mind, it is highly doubtful that she has ever been to Paris or seen the works of art she talks about. However, she pretends to be an educated and well-travelled lady and tries hard to keep up with his cultured small talk.

Kingsley and French-Sheldon also do not fulfil the stereotypical weak woman in regard to the hardships they endure. They are not even complaining when they are hurt or in danger. French-Sheldon, for example, gets hurt by a thorn flapping in her eye and severely injures it and the natives can only provisionally bandage it, but she just states that “[o]ne does not stop for an eye or a limb or a

life in Africa; one is ever impelled to proceed" (189). When French-Sheldon discovers a fifteen feet long python in the Palanquin in which she was sleeping, she admits that she was extremely frightened and that she "came very near collapsing and relinquishing [her]self to the nervous shock; but there was no time for such an indulgence of weakness" (312). Thus, she was frightened, but she did not do what was expected from a Victorian woman in shock, namely have a nervous breakdown and faint, but did not allow herself such and "indulgence of weakness" and remained strong, just like a Victorian man apparently would.

Kingsley, as well, is not the snivelling kind of woman. The most famous scene in her narrative is probably where she falls into a trap when taking a shortcut through the bush, falling fifteen feet and landing on spikes, where she, scarcely escaping death, remarks upon the "blessings of a good thick skirt" and good-humouredly says that if she had followed the advice of English people and "adopted masculine garments, [she] should have been spiked to the bone and done for. Whereas, save for a good many bruises, [there she was] with the fullness of my skirt tucked under me, sitting on nine ebony spikes some twelve inches long, in comparative comfort, howling lustily to be hauled out" (133).

In summary, it can be said that although Kingsley and French-Sheldon are remarkably independent for their time, they cannot totally abandon Victorian expectations about how a woman is supposed to behave or what she should be like. As McEwan states, "Kingsley' 'liberation' as an independent traveller in West Africa was constrained by the demands of social etiquette imposed at home" (30). The same holds true for Mary French-Sheldon. For Hinderer and Colville, being in company of their husbands, the question whether to abandon their feminine role does not even pose itself. Thus, they transfer the European ideas on femininity simply to another continent and live up to the expectations about them; Hinderer fulfilling her duties as housewife and "mother" of the mission children, and Colville as an upper-class wife.

6.2. Problems of Travelling as a Female

In French-Sheldon's work, she dedicates a whole chapter (chapter 4, pp. 83-107) to a close description of the difficulties she as a female traveller encounters in trying to assemble a native group of porters and assistants and her troubles with the European public authorities to let her travel into the interior of Africa.

The representative of the Imperial British East African Company (I.B.E.A.Co.), Mr. George S. Mackenzie, who is in charge of Mary French-Sheldon's affair, and whom she calls her "Obstacle", does not approve of her undertaking, which was generally denounced as insane (see 58, 65). Apparently, he fears that a white woman solely leading a caravan would "throw the natives into a frenzy" (66) which would cause the I.B.E.A.Co. the trouble of having to intervene and rescue French-Sheldon. Knowing that Mackenzie would not assist her preparation, French-Sheldon is "determined to quietly make [her] own arrangements [...] without his knowledge or counsel" (59f).

A huge problem is that the agent that French-Sheldon employs for finding porters for her caravan could not procure any Zanzibaris who would venture to accompany her as a porter into the land of the allegedly hostile Masai tribe, because they do not feel protected by a woman as a leader (see 84). The agent is quite discouraging about her plan to go into the African interior without a male European to help her, and says about her wish to obtain 50 men to accompany her that "[i]f it were a feasible scheme, even then there are not fifty men to be had" (85).

Quite generally, she speaks of her "world-renowned reputation of a mad woman" (83), a reputation she had earned just by her plan of travelling into dangerous regions of Africa without a male companion to protect her by her side. Never had any woman ventured to do such a thing before, and thus

[t]he bare idea that a woman should be foolhardy or ignorant enough to dare to enter Africa from the east coast and attempt to penetrate interior as far as the Kilimanjaro district of the late Masai raids [...] and essaying thus to do as the sole leader and commander of her own caravan, - the thing was preposterous, and the woman boldly denounced as *mad*, *mad*, principally because there was no precedent for such a venture, it

was a thorough innovation of accepted propriety. It never had been done, never even suggested, hence it must be impossible, or at least utterly impracticable, and certainly outside a woman's province". (84)

A "woman's province" was certainly anything but a dangerous journey among the "bloodthirsty, buccaneering Masai" (84). But French-Sheldon is in no way interested in staying in the sphere that society attributes to her but wants to venture out and do something no other woman has ever done before. She criticises that she does not receive support by the authorities and that a woman "[d]espite her intrepidity, or her attributes for leadership, or her ability to spurn hardships as she might dangers" (84) is not taken seriously as probably a male explorer would be, but is considered "irrational in attempting such a hazardous undertaking" (84f) and should be made to see that her intentions are "not only [...] ambitious but impractical and suicidal" (85), so that she will "gladly abandon" (85) her plan.

As a woman with the intentions of leading a safari just on her own she "must take no offence when set down as a reckless fool" (84), because no matter if she possesses the above mentioned qualities of intrepidity, endurance and leadership, she is *a priori* assented as being unable to accomplish her mission, just on the grounds of her being a woman. A male explorer probably would be fully supported and celebrated for his courage, whereas, according to the view of colonial administrative officers, her enterprise ought to be "first scoffed, then [...] obstructed, and finally, if need be, prohibited by the authorities" (84). She, however, does not get discouraged by this resistance, but finds encouragement in the thought that she has received more than two thousand letters from mostly scientific men and women applying to her to let them accompany her on her expedition.

French-Sheldon is neither discouraged by the lack of help by the authorities nor by the troubles of finding porters nor the general persuasions and protests against her enterprise. She uses her diplomatic pass and manages to obtain an audience with the Sultan of Zanzibar. She, as the first white woman that ever received by the Sultan (see 88) accomplishes to befriend him and thereby receive his support. Although the Zanzibari sultan wants to persuade her to stay at Zanzibar instead of going into such a "dangerous, wild section of Africa" (90),

he follows her request to make it “easier and safer for [her]”(90) by writing a document that declares French-Sheldon a lady much esteemed by him and commands every one who meets her to treat her attentively and respectfully (95). She urges the Sultan to have all volunteering slaves committed and to overrule their masters if they object (91). Thus, French-Sheldon has well earned the “satisfaction of knowing that in six days the so-called impossible had been accomplished, and by *a woman*” (French-Sheldon’s emphasis). Instead of 50 men her caravan finally consists of 138 men (105) and apart from the Sultan’s document, she receives his promise to “serve [her] in any possible way” (96). With those things accomplished, Mr. Mackenzie is “no longer [her] Obstacle, but [her] converted friend” and draws up a document declaring French-Sheldon as his friend and demands that everyone who meets her should assist her and threatens that all those who annoy her in any way will be punished because he thereby affronts the company (105). Thus, although French-Sheldon does not receive any support in the beginning, she ends up with two documents, one from the native Sultan and one from a white official, that facilitate her travel to the interior of Africa.

Kingsley does not remark on problems finding people to travel with and of authorities trying to dissuade her from her travel-plan. Probably this is because she always just travelled with a few people and not like French-Sheldon with a caravan of over one hundred natives. Furthermore, Kingsley’s first travel to Africa occurred some years after French-Sheldon ventured it, thus Kingsley was not like French-Sheldon who claimed to be the first white woman to enter the interior of Africa on her own and the authorities might have become slightly more open to the idea of women travelling on their own in that time span.

Those two travel-group leaders furthermore differ in the way they ensured respect in their respective caravans and with the natives they encounter. French-Sheldon first thinks that “the porters could be governed by kindness and moral persuasion”, however, her “cherished belief was soon modified by actual experience” as her “coaxing arguments and persuasive talks were disregarded and sneeringly laughed at, probably the more so because [*she*], *their leader*, was a woman” (136). Therefore, French-Sheldon has to change her attitude to corporeal punishment and in serious cases has the offenders flogged (see

135ff). When a revolt begins to rise among the porters she “realiz[es] [she] must demonstrate to these mutinous, half-savage men that [she] would be obeyed, and that discipline should be enforced at any cost”. Thus, “[w]ith both pistols cocked [...] inspired with fearlessness and strength [she] start[s] through the centre of the rebellious throng, pointing first one, then the other pistol in quick succession the heads of the men, threatening, and fully prepared, determined, and justified to shoot the first dissenter” (174f). That she can do so, without being overpowered by the 138 natives who are armed as well, is only because she had the legal protection of the Sultan and the I.B.E.A.Co., as the natives know that she “ha[s] been empowered [to shoot (one of) them] by the Sultan of Zanzibar” (175). She lets herself be regarded as the “white queen” by all natives, and holds receptions in her full court dress, which helps her enforce the impression that she is superior. She wants to be considered as occupying the same rank as a sultan, which becomes clear when she refuses to pay tribute (=‘hongo’) for passing a region with the following argument: “[...] I am as a white queen coming to you. Would you ask hongo of the sultan of such and such a tribe should he visit you?” (258). Furthermore, her porters find that they could rely on her in times of danger, that she personally cares for their well-being when they fall ill, “that no idle threats [are] used, that promises [are] cautiously given but religiously kept, that yes mean[s] yes, and no, no”, which earns her the respect and obedience of her porters, and so “soon she obtain[s] complete control over every man”. To sum up, French-Sheldon makes her point that she is the leader and must be obeyed most forcibly by using whipping as a punishment and threatening to kill them, which is to be taken seriously because she has the native and the white authorities in her back, but also earns respect by being reliable, honest, direct and caring.

In Kingsley’s report, especially the natives of the Fang tribe, which is a tribe described as very hostile by other native tribes throughout the novel, respect her and treat her kindly. She states that “[a] certain sort of friendship soon arose between the Fans and me. We each recognised that we belonged to the same section of the human race with whom it is better to drink than to fight” (110). It is, however, a very careful friendship, with each party knowing that the other one is prepared to kill if the necessity arises. Nevertheless, Kingsley never hurts a native and she identifies with the Fangs as being “of the same section of the

human race” and befriending them. Thus, Kingsley, compared to French-Sheldon, rather follows a non-violent and less authoritative, but more equal-to-equal way of obtaining respect.

It is obvious that women travelling alone face more problems than when being accompanied by a white man. French-Sheldon experiences great trouble in getting a group of natives to travel with, because an administrative in Africa opposed her travelling into the interior without a white man to guard and protect her. Nevertheless, she finally manages to obtain what she needs. French-Sheldon and Kingsley furthermore need to establish discipline in their travel party. Thereby, both employ different methods, which could be partly perceived as “manly”, but partly are quite different from those employed by male colonisers. Rather “manly” is French-Sheldon’s use of corporal punishment to establish order, as well as Kingsley being prepared to kill a native if it were necessary. . French-Sheldon, however, also gains esteem by stressing her femininity. When appearing in her splendid court-dress, the natives assume that she must be a white queen, ascribe her significance and pay her respect. Also Kingsley’s method of treating the natives as equals and befriending them, certainly differs from that of most male colonisers.

7. Conclusion

The second half of the nineteenth century was a turbulent time. In the time between 1850 and 1900 Africa white people ventured into the interior of Africa and thereby finished the process of colonising nearly the whole of Africa by the turn of the century. Travel societies were founded and gained importance and geographical exploration was an occupation of high prestige for *male* whites. Although a female monarch ruled England, women were severely restricted due to social expectations in Victorian times. Whereas male travellers conquered and “discovered” areas all around the world, women were supposed to stay at home in their domestic sphere and pursue the goal of becoming as close as possible to the “Angle in the House” ideal. Therefore, women had to overcome mores obstacles than men if they wanted to follow their wish to travel and

thereby abandon their expected role at least to some degree. The need to justify the white presence in Africa led to racist assumptions, which regarded the African natives as naturally inferior. Pseudo-scientific research generated “evidence” for the black peoples’ incapability and mental inferiority, suggesting the need for a white guardian. The prevalent thoughts of the time are traceable in the travel narratives of the four authors analysed in this thesis. They directly encounter black people and are often embroiled in preconceived notions about them, as becomes evident in their use of stereotypical images when describing them in their narratives. Also in their style of generalising about “the African” one can see that they cannot totally distance themselves from the usual style of research and writing about African natives at their time. To what extent the four female travellers allow physical contact and get personally involved with the Africans, however, may provide evidence for them coping with native people differently than their male counterparts would.

How the authors perceive and describe some African rituals and circumstances of native life actually conveys at least as much about the authors’ schemata and opinions than it actually says about native culture. Their attitudes on issues like religion, polygamy and cannibalism differ in some points, which can mostly be explained on grounds of their occupation or reason for being in the country; a missionary wife judging native belief differently than an ethnological researcher, for example.

How those four women strive to maintain their femininity in the foreign country differs in extent and method, but in all four narratives, it is evident that they are affected by the Victorian expectations about women. Partly, the journey is seen as a chance to break free from prescribed gender roles, venturing for one time in their lives to do what usually men do. They enjoy the exceptional position of being in charge and being regarded as superior by the black people they encounter. However, the striving to transfer feminine ideals to Africa and the struggle to maintain things they regard as appropriate, like their clothing, no matter how impractical they may be, gives evidence of them being saturated by the discourse on women of the time and evaluating themselves according to their approximating feminine norms. Partly they regard their femininity as an

advantage, and in overcoming obstacles they do not necessarily adopt manly methods, but rely on their special abilities as females.

Generally, Hinderer, French-Sheldon, Colvile and Kingsley exhibit similar ways of dealing with and judging natives and native cultures, which can be explained by their common background of growing up and being educated in “civilised” countries. They share their assumptions on femininity and all, at least to some degree, try to maintain them in the foreign country.

Thus, although all four authors definitely depict racist traces in their narratives, they need not be judged too harshly, because the reader has to keep in mind that they lived in a time when the black peoples’ inferiority was regarded as a scientifically proven fact. They were remarkable for their accomplishments, for as females of their time, they achieved what no one would have expected of them.

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Appendix

Lebenslauf

Persönliche Daten

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Abstract (in deutscher Sprache)

In dieser Arbeit werden vier Reiseberichte von Frauen, die in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts nach Afrika gereist sind, untersucht und verglichen: Anna Hinderers *Seventeen Years in The Yoruba Country* (1877), Mary French-Sheldons *Sultan to Sultan: Adventures among the Masai and other Tribes of East Africa* (1892), Zélie Colvilles *Round the Black Man's Garden* (1893) und Mary Kingsleys *Travels in West Africa* (1899).

Meine Hypothese geht davon aus, dass diese vier Frauen einen gemeinsamen kulturellen Hintergrund haben. Sie alle lebten in einer Zeit der kolonialen Dominanz der Weißen über die Schwarzen, wodurch es wahrscheinlich ist, dass auch sie die in ihrer Zeit gängigen rassistischen Vorurteile vertraten. Da die vier Autorinnen alle in einer Gesellschaft aufwuchsen, welche patriarchalisch geprägt war und eine gewisse Vorstellung davon hatte, wie Frauen sich zu verhalten hatten, wird angenommen, dass sie alle ein ähnliches Bild von der Rolle der Frau hatten und versuchten, diesem zu entsprechen.

In dieser Arbeit wird analysiert, wie, beziehungsweise in welchem Ausmaß, diese Frauen rassistische Annahmen ihrer Zeit in ihren Werken wiedergeben und damit verstärken. Es wird erarbeitet, wie liberal diese Frauen mit den kolonial unterworfenen Schwarzen umgehen, da sie in ihrer patriarchalischen Gesellschaft gewöhnt sind, selbst unterdrückt zu sein; ob sie es ausnutzen zumindest in Afrika Macht und Kontrolle zu haben, oder ob sie sich mit den Unterworfenen identifizieren und ihnen unvoreingenommen begegnen und damit rassistische Annahmen zumindest teilweise widerlegen. Da sich die zu untersuchenden Frauen in manchen Dingen, wie ihrem Familienstand, der Art des Reisens oder ihren Motiven, in Afrika zu sein, unterschieden, gibt es Unterschiede in ihren Einstellungen. Es wird versucht voneinander abweichende Meinungen und Standpunkte zu begründen.

Zu Beginn werden rassistische Theorien dieser Zeit erläutert und es wird auf ihre Verwendung zur Rechtfertigung des Kolonialismus eingegangen. Des Weiteren wird die Rolle der Frau in diesem Zeitalter dargestellt und auf das Reisen generell und im Speziellen im Hinblick auf Frauen eingegangen. Danach wird ein Überblick über das Leben der Autorinnen, ihre Reiserouten,

Motive für die Reisen und Werke gegeben. Im Anschluss wird darauf eingegangen, wie sie Schwarze wahrgenommen haben. Es werden verschiedene stereotypische Annahmen über Schwarze erläutert und es wird aufgezeigt, wie diese in den untersuchten Reiseberichten vorkommen. Außerdem soll gezeigt werden, ob die Frauen sich verallgemeinernd über die Einwohner Afrikas äußern, oder ob sie ihnen Individualität zugestehen. Wie nahe sie Schwarze physisch und emotional an sich heranlassen wird ebenfalls untersucht. Im darauf folgenden Abschnitt wird gezeigt, wie die Autorinnen Afrika empfinden und auf die Rituale und Praktiken der Schwarzen reagieren. Im letzten Teil wird analysiert wie es für diese Frauen war, zu Reisen; wie sie sich verhielten und vor welchen besonderen Herausforderungen sie standen. Abschließend wird ein Fazit über die Resultate der Analyse der vier Werke und ihre Autorinnen gegeben.