

RATIONALE, IDENTITY AND LEGACY:
THE COLLECTION OF MAURICE,
FOURTH AND LAST BARON EGERTON
OF TATTON PARK, 1874-1958

SG MARDEN

PHD

2017

RATIONALE, IDENTITY AND LEGACY:
THE COLLECTION OF MAURICE,
FOURTH AND LAST BARON EGERTON
OF TATTON PARK, 1874-1958

SARAH GRACE MARDEN

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements of the Manchester
Metropolitan University for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History, Politics and
Philosophy, Manchester Metropolitan
University

2017

Contents

<u>List of Illustrations</u>	5
<u>Abstract</u>	11
<u>Acknowledgements</u>	12
<u>List of Abbreviations</u>	13
<u>Preface</u>	14
<u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	18
1.1 Impact and Contribution	18
1.2 Aims	24
1.3 Methodology and Use of Sources	25
<u>Chapter 2: The Maurice Egerton Collection in Context</u>	33
2.1 Situating the Maurice Egerton Collection	33
2.2 The Formation of a Male Collector	60
<u>Chapter 3: Male Collecting</u>	92
3.1 Introduction	92
3.2 Matabele Axe: Becoming a Male Collector	95
3.3 Elephant: Collecting Africa	114
3.4 Meteorite: Expressing Supremacy	148
3.5 Summary	163
<u>Chapter 4: Ethical Collecting</u>	165
4.1 Introduction	165
4.2 Leopard: The Rules of the Shikar Club	167
4.3 Rhino: Managing “Boys”	186
4.4 Tunny Fish: Collecting at Any Cost	207
4.5 Summary	236
<u>Chapter 5: Ordered Collecting</u>	237
5.1 Introduction	237
5.2 Hunting Dog: Becoming an Ordered Collector	240
5.3 Mrs Gray Antelope: Order in Chaos	262
5.4 Gifts: An Ordered Reputation	273
5.5 Summary	286
<u>Chapter 6: Exhibition, Audience and Legacy</u>	287

6.1 Introduction	287
6.2 Tunny Fish: The Legacy of Exhibition	291
6.3 Meteorite: Audience and Purpose	319
6.4 Rhino: The Collection Post Maurice and Beyond	335
6.5 Summary	353
<u>Chapter 7: Conclusion</u>	354
<u>Bibliography</u>	362

List of Illustrations

Figures from the Tatton Park archive (TPA) not photographed by author have been photographed by Peter Spooner and reproduced with permission of Tatton Park.

- Figure 1:** Maurice's passport filled with travel stamps up until 1923, TPA p19
- Figure 2:** Footmen stand outside 9 Seamore Place, Mayfair, Maurice's place of birth, TPA p61
- Figure 3:** Maurice's grandfather, William Egerton, 1st Baron Egerton of Tatton, 1806-1883, TPA p62
- Figure 4:** Maurice's Uncle Wilbraham Egerton, 2nd Baron and 1st Earl Egerton of Tatton, 1832-1909, TPA p63
- Figure 5:** Maurice's father, Alan de Tatton Egerton, 3rd Baron Egerton of Tatton, 1845-1920, TPA p64
- Figure 6:** Maurice's mother, Lady Anna Watson Taylor, daughter of Simon Watson Taylor of Erlestoke Park in Wiltshire, 1843-1933, TPA p65
- Figure 7:** Wilbraham Egerton's collection of Indian Arms and Armour, donated by his daughter Gertrude to Manchester Art Gallery, TPA p69
- Figure 8:** Wilbraham Egerton's collection of Indian Arms and Armour, donated by his daughter Gertrude to Manchester Art Gallery, TPA p70
- Figure 9:** One of Cecil Egerton's books of adventure stories for boys, photographed by author p74
- Figure 10:** Personal inscription inside book, photographed by author p75
- Figure 11:** Maurice's photograph of Percy Lascelles (centre facing) and his wife (seated left) September 17th 1891, TPA p77
- Figure 12:** Maurice's photograph of a fellow pupil Trevor St John Broderick in 1891, TPA p78
- Figure 13:** Maurice's photo of the yard at Wyllies School, TPA p79
- Figure 14:** Maurice's photo of his favourite cow at Wyllies School, TPA p80
- Figure 15:** Maurice's bookcase containing books amassed on the theme of travel and exploration, TPA p84
- Figure 16:** Maurice's copy of ES Grogan's book From Cape Town to Cairo, photographed by author p85
- Figure 17:** Maurice's name appearing in the Tatton visitor book, alongside his father in 1897, TPA p88

Figure 18: Image from Tatton Park’s edition of the photographic souvenir guide to the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, 1887, TPA	p90
Figure 19: Image from Tatton Park’s edition of the photographic souvenir guide to the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, 1887, TPA	p91
Figure 20: Image from Tatton Park’s edition of the photographic souvenir guide to the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, 1887, TPA	p92
Figure 21: Matabele Axe, photographed by author	p95
Figure 22: Maurice aged 21 posing with his camera at Tatton Park prior to his trip to Matabeleland, TPA	p98
Figure 23: Alexander Weston Jarvis, reproduced from Case, Keith and Osborne, Wayne (eds.) (2014) <i>Matabele Sharpshooter: The diary of Colonel Alexander Weston Jarvis during the Matabele Rebellion of 1896</i> , Salient, p6	p100
Figure 24: Maurice’s photograph of FC Selous and his wife, TPA	p101
Figure 25: FC Selous and wife Gladys signature in the Tatton visitor book, 1912. Note also signature and illustration by John G Millais, the noted artist and naturalist, TPA	p102
Figure 26: Maurice’s photograph of Cecil Rhodes’ address, TPA	p104
Figure 27: Ewart Scott Grogan in the Matabele campaign, reproduced from www.travelhistory.org/	p105
Figure 28: A page from Maurice’s Swahili phrase book, TPA, photographed by author	p109
Figure 29: Elephant foot, photographed by author	p114
Figure 30: Maurice’s photograph of his agent, Charles Cowan, TPA, photographed by author	p116
Figure 31: Major Percy Powell Cotton, reproduced from www.quexpark.co.uk	p121
Figure 32: From Left: “Boy” Long, Delamere’s agent, the Prince of Wales, later Edward VIII and Hugh Cholmondeley, Lord Delamere, pictured on safari in 1929, reproduced from Hamilton, Genesta, (1986) <i>A Stone's Throw: Travels from Africa in Six Decades</i> , London: Hutchinson	p127
Figure 33: Key members of the Happy Valley set. From left: Raymond de Trafford, Frederick and Alice de Janze and Lord Delamere pictured in 1926, reproduced from Trzebinski, Errol (2000) <i>The Life and Death of Lord Erroll: The Truth Behind the Happy Valley Murder</i> , Fourth Estate, pxii	p131

Figure 34: Maurice's photograph of his elephant prior to the shooting, TPA	p144
Figure 35: Maurice posing behind his elephant, TPA	p145
Figure 36: Maurice's Hupp car loaded with the elephant tusks, TPA	p146
Figure 37: Meteorite, photographed by author	p148
Figure 38: An example of a page of recorded advice from Maurice's diary, TPA	p151
Figure 39: Maurice's list for Tian Shan trip, TPA, photographed by author	p154
Figure 40: The Hoba meteorite in situ, reproduced from http://giantcrystals.strahlen.org/africa/hoba.htm	p160
Figure 41: Leopard, TPA	p167
Figure 42: List of Shikar Club members from 1946 handbook. Original members are denoted with an asterisk, CRO, photographed by author	p169
Figure 43: The objectives of the Shikar Club from Maurice's handbook, CRO, photographed by author	p170
Figure 44: Illustration of charging rhinoceros from Selous and Bryden <i>Travels and Big Game</i> , TPA, photographed by author	p180
Figure 45: Rhino, TPA	p186
Figure 46: Illustration depicting ES Grogan on safari with his porters, taken from his book <i>From Cape Town to Cairo</i> , TPA, photographed by author	p188
Figure 47: Maurice's rhino in his African Heads Game book, CRO, photographed by author	p203
Figure 48: Either Mabbrukki or Juma posing with the rhino, TPA	p204
Figure 49: Tunny fish, photographed by author	p207
Figure 50: Tunny Club records from 1930 showing the first catch by Mitchell Henry, Scarborough Museums archive, photographed by author	p210
Figure 51: Mitchel Henry and his tunny which held the record until surpassed by Hedley Lewis, SMA, photographed by author	p211
Figure 52: Lady Broughton on board her boat, Leeds Mercury, 05/09/34, photographed by author	p212
Figure 53: Maurice's list of clothes and equipment taken to Scarborough, TPA, photographed by author	p213
Figure 54: Peel's yacht St George, SMA, photographed by author	p214

Figure 55: Crowds gathering to watch fish being brought ashore in 1949, SMA, photographed by author	p216
Figure 56: Jack Tansey (centre with rod) posing beside his catch of six fish, SMA, photographed by author	p217
Figure 57: Maurice and his tunny fishing crew, TPA	p218
Figure 58: Maurice's first tunny fish being landed by his crew, TPA	p220
Figure 59: Foreword to the record books of the British Tunny Club, SMA, photographed by author	p223
Figure 60: Hedley Lewis posing beside his record fish, SMA, photographed by author	p225
Figure 61: Hedley Lewis's fish, now in storage at Scarborough Museum, photographed by author	p226
Figure 62: Tunny Club records showing the entry for Hedley Lewis' record fish, SMA, photographed by author	p227
Figure 63: Tunny Club records from 1933, the year of Maurice's tunny acquisitions, showing the names of anglers awarded certificates for acceptable standards of practice, SMA, photographed by author	p228
Figure 64: Maurice's permit to collect on behalf of Manchester Museum, 1934, CRO, photographed by author	p234
Figure 65: Hunting dog, TPA	p240
Figure 66: Maurice's safari list 1920, TPA, photographed by author	p247
Figure 67: List of supplies taken on safari in February 1923, TPA	p248
Figure 68: List of supplies taken on safari in Dongola 1930, TPA	p250
Figure 69: List of supplies taken on safari in Dongola 1930, TPA	p252
Figure 70: Spine pad, © IWM (EQU 3858)	p252
Figure 71: Maurice's wardrobe list for Fort Portal trip, TPA, photographed by author	p253
Figure 72: Page from Maurice's Big Game Book showing entry for the Hunting Dog, no 218, Chester Records Office, photographed by author	p257
Figure 73: Page of wanted notes from African Heads Game Book, CRO, photographed by author	p258
Figure 74: A page from Maurice's diary noting measurement, TPA	p259
Figure 75: Mrs Gray antelope, TPA	p262

Figure 76: Photograph taken by Maurice in British Columbia, 1902, TPA, photographed by author	p264
Figure 77: Photograph taken by Maurice in British Columbia, 1902, TPA, photographed by author	p265
Figure 78: Maurice's entry in his Game Book for the Mrs Gray, CRO, photographed by author	p268
Figure 79: Maurice's "wanted" list, indicating his hope of acquiring a "good" Mrs Gray, CRO, photographed by author	p269
Figure 80: Wooden water pipe, photographed by author	p274
Figure 81: Maurice's list of records of mule deer, TPA	p276
Figure 82: Maurice's safari packing list, TPA	p279
Figure 83: Coco de mer nut, TPA	p282
Figure 84: Maurice's handwritten object label for the carved chess set, TPA	p283
Figure 85: Maurice Egerton Top Trumps Card, Modern History Greats 2011, photographed by author	p289
Figure 86: Swythamley Tenants Hall, image shared by Staffordshire History Society	p293
Figure 87: Tatton Park Tenants Hall pre 1935, TPA	p295
Figure 88: Stage detail from Tatton Park TH pre 1935, TPA	p296
Figure 89: Extended and remodelled TH post 1935, TPA	p297
Figure 90: Lord Egerton Castle, Kenya, image reproduced from www.tripadvisor.co.uk	p299
Figure 91: The Baronial organ hall at the Castle, Kenya, TPA	p301
Figure 92: A case of antelope donated to Manchester Museum, TPA	p305
Figure 93: An invoice from Rowland Ward, 1941, CRO, photographed by author	p312
Figure 94: Maurice's diagram of tunny fish colours, TPA	p315
Figure 95: Meteorite in situ in TH, TPA	p327
Figure 96: Photograph of boys playing sports taken by Maurice at Cirencester Agricultural College, TPA	p330
Figure 97: Photograph of boys playing sports taken by Maurice at Cirencester Agricultural College, TPA	p331

Figure 98: Willy Stahmer, photographed by Maurice in 1928, TPA, photographed by author	p333
Figure 99: John Marais, photographed by Maurice in 1928, TPA, photographed by author	p334
Figure 100: Letter from Rowland Ward acknowledging receipt of the rhino trophy, CRO, photographed by author	p336
Figure 101: Maurice's rhino in situ in the TH, TPA	p337
Figure 102: Earl Egerton's funeral, Rostherne Church, 1909, TPA	p338
Figure 103: Maurice as a young man in shabby coat and hat which would become his trademark, TPA	p343
Figure 104: Maurice's grave in Kenya, image courtesy of Philip Robinson	p344
Figure 105: Maurice's grave at Rostherne Church, photographed by author	p344

Abstract

The Maurice Egerton Collection at Tatton Park consists of 1213 objects of natural history, ethnography, archaeology and geology collected by the last Baron on his travels around the world between 1896 and 1958. This thesis comprehends the rationale of the collection by distinguishing significant cultural markers beginning at its conception through to displacement at the death of its collector in 1958. This is achieved through a “cultural biography” of the collection, which traces its evolution through a series of interventions made by its collector and curator. Uniting the objects with diary entries and primary source material for the first time reveals untold stories of cultural exchanges and follows the life trajectories of the collector and collection in tandem as they impact upon each other. The collection’s contextual frameworks and the processes through which objects were selected and pursued are situated within an established tradition of aristocratic “male collecting” in the early twentieth century. The identity of the collector is established as both an inevitable product of his times and class, and as the product of a unique series of circumstances that affected the size, content and distinction of his collection.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to Tatton Park and all the people in it. Tatton is my inspiration, my escape and my home. Thank you especially to Caroline Schofield for the encouragement to begin this research.

My supervisors Faye, Sam and Jonathan have been incredibly kind, supportive and patient. We made a fantastic team.

Thank you to the museums and archives that welcomed me, many giving me help on an unexpected level. I am especially grateful to Cuckfield Museum, Rhodes House and Chester Records Office. I hope I have been able to pay it forward by assisting other researchers accessing the Tatton archive or following their own interests in Maurice. Thanks to the followers of my blog, and those that made contact to share their own stories. This PhD was always supposed to be about raising Maurice's profile and it's been gratifying to find appreciative audiences.

Thank you most sincerely to my family, my own "boys". Thank you to Craig, for working so hard so that I didn't have to, and to Merlin for keeping my lap warm. Finally, to Robin for being my biggest distraction and my biggest motivation. You give these words new relevance a century later. As Roosevelt said, "I want to see you game boys...and gentle and tender...Courage, hard work, self- mastery, and intelligent effort are essential to a successful life".

List of Abbreviations

BEA	British East Africa
CRO	Chester Records Office
LEF	Lord Egerton's Files
MEC	Maurice Egerton Collection
MED	Maurice Egerton's diaries
RH	Rhodes House, Bodleian Library at University of Oxford
SMA	Scarborough Museums archive
TPA	Tatton Park archive

Preface

The first encounter of the Maurice Egerton collection is, and has always been, a surprising discovery. The select guests invited into the inner sanctum of Tatton Park's Tenants Hall by the collector himself bore witness to an imposing display of his command and virility. Fierce taxidermy trophies held court on every wall, drawers over-spilled their contents of eggs, shells and rocks, and hand crafted cabinets showcased the tools and artefacts of the "other". The collection has engendered a plethora of emotions in its diverse audiences ranging from surprise, wonder, intrigue and distaste. It has remained unflinchingly provocative and confrontational.

This thesis has its genesis in my own discovery of the collection in 2010, when I applied for the position of Mansion Assistant at the National Trust property of Tatton Park in Knutsford, Cheshire. A main attraction of the role had been a vague awareness of a mysterious collection of taxidermy and ethnographic "curios", of which a tantalising glimpse was offered in a small gallery space in the old Servant's Hall. It was hinted that the portion on offer to visitors at Tatton was just a small part of the entire collection, which was hidden behind locked doors.

During my MA in Art Gallery and Museum Studies the previous year I had become fascinated with the acquisition process and subsequent life trajectories of natural history collections in museums; in particular how the peaks and troughs in their popularity corresponded with their visibility on the gallery floor. Tracing public attitudes to the perception of taxidermy as a timeline from the exciting displays of natural wonders at the Great Exhibitions and new National Museums of the 19th century to the modern sense of distaste at tired and fading displays of "dead" animals was a captivating journey. Just as popular opinion in the recent past seemed ready to consign outmoded taxidermy displays to the dustbin of history, the wheel of fortune began to turn again, regenerating many Natural History galleries once more into relevant and thought- provoking spaces. "Difficult" representations of man's

ultimate domination of nature remain present, but have been superseded by new narratives of conservation and diversity¹.

It was against this backdrop of resurgence that I assumed my role as a custodian of the Maurice Egerton Collection. Yet whilst many museums were dusting off and imagining new potential for their natural history collections, Tatton Park remained a contested space. Since the death of Maurice Egerton in 1958 and the subsequent acquisition of his property by the National Trust, his collection had continued to make a slow retreat from its purpose-built museum room, the Tenants Hall. This retraction culminated with almost all of the collection being locked away by the 1990s, barring the 200 trophy heads that remained too cumbersome to remove and store elsewhere.

The collection rested uneasily in storage, its personality too outsized to accept invisibility. Although it was out of sight, it was not out of mind. The memories and protestations of local visitors remained a strong advocate, and by 2004 it was acknowledged that permanent storage was wasteful and unethical². In that year, the Tatton Park House and Collections Manager wrote a statement of significance for the MEC, designating its continued importance in the twenty-first century. She wrote:

“His collection is one of the most important surviving examples of a private museum assembled by an aristocratic amateur collector. The Tenants Hall Museum at Tatton Park is important for a number of reasons. It is the private collection of a gentleman polymath, assembled towards the close of the great period of colonial travel and development. It is preserved in the grand hall specially built to house it, and it is both a significant social document and a key example of the history of collecting at that period. Although certain items in the museum are of individual importance, its chief *raison d’être* lies in the assemblage as a whole, including its layout and interpretation. Any attempt to redesign, modify or modernise the display would seriously compromise its

¹ In the course of this research, Manchester Museum opened the ground-breaking and award winning new gallery “Living Worlds”, rearranging historic specimens across a broad selection of themes.

² In 2003 funding was awarded to create a new permanent exhibition including significant objects from the collection.

historical integrity, and would diminish its value as a key exemplar of the history of collecting”³.

National Trust Natural History Conservator Simon Moore also championed the collection, describing it as:

“A superb gathering together of many artiodactyl species that any natural history museum would envy”⁴.

Both statements prescribed value to the collection as an important historical and scientific resource and a unique and integral part of the fabric and identity of Tatton Park. It was proposed at this time that a partial re-display of the collection might suit a PhD project to explore the way the collection had been “built up, displayed and used at Tatton”⁵. To date, no such study has been attempted.

However, despite an insistence that the value of the collection lay in its “assemblage as a whole”, it has never been possible to resurrect the original display. Neither is this a feasible hope for the foreseeable future. It is hoped that this research will affect the next phase in the development of the MEC’s cultural biography by furthering a process of awarding the collection the visibility and acclaim it deserves. The ultimate significance of uncovering historical evidence surrounding the collection’s rationale and following its changing identity throughout its association with its collector is to furnish Tatton Park with a better understanding of the legacy of the objects in their care.

In drawing this thesis to its conclusion, I could not have imagined how much more I would come to respect and value the collection since that initial discovery in 2010. Ulrich et al wrote that “asking a student to study an object- any object- almost always leads them in unexpected directions”⁶. This has been very true of my research, which has thrown up rich and fascinating narratives from diverse archives. My biggest struggles have been to remain succinct and true to my aims, resisting the temptation to layer irresistible stories of Maurice’s travels and encounters. I have

³ McKean, Maggie (2004) *Tenant’s Hall Museum Reinstatement, Curation and Conservation Plan*, TPA

⁴ Moore, Simon (2002) ‘A Future for the Egerton Collection of Mammal Trophies at Tatton Park?’ *The National Trust Views* 36, p36

⁵ Dr Philipson, *Minutes of meeting held at Tatton Park, 13/4/04*, TPA

⁶ Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher, Gaskell, Ivan, Schechner, Sara J and Carter, Sarah Anne (2014) *Tangible Things: Making History Through Objects*, Oxford University Press, p3

become fiercely protective of the collection and despite physical gulfs in distance and metaphysical gulfs in ideology, I have excused Maurice his idiosyncrasies and embraced him as part of my day to day life. Approaching this thesis objectively and without emotion has been my biggest challenge. In spite of my inherent bias, I hope that I have been the right candidate to interpret Maurice's collection and that I have afforded the collector his deserved justice.

My biggest rewards have included establishing networks with other researchers and visitors and finding that my research does not exist in a vacuum. Others have begun, renewed, or shared existing research with me, substantiating the vast potential scope of research centred on this multi-faceted personality. I have had the pleasure of watching a timeline of the development of the collector and collection evolve that has seen the stories told at Tatton stripped back to their roots and re-spun based on fact and fun. The most important education for me has been to see the world from my armchair, travelling by Maurice's side on his exciting adventures through America, Africa and India. I have had the opportunity to experience the world of an important and unique individual, and for that I will always be gratefu

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Impact and Contribution

The Maurice Egerton Collection at Tatton Park is an unrevealed treasure. This thesis attempts a thorough imagining of the collection's rationale and promotion of its unique identity and legacy through an appreciation of an unusual history of prolonged private ownership. It recognises Maurice Egerton's individual and valuable contribution to the activity of aristocratic travel and collecting in the early twentieth century¹. This resolves a tendency to exclude the role of the collector from object histories by bringing more context of the collector into play alongside the narrative of the collection. In promoting the value of the MEC as an unvisited resource, this thesis contributes pertinent and valuable information to the context of elite male aristocratic collecting and representation.

Amassed by the 4th Baron Egerton on his travels around the world between 1896-1958, the 1213 objects are literally a collection of a lifetime². Half of the objects are of African origin with fourteen countries represented; the majority sourced from British East Africa, Sudan and Somalia. Objects from China, Mexico, Cyprus, California, Alaska, British Columbia and India can also be found in the collection. Maurice Egerton's passport in the Tatton Park archive is crowded with stamps (figure 1) and when placed alongside his travel diaries it makes it possible to track his movements across the globe in pursuit of objects for his collection. The largest proportion of his objects can be categorised as natural history, including 192

¹ Throughout this thesis the collector will be referred to as Maurice. This is not to trivialise or over familiarise the collector, but is based upon standard interpretation at Tatton Park. It also serves as a simple abbreviation for his formal title of Fourth Baron Egerton of Tatton and to differentiate him from other Egerton family members referenced in this thesis.

² The Collections Management Systems database at Tatton Park lists 1213 objects as being part of the MEC. The actual number of objects is likely to be much higher due to inconsistent cataloguing- i.e. some objects have been documented individually and some counted once as sets. The number can be further speculated when considering what is to be included as part of the collection. For example, the organ rolls and vehicles were collected by Maurice but are not included in this count, but should still be seen as part of the collection. After Maurice's death in 1958 and following the takeover of the National Trust, a sale was held to disperse of a quantity of objects seen as not necessary to the integrity and future of the site. Consequently, some items would have been lost in this sale.

taxidermy “trophies” and 500 other specimens including animal skins, hooves, sinew, bones, butterflies, eggs and shells. The secondary focus of the collection was ethnography, including tools, basketry, clothing, weaponry and jewellery sourced from indigenous communities with whom Maurice made contact. Smaller quantities of geology, including rocks, fossils and minerals, and archaeology, including pottery and glass, complete the collection.

Figure 1: Maurice’s passport filled with travel stamps up until 1923, TPA



Vast in scope, defying logical taxonomy and representing a lifetime’s work, it is difficult to define the collection according either to content or context. The best measure of its rationale was dictated by Maurice himself in his will of 1958. Forced to be explicit in the delineation of his collection, he specified that it consisted of:

“My collection of sporting trophies such as heads horns skins stuffed fish and other trophies...my native curios or other curios and collections...also my large brown game book in which my big game and other collections are listed...all other articles at the date of my death in the Tenants’ Hall including pipe organ and other musical instruments and all other exhibits of various

kinds in the rooms near the Tenants' Hall including the old cars and the coach in the stable yard and all my firearms"³.

This large and rambling collection has never been cohesive. Constantly growing and evolving during the lifetime of the collector, since his death it has retreated from view and become fragmented. Its tumultuous history of expansion and regime change responds fantastically to the idea of the "cultural biography", which tracks the changing meanings of objects and collections as their lives unravel over time⁴. The identity of the entire collection is viewed as being made up of distinct commodities purposely sought by Maurice to contribute something to the whole. Belk sums up this essential object/human relationship by arguing that "collectors create, combine, classify, and curate the objects they acquire in such a way that a new product, the collection, emerges"⁵. Therefore, the rationale of the collection can only be understood alongside the agency and ideology of the collector.

The process of gathering and making meanings through objects has different implications each time it is performed according to the unique social significance of the collector. This cultural biography cannot make sense of the status shifts of the collection without understanding why and how it was appropriate for Maurice to begin to amass it. This thesis makes known "how people over time reveal themselves through the ways they interpret or re-contextualise others"⁶ and confirms Ames's argument that to track the evolution of object meanings we must first understand the identity of the institutions that govern them. Not only are the collective meanings and identities of objects defined through associations with each other, but also through the social outlook of the collector. The collection is the unique product of the collector and would not exist without his interference. Measuring the quantity and quality of this interference contributes to the construction of the cultural biography.

This thesis has chosen to map the establishment of the collection by using an adaptation of the cultural biography method. It does not present a sterile timeline of

³ Last Will and Testament of Maurice Egerton, 1958, p5, Tatton Park Archive

⁴ Kopytoff, I (1986) 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Appadurai, A. (ed.) *The Social Lives of Things*, Cambridge University Press, pp.64-91

⁵ Belk, Russell W (1995) *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, Routledge, p55

⁶ Ames, Michael (1994) 'Cannibal tours, glass boxes and the politics of interpretation' in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p100

the development and uses of the collection but seeks to understand how change has been made possible by the unique circumstances of the collector. This requires an analysis of the social context of the collector to be completed alongside the cultural biography of objects to comprehend how their intent and purpose was conceived and deployed through the key milestones of acquisition and display. This thesis is therefore a two-way process: object interpretation informs the identity of Maurice and Tatton Park, and researching the social background of Maurice reveals why he collected and displayed objects in particular ways.

Hill describes how a cultural biography “offers a way of understanding the relationships between people and between people and things”⁷. This is particularly relevant to this study of the MEC which has the potential to construct a picture of its collector alongside the agency of the objects due to the existence of a large amount of primary diary evidence telling of the personal motivations behind Maurice’s collecting and the private context of exhibition in his own home. Able to unite objects from the MEC with diary entries and primary source material for the first time, this thesis follows the trajectories of the collector and collection in tandem as their lives impacted upon each other. The significant stages in the life of the MEC and the changing roles the objects have assumed throughout their social lives are presented as a series of interventions staged by the collector.

Analysing the changing uses and connotations of MEC uncovers new information about the relationships between collector and collection situated in the historical and social frameworks of the early twentieth century. This is achieved by the exposition of key objects as case studies that pinpoint significant moments in the self-expression of the collector. The case studies build a timeline of the growth and development of Maurice as a collector through the analysis of acquisition and display techniques that represent the key demonstrations of his ideology. This thesis begins with an investigation into Maurice’s background to gauge his appreciation of the material world and meanings cast upon his objects. It considers social and economic factors that shaped Maurice’s emerging identity as a collector and the extent to which his collecting was unique, pioneering or merely predictable in light of these constraints. Maurice can be seen to have explored the boundaries of his social

⁷ Hill, Kate (ed.) (2012) *Museums and Biographies*, Boydell Press, p3

position through the tangible practice of collecting and interpreting material and natural culture. His attempt at mastering his collection was an exercise in self representation as he established an identity that was necessary and relevant to modern times.

As part of an aristocratic ideal, this thesis surmises that Maurice may have felt it both natural and necessary to represent himself through the objects he chose to acquire. The example of his ancestors each bringing a personal selection of goods to the overall collection of furniture and art within their ancestral home placed expectations on Maurice to continue a tradition to preserve and expand the collection of material property. Balanced with this need to conform to the role of aristocratic householder was a desire to add objects that reflected his own personality to differentiate himself from his forbears. Introducing such objects into the house was a public affirmation of identity and demonstrated a natural process of family succession by a conformation to an expected way of behaviour. As each successive generation of Egerton men lived through developments of science and technology, their personal selection of objects instilled in the fabric of Tatton Park demonstrated their grasp on modern life and a renewed bid for relevance within it. The objects available to Maurice and their acquisition were defined by a unique set of rules that dictated what was possible.

In particular, Maurice is defined as a “Male Collector”, a term used distinctly in this thesis to refer to an upper middle class and aristocratic tradition of travelling and amassing specific material evidence of a superior physical, intellectual and economic privilege. Maurice’s diaries provide pivotal access to the world of the Male Collector. They are interpreted for the first time as valuable writings that present themes of masculine ascendancy, heightened ethical responsibility and the implementation of order. Their production took place amongst a tradition of documentary writing by elite males to narrate and authenticate the Imperial experience. This thesis suggests that Maurice’s writing did not exist in a vacuum, but was a social production and essential accompaniment to his collected objects.

Questions of how, why and where the MEC was amassed are central to this thesis, but challenging “why were specific objects collected and not others?”, and “how have they been interpreted in specific contexts?” attempts to reach the heart of the collection. This thesis draws parallels and highlights common themes and

motivations with other collectors and collections, but ultimately argues that the MEC is a distinct entity shaped by unique circumstances.

Overall, this thesis will demonstrate that both the collector and collection take their place amongst contemporaries that were created and driven by a philosophy of elite male Imperialism. Maurice was a product of his times, shaped by an aristocratic legacy of privilege and a tradition of expressing the self through the appropriation of things. The MEC was the material embodiment of his world view, which was historically derived. Therefore, the development of Maurice's social biography is irrevocably linked to the cultural biography of his collection. A series of unusual circumstances that deviated from that of his ancestors had substantial implications for his collection, which quickly outgrew the scale and efforts of any previous Egerton endeavour.

The rationale of the MEC reveals Maurice's individual interpretation of the world available to him, and how he defined his place within it. His objects appealed to him in a fundamental way at a historically derived moment in time. Their assembly and arrangement enabled him to order and make sense of the world in microcosm. Therefore, the MEC provides insight into Maurice's particular interpretation of aristocratic male advantage and brings new knowledge to collecting in the late Imperial world.

1.2 Aims

Four main aims have been identified to concentrate the scope of this research:

1. Establish the foundations and contextual frameworks of the MEC through the format of a cultural biography. This method will best reveal how disparate objects have come together to form a collection, and exposes the fluidity of object meanings from acquisition to exhibition.
2. Use the rationale of the collection to reveal the purposes and motivations of the collector. This will establish the nature of the reciprocal relationship between collector and collection and demonstrate that the histories and identities of the two are defined through associations with each other.
3. Unite primary source material with the objects in the MEC for the first time to uncover unique historical evidence of collecting practices in the early twentieth century. In doing so, this thesis will expand understanding of cross cultural, and cross natural exchanges and situate Maurice within an exclusive social context of aristocratic collecting.
4. Return “mythological” interpretation of the MEC at Tatton Park to a factual basis. This thesis aims to share the stories uncovered with a wide audience including visitors, researchers, museums and curators from within the National Trust. It will advocate the continued importance of the MEC to the narrative of Tatton Park and wider ethos of the National Trust.

1.3 Methodology and Use of Sources

This thesis proposes to translate the language of objects in the MEC by means of a cultural biography. A cultural biography is constructed through shifts in economic status, whereby objects move in and out of the commodity sphere depending on their contextual circumstances, uses, and the social identities and purposes of the people coming into contact with them. A selection of objects in the MEC are studied by making sense of their changing connotations from when they were appropriated to when they were displayed by Maurice. A biography represents a series of “cultural markers”¹ beginning with formation or construction, the effective “birth” of the object. As this thesis focuses specifically on the life of the collection and its relationship with the collector, it does not consider the representations of objects in their lives before collection. This biography begins at the point of acquisition, a comparative “birth” point of the overall collection. At this point, each object was judged worthy to be absorbed into a new community of meaning and their original association as necessary objects of culture or nature was lost.

The economic value and the implied “status” of an object are measured firstly by the sacrifice made by Maurice to acquire it, and furthered through the level and nature of the care he bestowed through curatorship. Status shifts are also apparent through the signification of relationships with people and other objects. This necessitates an understanding of the social influences that led Maurice to assemble and order his collection, as well as an unravelling of the cultural and social bias of his governance. Maurice’s objects were prescribed increased value as they were collected in a competitive market. Comparisons are made with other collectors operating in the Male Collector social milieu. The varieties of objects within the MEC are a unique combination, but it is constructive to identify collections of similar material assembled by men of comparable means and opportunity. This bestows an understanding of the singular development of the MEC, and facilitates appraisal of the life cycles of certain “types” of collection collected by “types” of people. Brief comparisons with contemporaries such as Powell Cotton and Lord Delamere determine that it is not always possible to imagine a standard model of the life cycle of collections established in this time period.

¹ Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things’, p66

Acquisition is a key upheaval in the biography of collections, but following this milestone meanings continue to be constructed, developed and remade through display. Vergo argues that we should next look at exhibitions to see how the biography of an object is formed². In this way, an object can be seen to build a career in the same way as a person if its participation in exhibitions is documented as a curriculum vitae. Changing contexts of the object over time can be assessed by various factors, such as physical position in displays, relationships with other objects, interpretation through labels and text panels and consumption by different audiences. Each of these factors can cause an object to assume new responsibilities and significations. Maurice's original display can be reconstructed by examining original photographs, documentation and accounts of physical location and effect. Tracking developments and modifications in the presentation of his objects continues the cultural biography by recognising the dynamic nature of objects post acquisition.

A large quantity of primary source material provides considerable scope for this cultural biography to construct a detailed life story. However, limitations are imposed by the format of an academic thesis which dictates word and time limits that discourage a full and protracted account. Although the extent of the archive allows biographical data to be retrieved for almost every object in the collection, only a small selection are targeted to ensure a more thorough exposition of their lives. As this study is concerned with the construction of the relationship between collector and collection then this biography has chosen to focus exclusively on following the objects during the lifetime of the collector, and not on their lives before or after his appearance. This covers a sixty year period in which Maurice was the sole instigator of the collection's fate. The identity of the collection post 1958 will be briefly considered to attempt to measure Maurice's legacy, but does not form a crucial part of this research.

The success of any cultural biography is dependent on the availability of evidence disclosing its status shifts. Despite the promise of a cultural biography to celebrate and amplify the voice of material culture, a full account of the journey and development of the object cannot be achieved without external evidence. Lubar and Kingsley agree that artefacts must be "used in conjunction with...documentary

² Vergo, Peter (1989) 'The Reticent Object' in Vergo, Peter (ed.) *The New Museology*, Reaktion, p46

sources” to “widen our view of history”³. A collection with no record of its ownership and uses will remain isolated and unreachable. The evidence for the changing circumstances of the MEC is found in the documentation of the collector, and it is through the analysis of these discourses that a full and engaging biography can be formed. A wealth of primary evidence associated with the MEC facilitates an unusually complete and rich account of the acquisition and use of a private collection in the early twentieth century.

As Maurice’s diaries are the main sources used to assemble the stories of his collection, it is essential to outline the approach taken to interpret his written language. The genre of diary writing and its use within an “institution” of travel and recreation represents a socially constructed pattern of behaviour for men of a particular breeding and outlook. Maurice’s diaries and other written correspondence have been used as tools to reveal the outlook and social structure of the author. Textual analysis uncovers how Maurice regarded his collection as it was formed and managed, enabling the cultural biography to take shape. As McNay argues, textual analysis allows us to take “a step behind the notion of the author” to understand the discursive structures that enable and permit him to use language in such a way⁴. Identifying shared characteristics within the production of diaries should show the historical inheritance behind Maurice’s language, speech and behaviour.

Using and comparing Maurice’s diaries as primary evidence reveals that a collective use of discourse was type casted by those in the Male Collector network. Danaher et al defines discourse as “a type of language associated with an institution, and includes the ideas and statements which express an institution’s values”⁵. Documentary reflections and factual reportage of collecting demonstrated legitimate membership of this social group. Georgakopoulou and Goutsos agree that “texts can only be understood in their immediate and wider contexts of occurrence. Texts are communicative units embedded in social and cultural practices, shaping and being shaped by them”⁶. Joy condenses this to the statement: “writing does not occur in a

³ Lubar, Steven and Kingery, W David (1993) *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Smithsonian Institute, pix

⁴ McNay, Lois (1994) *Foucault: A Critical Introduction*, Blackwell, p55

⁵ Danaher, Geoff, Schirato Tony and Webb, Jen (2000) *Understanding Foucault*, Sage, px

⁶ Georgakopoulou, Alexandra and Goutsos, Dionysis (1997) *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*, Edinburgh University Press, pix

vacuum”⁷. This confirms that a text can only be fully appreciated when put into its wider context of when it was written, who was writing it and for what purpose.

This thesis evaluates Maurice’s background in comparison with the activities of peers and contemporaries to construct social parameters that exist on a crucial, but largely invisible, level. Hall argues that “we are born into a language, its codes and meanings”, suggesting that language is a social phenomenon and a person must follow the rules if he wishes to be understood⁸. Assessing the stylistic elements and content of language in Maurice’s diaries is crucial to establishing the rules of his background, as well as any unique contribution to the field of collecting in this time period. In particular, Thompson argues that “language has been central” to a process whereby “people envisage themselves as belonging to larger communities”⁹. He identifies a “language of imperialism” based upon “a specific historical setting” amalgamating politics, military campaigns and racial awareness¹⁰. This is a useful framework to understand the institution of the Male Collector, whose language developed alongside the context of Imperial omnipotence.

Nineteenth century diaries are useful sources to determine how masculinities were played out through a personal and introspective form of self-expression. Diary writing amongst Big Game hunters of the period was commonplace, although many have not survived or been shared outside of family units. Hammerle describes a “golden age” of primarily male diarists operating in this period who used diary writing to regulate their behaviour through constant reflection¹¹. An excellent comparison would be the writings of Alexander Weston Jarvis, transcribed and published for the first time in 2014¹². Not exclusively a hunting diary, his writings covered periods of military service and leisure in Africa at the close of the nineteenth century, including time spent on safari with Maurice in 1896. Similarly, Powell Cotton used annual Army

⁷ Joy, Annamma (1994) ‘Beyond the Odyssey: Interpretations of Ethnographic Writing in Consumer Behaviour’ in Pearce, Susan M. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p312

⁸ Hall, Stuart (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, p34

⁹ Thompson, Andrew S (1997) ‘The Language of Imperialism and the Meanings of Empire: Imperial Discourse in British Politics, 1895-1914’, *Journal of British Studies* Vol. 32 Issue 2, p173

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Hammerle, Christa (2009) ‘Diaries’ in Dobson, Miriam and Ziemann, Benjamin (eds.) *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History*, London: Routledge, pp.183-184

¹² Case, Keith and Osborne, Wayne (eds.) (2014) *Matabele Sharpshooter: The Diary of Colonel Alexander Weston Jarvis During the Matabele Rebellion of 1896*, Salient

and Navy issue Scribbling diaries to document his activity in campaigns in Africa as well as his collecting expeditions¹³. Spiers dictates that written output from soldiers at this time was “far from rare”, and that many officers kept diaries to chronicle their exploits¹⁴. Diaries that cross genres from military campaign to hunting party draw parallels between the two activities, suggesting that Big Game hunting became a peacetime alternative to exercise masculine virtues.

Hammerle identifies the documentary travel journal as a sub-category of diary commonly produced at this time which particularly allowed the writer to practice “self-education and self-discipline”¹⁵. This can be seen in the diaries of both Maurice and Major Powell Cotton, who provided an “essential colonial toolkit” in appendices to his writings to enable others to follow in his footsteps¹⁶. Aside from content, similarities are also found in the presentation and lexis of diaries of Male Collectors. Powell Cotton’s diaries have been described as “stilted, scrupulous, matter of fact documentary”¹⁷. These adjectives are equally as appropriate to Maurice’s style of writing.

The value of diaries written by eminent figures was recognised as crucial to Imperial discourses, with many of them brought into print. Diaries of game hunts and travels in Africa by writers such as Percy and Frederick Selous, Arthur Blayney Percival and Rowland Ward encouraged and legitimised the emerging sport and British presence in Africa. MacKenzie describes how these texts were crucial in embedding scientific ideas into Imperial rule¹⁸. These volumes existed in Maurice’s private library, and the style and content of their writing provided the inspiration for his own diaries. The publication of memoirs and field notebooks helped to align the collection of natural history and objects of ethnography with an emerging interest in science and the natural world, rather than discourses of supremacy and cultural appropriation. However, their publication meant that original private texts were likely to have been adapted or censored for mass appeal. In contrast, unpublished and unadulterated

¹³ Powell Cotton, Percy (1890) *Army and Navy Scribbling Diary*

¹⁴ Spiers, Edward M (2004) *The Victorian Soldier in Africa*, Manchester University Press, p15, p35

¹⁵ Hammerle, ‘Diaries’, p186

¹⁶ Jones, Karen (2016) ‘The Rhinoceros and the Chatham Railway: Taxidermy and the Production of Animal Presence in the Great Indoors’ *The Journal of the Historical Association*, Vol. 101, Issue 348, p717

¹⁷ Ibid, p718

¹⁸ MacKenzie, John M. (1990) ‘Introduction’ in MacKenzie, John M. (ed.) *Imperialism and the Natural World*, Manchester University Press, p8

diaries such as Maurice's have not been changed, edited or given new meanings, thus providing valuable insight into their social context.

The primary texts available to this thesis were inventoried and assessed at the beginning of this research. A plethora of photographs, correspondence and receipts pertaining to the life of Maurice were found to exist in the Tatton Park Archive and Chester Records Office. To better inform case studies and contextual awareness, records relating to Maurice's contemporaries and their activities were located at Rhodes House at the University of Oxford, Scarborough Museums Trust, Quex Park in Kent and Cuckfield Museum in Sussex. Useful secondary material, including visitor feedback, oral history and exhibition research at Tatton Park were highlighted to provide retrospective views of the MEC. Maurice's diaries, beginning in 1896 and covering almost every year until 1956, were intended to be the main resource for this research. These held abundant potential to make a unique contribution to knowledge surrounding travel and collecting in the early twentieth century. Deposited at CRO for posterity, the diaries are notoriously user-unfriendly. Ranging in size from small pocket notebooks to large exercise book, the scrawled pencil handwriting is cramped, faded and barely legible. In 2012 a portion of the diaries was photographed and digitised by a team of volunteers at Tatton Park. This has been greatly beneficial to this research, allowing the quality of the images to be enhanced and accessed remotely.

Samples of Maurice's diaries were accessed to give preliminary understanding of their nature and scope. This informed the selection of an appropriate method to effectively appraise their content and select the information required to construct this thesis. Although gripping and exciting to read, their vastness appeared insurmountable for a concentrated research project. An approach was needed to streamline the retrieval of useful information. Certain necessary factual information within the diaries was colour coded. This information was thought to be essential in forming an impression of Maurice, as well as beginning the process of the cultural biography. The information sought was as follows:

1. Relationships with people. A list of acquaintances was established to better understand the network of friendships and relationships that directly or

indirectly aided collecting. Amongst these names, certain notable figures operating alongside Maurice were assigned to the group of “Male Collectors”.

2. Locations visited. This included mode of travel, length of visit, remoteness/ease of access and purpose of visit. This information was used to gauge an understanding of the options open to Maurice, and how he exploited them. In addition, a timeline was constructed to keep track of his movements and highlight the extent and frequency of his travels.
3. Objects collected. This included location, time and intent. Information about the type, nature and number of objects collected was recorded to gauge Maurice’s opinions of their worth and value to his collection. Acquisitions were measured against the timeline of places visited, highlighting correlations of popular collecting regions and periods in the collector’s life.
4. The process of exchange. This included persons involved, and method of exchange. This was intended to reveal Maurice’s position and role within the acquisition process and the type of transaction that took place.

This information was accrued through a process of close reading of the diaries. The objects selected for case studies received priority, and their accounts have been located and followed through Maurice’s texts. Aside from content, further information was taken from the stylistic elements of Maurice’s texts. Structural features of the text such as genre, length, presentation, legibility and lexis are all factors thought to reveal the intentions and confidence of the curator.

Due to the size of the collection, it has not been feasible to record the circumstances surrounding the acquisition and display of each object. Instead, objects have been chosen as case studies and their place and contribution to the identity of the overall collection have been examined. Where possible, these objects have been selected as typical examples of the wider collection, and representative of the passing of time and development in Maurice’s career. Realistically, their selection has also been influenced by the level of documentation available. These case studies illuminate the key milestones in the rationale and identity of the collection, revealing as much as possible about their worth to the collector, the process of exchange and the connotations of display. As a sample, these studies track the development of Maurice into a collector, following the progress of his construction of identity and signifying tangible links with people and places. Each object case study represents a

snap shot through which the identity of the collector is framed at a given moment in time.

This thesis divides its source material into chapters that follow a chronological development of collector and collection throughout their association with each other. Chapter two places this study and the collection itself into its wider context. It addresses the construction of the Male Collector, setting out arguments that suggest he can be both “born” and “made”. Chapter three begins the process of biography by marking the transition from Maurice’s first tentative travels abroad as an outsider to highlighting examples of Maurice’s expressions of superiority which concluded his successful assimilation into the Male Collector group. Chapter four addresses the rules of the group, establishing how Maurice’s collecting practices were influenced and governed. It sets out the ethical implications of Maurice’s collecting, demonstrating that temperance and an awareness of conservation came to play an increasingly visible role in his collecting methods. Having established the rules, chapter five traces their application in acquisition methods. It follows the evolution of Maurice into an ordered collector seeking to establish a reputation as a successful and restrained Male Collector. The connotations of Maurice’s display at his Cheshire home of Tatton Park are set out in chapter six, which also discusses the legacy of the MEC and Maurice’s struggle to ensure that it endured the passing of time.

Chapter 2: The Maurice Egerton Collection in Context

2.1 Situating the Maurice Egerton Collection

To research a history of the MEC, it is necessary to acknowledge the abilities of objects to communicate meaningful narratives. Historians tend to rely on “text-based sources”¹⁹ as objects have been widely acknowledged to be “mute” and unable to speak of their history or purpose without human intervention²⁰. An individual or institution would speak for an object through interpretation, of which they were always in control. More recent theory contradicts this, supposing that objects accumulate meanings of their own throughout their lives. Knell argues that the potential of studying material culture itself is widely underestimated in academic research, and that due to this, historians often fail when studying the history of social practice²¹. Franco agrees that “objects serve an active role in people’s lives”, therefore, “material culture studies that analyse the social context and iconographic meanings of objects can add considerably to an understanding of attitudes not otherwise recorded in written documents”²². Shelton proposes that objects can be used as historical evidence and “function like language in providing meaningful, comprehensible and appropriate communication”²³. These views allow that objects can and should be invested with value and brought to the forefront of historical discourses.

The key study to give agency to objects was performed by Kopytoff who argued that objects can be seen to have biographies that can take shape independently of human interference²⁴. This is condensed effectively by Lyons, who argues that

¹⁹ Ulrich et al, *Tangible Things*, p3

²⁰ Vergo, ‘The Reticent Object’ pp.46-48

²¹ Knell, Simon J (2004) ‘Altered Values: Searching for a New Collecting’ in Knell, Simon J. (ed.) *Museums and the Future of Collecting*, Ashgate, p29

²² Franco, Barbara (1997) ‘The Ritualisation of Male Friendship and Virtue in Nineteenth Century Fraternal Organisations’ in Martinez, Katharine and Ames, Kenneth L (eds.) *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture*, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Inc.

²³ Shelton, Anthony Alan (2000) ‘Museum Ethnography: An Imperial Science’ in Hallam, E. and Street, B (eds.) *Cultural Encounters*, Routledge, p155

²⁴ Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things’

“things are the agents of social life, not only the passive reflections of it”²⁵. Appadurai agrees that “even though from a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context”²⁶. Cultural biographies have most commonly been employed to track the histories of objects and collections with the purpose of revealing a useful history to augment understanding of their role and relevance to the museum or venue of today²⁷. Ames explains how this can be achieved by following “the social history of the object from origin to current destination, including the changing meanings as the object is continually redefined along the way”²⁸. The curator and exhibition venue is active in making meanings, and Ames agrees that we should comprehend them as a “layered object and machine for re-contextualisation”²⁹. Tythacott found it important to document the involvement of a series of curators in her biography of Chinese bronzes at Liverpool Museum³⁰. She believes that the changing meanings of objects can only be understood in tandem with an appreciation of the institutional ideologies of their institutions³¹. This approach has been used in recent object and collection biographies by Henderson³², Poulter³³ and Everest³⁴, who have accepted the strengths of the cultural biography methodology in creating useful timelines in the histories of the collections they have studied.

Although Carreau argues that “personal, institutional, collection and object biographies need to be examined together” to fully illustrate the complexities of a

²⁵ Lyons, Claire L (2002) ‘Objects and Identities: Claiming and Reclaiming the Past’, in Barkan, Elazer and Bush, Ronald (eds.) *Claiming the Stones/Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity*, Getty Research Institution, p127

²⁶ Appadurai, Arjun (1994) ‘Commodities and the Politics of Value’ in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p70

²⁷ See Poulter, Emma (2008) *Connecting Histories: Recontextualising the West African Collections at the Manchester Museum*, Manchester University, Henderson I., Foster, S., James, H. and Jones, S. (2008) *A Fragmented Masterpiece: Recovering the Biography of the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish Cross-Slab*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and Everest, Sophie (2011) ‘Under the Skin: The Biography of a Manchester Mandrill’, in Alberti, Samuel J.M.M. (ed.) *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie*, University of Virginia Press, pp.75-91

²⁸ Ames, ‘Cannibal Tours’, p100

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Tythacott, Louise (2012) ‘Classifying China: Shifting Interpretations of Buddhist Bronzes in Liverpool Museum, 1867-1997’ in Hill, Kate (ed.) *Museums and Biographies*, Boydell Press, p183

³¹ Ibid, p174

³² Henderson et al. *A Fragmented Masterpiece*

³³ Poulter, *Connecting Histories*

³⁴ Everest, ‘Under the Skin’

cultural biography³⁵, in reality their focus and content can be extremely varied. The wide variety of substance and the distinction of taste in collections of objects greatly influence the focus of cultural biographies, dictating what information can be usefully mined from studying their past lives. For example, Coutu uses a biography of elephant specimens in the Powell Cotton collection to augment scientific understanding of elephant habitats in British East Africa³⁶. He does not consider the complex relationships between the hunter and his prey, preferring to recognise the strengths of collections in revealing their original contexts of ecology. In contrast, Marvin argues that collections of animal trophies must always be linked to their hunter due to a strong relationship forged through the acquisition process³⁷. He states that it should not be possible for biographies of natural history trophy collections to separate and ignore this strong bond of personal memory³⁸.

Personal memory is usually lost in collections where there is a lack of evidence or institutional reluctance to present a complete account, causing biographies to favour the situational connotations of the objects themselves rather than the stories and significance of people and collectors. For example, a “culture of amnesia” present at Manchester Museum prevented Poulter from investigating the multitude of donors responsible for the formation of the West African collections³⁹. In his biographical study of an overlooked private collector, Jordan concurs that museums today rarely investigate the name in the donor section of their records, and that tracing the life and background of these names could provide “insight” and “meaning” to their collections⁴⁰. He argues that these hidden histories of the acquisition of objects prior to museum donation are an important stage in their lives and should be better understood and put to use by the museums that display them. His biography establishes a series of unrelated objects as the “Ernest Marsh collection”, a

³⁵ Carreau, Lucie (2012) ‘Individual, Collective and Institutional Biographies: The Beasley Collection of Pacific Artefacts’ in Hill, Kate (ed.) *Museums and Biographies*, Boydell Press, p208

³⁶ Coutu, Ashley N (2015) ‘The Elephant in the Room: Mapping the Footsteps of Historic Elephants With Big Game Hunting Collections’, *World Archaeology* 47, Issue 3, p495

³⁷ Marvin, Garry (2011) ‘Enlivened Through Memory: Hunters and Hunting Trophies’ in Alberti, Samuel J.M.M. (ed.) *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie*, University of Virginia Press, p203

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Poulter, Emma (2013) ‘Silent Witness: Tracing Narratives of Empire Through Objects and Archives in the West African Collections at the Manchester Museum’, *Museum History Journal* 6, Issue 1, p6

⁴⁰ Jordan, Christopher (2007) *Steering Taste: Ernest Marsh, A Study of Private Collecting in England in the Early 20th Century*, London University of the Arts, p73

collective entity formed by the private endeavours of an individual collector⁴¹. This thesis similarly establishes the “Maurice Egerton collection”, and traces its emergence as a product of an elite aristocratic masculine collector.

Collections sought for and displayed in private homes have a long tradition in British aristocratic society. This has been shown by Stobart who argues that “dynastic consumption was seen as an essentially male concern” and that it was crucial for elite status to be delineated through the display of “luxury, taste and connoisseurship”⁴². “Lavish, splendid” spending was the “hallmark of the aristocracy” as it allowed them to distinguish themselves as a cohesive social group⁴³.

Country house collections were amassed over generations, and although varied in quantity and design, they were relatively united by theme and expectation. Suitable objects might be collections of art, books, furniture, ceramics and textiles. This affected constraint in consumption choices due to the expectation that heirs would continue to collect certain types of objects that would suggest continuity with the past and would fit into the material culture of a country estate. The contents of houses were so predictable as to be interchangeable. Sir Richard Sykes of Sledmere purchased an organ that had been built for Dunecht House in 1947⁴⁴. Two Turner paintings depicting Tabley Hall commissioned by Sir John Fleming Leicester of Tabley were bought by the Earl of Egremont for his collection of Turner’s at Petworth⁴⁵. This trade in country house commodities continued at Tatton Park where a seventeenth century oak panel staircase was moved to the house from Hough End Hall⁴⁶. Two great collectors of art in the Tatton Park family were Wilbraham Egerton and his grandson, also Wilbraham, 2nd Baron. Their collections enriched the interiors they inherited in the nineteenth century and demonstrated their taste for early Italian and Flemish artists.

Aristocratic collections become more diverse into the late nineteenth century when examined in context with increased interaction with new peoples and ideas. Conflicts

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Stobart, Jon (2015) ‘Status, Gender and Life Cycle in the Consumption Practices of the English Elite. The Case of Mary Leigh, 1736-1806’, *Journal of Social History* 40, Issue 1, p82

⁴³ Stobart, Jon and Rothery, Mark (2016) *Consumption and the Country House*, Oxford University Press, p50

⁴⁴ *Sledmere* (2008) Jarrold Publishing, p8

⁴⁵ Cannon Brookes, Peter (1991) *Tabley House*, Johnsons, p9

⁴⁶ *Tatton Park Guidebook* (2010), The Printing House Ltd, p62

of inheritance caused heirs to struggle with a balance of tradition and continuity, and contemporary and personal desires to collect new material. Stobart describes a duality in the material culture of the elite, whereby heritage and the connection to an established past competed with fashion and a desire to collect what was new and novel⁴⁷. It was as important for families to preserve, display and inherit the treasures of their forbears as it was for them to spend on modern furnishings and fashions that represented their current status of wealth and distinction. However, this also limited the individuality of the next generation as “the obligations of retaining family collections served to constrain an individual’s consumption choices”⁴⁸.

Collections such as the MEC might be seen to be a development of an aristocratic historic inheritance rather than a unique and strange irregularity. Private collections of natural history and ethnography were commonly collected by elite males in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and displayed in the home⁴⁹. The term “cabinet of curiosity” has been applied primarily to princely or elite private collections of the renaissance, whereby men would seek exotic and rare objects and arrange them to represent his understanding and position in the modern world. Tosi describes these cabinets as housing “the marvellous, the singular, the unusual” objects including “elephant tusks, crocodiles, ostrich eggs, unicorn, rhinoceros and deer horns and bezoars” displayed in cabinets in the stately home⁵⁰. This description resonates with the MEC over 300 years later, with almost all of those stereotypical “wonders” being present in Maurice’s private home collection. Tosi’s adjectives could also define the priorities of the MEC, which was essentially an assemblage of objects of the “other” gathered to inspire awe and generate respect.

Although some private collections of this nature continued to be amassed into the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Alberti notes a general shift from the personal cabinet to “learned institution” and “municipal ownership” in the late

⁴⁷ Stobart, Jon, and Rothery, Mark (2014) ‘Fashion, Heritage and Family’, *Cultural and Social History* 11, Issue 3, p387

⁴⁸ Ibid, p401

⁴⁹ Alberti, Samuel J.M.M (2005) ‘Owning and Collecting Natural History Objects in Nineteenth Century Britain’, in Beretta, Marco (ed.) *From Public to Private: Natural History Collections and Museums*, Science History Publications, p142

⁵⁰ Tosi, Alessandro (2005) ‘Wunderkammer vs. Museum? Natural History Collecting During the Renaissance’ in Beretta, Marco (ed.) *From Public to Private: Natural History Collections and Museums*, Science History Publications, p44

Victorian period⁵¹. Furthermore, he believes that private collectors were keen for their collections to be accepted by museums⁵². Therefore, the worth and status of collections that remained in private hands and were once accepted as personal “curios” became more contested and conspicuous amongst the traditional trappings of a country house.

Other sources agree that private collections that were assigned a curiosity context in the nineteenth century began to be viewed with an air of disrespect. MacGregor describes a curiosity stereotype of “irredeemable quaintness, of random conjunctions of unrelated specimens brought together by chance and in an essentially haphazard manner”⁵³. Bann argues that such collections were seen as a threat to “the benevolent ideal of useful instruction” associated with museum collections, and as such they are more in keeping with unregulated private collections which were a “chaotic, regressive domain, half hidden from the public eye”⁵⁴. The preferred, legitimate, model of collecting was to seek scientific examples of specimens or cultural objects in complete sets, according to an institutional belief in the need for collections to educate rather than amuse.

Private collections such as the MEC may have used wondrous objects to draw the initial gaze of the viewer, but it is clear that his attention was sustained through further interpretation that demonstrated the knowledge and world view of the collector. Tosi suggests that this was apparent in seventeenth century cabinets, whereby “wonder” introduced and sustained “teaching”⁵⁵, and that the true intention of these cabinets has long been misunderstood. Impey, Oliver and MacGregor agree that curiosity collections should not be relegated as disordered and inconsequential⁵⁶. They promote the value of collections amassed by wealthy collectors and interpret their activity as an attempt to value their world, in keeping with the idea that collections reflect the social understandings of their makers⁵⁷.

⁵¹ Alberti, ‘Owning and Collecting’, p141

⁵² Ibid, p145

⁵³ MacGregor, Arthur (2007) *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, Yale University Press, p11

⁵⁴ Bann, S (2003) ‘The Return to Curiosity: Shifting Paradigms in Contemporary Museum Display’ in McClellan, A (ed.) *Art and Its Publics*, Blackwell, pp.121-122

⁵⁵ Tosi, ‘Wunderkammer vs. Museum?’, p53

⁵⁶ Impey, Oliver, and MacGregor, Arthur (eds.) (1985) *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in 16th and 17th Century Europe*, Clarendon

⁵⁷ Ibid, p1

George agrees that amongst the manifold intentions of curio objects, including “continuing as records of their owners travels, as status symbols, as reflections of the general desire to collect odds and ends and pretty things”, their essential existence was to contribute “to the ordering of the natural world”⁵⁸.

An inherent problem with curiosity objects is that they remain heavily authored, and require considerable narrative expression to present them to an audience. In private collections this can be renegotiated as a benefit as objects claim a strong association with their collector and curator, whose continued care binds them ever tighter to his own identity. Therefore, the private country house context can be seen as the only legitimate platform to display “curious” objects to enable them to share undiluted narratives of their life journeys. These objects are not isolated or ridiculed, but prescribed new significance as objects that appealed collectively to the collector and reflect his passage through the world.

Whilst it may not be accurate to prescribe a curiosity label to the MEC, its apparent reputation as a house of curios should not be seen as derogatory or absolute.

Thomas argues that the very term “curiosity” makes possible human history, whereby collectors are distinguished from ordinary men through their “capacity to venture into and indeed to dominate many environments”⁵⁹. Although the MEC is unique in its scale, content and history, such collections retained in private hands are not, as Alberti suggests, rare⁶⁰. It is apparent that many travellers worked diligently at “the business of museum making” through their collecting priorities, but a multitude of collections were retained in domestic spaces⁶¹. MacKenzie agrees that “imperial objects were everywhere”, not just in the great institutions but also in “great country houses and private homes”⁶². Examples of notable collections are identified in chapter 6 of this thesis, and included the collections of the Brocklehurst family at Swythamley Hall, and Powell Cotton at Quex Park.

⁵⁸ George, Wilma (1985) ‘Alive or Dead: Zoological Collections in the Seventeenth Century’ in Impey, Oliver, and MacGregor, Arthur (eds.) *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in 16th and 17th Century Europe*, Clarendon, p187

⁵⁹ Thomas, Nicholas (2016) *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums are Good For in the 21st Century*, Reaktion, p11

⁶⁰ Alberti, ‘Owning and Collecting’, p141

⁶¹ Thomas, *The Return of Curiosity*, p25

⁶² MacKenzie, John M. (2009) *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*, Manchester University Press, p13

To comprehend the rationale of any collection, it is clear that cultural biographies must be socially informed and take into account the changing representations of objects as they are classified into cultural categories. Ames outlines several possible ways of viewing objects; as “commodity, as artefact, as specimen, as art, as someone else’s heirloom, treasured cultural heritage, or sacred emblem” and proves that these can be different ways of seeing the same thing at different phases in its life⁶³. It is important to realise that no object is neutral, and in particular Trentmann reminds us that objects collected in the age of Empire have deep rooted associations with European supremacy and fortunes⁶⁴.

Although designed with museum collections in mind, Pearce’s definitions of souvenir, systematic or fetish objects remain a prominent discourse and are a useful starting point to unravel object meanings within the MEC⁶⁵. “Souvenirs” have come to be associated with single collectors, memorialising significant moments in their life history⁶⁶. Such objects are very responsive to interpretation using the biography method as they represent key events and relay stories of people and places. Maurice’s objects can be viewed at their most fundamental level as mementos of his travels and evidence of his participation in important historic moments in time. They retain this significance through exhibition as they hold a “glamour-by-association” and tangible legacy for their collector⁶⁷.

As they remain irrevocably tied up with the identity of the collector, souvenir objects are said to become “boring and embarrassing” if interest in them does not span the passing of time or they become detached from the story of their collector⁶⁸. Stewart agrees that objects are “saturated with meanings that will never be fully revealed to us”⁶⁹ as we can never truly repeat the authentic experience of the collector. These limitations do not apply to the MEC, which has survived almost intact in its original setting it continues its association with its collector. Extensive accompanying

⁶³ Ames, ‘Cannibal Tours’, p101

⁶⁴ Trentmann, Frank (2016) *Empire of Things: How we Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty First*, Penguin Random House, p121

⁶⁵ Pearce, Susan M (1992) *Museums Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*, Leicester University Press

⁶⁶ Ibid, p73

⁶⁷ Pearce, Susan M (1994) ‘Collecting Reconsidered’ in in Pearce, Susan M. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p196

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Stewart, Susan (1993) *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Duke University Press, p133

documentation surrounding its acquisition can also bring us closer to a full imagining of the significance of the souvenir. Despite this potential to link Maurice's objects as souvenirs, this approach would not necessarily engender information that is useful or relevant to how the collection is viewed today. As Stewart suggests, the souvenir is retrospective rather than reaching "outwards towards the future"⁷⁰. In the recent timeline of the collection's life it is apparent that its prestige has waned as Maurice's activities have become difficult to equate with modern sensibilities. To meet the aim of this thesis to advocate the continued importance of the collection to the identity of Tatton Park, a deeper analysis of its rationale and legacy is required.

A "souvenir" reading of the MEC can be useful, but the second of Pearce's categories, "systematic", suggests that it is superficial and overly simplistic to truly address the complexities of its rationale. The term "systematic" is applied to collections that openly demonstrate knowledge to public audiences as opposed to the furtive and shameful private world of the collector. They are purposeful and logical, emphasising classification, an ordered and dedicated mind and the ability to complete a set. Therefore, these collections are most favoured by museums as complete sets are conceived as a display with a logical formation and they carry no awkward or sentimental bias of the original collector⁷¹. As such, they rarely remain in private hands as they hold no personal meaning to a collector who desires that his series will become complete and aspires towards museum donation. The diversity of Maurice's collections, the organised methods of collecting and arranging demonstrate the orderly mind of a systematic collector. Systematic collections also fit with the image of a man wanting to control an image of the world through microcosm.

The apparent antonym of systematic is the "fetish". Fetish collections are defined as samples of a similar thing that satisfy or subconsciously control the collector⁷². These objects play a large role in shaping the collector's personality, rather than the objects being a passive reflection of it as in souvenir or systematic collecting. Gathercole describes this phenomenon as existing when artefacts "are assumed to be what they

⁷⁰ Ibid, p135

⁷¹ Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p87

⁷² Ibid, p81

are not”⁷³. A collector will form a strong personal need for the object, making it ever necessary to seek more of the same for a renewal of stimulation, becoming enslaved to the imagined power of the object. Accumulation of these objects will stop only with “death, bankruptcy or a sudden shift of interest”⁷⁴. This thesis establishes that the scale of Maurice’s collecting activity was pursued to the detriment of his finances and social relationships⁷⁵. Although his collection was varied, trophy collecting was his primary concern, and the time and effort dedicated to the hunt could be seen as evidence of an obsessive mentality.

Fetish collections are often associated with private collectors who are aware that others may not understand or approve of their activity⁷⁶. They are rejected by the museum as they retain complicated associations with the collector that are difficult to unravel. The MEC was not available in the public domain during Maurice’s lifetime, which might have been due to apprehension of receiving unsolicited public judgement. Made vulnerable through his display which was a flagrant image of self-representation, Maurice retained control by keeping his collection private. The fetish definition falls short when the MEC is measured against a pattern of similar activity by other collectors, suggesting there was a common practice condoned amongst his peers. Trentmann agrees that it is not useful to separate collecting into “good” and “bad” as concepts of morality, including proper behaviour and spending in collecting, change over time with the realisation of new ideologies⁷⁷.

As elements of each of Pearce’s categories can be seen at play in the definition of the MEC, either they cannot be mutually exclusive or they are not a definitive model that realises the rationale of the collection. Nevertheless, they engender relevant discussion on themes of self-representation, ethics and order that will be expanded in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

Having situated this study of MEC against its relevant theoretical frameworks, the approach to understanding the make-up of its collector will now be laid out. A key debate in the attempt to break down man’s fascination and complex relationships

⁷³ Gathercole, Peter (1989) ‘The Fetishism of Artefacts’ in Pearce, Susan (ed.) *Museum Studies in Material Culture*, Leicester University Press, p74

⁷⁴ Pearce, ‘Collecting Reconsidered’, p197

⁷⁵ For details of auction of land and property see Chapter six

⁷⁶ Pearce, *Museums Objects and Collections*, p83

⁷⁷ Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, p7

with objects, particularly in the consumer driven societies of Western culture, is whether a collector is “born” or “made”. If Maurice’s social status as defined by heritage, character and experiences is considered in correlation with his collecting activity, it could be argued that this made him more inclined to become a collector. It could even be possible to predict the types of object he might collect and the ways in which he collected and displayed them. Clarke supports the theory that that the collection of material culture is a social, rather than individual, production⁷⁸, and Tilley agrees that individuals are always overruled by their social backgrounds and they do not escape the *langue*⁷⁹ prescribed to them⁸⁰. Tilley argues further that individuals do not construct material culture, but are constructed themselves through the selection of objects available to them⁸¹. If it is assumed that an appreciation of objects is formed according to what is available in one’s social upbringing, and that it was particularly crucial for the aristocracy to use material heritage to define a “sense of purpose and place in the world”⁸², then it becomes highly probable that Maurice would become a collector. This path can be seen as pre-destined from a series of mitigating circumstances surrounding his unique position at birth.

Attractive, but overly simplistic, this argument does not permit a study of the MEC and its collector to contribute beyond an introspective framework of inevitability. This thesis takes an alternative viewpoint that recognises the importance of background but enables individuals to emerge from it. The circumstances of Maurice’s birth and the encouragement of his family gave Maurice the necessary inspiration and resources, but the content and scale of his collection was difficult to equate either with the industry of his ancestors or the most immodest predictions of what he might achieve. This perspective is supported by Shelton who argues that “all collecting is necessarily partial” but “corresponds to *individual* reactions to particular ideologically constituted intellectual or emotional fields”⁸³. Hodder agrees that there are cultural

⁷⁸ Clarke, David (1994) ‘Culture as a System With Subsystems’ in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.44-47

⁷⁹ *Langue* refers to the principles of *langue* and *parole* outlined by Saussure (in Pearce, Susan M (1995) *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, Routledge, p23 and Tilley, Christopher (1994) ‘Interpreting Material Culture’ in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p67). *Langue* might define rules of social background, and *parole* the actions of the individual within that background.

⁸⁰ Tilley, ‘Interpreting Material Culture’, p70

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Lyons, ‘Objects and Identities’ p116

⁸³ Shelton, ‘Museum Ethnography’, p180

frameworks defining the reproduction of actions, and states that these are historically derived⁸⁴. But he disagrees with Clarke and Tilley by stating that “individuals are not simply instruments in some orchestrated game”⁸⁵. Categorising collectors according to their background becomes inadequate “as soon as a level of human choice is involved” as human behaviour is “rarely entirely mechanistic”⁸⁶. Mack and Belk lend further support to the theory that collectors are often born from within families that also collect, but the action of collecting and what is collected is highly personalised⁸⁷. Therefore, private collections may be products of social upbringing, but are also bespoke, highly personal and sacred to the collector. This assumption gives value to this thesis by supposing that the MEC is a unique construction with original and significant information to share.

It is crucial to glean an awareness of the socially constructed collector by following a timeline of his activities and the circumstances that placed him there. As the cultural biography method is sympathetic to the idea that a collection is constantly evolving, it follows that the collector also augments or reinvents himself. Therefore, the acquisition of an object is perceived as a snapshot from a fragmented moment in time which builds an image of the collector’s habits and viewpoint at different stages in his life. Prown agrees that responses to objects are affected by an individual’s mentality at an exact moment⁸⁸. In this respect, an object can excite a person in the present but have had no appeal in the past.

Constructing a cultural biography made up from these snapshots into the past reveals the importance of the act of collecting to identity building. Kavanagh describes conscious acts as reminders of ourselves, so the repetitive act of collecting can then be seen as reinforcing and affirming the subjective sense of self⁸⁹. Lyons adds that “cultural heritage is central to a sense of purpose and place in the world” and that sustaining identity requires a person to frame their past against

⁸⁴ Hodder, Ian (1994) ‘Theoretical Archaeology: A Reactionary View’ in Pearce, Susan M. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p51

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ Ibid, p52

⁸⁷ Mack, John, (2003) *The Museum of the Mind*, British Museum and Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, p68

⁸⁸ Prown, Jules (1994) ‘Mind In Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method’, in Pearce, Susan M. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p135

⁸⁹ Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, p20

others through the acts of appropriation and possession of goods⁹⁰. Therefore, the “collecting of antiquities has been essentially a practice of representation as much as ownership”⁹¹. As collectors view their collections as extensions of their personalities, they can be interpreted as the public face that the collector crafts and presents to the world. Therefore, the MEC is active in meaning making, and its themes of prowess, daring, exploration and economy were selectively promoted by the collector.

The term “Male Collector” is used in this thesis for the first time to delineate certain men that conformed to a socially constructed ideology of masculine privilege and responsibility. Mangan and McKenzie have come closest to documenting the peculiarities of the Male Collector through their description of the “Anglo-Saxon imperial hunter-officer” of the late nineteenth century who promoted adventurous masculinity through the collection of Big Game specimens⁹². A shared history of education and military service is an apparent similarity between men that will be considered as Male Collectors. However, their insistence that their ideology of Imperial masculinity was born from military tradition and an “epidemic of martial feeling” fostered through the public school system excludes a wider consideration of the impact of family relationships and the popularity of the Great Exhibitions of the era⁹³.

“Male Collector” is used here to encompass a broader variety of social markers and influences. Thompson argues that “British society was exposed to a wide variety of Imperial influences” that were “subtle and complex”⁹⁴. MacKenzie agrees that the Empire “came to the British public in new and often dramatic ways”⁹⁵. In her imagining of what instituted the “racial and cultural superiority” of the Imperial male, Bush brings together the contributory factors of school curriculum, scouting movement, consumption of products, literature and popular culture⁹⁶. All of these

⁹⁰ Lyons, ‘Objects and Identities’, p116

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Mangan, J.A. and McKenzie, C. (2008) ‘Martial Masculinity in Transition: The Imperial Officer-Hunter and the rise of a conservation ethic’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, Issue 9, p1245

⁹³ Mangan, J.A. and McKenzie, C. (2008) ‘Duty Unto Death’- The Sacrificial Warrior: English Middle Class Masculinity and Militarism in the Age of New Imperialism, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, Issue 9, p1084

⁹⁴ Thompson, Andrew S (2005) *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain From the Mid Nineteenth Century*, London, pp.9-10

⁹⁵ MacKenzie, John (1999) ‘The Popular Culture of Empire in Britain’ in Brown, Judith M, and Wm. Roger Louis (eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, p213

⁹⁶ Bush, *Imperialism, Race and Resistance*, p24

staples can be seen to have influenced the development of the Male Collector, and therefore, to fully “appreciate their cultural indoctrination from infant to adult, they must be set carefully into the context of their times”⁹⁷.

The context of an aristocratic or upper class childhood and education in an age of Imperialism was extremely influential to the moulding of the Male Collector identity. The education received at public schools promoted manliness as “the highest virtue to which a British schoolboy could aspire”⁹⁸. Springhall describes how playing games and sports was an intrinsic part of building a manly persona⁹⁹. Bateman highlights cricket in particular as a “performance” of Imperial masculinity, which upheld “rigid class distinctions” and embodied the “spirit of fair play”¹⁰⁰. He describes it as an “integral element” to public school’s ability to “discipline hegemonic representations of Anglo-British masculinity”¹⁰¹. This link between manliness and Imperialism became particularly pronounced in the 1890s, the decade during which Maurice received his education. MacKenzie describes how thereafter lesson plans in humanities were focused around Empire to promote “national identity and pride to schoolchildren”¹⁰². In complement to this theme, popular fiction of the period aimed at boys created a heroic new era filled with explorers and British statesmen traversing the Empire.

In addition to the classroom and school playing fields, boys clubs were of vital importance in “propagating Christian manliness”¹⁰³. Springhall describes how organisations such as the Young Men’s Christian Association and Boys Brigade re-aligned the “feminine” piety of Christianity with a more “robust and manly affair” based on “obedience, reverence, discipline and self-respect”¹⁰⁴. This outlook was encouraged through regimes of games, sports and drilling, and has been referred to as “muscular Christianity”, whereby boys were taught according their natural

⁹⁷ Mangan and McKenzie, ‘Duty Unto Death’, p1090

⁹⁸ Springhall, John (1987) ‘Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working Class Adolescents, 1880-1914’ in Mangan J.A and Walvin, James (eds.) *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, Manchester University Press, p65

⁹⁹ Ibid, p66

¹⁰⁰ Bateman, Anthony (2010) ‘Performing Imperial Masculinities: The Discourse and Practice of Cricket’ in Emig, Rainer and Rowland, Antony (eds.) *Performing Masculinity*, Palgrave MacMillan, p79

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p82

¹⁰² MacKenzie, ‘The Popular Culture of Empire in Britain’, p220

¹⁰³ Springhall, ‘Building Character in the British Boy’, p53

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

inclinations to become active defenders of the faith¹⁰⁵. Embodied by the fictional schoolboy character Tom Brown, whose “machismo was retained yet constrained, pugnacious but pious”, academic achievement could be overlooked so long as “courage, vigour and fun” was displayed on the sports field¹⁰⁶.

The promotion of self-sufficiency emancipated young men from the restrictions of the domestic sphere and prepared them for a life of active service in Empire. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the doctrine of Baden Powell’s “Scouting For Boys”. Hyam states that the purpose of the scouting movement was to “re-engine the Empire” with young men capable of steering Imperial strategy¹⁰⁷. It achieved this by equipping boys in peacetime with the skills they would need in war¹⁰⁸. These qualities can be seen in the underlying ethos of the Male Collector, discussed further in chapter four, suggesting that the courageousness and Spartan self-regulation encouraged by these youth movements took firm root and was propagated through the “strength through struggle” collecting techniques they prized in later life¹⁰⁹.

This reimagining of masculinity at the end of the nineteenth century broke away from a Victorian tradition that saw the home as “central to masculinity” and the status of an adult man defined by his success as a householder¹¹⁰. Previously, the role of a father had been to “establish a home, protect it, provide for it, control it and train its young aspirants to manhood”¹¹¹. In contrast, young men were now encouraged to be independent from childhood by being sent away to school, university or the grand tour to “distance themselves from the household” as well as to “acquire worldly polish”¹¹². This practice limited parental influence and encouraged the individual to gain crucial first-hand experience of his society and cultural parameters. “Youthful

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, pp.56-57

¹⁰⁶ Mangan, J.A (1987) ‘Social Darwinism and Upper Class Education in Late Victorian and Edwardian England’ in Mangan J.A and Walvin, James (eds.) *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, Manchester University Press, p137

¹⁰⁷ Hyam, Ronald (1999) ‘The British Empire in the Edwardian Era’ in Brown, Judith M, and Wm. Roger Louis (eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, p50

¹⁰⁸ MacKenzie, John M. (1987) ‘The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in Late Victorian and Edwardian Times’ in Mangan J.A and Walvin, James (eds.) *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, Manchester University Press, p176

¹⁰⁹ Mangan, ‘Social Darwinism’, p153

¹¹⁰ Tosh, John (1999) *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, Yale University Press, p2

¹¹¹ Ibid, p4

¹¹² French, Henry and Rothery, Mark (2008) ‘Upon Your Entry Into the World’: Masculine Values and the Threshold of Adulthood Among Landed Elites in England 1680–1800’, *Social History* 33, Issue 4, p404

exposure to the world” was encouraged to test their moral integrity and justify their power¹¹³.

In the mid to late nineteenth century, young men indoctrinated with an ideology of white privilege and enhanced moral judgement travelled and settled in new territories abroad, particularly in Africa, and there laid the theological foundations of the Male Collector network. The Empire became an “all-male site for the testing of manly endurance and the exercise of authority”¹¹⁴. French and Rothery argue that the landed gentry established themselves as “natural rulers” at this time through “personal autonomy, independent judgement and self-command”¹¹⁵. Thompson describes how the colonies provided a “free, healthy and spacious” environment to “restore the vitality” of the British people that had come under threat from the feminine, domestic influence of the English sitting room¹¹⁶. Male Collector ideology can therefore be seen as having evolved from a re-imagining of elite masculinity in the 18th century that removed the head of the household from the domestic sphere and recognised the governance of the self through the governance of others.

The vision of empire from 1895 was based around “settler colonies” that did not encourage assimilation but became “British communities transplanted abroad”¹¹⁷. Recognition of parity amongst these men educated at elite institutions and with proven experience of martial prowess strengthened their bonds and legitimised their consumption practices. Thomas and Thompson argue that the class consciousness of settlers in empire was shaped by a growth of “kinship structures” and “fraternal organisations” that ensured a sense of continuity with the homeland¹¹⁸. Despite a shift in location, migrants remained “British” in the material, economic and cultural expressions of their identity¹¹⁹. In the early twentieth century, this distinction of British identity was crucial in upholding a façade of importance and influence amongst settlers in BEA who had become dislocated from their familial seats of power in Britain. Thompson describes the importance of Empire in defending the aristocracy

¹¹³ Ibid, p422

¹¹⁴ French, Henry and Rothery, Mark (2012) *Man’s Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c.1660-1900*, Oxford University Press, p170

¹¹⁵ French and Rothery, ‘Upon Your Entry Into the World’, p403

¹¹⁶ Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back*, p16

¹¹⁷ Thompson, ‘The Language of Imperialism’ p154

¹¹⁸ Thomas, Martin and Thompson, Andrew (2014) ‘Empire and Globalisation: From “High Imperialism” to Decolonisation’ *The International History Review* 36 Issue 1, p146

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p147

against modernity and satisfying their wish for an “ordered, layered and peaceful” society¹²⁰. Collecting, interpreting and where possible displaying artefacts of the “other” back at home reinforced their physical and ethical superiority over nature and culture, demonstrating their continued relevance to the world and right to assume positions of power.

Called by some a “golden age” of Big Game hunting, the development of the sport was increasingly ring-fenced as the intellectual property of an aristocratic and upper class elite and became a crucial part of the identity of the new Imperial male¹²¹. Masculine collections of Big Game trophies and objects of ethnography were the epitome of the Male Collector focus on healthy outdoor pursuits, displaying their imagined ethical and physical superiority. MacKenzie describes how hunting “required all the most virile attributes of the imperial male; courage, endurance, individualism, sportsmanship, resourcefulness etc”¹²². Furthermore, the large and dangerous animal specimens sought by Male Collectors and the “trophy” taxidermy methods of preservation represented “western man’s dominance of the world”¹²³. Jones describes how “critters of imperial conquest” were created to celebrate the “global prowess of the hunter-hero and the exotic worlds he inhabited”¹²⁴. Trophies became the ultimate material symbols of Imperialism, and their conspicuous placement in western homes demarked the masculine sphere of power from the feminine furnishings of the home.

Attempting to locate Maurice within this elite masculine tradition is assisted by various frameworks that propose to deconstruct the abstract terms of “identity” and “status” in reference to collectors and collections of material culture. One of the most comprehensive is outlined by Clarke in a five-point model which includes commentary on social, economic, religious, psychological and material culture markers of identity¹²⁵. Although his categories may be insufficient in defining complex societies, they provide a useful model for this thesis to begin to break down the elusive concept of “social background” in relation to Maurice and his network of

¹²⁰ Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back*, p10

¹²¹ Jones, ‘The Rhinoceros and the Chatham Railway’ p715

¹²² MacKenzie, ‘The Imperial Pioneer’, p179

¹²³ Ibid, p180

¹²⁴ Jones, ‘The Rhinoceros and the Chatham Railway’, p711

¹²⁵ Clarke, ‘Culture as a System’, p34

contemporaries. To this model, this thesis contributes the amendment of “gender”; a crucial theme which the MEC has particular scope to explore. The categories are used in this thesis as follows:

1. Social (personal relationships)

Accepting that family is usually first group around whom a child begins to shape their identity, it is apparent that parental guidance and family expectation influences the growth and character of the individual. Cannadine describes the aristocracy as being part of a distinct and self-aware social group¹²⁶. Bush identifies the group by their landed assets, narrow range of occupations and the level of exclusivity which limited the amount of newcomers admitted to their rank¹²⁷. This exclusivity safeguarded their class characteristics, and meant that members of the aristocracy were unlikely to interact with those from other classes and situations in terms of parity. This thesis places Maurice’s development and behaviour against the context of his membership of this exclusive club, and awareness of a very specific position of hierarchy within it, which both gave access to, and limited, opportunities available to him.

Male Collectors were confident of their right to collect based on a shared acknowledgement of their “sound Anglo-Saxon manhood” that gave them the skills for Imperial responsibility¹²⁸. Mangan and McKenzie emphasise the “social demarcation of collectors which heightened the self-perception of superiority based on ancestry”¹²⁹. Examining the specific choices of this specific collector in what material he collected, how he interpreted it, and who for, determines that a primary motive was intentionally seeking acceptance from a social circle that he aspired to be part of. It locates Maurice’s collecting within a wider understanding of social influence and expectation, addressing the balance of individuality and social restraint.

2. Gender (how the collector and collection represents ideals of gender)

¹²⁶ Cannadine, David (1990) *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, Yale University Press, pp11-13

¹²⁷ Bush, M.L (1984) *The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis*, Manchester University Press, p13

¹²⁸ Mangan, J.A. and McKenzie, C. (2008) Imperial Masculinity Institutionalized: The Shikar Club, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, Issue 9, p1228

¹²⁹ Mangan, J.A. and McKenzie, C. (2008) Privileged Education, Hunting and the Making of Martial Masculinity *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, Issue 9, p1120

Having located Maurice amongst a network of his peers, it is evident that this group is almost exclusively male. The historical context of collecting in the colonies of late Imperial Britain has aligned itself to a masculine tradition of supremacy and privilege. This thesis identifies a network of contemporaries of Male Collectors and defines their logic and ethos. This includes a very particular ethical framework that ring-fenced certain objects and collecting practices as sacred to the group. Big Game hunting gathered momentum in response to a perceived feminisation of traditional country sports enjoyed by the English upper classes¹³⁰. Seeking to invigorate the sport, Mangan and McKenzie define the emergence of Big Game hunting as “a logical outcome of a mid- nineteenth century imperial expansion” that enabled collectors to “relive their exclusively male experiences, affirm a fundamental masculinity and maintain a firm distance from inferior femininity”¹³¹. Male Collecting acquisition methods were synonymous with the practice of an ethical code of conduct and ordered techniques. This fits well with Pearce’s stereotypes of masculine collecting as precise, dedicated, informed and complete, as opposed to female antonyms of erratic, half-hearted, whimsical and fragmented¹³².

Social prejudices facilitate the giving of gender characteristics to most objects. Belk and Wallendorf agree that objects and displays are heavily gendered, such as trophies being a “masculine image of evil”¹³³. Trophies can be viewed as animals that have been dominated through the act of collection, and the translation from nature to material culture that adorns the home is a virile symbol of capture and defeat. The poses selected by Maurice for his trophies (snarling, teeth-bared etc.) served to re-enforce his right and need to kill as well as propped up his image as a skilled hunter. In this respect, he can be seen to be actively gendering his displays through object choice and exhibition technique.

3. Religious (rituals and beliefs about the supernatural)

The term “Religion” is used by Clarke but does not solely refer to devotional practice. This would exclude this category from having any real relevance to a collector who

¹³⁰ Mangan and McKenzie, ‘Imperial Masculinity’, p1224

¹³¹ Ibid, pp.1223-1229

¹³² Pearce, *On Collecting*, p214

¹³³ Belk, Russell W and Wallendorf, Melanie (1994) ‘Of Mice and Men: Gender Identity in Collecting’ in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p250

seemingly held no strong religious views of his own¹³⁴. Preferred synonyms would be “ideology” or “philosophy”, and therefore the religious aspect to the social self in this thesis is understood as a system of beliefs that influenced an ethical code of behaviour. Maurice’s collecting took place against a wider context of muscular Christianity that advocated clean and frugal living in tandem with sporting prowess. Maurice’s legacy of developing boy’s clubs in Knutsford gave young men the opportunity to learn vital skills and experience a healthy outdoor life. Having himself been excluded from the “conditioning of Imperial males” which took place “on the school playing fields”, Maurice sought to impart instruction in sportsmanship and enthusiasm for adventure through his regimes for local boys¹³⁵.

A consideration of how a collector responded to material that might be considered powerful or magical is important to the religious identity of the collector. Defeating and possessing objects represented transference of power that augmented the prestige of the collector. Therefore, large and rare objects were preferred as their collection evidenced skill and eminence. Other, more obscure, objects in the MEC suggest reverence was given to certain magical artefacts that represented the power of the animal or source community conquered by a superior power in Imperial contexts. These include bags of ‘lucky bones’, witch doctor knives and gold nuggets. Their original representations as sacred tools or natural strength was appropriated through collection and assigned new meanings.

A sense of heightened sentimentality was bestowed upon everyday objects if the story behind their collection was considered memorable or singular to the collector. Maurice killed many specimens, yet only a few with exceptional collection narratives or animals that were assigned specific anthropomorphic traits were described in detail and given preferential treatment through interpretation. This is supported by Kopytoff who argued that it is not the fact that objects are collected that is interesting, but it is why they were collected that informs a stimulating cultural biography¹³⁶.

¹³⁴ There is no indication of regular religious observance in his diaries or files, which presents a flagrant contrast with the Christian devotion of his Uncle Wilbraham Egerton, 2nd Baron who regularly attended and supported St Mary’s Rostherne and founded a clergy training school. Maurice’s Butler George Morgan described how Maurice deconsecrated the Tatton Park chapel to create a dark room for his interest in photography, and in later years became a junk room and storage for sherry due to its constant temperature, *Local Express*, (25/12/1958)

¹³⁵ Mangan and McKenzie, *Duty unto Death*, p1083

¹³⁶ Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things’, p67

Particularly loquacious acquisition accounts suggest why objects were considered worthy of collection and build a clearer picture of how and why Maurice generated meaning through his objects.

4. Psychological (subconscious beliefs and values supported by culture and environment)

Psychological readings into the identities of collectors have been consistent in describing a need to fill a void and satisfy an innate need for love and fulfilment. Adults collect objects in an attempt to reconstruct an idealised childhood or to add a sense of completeness to their lives after an inadequate childhood. Baekeland argues that a typical characteristic in common amongst collectors are “emotionally empty lives at home”¹³⁷. In reference to social background, he claims that possessions stand in for love and so the future gathering of possessions becomes a way of assuring a person that he is loved. Freudian thought, as advocated by Abraham and Baekeland, likens the activity of collecting to sexual desire, whereby collectors often describe a need to possess objects using sexual language¹³⁸. Baekeland extends this comparison to exhibitionism and voyeurism, suggesting that men derive satisfaction from putting themselves on show and receiving applause¹³⁹. Finally, Fenichel applies Freud’s theory of toilet training to collecting and argues that collecting gratifies feelings of productivity, assessment and pride associated with early toilet training¹⁴⁰.

A lack of evidence discourages these psychological theories from being applied to this study of the MEC. It could be conjectured that a cosseted childhood may have encouraged Maurice to travel, but any genuine sentiments relating to his childhood are absent from the archives. Therefore it is not worthwhile to perform a detailed psychoanalysis of Maurice in the task of constructing an identity.

Where psychological theory might have greater relevance is in the interpretation of a language of order and control used to describe objects and collections. Many studies have differentiated between the positive implications of a collector, and the negative

¹³⁷ Baekeland, Frederick (1994) ‘Psychological aspects of art collecting’ in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p206

¹³⁸ Abraham quoted in Pearce, *On Collecting*, p7, Baekeland, ‘Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting’, p211

¹³⁹ Ibid, p216

¹⁴⁰ Fenichel quoted in Pearce, *On Collecting*, p7

inverse of the hoarder. Pearce describes private collectors as psychologically deviant “possessors”, demanding and overbearing in their acquisition of objects¹⁴¹. In contrast, museum collectors are sedate, orderly and controlled¹⁴². Her main distinction lies in the fact that possessors will never be satisfied and will continue gathering objects to fulfil some innate need or greed, whereas collectors are working towards a rational goal of completion. Possessors fits neatly with her definition of “fetish” objects, whereas collectors form the systematic collections of museums¹⁴³. Baekeland similarly describes “accumulators” who may not know why they collect, stash things away and feel a sense of shame, and “collectors” who derive pleasure from their work and actively seek out certain types of object to enhance their self-definition¹⁴⁴. Danet and Katriel simplify their opposites to “hoarders” who are interested in quantity, and “collectors” who are interested in quality¹⁴⁵. Collectors are able to discriminate intelligently between similar objects and select the best based on their shared *langue* of rules of what makes something collectable.

The distinction is not easily applied in practice as most collectors operate in unique circumstances that blur the boundaries between organised and erratic. It is not simple to assign Maurice to one end of this spectrum, but it can be assessed how the acquisition of key objects in his collection embraced the characteristics of both poles at different points in his life. Baekeland acknowledges that even the most orderly collections can escalate as any collector might make big sacrifices to improve his collection¹⁴⁶. This thesis identifies evidence of an innate psychological need to collect which often came into conflict with the dogmatic order and ethical resilience required and accepted within the Male Collector network.

5. Economic (subsistence methods)

Aside from a heightened awareness of invisible ties of lineage between families, aristocratic status has also been measured tangibly through the accumulation of things. Milne confirms that the assemblage of objects in country houses was

¹⁴¹ Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p48

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ Ibid

¹⁴⁴ Baekeland, ‘Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting’, p205

¹⁴⁵ Danet, Brenda and Katriel, Tamar (1994) ‘No Two Alike: Play and Aesthetics in Collecting’ in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, p225

¹⁴⁶ Baekeland, ‘Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting’, p206

necessary to the self-definition of the aristocracy¹⁴⁷. Belk has described an “ideal of the English gentleman’s country house”, which is “able to claim an established lineage documented with established paintings, heirlooms, manor house, and possessions”¹⁴⁸. Possessing taste alone was insufficient, but exhibiting taste through flagrant displays was a public confirmation of their superiority. Furthermore, Bourdieu states that material possessions represent “the individual’s possession of symbolic and cultural capital and the way in which taste can be displayed”¹⁴⁹. Greenblatt also supports this argument that status “was increasingly associated with not only possessing, but showing wonders”¹⁵⁰. The economic status of a privileged aristocratic childhood might be more inclined to produce a collector, meaning that it was not just likely that Maurice would collect: he was *expected* to collect. The collection of Big Game trophies asserted a Male Collector’s status of wealth and privilege, as tremendous resources were required to support the sport.

Further economic interpretations of the identity of collectors differ in categorising the definition of collecting. Belk argues that collecting should be understood as an occupation involving concentrated effort that is respected and worthwhile¹⁵¹. Furthermore, Belk suggests that only when collecting is pursued with the dedication of work-ethic is it a ‘guilt-free activity’¹⁵². This suggests that collecting should only be seen as a legitimate and valuable way of spending time if it is done with measured dedication, which is synonymous with museum collecting. This is problematic to this particular study where the boundaries between “occupation” and “leisure” are particularly difficult to quantify.

Aristocratic identity has historically been linked to roles of estate management and political power rather than employment¹⁵³. Theodore Roosevelt was explicit that hunting should be “pastimes, and not business and they must not be carried to excess. The man able to be something more should be that something more- a man

¹⁴⁷ Lees Milne, James (1974) ‘The Country House in Our Heritage’ in Strong, Roy, Binney, Marcus, Harris John (eds.) *The Destruction of the Country House*, Thames and Hudson, p14

¹⁴⁸ Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, p43

¹⁴⁹ Bourdieu in Pearce, *On Collecting*, pp.9-10

¹⁵⁰ Greenblatt, Stephen (1991) ‘Resonance and Wonder’ in Karp, Ivan and Lavine, Steven D. (eds.) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Smithsonian Institution Press, p51

¹⁵¹ Belk, *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, p55

¹⁵² Ibid

¹⁵³ Powis, Jonathan (1984) *Aristocracy*, Blackwell, p22

who makes his hunting trips merely delightful interludes in his life work”¹⁵⁴. Maurice invested time and attention to many different endeavours over his lifetime and satisfied this aristocratic ideal of avoiding regular employment, but his collecting remained the constant activity that endured beyond any other pastime throughout his life.

With no interest in distinguishing an economic value for his collection, this thesis takes the approach that collecting was simply an overriding interest for Maurice. He was able to pursue it so intensively and with such success due to his privileged economic background, and later through the sacrifice of assets that were viewed as subsidiary to this main passion. Baekeland supports this opposing view that the role of collector is distinct from every day “work” and is a form of self-definition through choice, rather than a career which might not satisfy the perceived sense of self¹⁵⁵. This approach allows that Maurice may have found a strength and purpose through collecting to compensate for a disinclination to excel in a professional field. As evidenced by the careers of others in the Male Collector network, travelling and collecting throughout the British colonies was an established and respected tradition at this time. More specific support to this statement comes from Danet and Katriel who also disagree that collectors see collecting as work; instead distinguishing between private collectors, who are able to play and take pleasure in the hobby of collecting, and museum collectors, who are dedicated to seeking and achieving objects¹⁵⁶.

6. Material culture (patterns in the artefacts that define our behaviour).

The actual process of selecting objects is heavily tied up in the social nature of the collector. It is therefore crucial that this social nature is explored, as Appadurai agrees that we can only understand the types and implications of exchanges if we know the rules of different individuals¹⁵⁷. A collector is likely to select objects that appeal to him in some fundamental way that is not always straightforward to imagine. Pearce calls the selection process the “the crucial act of the collector” in

¹⁵⁴ Roosevelt, Theodore (1905) *Pastimes of An American Hunter*, Charles Scribner’s Sons, p336

¹⁵⁵ Baekeland, ‘Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting’, p215

¹⁵⁶ Danet and Katriel, ‘No Two Alike’, p222

¹⁵⁷ Appadurai, ‘Commodities and the Politics of Value’, p90

determining what objects he will bestow with value¹⁵⁸. It is also likely that a collector may be aware of conflict between what he believes he is expected to collect and what appeals to him on a deeper psychological level which he may be ashamed of but unable to resist. This leads back to psychological readings of collectors, and what Pearce describes as a struggle between “the value which should (or should not) be attached to a particular object... and impulses which lie at the deepest level of individual personality”¹⁵⁹.

Analysing the precise mechanisms of appeal continues to suggest that the values placed on objects are fluid over a lifetime. Prown proposes a model to explain a specific relationship between a collector and object as they are first introduced¹⁶⁰. The process begins as the collector appraises the aesthetics of an object and concludes as he applies use of his senses to interact with it and place it in his world¹⁶¹. Prown insists that each time the process is repeated, the outcome may be different as a person adapts, develops and consolidates their appreciation of objects¹⁶². Although exchanges exist within a set of rules governing what is possible, all exchanges are highly personal occurrences and can reveal much about the individual involved.

Utilising Clarke’s categories with the proposed amendments enables this thesis to successfully navigate the influential factors in the formation of Maurice as a collector¹⁶³. These markers of social status are largely inherent from familial influence and insistent in their transmission.

Having followed the shifts in status in collection and collector through the active process of acquisition, examining how objects have come together to create new resonances through exhibition forms the next chapter in the lives of objects as they are re-defined in Western environments. It is not just the collection that undergoes transformation during display; the collector has become a curator, and the processes and choices involved in constructing displays illuminate his sense of self-representation. Displays communicate institutional knowledge, priorities and

¹⁵⁸ Pearce, *Museum Objects and Collections*, p38

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p7

¹⁶⁰ Prown, ‘Mind in Matter’ pp.133-138

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p135

¹⁶³ Clarke, ‘Culture as a System’

purposes. Vergo presents a set of questions to decipher exhibitions: “How do they come about? By what means, and with what resources, are they created? Under what circumstances and for what reasons? What kind of exhibitions will a particular institution mount?”¹⁶⁴ This thesis applies these questions to Maurice’s unique display of his collection to uncover the stories that were considered appropriate for this venue to tell.

The Tenant’s Hall at Tatton Park was purposely constructed to house Maurice’s collection. Therefore, considering the unique characteristics of the design reveals how Maurice wished both himself and his collection to be viewed. Ferguson agrees that exhibitions reveal the status of the maker¹⁶⁵. Karp and Levine expand further that “every museum exhibition...inevitably draws on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make it”¹⁶⁶. Analysing the choices made through exhibition reveals the social values of the curator.

Acquisition is not the only process that demonstrates domination by a collector. An object is defeated when taken into the sphere of the collector, and then utterly subdued through the re-contextualisation of exhibition. Maurice’s exhibition should be seen as statement of his position of authority as he managed his world in microcosm. His interpretation of his collection is his authoritative voice as he dispels the original meanings of objects and imposes his own. MacDonald agrees that the institution mounting the display is empowered as they hold sway over a precarious balance of power¹⁶⁷. Ames argues that “reconstruction involves repowering the object, investing it with the authority and privilege of those currently possessing it, who then impose upon it (and upon whom it represents) their own histories”¹⁶⁸. Exhibition is an exercise of control and self-representation on behalf of the curator, and where he fears no institutional and public moderation the grip of control is tightened. Maurice’s influence extended beyond his objects to the visitors of his exhibition, who received tailored messages through personal interpretation.

¹⁶⁴ Vergo, ‘The Reticent Object’ p43

¹⁶⁵ Ferguson, B (1996) ‘Exhibition Rhetorics: Material Speech and Utter Sense’ in: Greenberg, R. Ferguson, B.W. and Nairne, S. (eds.) *Thinking About Exhibitions*, Routledge, p175

¹⁶⁶ Karp, Ivan and Lavine, Steven D (1991) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Smithsonian Institution Press, p1

¹⁶⁷ MacDonald, Sharon (ed.) (1998) *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, Routledge, p4

¹⁶⁸ Ames, ‘Cannibal Tours’, p102

The final stage in the cultural biography of the MEC is its changing circumstances following the death of its collector. With no direct heir and with Tatton's finances in ruin, the care and attention lavished upon his collection did not extend to making provisions for its future survival. Collectors are characteristically thought to be extremely anxious that a collection should not be split up. Pearce argues that the more substantial the collection, and the more of his personality the collector has invested, the greater the significance of final disposal, and correspondingly, the more serious the problems surrounding it¹⁶⁹. She supposes that most private collectors prefer their collections to be received by museums, either to establish a legacy, to have their collection officially validated, or because their heirs are known to have no sympathy towards the collection¹⁷⁰. Despite the collection being of a substantial size and featuring some important pieces, Maurice made no move to donate his collection. This obstacle of selecting an heir can be seen as problematic when it has been supposed that private collections are very much an extension of personal taste and identity, and are therefore difficult for others to form meaningful attachments.

Baekeland appreciates the fears of collectors with deeper insight¹⁷¹. He describes various sentiments: some may not want their collections to languish in the "cold tombs" of museums, some would take their collections to the grave to prevent any other hands influencing it, and some would prefer for their objects to be auctioned off separately so that others can have a chance to build up a collection anew¹⁷². He supports the view of this thesis that it does not follow that the natural end point for private collections is museum acquisition¹⁷³. As such, the final interference made by Maurice in the lifecycle of his collection was to set its future on a new tangent. Maurice's wish for his collection to be received by the National Trust confirms his belief in its significance as a whole, stipulating that it must remain intact rather than be dispersed. This choice ended the private nature of his exhibition, yet ensured his name and legacy would continue its association with his collection by keeping it intact in its original location.

¹⁶⁹ Pearce, *Museums Objects and Collections*, p65

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

¹⁷¹ Baekeland, 'Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting', p217

¹⁷² Ibid

¹⁷³ Ibid

2.2 The Formation of a Male Collector

This sub chapter begins a concise biography of Maurice's formative years to commence the process of constructing a socially-informed cultural biography. The earliest moments of Maurice's childhood can be seen to unfold along distinct lines that shaped and influenced his development into a Male Collector. Unlike other young men of his class, the situation of Maurice's birth afforded him a degree of independence which, when coupled with the relaxed expectations of his parents, allowed a certain amount of freedom of expression as his character developed. When Maurice was born at 9 Seamore Place, Mayfair (figure 2), on August 8th 1874, he was far from being an obvious candidate to inherit the Tatton title and estate¹⁷⁴. His grandfather William (figure 3) was the incumbent 1st Baron Egerton of Tatton, to be followed by his uncle Wilbraham (figure 4), the first-born son of a large family produced by the 1st Baron and his wife, Charlotte Loftus, daughter of the 2nd Marquess of Ely¹⁷⁵. Wilbraham had married in 1857 but had so far produced only a daughter, whose sex barred her from the line of succession, but it was not unfeasible to hope that more children might follow¹⁷⁶. If not, the title would default to Maurice's father Alan, the second son of the 1st Baron, which it eventually did in 1910¹⁷⁷. Alan (figure 5) and his wife Anna (figure 6), the eldest daughter of Simon Watson Taylor of Erlestoke Park in Wiltshire, had married in 1867 and had already produced two sons before the birth of Maurice in 1874¹⁷⁸. However, this second branch of the family was beset by tragedy when the eldest of the boys, William, died as a toddler in 1870, followed eventually by their second son Cecil as a teenager in 1888¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁴ *Tatton Park Guidebook*, p74

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p86

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p58

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p96

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p90

¹⁷⁹ England and Wales death index, 1837-1915, www.ancestry.co.uk

Figure 2: Footmen stand outside 9 Seamore Place, Mayfair, Maurice's place of birth



Figure 3: Maurice's grandfather, William Egerton, 1st Baron Egerton of Tatton, 1806-1883



Figure 4: Maurice's Uncle Wilbraham Egerton, 2nd Baron and 1st Earl Egerton of Tatton, 1832-1909



Figure 5: Maurice's father, Alan de Tatton Egerton, 3rd Baron Egerton of Tatton, 1845-1920




H. J. Mendelssohn
41, NEW BOND STREET.
W.

Figure 6: Maurice's mother, Lady Anna Watson Taylor, daughter of Simon Watson Taylor of Erlestoke Park in Wiltshire, 1843-1933



Despite an unheralded birth, Maurice took his place amongst one of the most illustrious families of the North West. Rigid class structures and hierarchies were observed amongst the aristocracy, who were very aware of degrees of preference that made them a multi-layered group¹⁸⁰. Hartcup describes how aristocratic children “grew up cocooned in class consciousness”¹⁸¹. Within this complicated, fragmented web of hierarchies, Maurice would have held a distinct sense of placement derived from an understanding of his lineage and relationships. Cannadine supports this by

¹⁸⁰ Cannadine has described the aristocracy as “an unequal society characterised by a seamless web of layered graduations, which were hallowed by time and precedent”, in Cannadine, David (2001) *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire*, Penguin, p4

¹⁸¹ Hartcup, Adeline (2000) *Children of the Great Country Houses*, National Trust Enterprises Ltd, p50

arguing that “more than any other class, they knew where they had come from, they knew where they were, and they hoped and believed they were going somewhere”¹⁸². Maurice’s status and prospects as a younger son of a younger son would not have aroused excessive anticipation and would have set him on a very different path compared to a male heir in direct succession. Hartcup confirms that “heir favouritism” was well established in the nursery and greatly affected the education and career prospects of younger sons¹⁸³. It was markedly unexpected that Maurice would overcome seemingly improbable odds to succeed to his family title in 1920, thus re-writing his life trajectory in a momentous and irrevocable manner.

Despite subtle intricacies in differences of rank, aristocratic status has been marked by a number of unanimous signifiers. A comprehensive overview has been provided by Cannadine, who argues that:

“They (aristocracy) lived in country mansions and town houses. They were of gentle status in that they did not have to work for a living; they were a leisured class in that they had no occupation. In terms of the amount of time and effort they devoted to it, most members of the patrician elite were more interested in spending money than in making it. They possessed a strongly developed sense of liberality and hospitality- of keeping up their position. They accepted, implicitly and absolutely, an unequal and hierarchical society, in which their place was indisputably at the top. They boasted unrivalled and unquestioned glamour and prestige”¹⁸⁴.

This description stresses the importance of leisure, spending, liberality and glamour to the aristocracy; values that were appeased and embodied through the collection of material goods. Stobart states that “it had to be the right sort of things that were consumed”, in particularly luxury goods that were “exclusive to elite social groups”¹⁸⁵. Girouard describes country houses “filled with beautiful pictures and fine furniture” and “libraries well stocked with books bound in vellum”¹⁸⁶. The survival of the Egerton estates and family name into the early twentieth century might be attributed

¹⁸² Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p24

¹⁸³ Hartcup, *Children of the Great Country Houses*, p32

¹⁸⁴ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p13

¹⁸⁵ Stobart, Jon ‘The Country House and Cultures of Consumption’, in Stobart, Jon and Hann, Andrew (eds.) (2016) *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption*, Historic England, p1

¹⁸⁶ Girouard, Mark (1992) *A Country House Companion*, Magna Books, p8

in some part to the close adherence to these expectations. Each Egerton patriarch had contributed to the material fragments of the house by adding to the collections of paintings, ceramics and furniture, following a cycle of adding more “suitable” objects to enhance the wealth and reputation of the estate. Commissioning family portraits and displaying antique furniture was a vital message to demonstrate that lineage was past reaching and would continue secure into the future¹⁸⁷. Though collections of antiques may not have been to the taste or fashions of a new generation, past collections were kept intact for their children to inherit. In this respect, “personal and family associations could be layered onto the country house”¹⁸⁸. As Maurice was born into this family of collectors, he was likely to follow the example set before him of what was and was not suitable material to collect. Froggett and Trustram describe objects as “cultural resources” that help “the individual to feel part of a shared culture”¹⁸⁹. It could be suggested that Maurice would follow the examples set by his ancestors, collecting suitable objects to prop up the status of the family and demonstrate continuity between the generations.

Maurice was steered towards collecting to uphold a social façade, but he also faced an intrinsic pull towards facets of personal interest that had been unavailable to any of his ancestors. As Hodder suggests, social background is often irresistible, but collectors can operate creatively within their social parameters.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, Mandler describes the aristocracy’s “remarkable success in preserving wealth and authority into the twentieth century” as being achieved “by respecting and steering change, not resisting it”¹⁹¹. Stobart agrees that the accumulation of goods was fluid and that “elites sought out new goods or fashions in order to maintain their social distinction”¹⁹². In the context of changing fashions, the MEC can therefore be seen “not as anomalous intrusions, but components of a long, organic, innately and uniquely English evolution”¹⁹³.

¹⁸⁷ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p24

¹⁸⁸ Stobart, ‘The Country House’, p5

¹⁸⁹ Froggett, Lynn and Trustram, Myna (2014) ‘Object Relations in the Museum: A Psychosocial Perspective’, *Museum Management and Curatorship* 29, Vol. 5, p482

¹⁹⁰ Hodder, ‘Theoretical Archaeology’, p54

¹⁹¹ Mandler, Peter (1997) *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, Biddles Ltd, p3

¹⁹² Stobart, ‘The Country House’, p1

¹⁹³ Barczewski, Stephanie (2014) *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930*, Manchester University Press, p7

In the Egerton family, Maurice's deviant behaviour as a collector was not new as it had already been made possible by the context of colonial expansion and travel in the mid to late nineteenth century. Male Collector Theodore Roosevelt suggested that men had an innate desire to travel and hunt, but that "until the nineteenth century the difficulties of travel were so great that men of our race with a taste for sport could rarely gratify this taste"¹⁹⁴. As travel became possible, Egerton men took the opportunity to collect distinct material that marked their appreciation of their new horizons.

The first steps towards self-determination in the collections at Tatton Park had been taken by Maurice's uncle Wilbraham, the second Baron and 1st Earl Egerton. Although he did continue to work towards the greater magnificence of the estate through his collecting efforts, he was the first to branch out and collect a detailed and specific collection in an area of private concern. His grandson the ninth Earl of Albemarle praised Wilbraham as:

"An inveterate connoisseur in relation to objects of art, pictures, books, medals and artistic examples of weapons. A lifelong member of the Royal geographical Society, since his wide explorations in Northern India, he was also a member of the old Geological Museum in Jermyn Street, and a collector of geological specimens"¹⁹⁵.

Wilbraham was able to exploit the acquisition of India into the British Empire to amass an extensive collection of Indian arms and armour that was well respected by the press and National Museums (figures 7 and 8)¹⁹⁶. He researched and published a guide to his collection that was considered to be a first rate scholarly companion to an educated, detailed and precise accumulation of objects¹⁹⁷. In 1910 the collection was "the chief attraction" on display at Heaton Hall, a previous Egerton-owned property since transferred to Manchester City Council.

¹⁹⁴ Roosevelt, *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter*, p318

¹⁹⁵ *Albemarle Papers*, (1968), TPA

¹⁹⁶ The Manchester Guardian praised the collection as: "One of exceptional excellence. The late Earl Egerton mingled shrewdness with enthusiasm in his purchases of this class of artwork", *The Manchester Guardian*, (09/06/1910), p9

¹⁹⁷ This collection would have been housed at Tatton Park and would almost certainly have been viewed by Maurice as a young man. Upon Wilbraham's death, his private collection did not become part of the estate of Egerton heirlooms inherited by his brother, but was gifted by his only daughter to Manchester Art Gallery. Although it became a much admired and prestigious part of their collection, it proved difficult to display alongside other permanent collections, and has largely remained off public view in store rooms.

Figure 7: Wilbraham Egerton's collection of Indian Arms and Armour, donated by his daughter Gertrude to Manchester Art Gallery

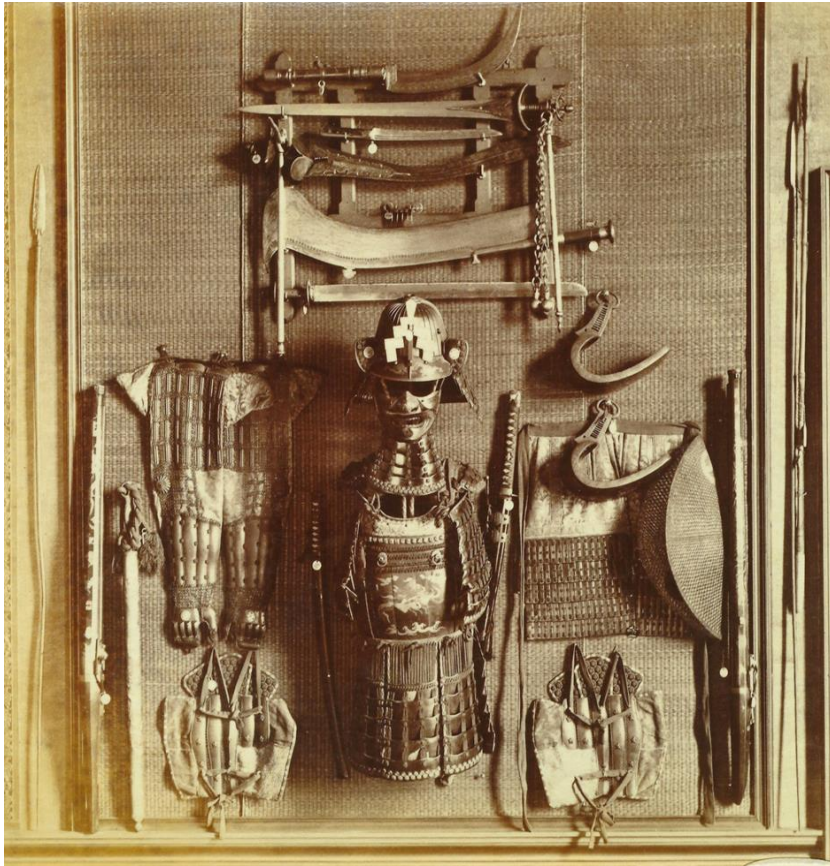


Figure 8: Wilbraham Egerton's collection of Indian Arms and Armour, donated by his daughter Gertrude to Manchester Art Gallery



In distinguishing between the examples of Wilbraham and Maurice as collectors, it is apparent that collecting remained a small facet to Wilbraham's public duties and private personality, whereas Maurice pursued collecting on a much more ambitious scale. Focusing on this personal collection did not detract from Wilbraham's duties as a politician and landlord, which he continued to discharge with vigour and success¹⁹⁸. Yet through the purposeful sourcing and meticulous care of his collection, Wilbraham carved out a new role for himself as a professional collector

¹⁹⁸ Amongst his many activities throughout his lifetime, Wilbraham Egerton adapted his property of Ordsall Hall into a Clergy school and served as Chairman of the Manchester Ship Canal, for which he was created Earl Egerton and Viscount Salford in 1897. *Tatton Park Guidebook*, p58

that moved beyond the endeavours of his ancestors, setting a precedent that would grant permission and acceptance for the next generation. Wilbraham's collection can be seen as partly as souvenirs to reflect their collector's wealth and travels, but it also reflected his contemporary taste.

Maurice's father Alan, the 3rd Baron, also demonstrated success in the practice of developing a class-appropriate activity for the modern era. Mandler links the aristocracy with leisure pursuits of shooting, fishing and hunting¹⁹⁹. By the mid nineteenth century these pursuits had become "feminized" as rules had become relaxed and emphasis moved from physical exertion to comfort, and so "Africa, Asia and North America were now seen as testing and exciting locations for sportsmen of true masculinity"²⁰⁰. Like many of his contemporaries seeking to recapture the virile and chivalric imagery of the chase, Alan expanded upon his family's traditional interest in hunting by travelling abroad to shoot big game²⁰¹.

Of all his relations, it seems that Maurice's father Alan became the most important figure in prompting his son to become a collector, and ensuring that he made the right connections to enable him to succeed. This is in keeping with French and Rothery's view that parents viewed their sons "entry into the world" as "a positive step towards the attainment of the full prerequisites of active elite masculinity"²⁰². Alan faced the same set of circumstances that would apply to his son; he was the younger brother who balanced the need to carve his own position in life with a later realisation that he would inherit the Tatton Barony after all. Although he lived the majority of his life with the status of a younger son, after inheriting Tatton Alan became "a typical example of the old English aristocracy", executing his public role in accordance with an established tradition²⁰³. Following his schooling at Eton he obtained a military commission in Earl of Chester's Yeomanry cavalry, served as a member of parliament, became a Provincial Grand Master in the Cheshire Masonic Lodge and made a suitable marriage with a daughter of the aristocracy²⁰⁴. Fulfilling these historical and expected roles to the letter meant that he built up a wide circle of

¹⁹⁹ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise*, p128

²⁰⁰ Mangan and McKenzie 'Imperial Masculinity Institutionalized', p1224

²⁰¹ Generations of Egerton men had belonged to the exclusive and prestigious Cheshire Hunt. Ferguson, Gordon (1993) *The Green Collars: The Tarporley Hunt Club and Cheshire Hunting History*, Quiller Press

²⁰² French and Rothery, 'Upon Your Entry Into the World', p405

²⁰³ *The Guardian* (10/09/1920)

²⁰⁴ *Guardian Yearbook* (1912), TPA

acquaintances and connections that would open doors for him in almost any field of political and social life. An outward and obvious compliance to these roles ensured that he was also able to pursue and develop his own individual interests in private without restriction or censure. Therefore, he was able to indulge his interests in travel and hunting, as well as agriculture; interests that he shared with son²⁰⁵.

Numerous collectors amongst Maurice's extended family also began to source collections that held personal rather than generic significance. Most notable of these was Sir Philip Grey Egerton, 10th Baronet at nearby Oulton Hall in Tarporley, who collected a comprehensive series of fossils which have since been donated to the British Museum²⁰⁶. Maurice was still a child at Philip Egerton's death in 1881, but it is likely that he was aware of Philip's collection as it was acclaimed as one of the largest and finest in the country²⁰⁷. These collections were a product of their time, facilitated by the reimagining of Imperial male identities. The expansion of empire opened up new travel and trading routes, as such Wilbraham, Alan and Philip were able to pursue their own interests outside of their traditional responsibilities as peers of the realm to an extent that would not have been physically possible or socially accepted for their ancestors. It allowed them to pursue relics and souvenirs of exotic nations and interpret them for friends and family in their own homes. Their specific interests in non-native natural history and ethnography might have inspired Maurice to build his own collection incorporating similar objects following their precedent and the seeming public tolerance and even acclaim of such ordered and scholarly collections. Yet Maurice was able to build on their example by asserting himself as the most prolific collector of the family, travelling further and for longer to amass a more varied and extensive series of objects for his own collection.

After a relaxed and indulgent childhood as the cadet of the family where it appeared that Maurice might be free to pursue his interests with a hitherto unseen level of acceptance, the reigns of conformity and duty began to tighten in his early teenage years when it seemed increasingly likely that the Barony of Tatton would descend through the line of the second son of the family, Maurice's father, Alan.

Appropriately, Alan's eldest surviving son Cecil had been groomed for a role of duty

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ Bettany, GT (2004) 'Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey-, Tenth Baronet (1806–1881)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press

²⁰⁷ Ibid

and management and was completing his education at Eton alongside the sons of England's elite and in accordance with a long-established Egerton family tradition²⁰⁸. Tragically, after investing seventeen years of anticipation, care and tuition into the moulding of Cecil as a probable heir to the Egerton legacy, he contracted scarlet fever and died from its complications in 1888. His death was recorded at Folkestone in Kent, suggesting that his parents had removed him to the coast to attempt to recover his health²⁰⁹. Cecil's Eton exercise books and adventure stories (figures 9 and 10) left behind at Tatton are a poignant reminder of the rigorous education prepared for him, and the lost potential of a young man who had passed the seemingly dangerous period of young childhood, which had seen the death of his brother William as an infant, and who had almost attained adulthood²¹⁰. Maurice was a teenager at Cecil's death; old enough to mourn the passing of his brother and appreciate the massive impact the event had upon his own prospects.

²⁰⁸ Egerton men had been attending Eton as far back as the sons of the 3rd Earl of Bridgewater registered from 1698. The Eton College registers of 1820-1859 record the attendance of William Egerton and his sons Wilbraham and Alan de Tatton. *Eton College Registers (1820-1859)*

²⁰⁹ *England and Wales Death Index, (1837-1915)*

²¹⁰ *Tatton Park Guidebook, p7*

Figure 9: One of Cecil Egerton's books of adventure stories for boys

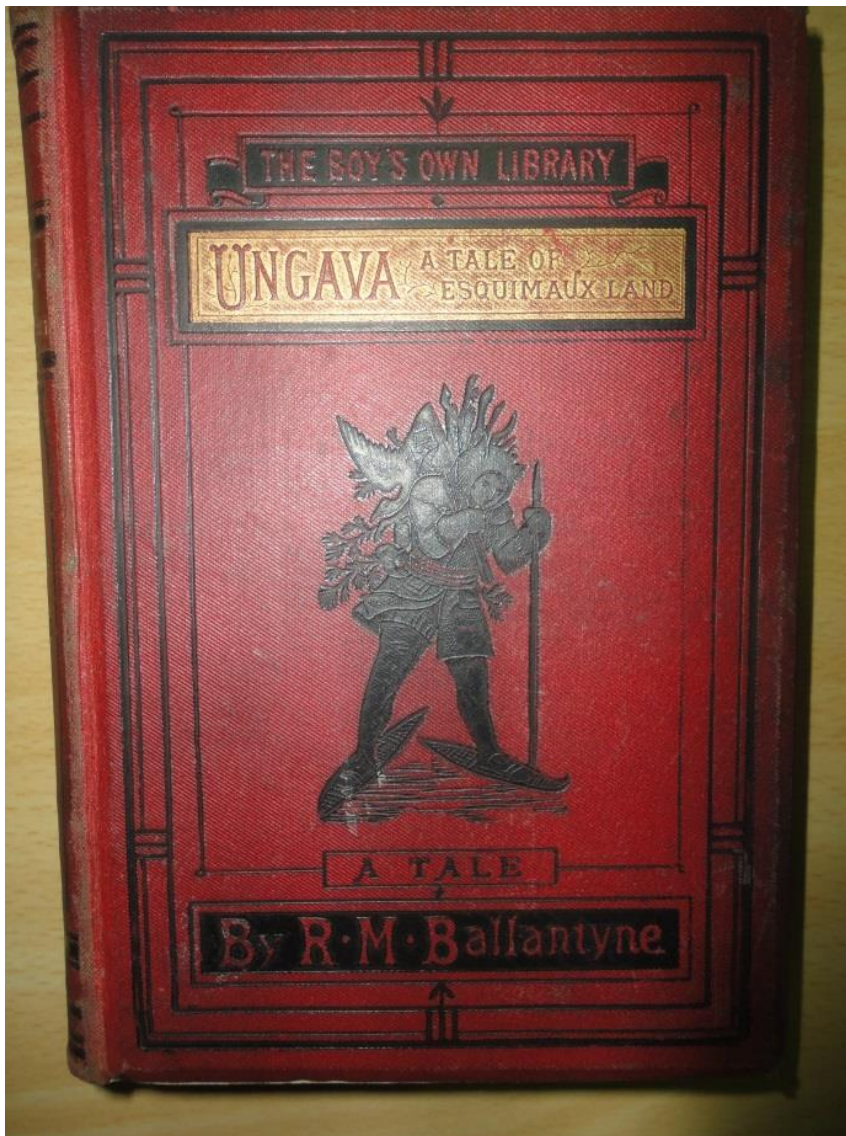
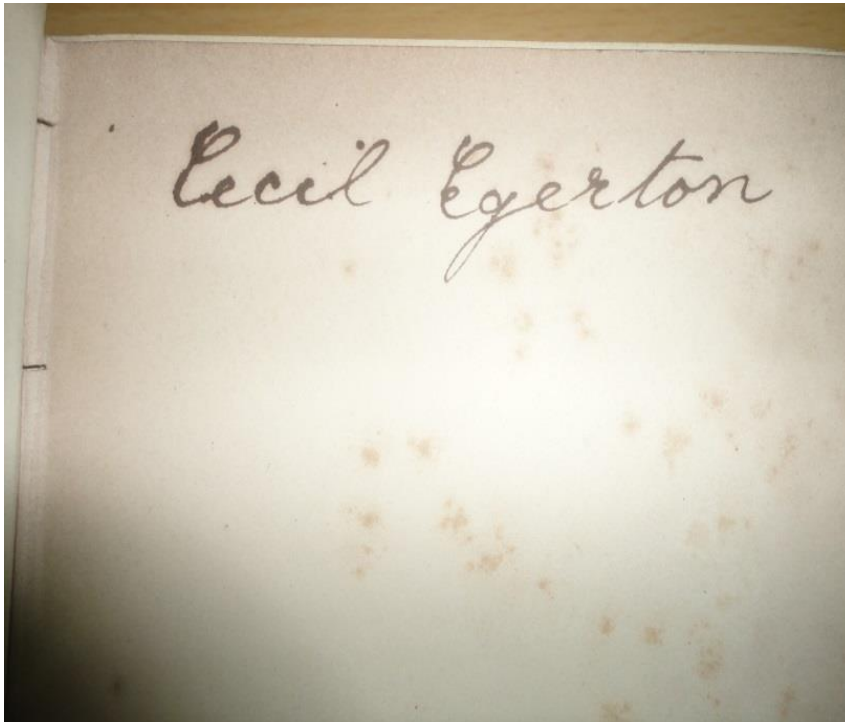


Figure 10: Personal inscription inside above book



As the last surviving son in the direct male line, Maurice became a precious commodity to the Egerton family. His future life trajectory was repositioned to ensure he could shoulder the responsibilities of landlord and politician in the image of his male forbears. The most traditional way of ensuring this might have been to continue the tradition of an Eton education, yet Maurice's name is conspicuously absent from its roll books. His parent's failure to register him has been conjectured as a direct response to Cecil's death, the likelihood that he contracted his illness while at the school, and his parent's fears of repetition, causing their last surviving son to be held uncomfortably close to home²¹¹. Despite a recent re-imagining of the public school system as a hive of healthy physical activity based around the playing fields, in reality French and Rothery note a tendency of concern over health and diet that stood in contrast to the "more virtuous choice of a private tutor or small school"²¹². However, Maurice would have been fourteen at Cecil's death; old enough to already be attending Eton alongside his brother. It appears that Maurice's parents had already made a choice to pursue a less formal mode of education for their younger son and decided not to reverse it at Cecil's death.

²¹¹ Lord Albemarle (1958), *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Maurice, Baron Egerton of Tatton*, TPA, p2

²¹² French and Rothery, *Man's Estate*, p55

Maurice's unique education supports the theory that social background does not necessarily prescribe the course of a life trajectory. Segregated from young men of his class, Maurice was debarred from early integrations with his peers who would grow together to become the Male Collectors of their era. Instead, Maurice's education was designed to shape him for a useful profession in a world where prosperity could no longer be taken for granted. The decision represented his parent's practicality and not lack of attention or ambition for their younger son. This practice had a precedent in the Egerton family in the training of Maurice's father Alan, himself an initial younger son. Although he was afforded an Eton education, Alan's father, William Egerton 1st Baron of Tatton, subsequently decided that Alan should receive useful professional training. It was no longer appropriate for the younger branches of the aristocratic families to live as gentlemen in times when family inheritances were more thinly stretched and attitudes to the upper classes less tolerant of indolence and inactivity²¹³. In the 1871 census, Alan de Tatton was recently married and recorded his profession as "civil engineer"²¹⁴. This appeared to be so unusual and forward thinking for the aristocracy that it was later remarked upon in the press:

"The Hon. Alan Egerton, the new member for mid-Cheshire, who is in his thirty-eighth year, passed three years in the works of Messrs. Sharp, Stewart, and Co., in this city, coming at eight o'clock in the morning like an ordinary mechanic and doing the full take of the day's labour. It seems that it was a fixed determination of his late father, the first Lord Egerton of Tatton, that his sons should learn some useful employment"²¹⁵.

This suggests that the 1st Baron Egerton groomed only his first son to inherit the title and estate, and ensured that his second son would be equipped with practical skills to make his own way in the world. Consequently, the 3rd Baron applied the same practice with his own two sons.

Alan's forward-thinking device for Maurice, his tuition, was unconventional for a boy of his class. The first glimpse into the nature of Maurice's schooling is provided in the early 1890s when he was registered as a pupil at Wyllies School in Cuckfield,

²¹³ Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall*, p18

²¹⁴ *England and Wales Census* (1871)

²¹⁵ *City News*, (17/03/1883)

Sussex. Maurice remained there until he turned 21 in 1895. According to census records, the head of the household was Percy Pellows Lascelles, a Welshman who was educated in law at Cambridge (figure 11)²¹⁶. In 1881 Lascelles had been living in Pembrokeshire as a non-practicing barrister and tutor of four pupils²¹⁷. Sometime in the next few years it appears that he relocated to Sussex and established a small private boarding school for boys. Maurice is conspicuously absent as a boarder on the 1891 census, but it is a useful document to understand the configuration of the household. Lascelles, his wife, two sons and a daughter shared their house with eight boarders or “scholars”, ranging in age from nine to eighteen years old²¹⁸, as well as a matron and a nurse. By 1901 the school had expanded to include a second assistant tutor and eight servants to educate fifteen teenage pupils²¹⁹.

Figure 11: Maurice’s photograph of Percy Lascelles (centre facing) and his wife (seated left) September 17th 1891



²¹⁶ *Cambridge University Alumni, (1261-1900)*

²¹⁷ *England and Wales Census, (1881)*

²¹⁸ *England and Wales Census (1891)*

²¹⁹ *England and Wales Census (1901)*

Following his education at Wyllies, Maurice continued to forge an unorthodox and specially-tailored path of education at the Royal Agricultural College in Cirencester. He completed a Certificate of Proficiency in Practical Agriculture in 1898, just over a year after his enrolment²²⁰.

A series of photographs taken by Maurice of his time at Wyllies (figures 12, 13, 14) provide a window into the rustic and modest nature of his education. A small and obscure establishment, tucked away in a small countryside village, the education the boys at Wyllies received was based around agriculture and natural sciences, and was far removed from the traditional classical education delivered by the nation's historical public schools²²¹. His classmates at both institutions would have been of moneyed, but humble backgrounds; junior branches of noble families or children of wealthy parents seeking a basic and practical standard of education²²².

Figure 12: Maurice's photograph of a fellow pupil Trevor St John Broderick in 1891



²²⁰ *The Standard*, (14/04/1898), p3; Issue 23024. 19th Century British Library Newspapers: Part II

²²¹ *Correspondence with Sue Burgess, Curator of Cuckfield Museum* (06/03/2014)

²²² *Ibid*

Figure 13: Maurice's photo of the yard at Wyllies School



Figure 14: Maurice's photo of his favourite cow at Wyllies School



The main consequence of the secluded anonymity of a private education was the initial debarment from a network of elite aristocratic children who were forming crucial bonds of friendship and establishing ties of recognition that would recommend them in their adult enterprises. A fundamental advantage of the education offered to the sons of the political and aristocratic elite was the collective sense of identity instilled in boys who were moulded into a distinct social group. The pupil roll at Eton in the late 19th century contained “about 20 per cent of boys from titled families”²²³. Amongst these ex Etonians were founding figures in the Male Collector network, as well as others whose careers would closely parallel Maurice’s included Charles Radclyffe, PB Vanderbyl, Alfred Pease, Lord Delamere, Denys Finch Hatton and Lord Francis Scott²²⁴. The course of British endeavour abroad would be steered by these ex public schoolboys. McKenzie described how life-long friendships were formed amongst hunters who had a shared education experience,

²²³ Mangan, J.A and McKenzie, C (2000) ‘The Other Side of the Coin: Victorian Masculinity, Field Sports and English Elite Education’ in Mangan, JA (ed.) *Making European Masculinities: Sport, Europe, Gender*, Routledge, p68

²²⁴ Mangan and McKenzie, ‘Imperial Masculinity’, pp.1218, 1227

and that they were tied by a “collective consciousness”²²⁵. These men were insiders of a privileged “club” that would open doors and form a system of recognition whereby associates could distinguish and support fellow members.

Whereas Maurice’s education lacked the structured routines, character building and introductions that would open doors into high offices of power, other children were groomed specifically to become leaders in government and foreign policy. School experiences were crucial in the construction of the masculine elite, and were designed to “combat emotional dependence” and “unmanly displays of feeling”²²⁶. Most significantly, the formal educational institutions played an important part in the promotion of empire and inspiring and instructing the next generation of young men to uphold its ideals. Mangan and McKenzie note that “the public schools after 1860 increasingly produced a unified and standardized English educational elite and manufactured a new image of the English gentleman”²²⁷. Public schools produced men fit for Imperial service by means of a “cultural conveyor belt”²²⁸. McDevitt asserts that this was achieved through the promotion of “muscular Christianity” and the belief that camaraderie on the school sports fields would “foster the manliness which an Empire needed in order to prosper”²²⁹.

If Eton and Oxbridge can be seen as the breeding grounds for imperial martial rhetoric²³⁰, then the fact that Maurice was denied a traditional school education initially placed him at a distinct disadvantage. Maurice’s nephew Lord Albemarle described the unfortunate consequences of Maurice never having attending school:

“It is a great drawback to a boy to be kept away from attending a school, where the salutary grooming of his fellows can operate”²³¹.

He existed on the periphery of the Male Collector group and lacked the immediate benefits of their connections and support. Albemarle lamented that being held back from the wider society of his peer group meant that Maurice’s corners were never

²²⁵ McKenzie, ‘The British Big Game Hunting Tradition’, pp.81, 87

²²⁶ French and Rothery. ‘Upon Your Entry Into the World’, p408

²²⁷ Mangan and McKenzie, ‘Privileged Education’, p1111

²²⁸ Mangan, J.A (2012) *‘Manufactured’ Masculinity: Making Imperial Manliness, Morality and Militarism*, Routledge, p9

²²⁹ McDevitt, Patrick F (2004) *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1850-1935*, Palgrave MacMillan, p1

²³⁰ Mangan and McKenzie, ‘Duty Unto Death’, p1084

²³¹ Albemarle, *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Maurice*, p2

“rubbed off”²³². He was reputed to be shy, aloof and standoffish, and lacked the easy camaraderie that came naturally to men whose interests had been tightly bound together since childhood²³³.

Disadvantaged at the outset by his unconventional education and naturally reticent personality, it was crucial for Maurice to be adopted into the network of Male Collectors if he wished to collect on a grand, sanctioned and celebrated scale. Having missed out on forging early relationships with the men he would later encounter on his collecting expeditions, Maurice’s family assumed a heightened role in inspiring and preparing him to travel and collect. The benefit of being descended from and mentored by illustrious men such as his uncle and father, the 2nd and 3rd Barons, opened doors for Maurice that would have been difficult to access under his own volition. The role they played in introducing Maurice to suitable men to emulate was particularly crucial.

In the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, a distinct group of men emerged that would become pioneering figures in establishing British interests and settlement in potential new colonies or outposts of the British Empire. These men were the ideological predecessors to Maurice’s generation of Male Collectors, who inspired the scope of their future endeavours. Early explorers and collectors such as John Hanning Speke, David Livingstone and Richard Burton became legendary as the British Empire probed deeper into uncharted nations and secured exotic new horizons for young men to dream of visiting. These men embodied a new interpretation of masculinity based on virility as opposed to the “upright manliness” McDevitt associates with the Victorian head of household²³⁴. Mangan describes the need for white men to abandon “idle, soft, selfish, hysterical and undisciplined” habits to be seen as fit to rule²³⁵. Instead, a new dominant vision emphasised “sportsmanship, strength and endurance”²³⁶.

Maurice would already have been familiar with the names and exploits of the great explorers through the consumption of adventure stories for boys. Books “set in imperial locations” were produced on a prolific scale in the latter half of the

²³² *Albemarle Papers*, (10/10/1974), TPA

²³³ *Ibid*

²³⁴ McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win*, p8

²³⁵ Mangan, *Manufactured Masculinity*, p351

²³⁶ McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win*, p9

nineteenth century²³⁷. Maurice's library collection (figure 15) suggests that he developed a keen interest in travel and sportsmanship from a young age. This was in common with other young men of his generation. Rudyard Kipling was said to have owned over 2000 books, with more than one quarter on the subject of India²³⁸. Mark Sykes, born in the same decade as Maurice and heir to Sledmere Hall, was said to have had a love of popular children's books by Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper and Robert Louis Stevenson²³⁹. In the tradition of acquiring class-appropriate material culture, books had been commonly collected by the Egerton family to display not only their wealth and good taste, but also their personal interests. The contribution of Maurice to the family library has been said to "stand out more than any other family member"²⁴⁰, and represents an eclectic interest in geography, sport and natural science as well as an avaricious appetite for popular fiction.

²³⁷ Dawson, Graham (1994) *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*, Routledge, p146

²³⁸ Barczewski, *Country Houses*, p220

²³⁹ Sykes, C.S (2005) *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family*, Harper Perennial, p211

²⁴⁰ Potten, E (2013) *National Trust Libraries Overview*

Figure 15: Maurice's bookcase containing books amassed on the theme of travel and exploration



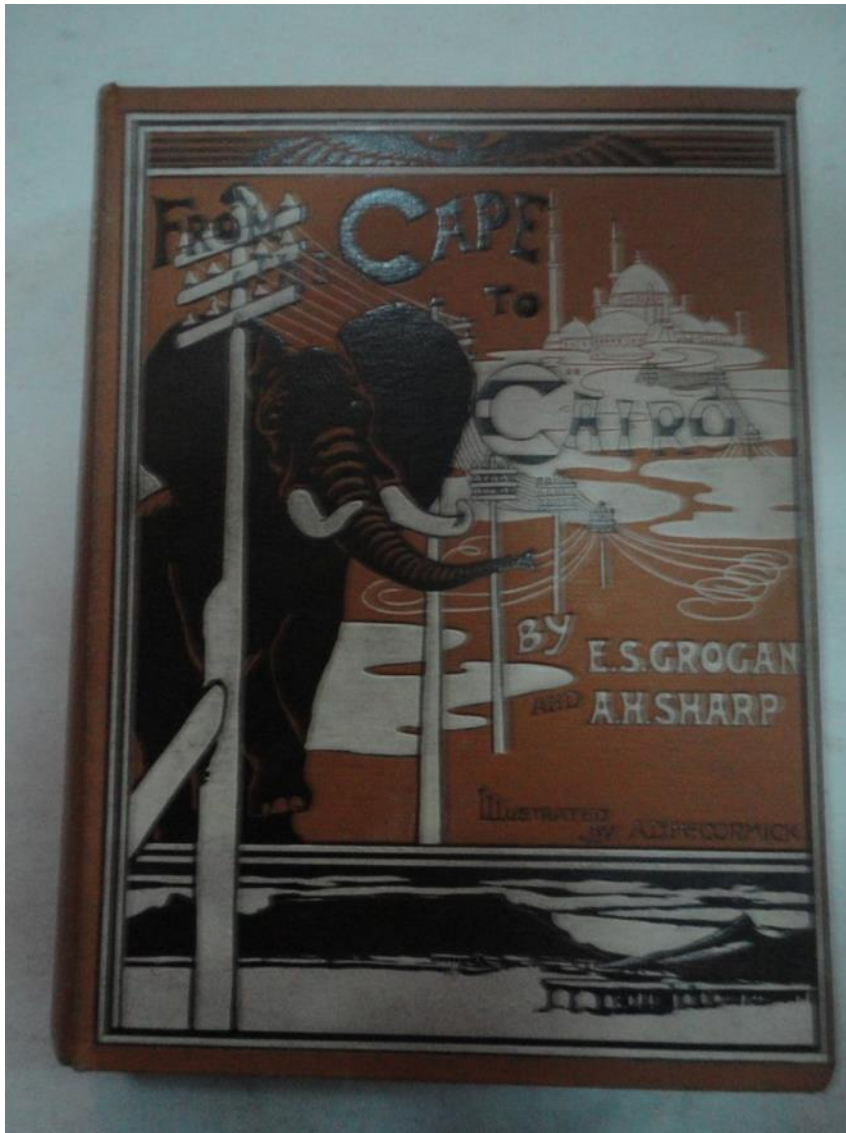
The link between adventure stories and early settlers and collectors, particularly in BEA, is palpable. Dorothy Powys Cobb, whose father had relocated her family to Kenya in 1909, recalled a childhood consuming the “Kipling stories, and Baden Powell’s *Scouting for Boys*”²⁴¹. Her father had been an original pupil of Baden Powell’s scouting movement having served in the South African war²⁴². Male Collector Ewart Scott Grogan, an intrepid traveller who would become the first man to walk the length of Africa (figure 16), was inspired to take the plunge into travel

²⁴¹ *Reminiscences of Dorothy Powys Cobb*, RH

²⁴² *Ibid*

after reading the books of Rider Haggard²⁴³. Winston Churchill 's favourite author was also Rider Haggard and he was "said to have read King Solomon's Mines fourteen times by the time he had had as many birthdays"²⁴⁴.

Figure 16: Maurice's copy of ES Grogan's book From Cape Town to Cairo



In his introduction to Richard Burton's "First Footsteps in Africa", Nevinson explained the appeal of adventure stories and their correlation to the ideology of the Male Collectors, for whom risk-taking was preferable to the suffocating confines of the English class system:

²⁴³ 'A Man Who Did Derring Do', (31/03/2001) *The Telegraph*
²⁴⁴ Hartcup, *Children of the Great Country Houses*, p24

“To most of us, life without adventure would appear intolerable, more stagnant than a marsh, and more monotonous than the desert. Without adventure the finest opportunities of risk, discovery, and even solitude could not be ours, and life would be reduced to a dead level of safety, knowledge and society. I am using the word “adventure” in the special sense which it has come to bear—the exploration of unknown lands and savage or unknown peoples. The word generally summons up to our mind a picture of the world’s explorers”²⁴⁵.

Passionate speeches by great men in the Male Collector network were immortalised through print, and were even emblazoned upon the walls of the museums in which they helped stock. One such quote from Theodore Roosevelt under the heading of “Manhood” can be seen in the American Museum of National History, and repeats the theme of living a full life of adventure:

“Only those are fit to live who do not fear to die and none are fit to die who have shrunk from the joy of life and the duty of life”²⁴⁶.

Impassioned prose such as this acted as kindling to the young men of Maurice’s class, who, unlike the masses of schoolboys who consumed the tales, had the means and connections to translate inspiration into reality.

The fame of the Explorer-Collector was such that competition to host and flatter these men was rife in the best houses in England. Enconced by the fireside, they recounted their tales to the families of the elite whose sons might aspire to follow in their footsteps. At their country house in Norfolk, the collector and taxidermist Rowland Ward and his wife hosted many guests with “shared sporting interests”, including big game hunters Abel Chapman and FC Selous who became the founding fathers of the Male Collecting tradition²⁴⁷. At Sledmere house in Yorkshire, a house connected to the Egerton family through a series of intermarriages, Tatton Sykes and his wife entertained assorted politicians, ambassadors and explorers such as Randolph Churchill and Naval Commander Lord Charles Beresford who had become a

²⁴⁵ Rhys, Ernest (1910) *Sir Richard F Burton’s First Footsteps in East Africa*, Everyman’s Library, pvii

²⁴⁶ Haraway, Donna J (1993) ‘Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936’ in Kaplan, Amy and Pease, Donald E (ed.) *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, Duke University Press, p239

²⁴⁷ Morris, Pat (2003) *Rowland Ward Taxidermist to the World*, Lavenham Press, p15

popular hero after his Nile expedition in the early 1880s²⁴⁸. At Belvoir Castle, “the children were brought down” to meet interesting figures such as Cecil Rhodes and Lord Salisbury²⁴⁹. Maurice’s uncle Reginald Cholmondeley had hosted Mark Twain at Conover Hall, and his grandparents William and Charlotte had entertained several of these explorers and “all of the rest of the Empire-makers in or out of parliament”, including Richard Burton, Gladstone and Disraeli and the Rosthchilds²⁵⁰. Maurice’s Uncle Earl Egerton continued the tradition and greeted the Shah of Persia in 1889²⁵¹, and the Crown Prince of Siam in 1901²⁵².

Maurice attended a number of these social occasions at Tatton Park where he rubbed shoulders with the most influential men of the era, both at home and abroad (figure 17). In 1900 alongside his Uncle, Maurice attended a house party at the home of Lord and Lady Middleton, where guests included Sir Oswald Moseley, the Earl Powis, the Earl of Portsmouth, Earl Manvers and Raj Kumar Sirdar Singh²⁵³. It is likely that the stories of these men held an impression for Maurice, who would use their exploits to measure his own progress and success as a collector. He appears to have been particularly inspired by the life of David Livingstone. On his seventy-fifth birthday in 1949, Maurice visited the Livingstone Monument in Northern Rhodesia and described the experience as a pilgrimage²⁵⁴. The sense of ceremony prescribed to the visit and the auspicious occasion of his own birthday suggests the impact that Livingstone’s legacy had upon the construction of his own ideology as a collector. He would return to the monument on three more occasions²⁵⁵.

²⁴⁸ Sykes, *The Big House*, pp.204-5

²⁴⁹ Hartcup, *Children of the Great Country Houses*, p68

²⁵⁰ ‘The Life and Times of Conover Hall’, (25/02/2013) *Shropshire Life*, and *Albemarle Papers*, 1965 and 1968, TPA

²⁵¹ *The Manchester Guardian*, (16/07/1889), p8

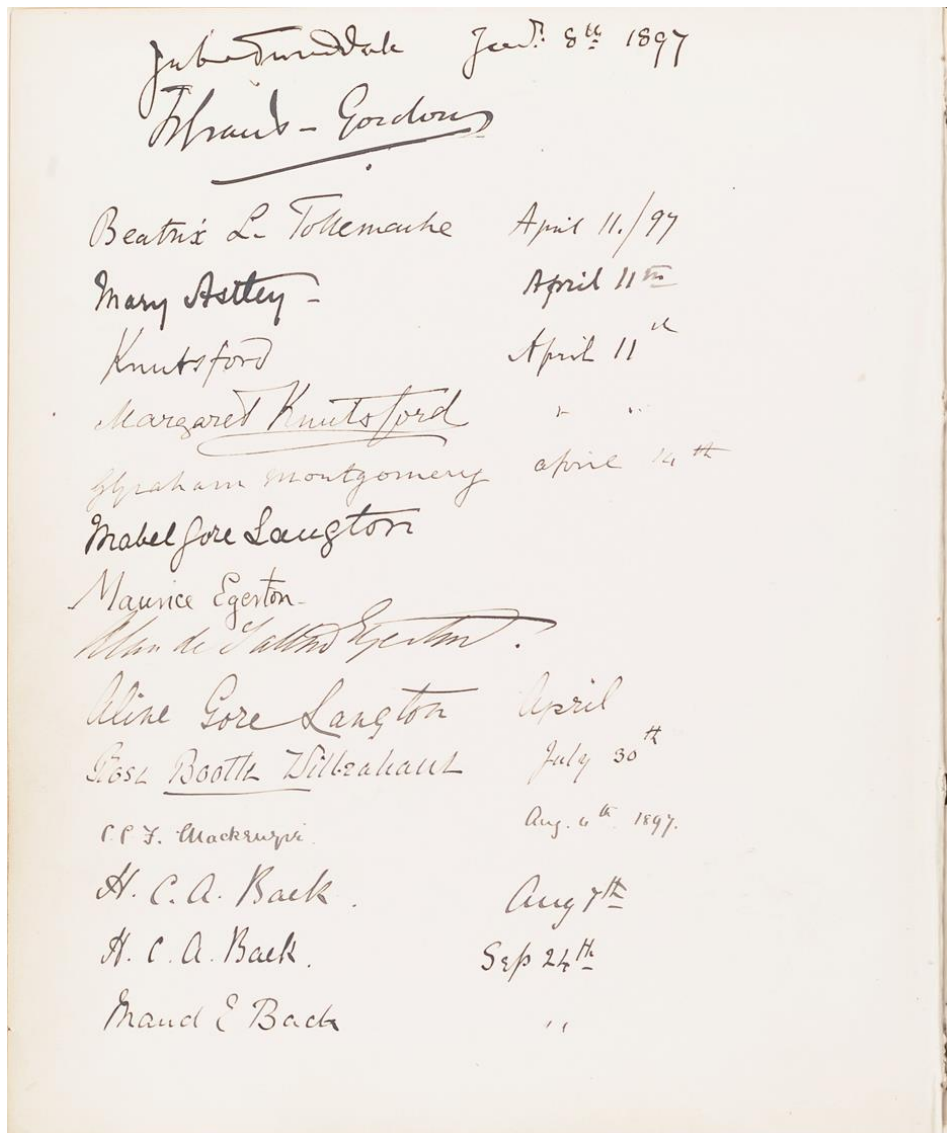
²⁵² *The Manchester Guardian*, (19/12/1901), p6

²⁵³ *The Leeds Mercury* (18/06/1900)

²⁵⁴ MED (04/08/1949) CRO

²⁵⁵ MED (05/08/1949), (13/08/1949) and (14/08/1949)

Figure 17: Maurice's name appearing in the Tatton visitor book, alongside his father in 1897



Objects brought back by these nineteenth century explorers provided tangible links to cultures that were both alien and tantalising, as well as physical evidence of marvellous beasts and the diversity of nature. Whereas collections of exotic wonders had traditionally been kept as private cabinets of curiosities that stood testament to great men and deeds, many collectors now donated their collections to establish museums, where for the first time the treasures of the world were opened up for public scrutiny²⁵⁶. The late nineteenth century became the era of the national museums, often constructed as imposing neo-classical temples designed to elicit a

²⁵⁶ Duncan, Carol (1991) 'Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship' in Karp, Ivan and Lavine, Steven D. (eds.) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Smithsonian Institution Press, p92

controlled response from their visitors. With new audiences came new purposes, and collections were arranged to educate and impart a carefully constructed institutional message, as opposed to existing as curios or the product of private ramblings.

Maurice was born into this era that saw collections become diversified, formalised and publically available on a large scale for the first time. He might also have been made aware at an early age of the opaque altruism of museum benefactors, whose names became immortalised on the donation register or memorialised in statue in the vast halls they helped to populate. After the vaults of these large museums began to become fully stocked, collectors sought to create and fill their local museums where their name and patronage could be more blatantly feted. Maurice would also have been exposed to, and perhaps inspired by, the collections presented at the Great Exhibitions, held on a variety of themes and across nations since the Great Exhibition of 1851 at the Crystal Palace. In 1887, Prince Edward and Princess Alexandra had been celebrated guests at Tatton Park as they opened the Royal Jubilee exhibition in Manchester. Several antiques and paintings from Tatton Park were sent to sit alongside exhibits from across the globe, suggesting that the nation's great country houses were the natural repositories of celebrated collections (figures 18, 19, 20). Too young to be a guest at the grand reception alongside his parents, it is likely that Maurice might have been amongst the 4.75 million people who attended the exhibition and witnessed first-hand the public fascination and enthusiasm for these mass events. These large scale exhibitions continued into the twentieth century and increasingly focused on the outputs of Empire²⁵⁷.

²⁵⁷ MacKenzie lists 70 Empire inspired exhibitions having taken place in the first half of the twentieth century. MacKenzie, 'The Popular Culture of Empire', p217

Figure 18: Image from Tatton Park's edition of the photographic souvenir guide to the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, 1887



Figure 19: Image from Tatton Park's edition of the photographic souvenir guide to the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, 1887



1837 1887
ROYAL JUBILEE
MANCHESTER EXHIBITION
PHOTOGRAPHED BY H. GARSIDE.

Figure 20: Image from Tatton Park's edition of the photographic souvenir guide to the Royal Jubilee Exhibition, 1887



It is apparent that Maurice was heavily influenced by collectors within his family who observed an aristocratic tradition of accumulating and displaying goods. However, his distinctive education and imagined prospects as a younger son steered a course away from contemporary young men who formed bonds of friendship that would be crucial in the establishment of the Male Collector group. Despite this initial disadvantage, Maurice's deep rooted interest in adventure and travel encouraged him to pursue a career as a collector, and the altered circumstances of his position within the family provided the means.

Chapter 3: Male Collecting

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins the cultural biography by marking the emergence of the MEC and its collector into the arena of the dedicated and significant. Three objects have been selected that were collected at chronological stages in the lifetime of the collection. Their acquisition accounts provide evidence of the development of the collection and the growth of Maurice as a collector from his first forays into acquiring material to his confidence and expressions of superiority as he reached maturity. These three case studies chart Maurice's construction as a Male Collector by tracing his level of interactivity with this social group, the key members and defining characteristics of which will be identified.

The objects represent three consecutive themes: introductions made at the start of his career, initiation as he became an accepted Male Collector and sovereignty as he became an experienced and influential member of the group. Following this timeline of development satisfies the aim of this thesis to uncover a rationale for the collection and collector and establish how the identities of the two impact upon each other. This is achieved by linking unique personal accounts of collecting with Maurice's participation in significant events of late Victorian Imperial history. The studies in this chapter build up a picture of Maurice the collector by adding detail to all of Clarke's categories for establishing social identity, in particular social relationships and gender identity¹. The objects selected as case studies also begin to define the wider rationale of the MEC through a reading as souvenirs that represent key historic moments in time².

Beginning with the acquisition account of one of its earliest objects, a battle axe collected in Matabeleland in 1896, this chapter assesses the extent to which Maurice was born into the role of collector or shaped by social circumstance. As Lyons has

¹ Clarke, 'Culture as a System', pp.44-47

² Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p69

suggested that material culture is used to construct identity, this thesis surmises that Maurice would have been drawn to acquiring objects that expressed his perceived sense of self and defined his social position³. This study locates and defines Maurice's unique social upbringing through the study of family influence and ideological development through education and into adulthood. Through a study of important childhood relationships, this thesis provides examples of precedents in his immediate family who inspired Maurice to become a collector and influenced the types of objects that he would find appealing. Maurice's social influencers are compared to the trajectories of other Male Collectors, establishing the characteristics and parameters of this distinct community. This case study concludes that Maurice aligned his identity with a group of exclusive aristocratic white European hunters and sought to emulate their behavioural code through a specific mentality of privilege, as well as tangible conduct.

The second case study presents the acquisition story of Maurice's elephant in 1934. The context of this acquisition presents Maurice emerging from paternalistic protection and influence and establishing himself as a competent collector based on his own merit. This study frames Maurice's developing identity in relation to the theme of gender, outlining stereotypes of masculine identity at play in the governance of the Empire and their realisation in Big Game hunting. Finally, this study discusses economic subsistence methods that prompted Male Collectors to reinvent their identities abroad in light of diminishing fortunes and status at home. It identifies a Cheshire tradition of travel that influenced Maurice's response to a call to collect in Africa at the dawn of the twentieth century.

The final case study of a meteorite collected in 1935 presents a snap shot of Maurice at the pinnacle of his collecting career having asserted his position as a skilled and successful Male Collector. This case study demonstrates the importance of deconstructing the collector's make-up and motives to understand the manifold ways through which his collection came into being, its ideological scope, and the particular need it fulfilled on behalf of its collector.

³ Lyons, 'Objects and Identities', p116

3.2 Matabele Axe: Becoming a Male Collector

Factfile

- Object Title: Matabele Axe (figure 21)
- Description: Axe constructed of carved wooden handle and blunt iron blade
- Date Collected: 28/05/1896
- Location: Outside of Bulawayo, South West Africa

Figure 21: Matabele Axe



On May 26th 1896 on a trip of South Africa and Matabeleland planned by his father, Maurice collected a battle axe from a village on the outskirts of Bulawayo⁴. The road to Matabeleland has its foundations both in Maurice's unique position at birth and the

⁴ MED, (26/05/1896)

historical context of the late nineteenth century. Expanding upon the debate of whether a collector is “born” or “made” as outlined in chapter two, the collection of the axe conforms to Clarke’s belief in an inescapable social dimension to the construction of collectors⁵. The personal selection of Maurice’s early objects represents his foundations as a collector based upon socially constructed principals and ideals. Emancipated from childhood but still guided by a physical parental presence, deconstructing the events surrounding this acquisition presents an image of Maurice at the beginning of his career. Deploying his knowledge and sensibilities established from education and familial instruction for the first time, this case study portrays Maurice as a young man beginning his inauguration into the Male Collector network.

Alan utilised his protective relationship over his son to plan Maurice’s first trip to Africa in December of 1895 which would put their shared interests into practice. When they set sail, Maurice was twenty one years old and had just finished his schooling. Maurice’s age and the timing of the trip were crucial factors in its design. He had “come of age” and can be seen to have embarked upon the equivalent of a “Grand Tour”⁶. McEvoy describes how the aristocracy enjoyed the ancient sights of Italy, Greece and Turkey, and then apply their “new found knowledge” to the design of their estates upon their return⁷. Furthermore, their experiences were designed to be a “necessary stage on the road to full, gentlemanly discretion, autonomy and authority”⁸. At the close of the nineteenth century, young men looked beyond the familiar relics of Europe to explore new territory that was topical and alluring⁹. Amongst those now travelling to new world destinations was Major Percy Powell Cotton of Quex Park, who undertook his first of 28 collecting expeditions in 1887 also aged twenty one¹⁰. Mark Sykes of Sledmere travelled to the Middle East in 1900

⁵ Clarke, ‘Culture as a System’, p44

⁶ For context of the typical “Grand Tour” experience see Hudson, Roger (1993) *The Grand Tour 1592-1796*, Folio Society

⁷ McEvoy, Anna (2016) ‘Following in the Footsteps of 18th Century Tourists’ in Stobart, Jon and Hann, Andrew (eds.) *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption*, Historic England, p187

⁸ French and Rothery, ‘Upon Your Entry Into the World’, p406

⁹ Other young men of similar backgrounds had made, or would make, similar voyages of their own. Hugh Cholmondeley, Lord Delamere, who would become the main figurehead of British presence in Kenya, had visited Africa at the same age. See Keating, Molly (2016) *The Kenya Connection: An Account of the Historical Links Between Cheshire and Kenya*, Northwich and District Heritage Society, p3

¹⁰ *The Powell-Cotton Museum Quex House and Gardens Guide Book*, (2014) p3

aged twenty one and described the trip as his “Grand Tour”¹¹. The choice of destination for Alan was to familiarise his son with the workings of an established British colonial climate¹². Political consultations were combined with an evaluation of the unique geographic landscape and business prospects in agriculture and industry. Alan appraised Matabeleland as:

“Rich in an agricultural sense. On the whole the country is well watered, and the climate is perfect for Europeans”¹³.

Dawson described the ethos of late nineteenth century masculinity as prioritising “commerce, politics and war” over the domestic¹⁴. Alan’s intentions for the trip appeared to embrace all three. For Maurice, the trip presented an opportunity to take in first-hand the lands explored by Livingstone, Burton and Speke as described in his boy’s library of adventure stories. Shelton argues that these explorer-collectors embodied a Victorian ideal of British Nationhood, and were ripe for emulation¹⁵. In a photograph taken shortly before his trip, Maurice can be seen posing with his Blair “Columbus” camera; probably the camera taken with him to document his journey (figure 22). The image hints at the anticipation behind the trip, his preparations and desire to memorialise his first journey to Africa.

¹¹ Sykes, *The Big House*, p260

¹² Weston Jarvis, Alexander (1928) *Jottings From an Active Life*, Heath Cranton

¹³ Astle, William (ed.) (1896) ‘Cheshire MP Interviewed, June 1896’ in *Cheshire Notes and Queries* Vol 1, Swain and Co, p115

¹⁴ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p75

¹⁵ Shelton, ‘Museum Ethnography’, p165

Figure 22: Maurice aged 21 posing with his camera at Tatton Park prior to his trip to Matabeleland



Acting in a paternal capacity to compensate for his son's lack of associates established through his schooling, Alan intended to use the trip to orchestrate a series of introductions to the key players in travel, exploration and government in the African colonies. This would enable Maurice to begin to build up his own list of useful and influential acquaintances who would later assist him in planning and executing his own collecting expeditions. Having been introduced to many of the ideological precursors to the Male Collectors at home in social events, he was now able to meet his contemporaries and the new breed of Male Collectors in action in the field. One such figure was Alexander Weston Jarvis (figure 23), who had been an MP until

1892¹⁶, through which it is probable that he became acquainted with Alan de Tatton Egerton, also an MP. Following the close of his political career, Weston Jarvis focused his business interests in Rhodesia¹⁷. On December 21st 1895 Weston Jarvis was sent abroad to recover his health and he noted in his diary that he sailed with Alan and his son Maurice on board the steamer “Scot” headed for the Cape¹⁸. The crossing was an eventful one with unusually rough seas, so that the passengers “had an uncomfortable day rolling and pitching about”¹⁹. Both the ships engine’s failed, and after several more days and nights of rolling out of control the Captain managed to dock the ship safely in Vigo, Spain, on Christmas Day²⁰. The party finally reached Cape Town on January 21st 1896, the entire voyage having taken three ships and thirty one days²¹.

¹⁶ Weston Jarvis, Alexander, (1896-1897) *Diary*, p7

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Ibid, p9

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Ibid, p10

²¹ Weston Jarvis, *Jottings of an Active Life*, p73

Figure 23: Alexander Weston Jarvis



As a seasoned visitor to Matabeleland, Weston Jarvis already knew most of the influential British settlers and colonial powerhouses, including Cecil Rhodes and Frederick Courtney Selous, and it was almost certainly through his influence that Maurice was able to meet the latter and photograph him at his home (figure 24)²². Selous “determined upon the open-air life of a sportsman”²³ when he first travelled to South Africa in 1871 aged 20 in his own comparative “Grand Tour” experience. Selous’s book “A Hunter’s Wanderings in Africa” published in 1882 was part of Maurice’s book collection and Maurice would certainly have been aware of his

²² Weston Jarvis was staying with Selous in February 1896 when Alan and Maurice Egerton came out to join him there, Weston Jarvis, *Diary*, p29.

²³ Pocock, R.I. and Etherington, Norman, (2006) *Selous, Frederick Courteney (1851–1917), Hunter and Explorer*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

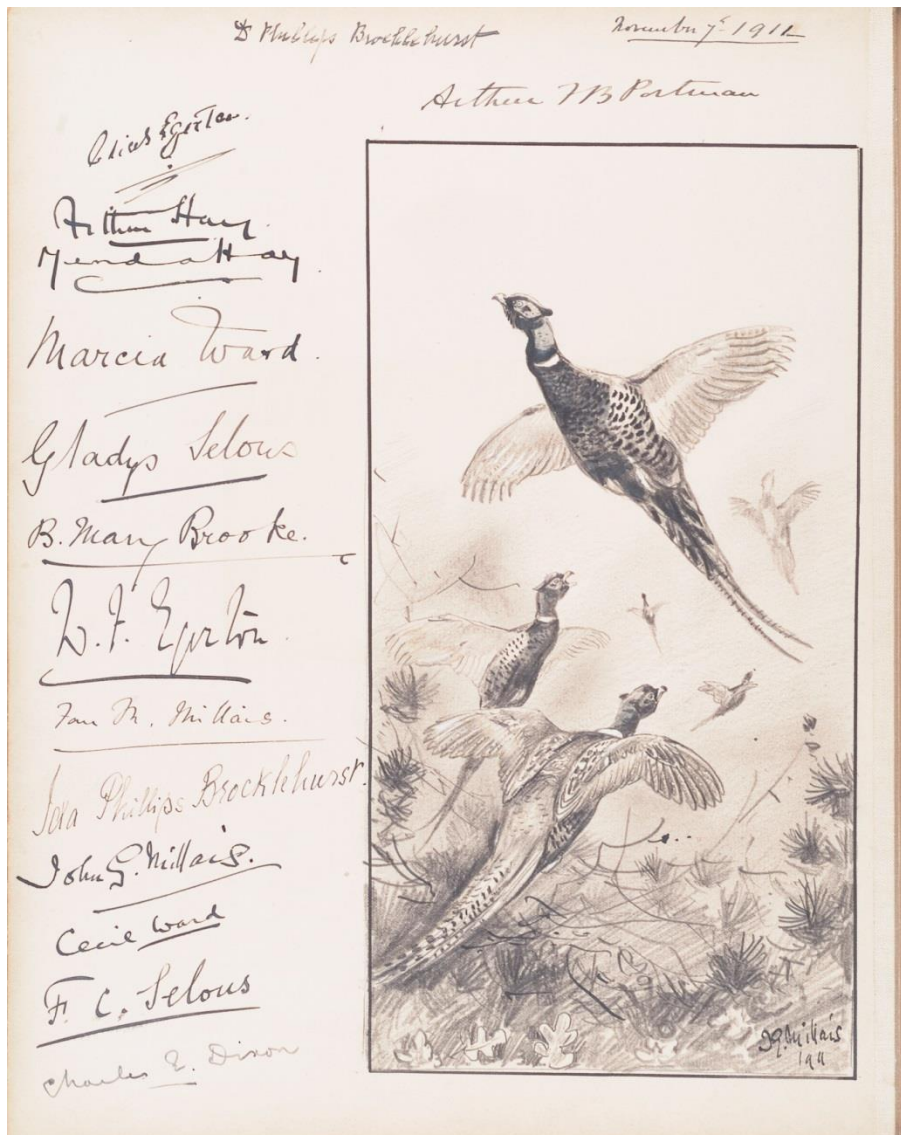
famous exploits in Big Game hunting and service in the first Matabele war in 1892. The fact that Maurice's photograph of Selous and his wife is one of very few portrait shots in his collection suggests that Maurice was impressed by his meeting of a hero from the page in real life. Selous presented a personally inscribed copy of his second book "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia" which detailed his meeting with Maurice and Alan to his "friend Maurice Egerton" in 1896. He was later a guest to Tatton, signing the visitor book in 1912 (figure 25)²⁴.

Figure 24: Maurice's photograph of FC Selous and his wife



²⁴ Tatton Park Visitor Book, (1910-1916) TPA

Figure 25: FC Selous and wife Gladys signature in the Tatton visitor book, 1912.
 Note also signature and illustration by John G Millais, the noted artist and naturalist



Through these introductions, Alan clearly wished his son to witness the inner workings of foreign policy and diplomacy, but he had not anticipated bringing his son into danger. Weston Jarvis described British endeavour in the “promised land” in the late nineteenth century as hungry and eager, yet ignorant of the “volcano upon which we were sitting”²⁵. In the winter of 1895 it became apparent that tensions in the Transvaal were “approaching a crisis”²⁶. Although Maurice must have been keen to begin his first safari, Alan and Weston Jarvis were more concerned with the political climate in Transvaal after the recent Jameson Raid, which had frustrated attempts at

²⁵ Weston Jarvis, *Jottings From an Active Life*, p79

²⁶ *Ibid*, p71

bringing the region under colonial yoke²⁷. Therefore, the safari was delayed until March of 1896, and had barely established itself when the hunting party became caught up in the outbreak of the 2nd Matabele War.

Confined to the laager for the most part, the outbreak of war threw together in close proximity the eminent figures in the colony, presenting increased opportunities for introductions, but in strained and unforeseen circumstances. After anticipating his arrival for several weeks, on May 5th 1896 Maurice finally met and photographed Cecil Rhodes; a figure of legendary status in British Foreign Policy in Africa (figure 26)²⁸. At a meeting of the Primrose League to report his experiences in Matabeleland, Alan described Rhodes' merits as a role model to the next generation, and his importance in opening up Africa as a land of opportunity for the young:

“He was one of the greatest men of the present time. He had the courage of his opinions, and was as straight as he made them, and had given his money like water in order to carry out his great policy, which at heart every Englishman admired, the policy of making a big South African Empire, a place which would aid this country both by consuming its products and by making a place which our sons and daughters could go to”²⁹.

²⁷ Weston Jarvis recorded his reaction to hearing of the Jameson Raid as his ship prepared to leave Madeira on January 6th 1896. He recorded that Alan and Maurice Egerton were in Cape Town on January 27th, Pretoria on February 11th, and Krugersdorp on February 12th visiting Jameson's wounded force, so their trip may have been designed to have some diplomatic significance rather than being solely for big game hunting. Weston Jarvis, *Diary*

²⁸ MED, (05/05/1896)

²⁹ Alan de Tatton talked at Bollington Habitation of Primrose League 20th April, as reported in *The Manchester Guardian*, (22/04/1897) p3

Figure 26: Maurice's photograph of Cecil Rhodes' address



Although Alan de Tatton was impressed with Rhodes, and called him a “king” and “giant amongst men”³⁰, meeting his hero in the flesh turned out to be a disappointment to Maurice. He recorded that he was older than he had imagined and his rallying speech was “inaudible to almost everyone”³¹. Rhodes’ personal escort was Ewart Scott Grogan (figure 27), who would later become famous for being the first man to walk the length of Africa from Cairo to Cape Town³². Maurice and Grogan were the same age, of similar backgrounds, and like Maurice he appeared to be emerging as a future figure of eminence in colonial rule. By the age of 21 Grogan had already garnered himself a reputation as a “swashbuckling” figure in colonial history and had become the youngest elected member of the Alpine Club³³. He is remembered as “Kenya’s Churchill”³⁴ and a “British Ernest Hemingway”,³⁵ but also

³⁰ Astle, *Cheshire MP Interviewed*

³¹ MED, (05/05/1896)

³² Davenport Hines, Richard (2004) *Ewart Scott Grogan*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

³³ Ibid

³⁴ ‘A Man Who Did Derring Do’, (31/03/2001) *The Telegraph*

as one of the most controversial African settlers due to his well-known hatred towards native Africans (he labelled “the nigger the most hideous of Gods creations”)³⁶. If Rhodes failed to make an impression on Maurice then Grogan evidently did, and as proof of a recognised affinity they would later become neighbours and business partners in Kenya.

Figure 27: Ewart Scott Grogan in the Matabele campaign



Crucial introductions to military figures such as Rhodes and Grogan further exemplified the imperial masculine ideal. Dawson describes how the “military virtues of aggression, strength, courage and endurance” were symbols frequently

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Grogan, Ewart Scott, (1900) *From the Cape to Cairo*, Hurst and Blackett, p78

perpetuated as ideals of manhood³⁷. It is apparent that the exploits of great Male Collectors such as FC Selous were heavily based upon “martial prowess”³⁸. Combined with a sense of Anglo Saxon authority and “muscular” religious zeal propagated through public schools, “heroic fantasies of boyhood and political mobilization of the nation achieved a new and institutional form” through the emerging role of Male Collector³⁹. Dawson argues further that “being a white man...was a very concrete manner of being in the world. It meant speaking in a certain way, behaving to a code of regulations”⁴⁰. These traits particular to “white man” status were recognised and emulated by Maurice, who sought to fit the masculine ideal.

Maurice sought to ingratiate himself with other Male Collectors through keeping travel diaries, fitting in through copying an established practice, and through ensuring he kept useful records to improve his collecting success. MacKenzie notes how diary keeping was considered to be essential for any intelligent traveller, and the habit appeared to be widespread amongst Male Collectors⁴¹. Big Game hunter and cousin of FC Selous, Percy Selous described how he spent his evenings on safari updating his diary entries⁴². These would provide narratives to fill his books which were largely autobiographical accounts of Big Game acquisitions. Weston Jarvis was keeping a diary of his Matabele trip, which may have inspired Maurice to do the same. On March 9th 1896 during this Matabeleland trip, Maurice began his first diary documenting his journey and hunting activities. This diary was significant as it initiated Maurice into the practice of record keeping that he would continue up until his last journey abroad in 1955. These diaries focus primarily upon the situations of animal kills and his skill in tracking them as was a common custom of Big Game hunters of the time⁴³. Diary writing and getting “stuck in” to camp life were a few ways through which Maurice, the youngest member of the party, could claim allegiance with the more experienced hunters and be seen to “fit in” with the Male Collector group.

³⁷ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p1

³⁸ *Ibid*, p83

³⁹ *Ibid*, p151

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p170

⁴¹ MacKenzie, John M. (1988) *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, p34

⁴² Selous, Percy and Bryden, H.A. (1897), *Travel and Big Game*, Bellairs and Co, p101

⁴³ See Weston Jarvis, *Diary*

Experiencing his very first safari, Maurice's Matabele diary presents Maurice attempting to emulate and even outperform his companions. According to Weston Jarvis, the safari began on March 3rd, and the party consisted of six men: Weston Jarvis, Alan and Maurice Egerton, Captain Jack Spreckley, "Ginger" Mordaunt and Walter Currie, a mining engineer⁴⁴. Maurice's diary began six days later on the 9th. The masculine atmosphere of camp life combined with the lone acts and demonstrations of skill in selecting and tracking beasts for trophies and the dinner pot appears to have bewitched Maurice from the first. On March 10th Maurice made his first kill, a duiker, and wrote that he went back to camp "hungry for its liver"⁴⁵. The self-sufficiency of the safari was reliant on dispatching a suitable amount of game to feed the safari outfit. MacKenzie describes how meat eating was "an essential part of the masculinity of a hunter", and he retained the choice cuts of meat from a kill as a symbol of his leadership⁴⁶.

It was crucial for Maurice to adopt a certain tone and lexis in his diaries to align his collecting with scientific practice rather than random slaughter. He referred to his animal acquisitions as "specimens", a word that suggests "representativeness" and "prototype"⁴⁷. His diaries are also littered with colloquial and specific terms which make them difficult to penetrate. He points out the "veldt" and "kopjes" in the countryside, and describes the practices of "outspanning" and tracking "spoor"⁴⁸. This exclusive language of the Male Collector received much attention through the literature and parody of the age. In the autumn of 1938, a 22 year old Roald Dahl made his first voyage to Africa aboard the SS Mantola⁴⁹. Dahl found himself conspicuously on the outside of the group of passengers he described as "empire builders": a "rare species", "more English than English", and "a pack of sinewy sunburnt gophers" noted for their dottiness and eccentricities⁵⁰. Dahl described their dialect as a foreign language:

⁴⁴ Ibid, p32

⁴⁵ MED, (10/03/1896)

⁴⁶ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, p305

⁴⁷ Thiemeyer, Thomas (2015) 'Work, Specimen, Witness: How Different Perspectives on Museum Objects Alter the Way They Are Perceived and the Values Attributed to Them', *Museum and Society* 13, Volume 3, p401

⁴⁸ MED, (21/03/1896)

⁴⁹ Dahl, Roald (1986) *Going Solo*, Jonathan Cape, p11

⁵⁰ Ibid, p13

“They spoke a language of their own. If they worked in East Africa, their sentences were sprinkled with Swahili words. There was a whole vocabulary of much-used words that seemed to be universal among all these people. An evening drink, for example, was always a sundowner. A drink at any other time was a chota peg. One’s wife was the memsahib. To have a look at something was to have a shufti. Something of poor quality was shenzi. The Empire-builders’ jargon would have filled a dictionary”⁵¹.

Dahl defined the exclusivity of Male Collectors as much by their collective dialect, which an outsider to their group would find difficult to penetrate, as their unique outlook on life⁵². These terms would have been new to Maurice’s tongue, but the ease and success with which he used them suggests that he adapted quickly to the language of the hunter.

The evolution of Maurice’s language use can be tracked throughout his diaries, and indicate a growth in confidence from the frequency and accuracy in which native words are applied. When he first arrived in Kenya in 1921, Maurice wrote that he drank “davu (Milk Cocoa-nut)”⁵³. His translation included in the parenthesis appear to be for the benefit of a non-specialist audience viewing his diary, but could equally be for his own reflection as he committed new vocabulary to his memory. This practice was quickly set aside as Maurice used common Swahili terms with increasing frequency. Maurice also kept a handy pocket-sized Swahili phrase book which he built up steadily from scratch (figure 28). This indicates his dedication to learning the language successfully, which was expected amongst the network of Male Collectors⁵⁴.

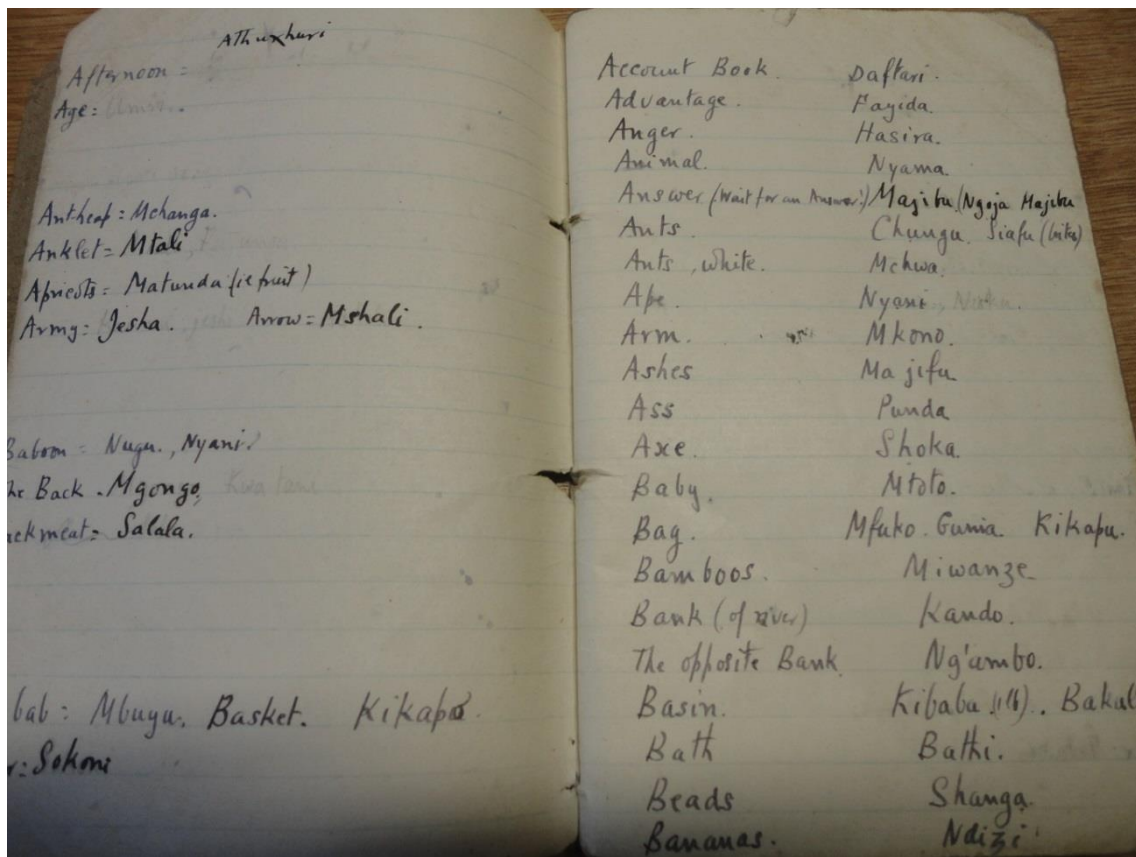
⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ MED, (20/06/21)

⁵⁴ Dahl indicated that native servants were forbidden from communicating in English, forcing White Europeans to learn Swahili to give orders. Dahl, *Going Solo*, p35

Figure 28: A page from Maurice's Swahili phrase book



Just as he settled into the language of the Male Collectors, Maurice also appeared to settle organically into the self-sufficiency, discipline and simple living that was required on safari. The best measure of this can be found through his disparagement of the behaviour of other members of the party. On the second page of his diary he described how Mordaunt decided to go home as he had come to the conclusion that “the place where lions were was no place for him”⁵⁵. Maurice was severe in his criticism of Mordaunt as an encumbrance and source of amusement. His attack implied that he was disapproving of those who were not cut out for camp life and promoted his own bravery and endurance. The Matabele safari stood in sharp contrast to the life of ease and privilege left behind in England, and Maurice appeared willing and eager to suffer and enjoy safari living with equal magnanimity to the comforts and riches he had known in Cheshire.

On March 25th 1896, the tone and subject of Maurice's diary changed completely and unexpectedly as the group found themselves caught up in the outbreak of the

⁵⁵ MED (11/03/1896)

2nd Matabele war. Abandoning the safari completely, as well as the methodical safari diary he had begun just weeks before, Maurice's excitement spills over from the page as he documented the events; his writing becoming frantic and illegible. Exposed and in serious danger, Maurice was forced to spend a sleepless night led in dung in a cattle kraal that the party had turned into a makeshift fort⁵⁶. Selous described the moment that the Egertons' reached the safety of the British laager at Gwelo in his book "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia," which stated that it was only extreme good fortune that saved father and son from being slaughtered by natives⁵⁷.

Maurice's part in the campaign was small and of little significance. However, understanding his role and analysing his interpretation of the events gives valuable insight into how he actively asserted his identity as a collector for the first time. Perhaps due to his aristocratic status and his youth, he was sheltered in the safety of the laager and only responsible for the occasional watch duty. From the safety of his role as an observer, Maurice was again highly critical of the inexperience of the English patrol men. He described how one man accidentally shot off his own hand and another shot his friend in the leg⁵⁸. Maurice documented the war with a sense of detachment that would become his trademark writing style in his later diaries. He described deaths and amputations in the camp in the same sentence as cricket matches and concerts without injecting emotion into his matter-of-fact reportage.

Maurice's Matabeleland trip was his first experience of native peoples. Although his social background, education and personal interest in world geography would have shaped his initial impressions, Maurice's first encounters before the outbreak of war were tentative, inquisitive and respectful. On March 16th he described how "at midnight a number of men and girls arrived to dance for our entertainment"⁵⁹. Maurice described the instruments and style of dancing in the formal style of an ethnographic report for a scientific journal, suggesting his desire to conform to the common stylised accounts available in England. There is a lack of emotion and opinion, but the "other" is demarcated through his differences in appearance and customs rather than through inferiority. This marks a sharp contrast with his description of native peoples during and after the conflict, as he was forced to re-

⁵⁶ MED (25/03/1896)

⁵⁷ Selous, F.C. (1896) *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia*, Books of Rhodesia

⁵⁸ MED (29/03/1896)

⁵⁹ MED (16/03/1896)

adjust his outlook and re-define them as enemies. His use of nouns changed from the deferential “men” and “native” to the derogative “nigger”⁶⁰. Even more striking is his use of hunting terms in reference to people as if he were still on safari in pursuit of game⁶¹. This was not unusual, and validates that education of the young promoted hunting as a training exercise for war. MacKenzie confirms that officers in conflicts in central Africa in the 1890s were as proficient in hunting as they were in Warcraft, and it was common for writings produced at the time to alternate between the two activities⁶². In particular, a statement made by Baden Powell that listed pursuing the “nigger” in line with “lion, leopard, boar and buck” suggests that hunting expeditions and military operations were viewed and executed with a similar anticipation⁶³.

This shift in attitude clearly informed Maurice’s behaviour as his role in the conflict evolved from observer to instigator. On May 14th Maurice was finally allowed to go out on a patrol after being confined to the encampment for almost seven weeks⁶⁴. On the 25th, the scouts in the group burnt down twenty native kraals and Maurice wrote that he was able to “loot” a few native curios⁶⁵. The battle axe was one of the objects collected from the raid. Weston Jarvis described the terrible role of the battle axe and knobkerrie in the “murder” and “massacre” of the white British settlers and military forces in the region⁶⁶. He dwelt on the powerful effect of the battle axe as a weapon and how its use was obviously identifiable as the skulls of its victims were “terribly shattered”⁶⁷. The simple, artless construction of the axe as a chiselled stick of wood combined with a blunt and misshaped blade of iron makes the axe an unremarkable object to behold aesthetically, and technically far inferior to the weapons of the British force. Yet Maurice would have witnessed, and likely feared, the accuracy with which it was deployed by the natives in combat, as well as the devastation it inflicted upon his comrades. Acquiring the axe represented a symbolic exchange of power as Maurice not only conquered the object, but the evil and strength of the culture behind its construction and use.

⁶⁰ MED (04/04/1896)

⁶¹ MED (09/04/1896)

⁶² MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, p133

⁶³ *Ibid*, p134

⁶⁴ MED (14/05/1896)

⁶⁵ MED (25/04/1896)

⁶⁶ Weston Jarvis, *Jottings From an Active Life*, p89

⁶⁷ *Ibid*

The method through which Maurice acquired the axe was loaded with power and significance. The definition of the word “loot” is: “private property taken from an enemy in war”⁶⁸. Maurice’s choice of the word implies that he was able to legitimise his behaviour as an expected process of war. The practice of collecting the axe was both a repossession of treasure and personal compensation; the axe might be traded for pecuniary advantage or be kept as a souvenir of his strength over another culture. Possession of the axe represented his victory over a race that had proved to be “savage” and “primitive” through their defiant behaviour. Looted or confiscated objects represent an extremely small percentage of Maurice’s collection, but the fact that he was comfortable using this method confirms his belief in his own moral, physical and intellectual superiority at that moment in time.

The conflict ended for Maurice on May 31st, just 68 days after it started. Having had little news of the safety of Maurice and his father, immediate family back in Knutsford were understandably relieved to hear of their safety. The local press circulated the story of their safe deliverance:

“A telegram has just been received stating that the Hon. Alan Egerton, M.P. for the Knutsford division, and Mr Maurice Egerton, his son, have just left the Cape for England. The hon. member has been away from England since last Christmas, and he and his son have witnessed some exciting incidents near Gwelo and Bulawayo during their recent troubles, much anxiety being felt for their safety by the family in England. Mr Egerton is expected in London on the 15th July. A great meeting will be held in Tatton Park to welcome home the hon. member”⁶⁹.

Maurice’s first collecting trip may not have gone according to schedule, but it gave him an opportunity to sample the frugal, fraternal atmosphere of safari culture and prove his aptitude for it. It appears that Maurice recalled the occasion with fond familiarity rather than fear or regret. In 1923 he returned to the scene of the old laager and saw his old photographs hanging on the wall of the Gwelo Club along with other men he collectively referred to as “1897er’s”⁷⁰. This term of recognition suggests that Maurice identified with a fellowship of hunter/soldiers who blurred the

⁶⁸ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, taken from www.oxforddictionaries.com

⁶⁹ *The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, (24/06/1896), p4

⁷⁰ MED (10/04/1923)

boundaries of Imperial masculinity with the two interchangeable exploits. Although his life had been in danger, the conflict enabled him to begin to integrate with notorious Male Collectors and experience the camaraderie of camp life. The Matabele axe took its place as one of the first objects deposited in the MEC. Its changing status evolved through tool, weapon, loot, spoil of war and souvenir, representing cultural appropriation across a wide divide.

3.3 Elephant: Collecting Africa

Factfile

- Object Title: Elephant (figure 29)
- Description: Tusks, jawbone, skull, two forefeet, one hindfoot, one sole of hindfoot, one toenail, one slab of skin, two ears and the tail of an African bull elephant
- Date Collected: 30/01/1934
- Location: Tana River, Kenya

Figure 29: Elephant foot



In February 1934 Maurice collected an African bull elephant, completing his collection of the “Big Five” that hunters commonly sought from an African safari⁷¹. Despite the prestige associated with killing an elephant, the largest physical prize available to a hunter, Maurice did not acquire a specimen until 1934. The acquisition

⁷¹ The “Big Five” referred to lion, leopard, elephant, buffalo and rhinoceros.

of the elephant reflects the massive expansion of Maurice's collection and developing skill at Big Game hunting. It also represents Maurice's longest lasting relationship with the country that would induce him to spend the majority of his time away from Tatton Park. Having charted Maurice's growth into a Male Collector in the previous case study, this case study identifies Maurice operating amongst others in the network, and further identifies their shared characteristics. It locates Maurice in the prime of his collecting career in the country he loved best, situated against a general context of aristocratic decline.

Following his first accompanied trip to Africa in 1896 that saw the collection of the Matabele axe and the foundation of his collection, Maurice can be seen to have graduated into adulthood and be directing the course of his own life for the first time. Not yet experienced to find appropriate opportunities for himself, Maurice looked for guidance to find new prospects for travel and collecting. For young men of means such as Maurice, who had little intuition of where to invest their time and money from lack of connections or experience, advertisements in the national press were a simple and effective way of attracting attention⁷². One such campaign was launched by Charles Cowan (figure 30), an Irish immigrant to America in 1884 and an experienced big game hunter, trapper and guide who offered shooting tours of Alaska and the Yukon for the British aristocracy⁷³. McKenzie described how "a mass of sporting literature appeared aimed at inducing hunters to the Americas", and that opportunities there "provided virile sportsmen with an appropriate venue to display their economic advantages and physical prowess"⁷⁴. Consequently, "North America, especially Upper Strickeen, the Yukon and Alaska, was a popular venue for members of the Shikar Club"⁷⁵.

⁷² Dublin born Charles Cowan was responsible for a newspaper advertisement in the early 1900s which persuaded Egerton and Lord Exeter to purchase ranches in British Columbia. See Stangoe, Irene (1997) *Looking Back at the Cariboo-Chilcotin*, Heritage House, p33

⁷³ Stangoe, Irene (1997) *Looking Back at the Cariboo-Chilcotin*, Heritage House, p33

⁷⁴ McKenzie, 'The British Big Game Hunting Tradition', p74

⁷⁵ Ibid, p84. The Shikar Club was an exclusive group of hunters. Their foundation and aims will be discussed further in chapter four.

Figure 30: Maurice's photograph of his agent, Charles Cowan



Already interested in agriculture, British Columbia provided a fresh canvas for Maurice to establish himself and begin to put his skills into practice. Here, he made vital connections and continued his assimilation into the Male Collector network. At the end of the nineteenth century, another prize young noble had answered Cowan's call to ranch life. William Cecil, 5th Marquess of Exeter was of a similar age and background to Maurice, and, suggesting mutual approval of judgement and taste, the two young men bought considerable stakes in cattle ranches in the Cariboo⁷⁶. Sharing an enjoyment of hunting and fishing, the two young men set themselves up as squires of their estates, indulging their passions with an unrestrained sense of

⁷⁶ Exeter bought 100 Mile ranch, while Maurice bought the neighbouring properties 105, 108 and 111 Mile ranches. Cowan was appointed agent to both men. Stangoe, *Looking Back at the Cariboo-Chilcotin*, p34

freedom and pleasure. In September 1919 Maurice met up with the Exeter party for a joint shoot on his property, Tatton Lake, and wrote in his diary:

“I, the Exeter’s, Cowan and Evelyn⁷⁷ took the 2 cars and shot Tatton Lake. Exeter standing on the point and getting 5 duck. I picked up Exeter’s duck with the new ranch-made boat, that I found half-filled with water and had to bail out with my hat”⁷⁸.

Both men propped up the others sense of rectitude in their new lives by participating and competing in the same collecting activities.

Just as Maurice and Exeter recognised in each other a mutual ideal, common social markers would demark others who belonged to the group of Male Collectors. Cannadine describes a sense of recognition amongst the aristocracy which can equally be applied to the Male Collectors:

“They possessed, in short, a collective awareness of inherited and unworked-for superiority. In this very general sense, class consciousness brought together and articulated, subsumed and transcended, great wealth, high status, and supreme power”⁷⁹.

This is in keeping with Mangan and McKenzie who described a similar “social demarcation which heightened the self-perception of superiority based on ancestry” in the late nineteenth century⁸⁰.

Positive identification of men who fitted the mould influenced the friendships that Maurice formed. For example, in the Klondike in 1902 Maurice met the local Justice but his initial positive opinion of him was reassessed when he found out that he “wasn’t a hunter”⁸¹. During World War One when Maurice was unable to travel, making like-minded acquaintances was an important part of keeping the spirit alive and valid. High ranking army officials were likely to have shared social parameters and so were likely to have experienced Big Game hunting or be likely candidates to

⁷⁷ Evelyn Penrose, manager of the Cariboo Trading Company

⁷⁸ MED (20/09/1919)

⁷⁹ Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p24

⁸⁰ Mangan and McKenzie, ‘Privileged Education’, p1120

⁸¹ MED (21/09/1902)

become Male Collectors. In September 1918 Maurice met a Captain Hope in Washington and recorded that they “talked South Africa and Big Game”⁸²

The long boat journeys to and from Africa that Maurice made annually enabled him to integrate with other well-travelled men and make valuable connections. On his first journey to Africa in 1938, a young Roald Dahl commented on the length and significance of the boat journeys as a glamorous way to travel:

“The voyage from the Port of London to Mombasa would take two weeks and on the way we were going to call in at Marseilles, Malta, Port Said, Suez, Port Sudan and Aden. Nowadays you can fly to Mombasa in a few hours and you stop nowhere and nothing is fabulous any more, but in 1938 a journey like that was full of stepping stones and East Africa was a long way from home”⁸³.

The protracted journey was an invaluable way of striking up useful relationships with other like-minded individuals. Dahl described the men on his voyage as a distinct class of people:

“I consider myself lucky to have caught a glimpse of this rare species while it still roamed the forests and foot-hills of the earth, for today it is totally extinct. More English than the English, more Scottish than the Scots, they were the craziest bunch of humans I shall ever meet. All in all, it was rather wonderful for me, a conventional young lad from the suburbs, to be thrust suddenly into the middle of this pack of sinewy sunburnt gophers”⁸⁴.

His statement reveals that for Dahl and others new to the scene or with less privileged credentials, the inner circle was a phenomenon to be marvelled at, but difficult to penetrate. The American press also described these figures as a new breed of men who:

“Have nerves of iron and love the open-air life, far preferring the discomfort of the camp in regions not often traversed by white men, to the luxury of West End drawing rooms”⁸⁵.

⁸² MED (22/09/1918)

⁸³ Dahl, *Going Solo*, p11

⁸⁴ Ibid, p13

⁸⁵ *New York Tribune* (25/12/1910)

These statements begin to indicate the shared characteristics of the Male Collectors, who had removed themselves from the opulence of their ancestral homes and repositioned themselves as hardy and intrepid explorers in the bush.

Table allocation on board ships was the surest way of securing introductions and forging relationships with passengers of similar ilk. Maurice would take advantage of these contacts by staying with them to hunt on their land, or using their letters of introduction to gain more permits and assistance to travel. His ease in making these contacts was crucial to the success of his collection. Maurice's diaries list the passengers aboard the ships, and give information about the background and occupations of his fellow travellers, and indication of their affinity or usefulness to Maurice. For an example, on board the RMS Norman from London to East Africa in December 1922 was a mixture of passengers, including:

- Geoffrey Buxton, a member of the aristocratic Buxton family based at Caxton Hall in Norwich and one of the first settlers in Kenya. He was also the probable creator of the term "Happy Valley"⁸⁶.
- T Marris, heading to a consumptive sanatorium, but also hoping to combine recovery with a spot of shooting.
- WS Robson working at Vickers Steel works, who gave Maurice tips on locations for shooting Wildebeest.
- GC Beekley, an American. Maurice commented on his impressive collection of 9 rifles with derision that thinly masks his jealousy, and labelled him a "hot air merchant". Although Americans such as Theodore Roosevelt were respected hunters, white British men were generally considered to embody the true spirit of the Imperial Male Collector.
- W and Miss Armitage who lived at Bowdon, a local village to Tatton.
- W Compton Smith, nicknamed "Tweedledee" by Maurice, who had a son at Hough Green Farm, Hough End Hall being one of Maurice's properties⁸⁷.

The diverse passenger list shows a combination of men from similar backgrounds to Maurice who would be considered Male Collectors, such as Geoffrey Buxton, and more modest travellers who piqued Maurice's interest from their local connections,

⁸⁶ Spicer, Paul (2010) *The Temptress: Passion and Murder in Kenya's Happy Valley*, Simon and Schuster, p72

⁸⁷ MED (30/12/1922)

such as W Compton Smith. Although Maurice appeared to have interacted with all of these passengers, his opinions of them were fixed according to who could offer the most use as an equivalent collector.

Geoffrey Buxton had been introduced to Maurice in 1920 when he first sailed for Africa and had been seated at the same table⁸⁸. Having successfully cultivated a friendship, the following year Maurice sailed again with Geoffrey, his daughter Joan and son in law Sir John “Chops” Ramsden⁸⁹. As a seasoned and well respected settler, Geoffrey was an invaluable contact for Maurice, who needed introductions to the right people and places⁹⁰. These included Geoffrey’s great uncle, Edward North Buxton, who was a “fervent hunter” and respected Male Collector in BEA at the time⁹¹. Needing to employ servants as a necessity, Geoffrey was able to see to it that Maurice was properly looked after and publically respected:

“Geoff engaged yesterday 2 boys for me, Simuni, a Baganda, as boy, who can also cook a bit, and Mabbrukki, a U-Kamba, as gunbearer”⁹².

Mabbrukki was to stay in Maurice’s service for over a decade, indicating that Geoffrey provided a useful service by securing a suitable employee.

Other significant men who featured amongst Maurice’s acquaintances in the Male Collector group included Major Powell Cotton of Quex Park in Kent (figure 31). Maurice described meeting Powell Cotton in Durban in 1935 after he had finished his nyala hunt⁹³. As well as establishing his own collection at his country estate with the help of the best taxidermists, his name also featured heavily in record books of Big Game, and his animal and ethnographic specimens were to be found amongst the collections of the Nation’s largest and best museums⁹⁴. Having had a head start at

⁸⁸ MED (25/08/1920)

⁸⁹ MED (24/06/1920)

⁹⁰ Geoffrey had first arrived in Kenya in 1910. An old Etonian, he was already acquainted with the inner circle of Male Collectors, including Lord Delamere, Lord Errol, and Denys Finch-Hatton. See Spicer, *The Temptress*, pp.71-2

⁹¹ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, p212

⁹² MED (23/06/1921)

⁹³ MED (05/10/1935)

⁹⁴ *The Powell-Cotton Museum Guide Book*

establishing himself as a master hunter, Powell Cotton's name would have been set before Maurice as a figure to emulate⁹⁵.

Figure 31: Major Percy Powell Cotton



Another prolific Male Collector who best defined the type was the local figure of Captain Henry Courtney Brocklehurst, whose family owned estates in Cheshire and Staffordshire. Brocklehurst built up his own collection for his ancestral home in a similar manner to Maurice, but also took on a professional role as Game Warden of Sudan, putting himself at the forefront of developing the phenomenon of Big Game hunting and its ethos of fair play and sportsmanship. Maurice consulted Brocklehurst in Khartoum in March 1924 to plan a large safari in his district along the Dinder River⁹⁶. Reciprocating the favour and distinguishing him as an ideological comrade, Maurice invited him to Tatton Park, and he would have been an early visitor to Maurice's burgeoning collection there⁹⁷.

The collection of the elephant suggests that Maurice's behaviour may not have been ground-breaking, but was born of a tradition, in particular a local Cheshire tradition, which saw an exodus of aristocrats from their estates in the face of declining influence in the early twentieth century⁹⁸. Cannadine gives a comprehensive overview of the social, economic and political factors that triggered the demise of the

⁹⁵ Powell Cotton's book was part of Maurice's collection, and his name featured heavily in Rowland Ward's *Records of Game*, also in Maurice's collection.

⁹⁶ MED (30/03/1924)

⁹⁷ *Tatton Park Visitor Book*, (1923-1954), TPA

⁹⁸ Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p31

aristocracy, dictating that “the lords of the earth would become strangers in their own lands”⁹⁹. He describes a market saturated with country houses for sale in the 1930s, with 221 mansions destroyed nationwide between 1920-1939¹⁰⁰. During Maurice’s lifetime, 21 houses were lost or partially demolished in Cheshire, including Carden Park, Oulton Hall and Henbury Hall, and a further 35 in Lancashire¹⁰¹.

The Cheshire region was not unique in its tight concentration of historic estates with subtle interconnections forged through centuries of intermarriage and friendship. Many Cheshire estates claimed familial ties to Maurice, sharing more of an inheritance than common names and ancestors. Tracing the outlook and behaviours of some of these figures coming to the fore at a similar time to Maurice provides a basis for assessing his own unique life trajectory. In an overview of contemporary twentieth century heirs in Cheshire, four distinct patterns emerge.

The first is of continuity and obedience. Despite changes in attitudes to the aristocracy and a general pattern of decline in influence and wealth in the communities, a large proportion of young heirs clung to the traditions of their ancestors and “toed the line” along a defined path of duty and responsibility that had been trod for generations. This dedication to duty and a sense of confidence in promoting their heritage can be seen at nearby Arley Hall in Northwich, where the past three generations of the family had devoted themselves to the expansion and preservation of the estate, including building and beautifying properties in the neighbouring villages. On inheriting the estate in 1913, John Egerton-Warburton “showed himself a devoted heir to the estate and a keen follower of country pursuits”¹⁰². Focusing his attentions in his home county, including his search for a bride, meant that John was praised for his “charm, humour and sense of duty”¹⁰³. Other families similarly managed to combine a strong home presence in Cheshire, the expected responsibilities of local government and military service with personal interests. Amongst these were Maurice’s cousins at Oulton Hall in Tarporley. Philip Egerton, 12th Baronet and Grandson of the geologist 10th Baronet, inherited Oulton in

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p119

¹⁰¹ Strong, Roy, Binney, Marcus, Harris John (eds.) (1974) *The Destruction of the Country House*, Thames and Hudson, p188

¹⁰² Foster, Charles (1982) *Arley Hall*, Martins, p30

¹⁰³ Ibid

1891¹⁰⁴. Although his grandfather had created an unusual legacy through his collection, Philip was more traditional in his approach to administering care of his estate through long term service with the Cheshire Regiment and as a Justice of the Peace. Twice married and with two sons, Oulton appeared to be preserved for posterity¹⁰⁵. Tragically, both sons were to be killed in service during the First World War¹⁰⁶. Oulton Hall itself was destroyed by fire in 1926, a much feared demise for any stately home, proving that even despite the best preparations, well-loved estates were not immune to ruination¹⁰⁷.

The second pattern emerging in this period is that of the bachelor landlord; the stay-at-home recluse; the conscious precipitator of the end of his line. One of Maurice's closest neighbours geographically, Roger Grey, Lord Stamford at Dunham Massey in Altrincham, might be seen to be his closest match in personality. Grey was said to be shy and retiring, and throughout his life remained a confirmed bachelor¹⁰⁸. Like Maurice, foreign affairs and diplomacy clearly held some appeal to him (he famously entertained the exiled Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie in 1938)¹⁰⁹. Instead of developing this interest and making his name in government or travelling extensively himself, he preferred to stay at home and spend his time and money on restoring the Dunham treasures that had been sold or lost by his reckless ancestors¹¹⁰. This anonymous presence throughout the history books and in the Cheshire region meant that at Grey's death in 1974 "Dunham Massey, though separated only by its park from the outskirts of Manchester, was one of the least known of England's country houses"¹¹¹.

Crossing the border into Wales, another bachelor reclusive landlord was Simon Yorke of Erddig in Wrexham. Inheriting his estate two years after Maurice in 1922, Simon allowed the estate to become so run down "as to qualify for the title of the most dilapidated major country house in Britain still occupied by a member of its

¹⁰⁴ 'Philip Egerton', *The Peerage*, online at <http://thepeerage.com/p32825.htm>

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

¹⁰⁶ *St Peter's Church, Little Budworth*, online at <http://www.thornber.net/cheshire/htmlfiles/littlebud.html>

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ *Dunham Massey Guidebook* (2012), The National Trust, p9

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Bence-Jones, Mark (1984) *The National Trust Ancestral Houses*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, p54

¹¹¹ Ibid

family”¹¹². Erddig then passed to the last male in the Yorke line, his brother Philip. Another bachelor and as equally “eccentric”, Philip at least afforded some repairs to the hall to ensure the family legacy would not sink further into obscurity and ruin. However, his efforts to preserve Erddig came too late, as through the conscious choice of both brothers not to marry, the natural line of the Yorke’s reached its final conclusion. The obscurity of both Dunham and Erddig in the lifetimes of their cloistered owners, and their loss from private ownership following the end of centuries of successive rule were tragedies that passed almost unremarked upon as the clamorous lives of these houses ended with barely a whisper.

In contrast to the many families who had been determined to preserve their estates in the face of mounting difficulties, a third pattern amongst the great Cheshire families saw an acceptance that these estates had become unsustainable, and that they should be cut loose as soon as possible. These decisions largely appear to have been made grudgingly for fear of being labelled as the failure that severed the ties with hundreds of years of history. Descended from another branch of the same family as the Tatton and Oulton Egerton’s, the Egerton’s of Heaton Hall represented a dramatic decline from one of Lancashire’s “richest and most influential families” at the turn of the nineteenth century, to seeking a sale to relieve the pressures of debt less than a hundred years later¹¹³. When Heaton Hall was sold to the Manchester Corporation in 1901 for a large prize of £230,000¹¹⁴, the family retained their title but faced a new life divorced from the material traditions of their past. More cousins of Maurice at Wythenshawe Hall faced a similar battle to sell their estate to the highest bidder as financial instability became untenable. The close proximity of both Heaton and Wythenshawe Halls to the city of Manchester increased their value to developers as the city expanded at a rapid rate. Peter Tatton inherited Wythenshawe in 1924, four years after Maurice’s inheritance of Tatton¹¹⁵. With recent memories of Wythenshawe in its golden era of entertainment and parties, including his own coming of age party in 1904, selling up just two years later must have been a difficult

¹¹² Ibid, p93

¹¹³ Riley, Peter (2000) *Heaton Hall and the Egerton Family*, Walter Brown Printers, p7

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p12

¹¹⁵ *Wythenshawe Hall*, Manchester City Council official pages, online at: http://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/200073/parks_playgrounds_and_open_spaces/2242/wythenshawe_park/6

decision to make¹¹⁶. His daughter Betty said of her father: “He loved the Hall. I think it was very sad for him when it was all sold up. But he never talked about it”¹¹⁷. The subsequent loss of both his sons, just as Philip Egerton had experienced at Oulton, compounded the tragedy and another great Cheshire family became extinct in the direct line.

A fourth segment of the Cheshire aristocracy found their increasingly dogmatic and impoverished existences to be incompatible with their modern sensibilities and looked to redefine their identities in new settings. Refusing to accept a loss of influence, these men held on to a degree of wealth and influence into the twentieth century which their compatriots had lost, mainly through “steering change” rather than resisting it¹¹⁸. Probably the most notorious of these rebel figures was Hugh Cholmondeley, Lord Delamere, who led the first wave of British settlers to Kenya in the last years of the nineteenth century¹¹⁹. Delamere was a neighbour of Maurice at Vale Royal in Cheshire, but by 1902 finding “English country life dull” had to re-located to Kenya for good¹²⁰. Vale Royal estate was first leased, then eventually sold in 1928, with the house following in 1946, “thus ending the Cholmondeley association which had lasted 330 years¹²¹. Delamere was instrumental in establishing the new colony by persuading other jaded and drifting nobles, particularly from Cheshire, to join him. Delamere had been frustrated at the decline of his influence in Cheshire, but was able to re-establish his leadership and sense of importance in the newly re-named Kenya colony¹²².

Following Delamere’s example, Kenya became a haven for impoverished aristocrats whose estates had been sold or demolished, and younger sons “who could afford in Africa the thousands of acres and dozens of servants that their elder siblings had acquired by birthright” (figure 32)¹²³. In 1902 the population of displaced Europeans

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ Mandler, *The Fall and Rise*, p3

¹¹⁹ Herne, Brian (2001), *White Hunters: The Golden Age of Safaris*, Henry Holt and Co

¹²⁰ Clayton, Anthony (2007) *Cholmondeley, Hugh, Third Baron Delamere (1870-1931)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

¹²¹ Keating, *The Kenya Connection*, p2

¹²² Clayton, *Cholmondeley, Hugh, Third Baron Delamere*

¹²³ Osborne, Frances (2008) *The Bolter*, Virago, p150

living in Kenya numbered 596¹²⁴. By 1931 this had risen to 8,507. Sir John “Chops” Ramsden had owned extensive land in Huddersfield until 1919 and saw in Kenya a prospect to resurrect his standing as a man of property¹²⁵. Sir Jock Delves Broughton, another neighbour of Maurice in Cheshire, was in severe financial trouble by 1938 and had greatly diminished his seat of Doddington Park¹²⁶. Seeking to put his shame behind him and make a new beginning, he relocated to Kenya for good in 1940. Sir Raymond de Trafford, third son of the third Baronet de Trafford, would also settle in Kenya after the sale of Trafford Park in 1896, which left a titled family somewhat adrift and embarrassed without their historical family seat¹²⁷. By 1921 largely at Delamere’s instigation, the white population had increased to 9,651, including the newly arrived Maurice Egerton¹²⁸.

¹²⁴ Constantine, Stephen (1999) ‘Migrants and Settlers’ in Brown, Judith M, and Wm. Roger Louis (eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, p168

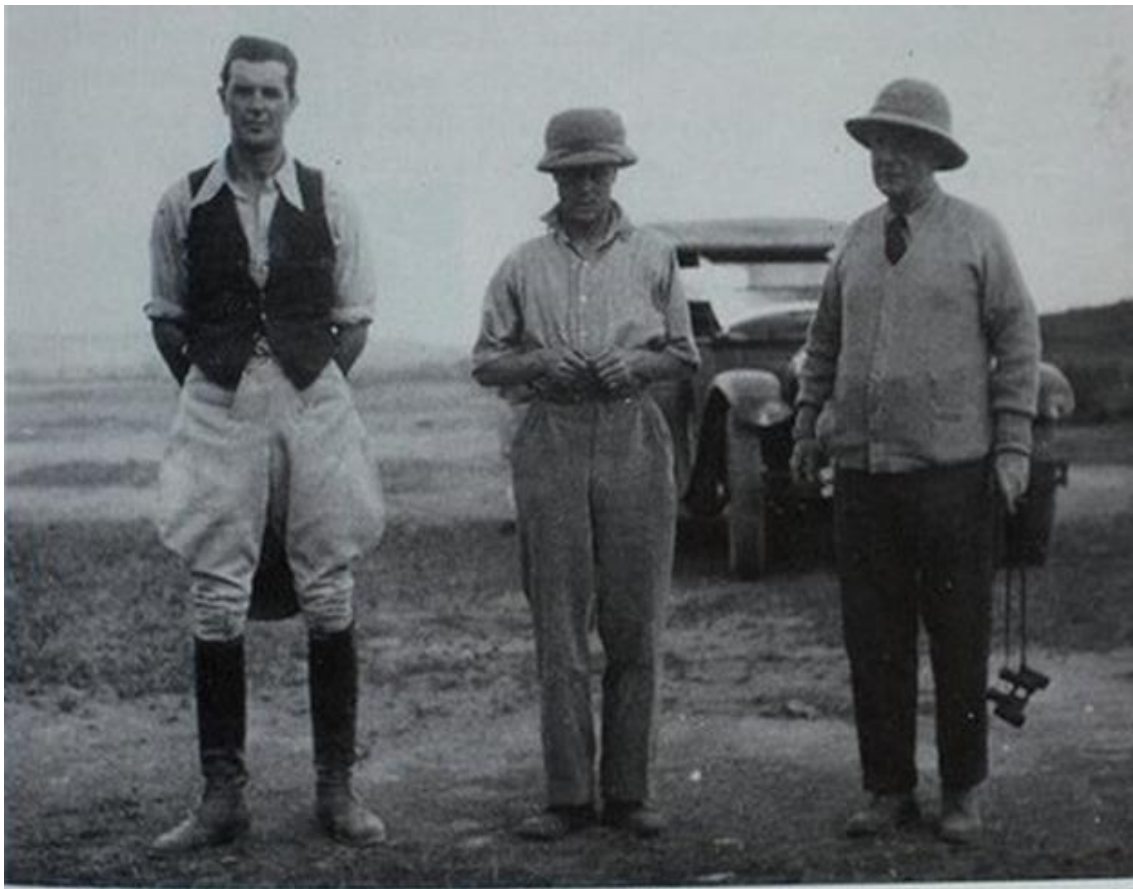
¹²⁵ Davenport-Hines (2011) *The Happy Valley Set*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

¹²⁶ Fox, James (1982) *White Mischief*, Random House, p64

¹²⁷ Nicholls, Robert (1996) *Trafford Park, The First Hundred Years*, Phillimore & Co Ltd

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p4

Figure 32: From Left: “Boy” Long, Delamere’s agent, the Prince of Wales, later Edward VIII and Hugh Cholmondeley, Lord Delamere, pictured on safari in 1929



Maurice’s own role can be seen to resonate with each of these four local traditions, suggesting his difficulty in deciding a clear path and determining his role of responsibility in his home county. Irrevocably connected to the homestead of Tatton Park, somewhat reclusive in his private personality but longing for travel and adventure, Maurice appeared to be conflicted between a traditional sense of duty and an innate desire to escape its confines. Sykes describes a similar contemporary in the character of Tatton Sykes, labelled “the eccentric” for shunning society and travelling alone to distant places¹²⁹. Sykes, like Maurice, was a misfit, inherently “as far removed from being the bluff country squire as it was possible to be”¹³⁰. As the “world was opening up” and creating exciting new prospects for rich young men, Sykes and Maurice did not have to conform to traditional roles, but were relatively

¹²⁹ Sykes, *The Big House*, p136

¹³⁰ *Ibid*

able to escape their constraints¹³¹. Maurice was lured by the call to settler life in BEA, and in 1919 he applied for land in BEA under the Soldier Settlement Scheme¹³². Eager to appraise the lands he had been granted, Maurice set sail for BEA the following year, but whilst on route he was informed of the death of his father and was forced to turn back to England¹³³. Finally inheriting the Tatton title and estate and approaching Middle Age, Maurice now had funds and the gravitas of heightened status behind him, but neither appeared to be sufficient enticement to keep him long in Cheshire. Within eight months he set sail again for Kenya, beginning a pattern of spending at least half of each year abroad, chiefly in BEA, for the rest of his life¹³⁴.

Maurice's initial interest in Kenya was likely to have been guided by a shared belief in Delamere's feudal campaigns¹³⁵. During the mid-1920s, Maurice was persuaded by Delamere to promote a scheme to bring Tanganyika under British rule from a central government base in Kenya¹³⁶. One pamphlet in his possession demonstrates how the scheme attempted to promote the region and encourage British settlement:

"The Iringa district might be said to be of the 'Rolling Sussex Downs' type"¹³⁷. There is no doubt whatsoever, but that the land-owner in the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika can repeat the history of Kenya Colony over again¹³⁸. "Colonists Ltd", the Managing Director of whom is Lord Delamere and the General Manager Captain Billinge, a farmer in Tanganyika since

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Ex-soldiers could apply for land in a lottery system. Applicants listed their preferred lots, and the names drawn were able to acquire the lot that remained highest on their list. See Duder, CJ (1993) 'Men of the Officer Class: The Participants in the 1919 Soldier Settlement Scheme in Kenya' in *African Affairs* 92, No 366, pp.69-87

¹³³ MED (25/08/1920- 01/10/1920). Maurice had been sailing for 23 days when he reached Aden and received the news. He sailed immediately for home, leaving the boat at Marseilles to take the faster overland route for England. This return journey took just 12 days.

¹³⁴ For example, in 1921, Maurice spent almost six months in England. In 1922, he spent less than 5 months in England. In 1923, he spent 5 months in England. MED (1921-1923)

¹³⁵ In 1925, Maurice put £2100 investment into Delamere's Tanganyika development scheme, which sought to bring Tanganyika into a closer partnership with the British Kenya colony. Egerton shared Delamere's vision of British expansion in Africa. MED (11/12/1925)

¹³⁶ MED 28/11/1925). Maurice discussed the possibility of a "fresh concern" in Tanganyika with Delamere as director. On Dec 11th 1925 Maurice recorded that he had already lent £1100 on Delamere's request, and was about to lend £1000 more.

¹³⁷ *Southern Highlands of Tanganyika, Iringa Province*, (1925) Booklet, Colonists Ltd, p3

¹³⁸ Ibid, p9

1920, has been formed with the idea of helping white settlement forward in the Southern Highlands in every possible way”¹³⁹.

Drawing attention to similarities between Tanganyika and familiar English terrain, as well as to Kenya which had enjoyed success as a colony was likely to arouse interest. Adding to this the assurance of Delamere’s participation increased confidence in the scheme. Maurice’s contribution suggests that he had faith in Delamere, and was keen to emulate Delamere’s activities as a landowner and Male Collector to assimilate successfully into the settler community. Few heartfelt sentiments are recorded in Maurice’s factual diaries that give candid insight into Maurice’s true feelings and emotion. Maurice’s inclusion of Delamere’s death is therefore striking when the deaths of his own parents went unacknowledged¹⁴⁰. It indicates that Maurice held genuine respect for Delamere’s achievements.

Although Delamere may have helped to draw Maurice to Kenya and help establish him there, it appears that Maurice’s motivations were also introspective and born from a genuine enthusiasm for the country and desire to prosper there. The biographers of Kenyan settlers are united in describing a ‘Kenya bug’¹⁴¹ that infected their subjects¹⁴². Dorothy Powys Cobb, the daughter of one of Maurice’s neighbours, wrote in her memoirs that in 1909 her father had been on a shooting expedition in BEA and was so taken with it that he persuaded his family to follow him and settle¹⁴³. A notable European settler in the privileged new community was the Danish Karen Blixen who travelled with her husband Baron Bror Blixen to establish a coffee plantation which Maurice toured in July 1921¹⁴⁴. She wrote a romantic account of her life in the village of Karen outside of Nairobi which was posthumously named in her honour, in her book *Out of Africa*. Evelyn Waugh was particularly entranced by Kenya in 1931, and wrote:

“It was not a matter of mere liking, as one likes any place where people are amusing and friendly and the climate is agreeable, but a feeling of personal

¹³⁹ Ibid, p10

¹⁴⁰ “Was told of the death of Lord Delamere. An irreparable loss to this country”. MED (14/11/1931)

¹⁴¹ Fox, *White Mischief*, p12

¹⁴² See Osborne, *The Bolter*, Fox, *White Mischief*, and Trzebinski, Errol (1991) *The Life and Death of Lord Erroll*, Fourth Estate

¹⁴³ *Reminiscences of Dorothy Powys Cobb*

¹⁴⁴ MED (24/07/1921)

tenderness. I think almost everyone in the highlands of Kenya has very much this feeling, more or less articulately”¹⁴⁵.

These wistful descriptions suggest that imaginations were stirred by beautiful scenery and temperate climate. Nestled conspicuously amongst the factual accounts of daily life and objects acquired in Maurice’s diaries are poetic narratives expressing satisfaction in his new lifestyle in the colony. These include:

“It has been a glorious sunny day and while I was eating my breakfast this morning the view of the 40 or 50 ft bamboos all around me with their feathery tops all lighted up by the early morning sun was quite delightful”¹⁴⁶.

“The sun when within 5 or 10 degrees of setting lighted up everything in a glorious manner- all the thorn trees around and back of my tent and the vegetation on the ridge behind, all a most vivid green that even a colour photograph couldn’t exaggerate”¹⁴⁷.

The intangible allure of beautiful scenery which had an “English air”¹⁴⁸, cemented with physical practicalities of establishing new homes and positions of power made BEA an attractive prospect for young aristocrats at this time.

The British aristocrats centred their colonisation of Kenya around the Wanjohi hills North of Nairobi, which due to their concentrated presence became known as the “White Highlands” or the “Happy Valley” (figure 33)¹⁴⁹. Despite being acquainted with, and living in close proximity to these men, Maurice’s name has not been visible in the politics of the settler community. It appears that although he was a main supporter of Delamere’s policy of British supremacy and the expansion of the colony, he elected not to become publicly involved in its government¹⁵⁰. The administrative papers of Clarence Buxton, District Officer in Kenya from 1922 and of the same formidable family as Geoffrey and Edward North, list the names of the most eminent

¹⁴⁵ Spicer, *The Temptress*, p84

¹⁴⁶ MED 06/11/1931)

¹⁴⁷ MED 19/09/1935)

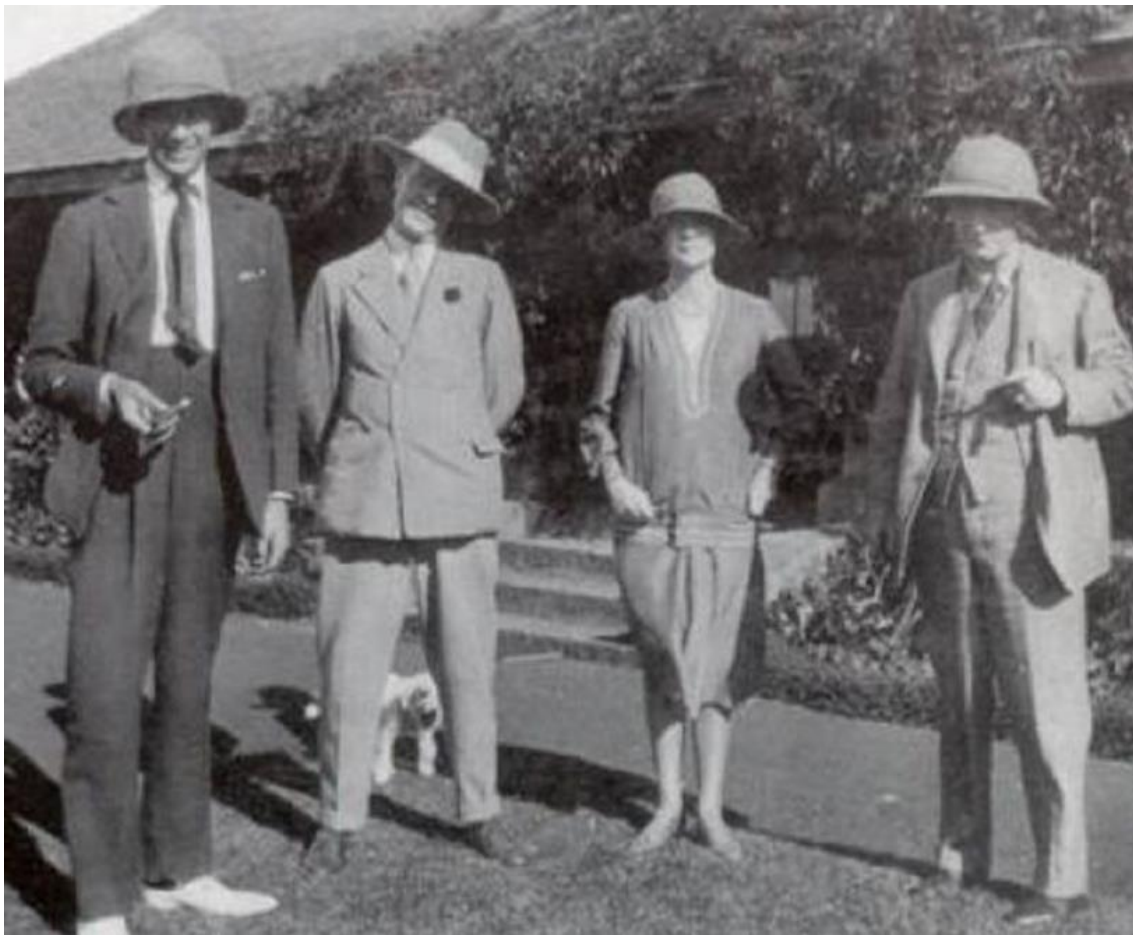
¹⁴⁸ Fox, *White Mischief*, p12

¹⁴⁹ Osborne, *The Bolter*, p173

¹⁵⁰ As mentioned, Maurice was a key investor in Delamere’s feudal campaigns. MED (11/12/1926)

settlers in the region attending the legislative council established in that year¹⁵¹. As a peer of the realm with the potential to wield substantial power and influence Maurice's name remains conspicuously absent¹⁵².

Figure 33: Key members of the Happy Valley set. From left: Raymond de Trafford, Frederick and Alice de Janze and Lord Delamere pictured in 1926



Neither did Maurice achieve notoriety in social proceedings, avoiding associations with the flamboyant and negative imagery surrounding the “Happy Valley set”¹⁵³. Clayton argues that the white settlement in Kenya “very much bore the mark of (Delamere’s) personality- baronial, pioneering, but exuberant, living life to the full, and frequently to excess in social behaviour”¹⁵⁴. Through the 1920s and 1930s, a

¹⁵¹ *Minutes of the proceedings of the first session of the legislative council, (24/03/1922)*, Nairobi, Papers of Clarence Victor Buxton, RH

¹⁵² *Ibid.* Men present included the Hon R Berkeley Cole, the Rt Hon Lord Delamere, the Hon Sir Northrup McMillan, the Hon Major Grogan and the Hon E Powys Cobb

¹⁵³ The British press reported on the degenerate lifestyle of Happy Valley residents, and the joke “Are you married, or do you live in the Happy Valley?” was popularised. Osborne, *The Bolter*, p173

¹⁵⁴ Clayton, *Cholmondeley, Hugh, Third Baron Delamere*

close knit group of settlers based around Delamere, Lord Erroll and the French aristocrat Frederick de Janze became infamous in Britain for their wild parties, drug taking and sexual promiscuity¹⁵⁵. These excesses did not fit the ordered, measured and ethical framework advocated by the Male Collector group¹⁵⁶. This explains why Maurice chose not continue to align himself with this assemblage of traditional social equals once in Kenya as the gulfs in ideology were too great and their friendship offered no advantage to his collecting.

Notorious names from the Happy Valley set appear at regular intervals in Maurice's diaries, but in exclusively civilised contexts. In February 1923 Maurice dined with the Carberry's, who would later become associated with the scandal surrounding the death of Lord Errol in 1941¹⁵⁷. In 1934 Maurice lunched with Lady Delamere¹⁵⁸. Then in 1933 Maurice took part in his first and only Happy Valley safari organised by the Earl and Countess of Errol, whom he described as "very pleasant hosts"¹⁵⁹.

There is also evidence that Maurice emulated certain Happy Valley traditions. Customs they had left behind in England that had become unsustainable with their declining fortunes or shifting modern attitudes had been reinstated in Kenya, but often became exaggerated or warped to benefit their new lifestyle. Maurice noted many of these idiosyncrasies that had quickly become Kenyan institutions, such as the competition to tame wild animals as pets. In 1921 he noted that the Hon RF Carnegie had a cheetah chained to his porch as a watchdog¹⁶⁰. Local settler Dorothy Powys Cobb described how Lady Colville had a tame baboon that terrified the local children "as it used to jump on our heads and hold on!"¹⁶¹ Osborne describes "Samson", the pet lion who replaced the children of the De Janze's left behind in France¹⁶². Alice later added the monkey "Roderigo" to her household¹⁶³. Maurice's attempts at domesticating wild animals were not met with equal success. In 1939 he attempted to raise a young oryx, but remarked:

¹⁵⁵ Osborne, *The Bolter*, p150

¹⁵⁶ The ethics of the Male Collectors will be examined in greater detail in chapter four.

¹⁵⁷ MED (11/02/1923)

¹⁵⁸ MED (22/01/1934)

¹⁵⁹ MED (07/01/1933)

¹⁶⁰ MED (02/12/1921)

¹⁶¹ *Reminiscences of Dorothy Powys Cobb*

¹⁶² Osborne, *The Bolter*, p174

¹⁶³ Spicer, *The Temptress*, p68

“Our sick young oryx died during the night, in spite of- or perhaps because (!) of my giving it 1 ½ teaspoons of Epsom salts”¹⁶⁴.

In emulating these specific but more innocent practices, Maurice demonstrated that he wished to be accepted into the close-knit community, but the level of his interaction was limited by his personal and moral objections to the wild excesses of their behaviour.

Another explanation for Maurice’s detachment from the Happy Valley Set might be his naturally shy and reticent personality. One neighbour of Maurice in Kenya from 1943 until his death described how Maurice “was a character rather framed in mystery. He never appeared in person to any of our public events, but had a reputation of extreme courtesy and kindness if you did come across him”¹⁶⁵. It is likely that the idle living and dissipation associated with the Happy Valley settlers held no interest for him as his own outlook was generally industrious.

The fact that Maurice chose to remain a bachelor may also explain his existence on the periphery of the group. Despite a need to gain acceptance into the community of Male Collectors for the advancement of his collection and reputation, his lack of a wife would have made it difficult to integrate in informal social settings outside the structured routine of safari. McKenzie argued that the “big game hunting experience was essentially for men”¹⁶⁶. Membership of exclusive hunting clubs was usually reserved for men, contemporary literature was published almost exclusively by men, and the fraternal bonds of hunting were protected amongst the exclusive group of Male Collectors.

Remaining free from familial and matrimonial restraint expedited Maurice’s acceptance and success as a Male Collector. McKenzie highlighted a similar theme amongst the most prolific and celebrated Male Collectors: either that they delayed marriage as per military tradition, or that they remained unmarried¹⁶⁷. Rowland Ward, a skilled hunter and the taxidermist of choice to the Male Collectors, was said by his biographer to be “so wedded to his work that he could not spare time to wed

¹⁶⁴ MED (25/02/1939)

¹⁶⁵ *Memoir of Esther E Hopcraft of 1012 Simmons Road, Creston, Canada, (10/01/1998)*, TPA

¹⁶⁶ McKenzie, Callum (2000) ‘The British Big Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism With Particular Reference to the “Shikar Club”’, in *The Sports Historian* 20 Issue 1, p80

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p78

anything else”¹⁶⁸. When he eventually married aged forty, he never made mention of his wife in any of his numerous published works or correspondence. Sir Tatton Sykes, a relative from Sledmere Hall, travelled widely to India, China, Russia and America and delayed marriage until he was forty eight years old¹⁶⁹. Other bachelors included the celebrated hunters Robert Lyons Scott and Abel Chapman, both bachelors and coincidentally both “heavily influenced by their respective fathers”¹⁷⁰. The consequences of Maurice’s decision were far reaching, as unlike many collectors hampered by familial duty and spousal influence, he remained free to make the choices of where to travel and collect, how long for, and by what methods. Requiring no permission to travel and setting his own boundaries enabled Maurice to spend prolonged periods abroad.

Maurice preferred to operate in a Male dominated sphere, but his diaries suggest that the culture of hunting and shooting could be enjoyed by women on an informal level, usually under the guidance of their husbands. Maurice cast appreciative comments of several women whom he collected alongside in Kenya:

“Out after tea with Mrs Swinton Home who shot an oribi at 70 or 80 yards with one shot with her”¹⁷¹.

With the assistance and support of their husbands, Kenya’s female elite were encouraged to shoot, and even safari, alongside men. Rare, however, was the single female huntress. One of these was Cara Buxton, another of the remarkable and noble Norfolk Buxtons. She lived alone, having built her own house, and was known to be a crack shot¹⁷². Her self-sufficiency made her something of an oddity as her sex debarred her from the Male Collector network, and she did not marry to consent to collecting with a husband’s assistance and approval¹⁷³. Dorothy Powys Cobb, a local settler, recalled an encounter with Cara Buxton on a voyage back to England

¹⁶⁸ Morris, *Rowland Ward*, p15

¹⁶⁹ Sykes, *The Big House*, pp.137, 147

¹⁷⁰ Morris, *Rowland Ward*, p15

¹⁷¹ MED (04/02/1925)

¹⁷² *Letter from Cara Buxton to her nephew Desmond Buxton*, (06/11/1913), RH. She wrote: “really here I can think of nothing but building. I saw so awfully badly- it’s most awful fun- really about the greatest fun I’ve ever had. I had one thrilling leopard hunt”.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* In her letter to her nephew she wrote that “I even have to do cooking sometimes as my boy can’t cook”.

where alongside other children she threw bits of meat to attract the sharks in the water¹⁷⁴. She wrote:

“Then a Miss Buxton came and saw what we were doing. She was a noted shot in Kenya. She said “I will get my gun and have a pot at these sharks”. This she did”¹⁷⁵.

Her reputation was clearly established amongst local settlers, and despite her independence and nonconformity she was respected in society¹⁷⁶. Cara’s name recurs more than any other female in Maurice’s diaries, suggesting that she held some interest to Maurice and that he enjoyed her company. Maurice would also make the acquaintance of other strong female presences in Kenyan society, including Beryl Markham, a famous aviator and Karen Blixen, a farmer and author¹⁷⁷.

A significant gulf of difference that existed between Maurice and his neighbouring settlers was that he did not give up his English estate, and did make Kenya his permanent home. This prevented an absolute assimilation into their ranks as Maurice remained absent for significant periods of time, and held different values regarding his heritage. Christopher Sykes described feeling attached to his ancestral home of Sledmere “as if by some invisible umbilical cord”¹⁷⁸. He wrote:

“A house is more than bricks and mortar. To those who inhabit it, it lives and breathes. Pluck me from my bed, blindfold me, drop me anywhere in the world and I could pick out the smell of Sledmere from a thousand others. This is the house in which my family have lived for over 250 years. For good or bad, it inhabits my soul”¹⁷⁹.

This highly sentimental quote expresses a sense of belonging to an estate, amplified by an awareness of centuries of familial identification with a particular home. The majority of the “Happy Valley” crowd had become irreversibly detached from their ancestral homes, enabling a complete re-invention of their identity in Kenya. Despite

¹⁷⁴ *Reminiscences of Dorothy Powys Cobb*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁶ *Letter from Cara Buxton to Desmond Buxton, (27/04/1914), RH. “This house is crammed with people and I feel awfully gay”.*

¹⁷⁷ MED (08/12/1921) and (24/07/1921)

¹⁷⁸ Sykes, *The Big House*, p5

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*

a seemingly care-free lifestyle, these losses ran deep, evident through commemorative actions such as Lord Erroll's naming of his new home as 'Slains' in memorial to his family home in Aberdeen sold in 1913¹⁸⁰. Maurice did not fit this pattern of poverty, having just come into his inheritance before his first visit to Kenya in 1921. Unlike his neighbours, he was not escaping from ruin, but retreating from the traditional roles and responsibilities of his class in England. Although Tatton Park was eventually greatly diminished to fund Maurice's collecting, he maintained emotional as well as physical links with Knutsford, and thoughts of home were never far from his mind. He frequently compared African scenery to familiar Cheshire geography¹⁸¹, and even named a lake on his land in British Columbia 'Tatton Lake'¹⁸². On safari in the Mau in 1926 Maurice reflected:

"We camped above where a stream the size of Tatton Mere stream joins one of nearly the size of the Mobberley brook".¹⁸³

On safari in the Sudan dessert in February 1929, Maurice allowed his thoughts to return to Tatton Park itself:

"A brilliant idea struck me I think it was about 2 days ago, re the salon at Tatton, namely to remove the central pillars altogether; instead of just setting them back say 1 diameter from the wall, which is as drastic a move as I had hitherto ventured to conceive".

Clinging to the familiar names of the past and drawing tenuous comparisons between African and British terrain draws into relief a sense of conflict of belonging to two places and the attempt to re-establish the old and comfortingly familiar British customs in the new colonies.

A large attraction for the thousands of men answering the call to travel and settle in Kenya was Big Game hunting¹⁸⁴. Just as a Cheshire tradition had seen a mass relocation of aristocrats reacting against a loss of influence and property, the development of the sport of Big Game hunting can be seen as a reaction against the tame and outmoded forms of entertainment available in Britain. Delamere promoted

¹⁸⁰ Osborne, *The Bolter*, p150

¹⁸¹ MED (25/04/1924) Maurice compared Ras Amer as "very like a Cheshire mere"

¹⁸² MED (10/09/1919) Maurice mentions Tatton Lake

¹⁸³ MED (01/04/1926)

¹⁸⁴ Osborne, *The Bolter*, p150

Africa as the only truly unexplored and wild country left in the world, and a desirable place to live comparable with the traditional rural and rustic way of British life¹⁸⁵. It was a land of new opportunities, where old customs could be re-imagined. For example, Delamere established a pseudo-English hunt in Kenya, “complete with English foxhounds, recoats and huntsman’s caps”¹⁸⁶. McKenzie argues that “in these wild places, the urban restrictions of England were irrelevant”, and that overseas hunting came to be seen as “real sport” in comparison to shooting in England that had become “artificial, and “failed to provide real satisfaction”¹⁸⁷. Where hunting had become feminised in England, the “barren” locale of Africa gave “little possibility for meetings or encounters with the feminine”¹⁸⁸.

Big Game hunting became the focus for Male Collectors in Africa as it embodied masculine prowess, and fostered a sense of male camaraderie. Theodore Roosevelt described Big Game hunting as “chief among those rough pastimes with appeal naturally to men with plenty of red blood in their veins”¹⁸⁹. Hunting was a sport for real men, acting as “the antidote to the degeneracy of the times” and enabling the “celebration of great men” who’s reputations might have faced a slide into obscurity had they remained in Britain¹⁹⁰. Weidner also describes hunting as “proof and emblem of masculine prowess”, where the “male affirms his own masculine identity”¹⁹¹.

Maurice’s first opportunity to travel to Africa in 1896 has been explored as a design of his father to introduce him to a possible career in politics or the governance of Empire. For Maurice himself, the main draw seems to have been Big Game hunting¹⁹². Male Collectors called to men to experience “the finest game country in the world”¹⁹³. Weston Jarvis described Matabeleland in 1896 as “a perfect zoo”,

¹⁸⁵ Fox, *White Mischief*, p10

¹⁸⁶ McKenzie, ‘The British Big Game Hunting Tradition’, p85

¹⁸⁷ Ibid, p75

¹⁸⁸ Weidner, Ruth Irwin (1997) ‘Gifts of Wild Game: Masculine and Feminine in Nineteenth Century Hunting Imagery’ in Martinez, Katharine and Ames, Kenneth L (eds.) *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture*, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Inc., p360

¹⁸⁹ Roosevelt, *Outdoor Pastimes*, p318

¹⁹⁰ Ibid, p87

¹⁹¹ Weidner, ‘Gifts of Wild Game’ p339

¹⁹² As evidenced by when Maurice chose to begin his diary and the subject matter he chose to record.

¹⁹³ Drummond, the Hon. W.H (1875), *The Large Game and Natural History of South East Africa*, Edmonston and Douglas, pviii

teeming with antelope, zebra, ostriches and lions¹⁹⁴. Big Game experiences became an expected rite of passage for the rising generation of the upper classes and aristocracy. Winston Churchill completed his first safari in Kenya and Uganda in 1907¹⁹⁵, the future King Edward VIII in 1928¹⁹⁶ and Ernest Hemingway in 1933¹⁹⁷. Roosevelt made a very well publicised safari in 1909 when he shot over 1,100 animals that included 17 lion, 11 elephant and 20 rhinoceros¹⁹⁸.

Roosevelt's selection of animals and the quantities in which they were sought was representative of most organised safaris for tourists at the time. The "Big Five" was a term applied to the five most desirable trophies a hunter should acquire on safari in Africa, comprising of lion, elephant, buffalo, leopard and rhinoceros. Haraway describes a hierarchy of game, where collecting large and aggressive animals was awarded more prestige¹⁹⁹. These beasts were treasured prizes not only due to their physical size which lent themselves well to aesthetically spectacular trophies, but also due to the perceived threat of the animals, which was very real, but often exaggerated in hunting accounts. In Ewart Scott Grogan's account of killing a rhino in the Upper Nile, he described how "the evil face of the brute watched us from between two trees". He likened the sounds of the animal to the "shrieks of an engine in its death throes" and described its "wild squeals and thundering grunts"²⁰⁰. Contrary to Maurice's matter-of-fact accounts demonstrating the precision of man conquering the wild beasts of nature, Grogan's review is enthused with passion, energy and animalistic desire:

"The thorns shrieked as they took toll of our rags and buried themselves deep in our flesh to rankle as lasting souvenirs of that great hunt; the sun blazed, the perspiration rolled in great streams, the country danced in the terrific heat, our boys lost their fear and became more eager even than we; four-bores

¹⁹⁴ Weston Jarvis, *Jottings of an Active Life*, p80

¹⁹⁵ Addison, Paul (2004) *Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer (1874–1965)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

¹⁹⁶ 'Lion King Edward was First Eco-Royal' (19/05/2013) *The Sunday Times*

¹⁹⁷ Hemingway, Ernest (1954) *Green Hills of Africa*, Perma Books

¹⁹⁸ Haraway, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy', p32

¹⁹⁹ Haraway, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy', p258

²⁰⁰ Grogan, Ewart Scott (1902) 'Hunting Rhinoceros on the Upper Nile' in *The Idler*, p610

screamed as feathers, as the mad procession of fleeing rhino, straining men and sweating negroes streamed through that sun-baked waste”²⁰¹.

In Grogan’s account, the hunter loses control of his rational mind as his senses come alive to the feel and smell of the chase. The recordings and assimilation of these collecting accounts suggest that the story behind a kill was valued alongside the specimen itself. The ending of the life of an animal did not represent the end of its life story, and a specimen continued to narrate its capture and demise as long as its collector cared to remember its story as a souvenir of their travels.

Instead of aiming to acquire all five specimens on a single safari in keeping with single visit tourist experiences, Maurice worked steadfastly to collect his Big Five over a period of many years²⁰². In particular, the collection of Maurice’s elephant was a protracted affair, spanning over a decade, and was the final specimen to complete his Big Five. In contrast to this careful and meticulous planning, Maurice’s first Big Five kill was made almost by accident. On August 23rd 1921 Maurice collected specimen numbers 14, 15, and 16, a female leopard and her two cubs²⁰³. Maurice originally took them to be cheetah, but was overjoyed after shooting them to discover that they were actually leopards, a far greater prize for a hunter²⁰⁴.

As early as one month in to his first safari in Kenya in 1921, Maurice expressed in his diary his hope of collecting a lion, arguably the greatest prize of the “Big Five” trophy animals from Africa²⁰⁵. However, he had to wait until 1924 before he had the opportunity to acquire a specimen, and succeeded in shooting a female lioness and two male cubs:

“After much kelele²⁰⁶, a 9 month old cub broke near us, and I shot him with a shot through both shoulders and as he lay finished him off at about 100 yards with a shot through the back. Then after much beating a fine lioness broke out opposite to us about 40 yards off. She started to come for us but immediately changed her mind and galloped off left handed. I missed her clean when near,

²⁰¹ Ibid, p611

²⁰² Maurice began his Big Five on 23/08/1921 and completed it over a decade later on 30/01/1934, MED.

²⁰³ MED (23/08/1921)

²⁰⁴ Leopards were counted as one of the Big Five, whereas Cheetah were not

²⁰⁵ Although elephants were physically the biggest prize of the Big Five set, lions were prized as the most difficult and dangerous beast to kill. A lion therefore best represented the skill of the hunter.

²⁰⁶ Swahili term for “noise”

but got her through the shoulders at about 150 yards. She got into a thorn patch 500 yards away, so we followed in the car, and eventually were able to see her lying down about 10 yards inside the thorn patch. So I sat up on the top of the car and plugged her with the .410, killing her apparently, but gave her another to make sure. Then left her and went back to the original thorn patch to find the male lion. Couldn't drive him out- if he ever was in there, but eventually drove out more cubs and Sid Monk and Pat Connor eventually each got one of them. Then back to the lioness, which the boys pulled out of the thorns and got our photos taken with her and the 3 cubs. Then skinned them all, put the skins in the car, after taking out the floating bones"²⁰⁷.

Two days later, after having missed the main prize of an adult male lion, Maurice returned to the same spot hoping to find the male attached to the family group he had already acquired²⁰⁸. His beaters located the specimen and flushed it out of the thorns into the path of Maurice's gun. The following day the safari moved on as, "we have now scared all the lions away from this section"²⁰⁹.

In 1922 on safari in Kenya, Maurice appeared to be actively seeking an elephant for his collection. On February 12th he recorded elephant sightings, lamenting that there was "no good tusker amongst them"²¹⁰. This suggests that Maurice was not willing to shoot and collect indiscriminately, but sought a specimen of a good standard for his collection. This was a common practice amongst Male Collectors, who frequently passed over collecting opportunities if the specimen did not meet imagined standards. Haraway describes Carl Akeley's safari in 1921 when "several animals were passed over because they were too small or not coloured brilliantly enough"²¹¹. Akeley's quest for an elephant spanned two years between 1910-11 as several inferior specimens were rejected²¹². Three days later Maurice wrote:

"Out with Mabbrukki, 2 Dorobos and 2 Merus to look for elephant, and took my Kodak. See nearly a dozen elephants in all but with only about 2ft tusks although we were right up in plain view they never saw us so evidently their

²⁰⁷ MED (05/01/1924)

²⁰⁸ MED (07/01/1924)

²⁰⁹ MED (08/01/1924)

²¹⁰ MED (12/02/1922)

²¹¹ Haraway, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy', p257

²¹² Ibid

eyesight is quite poor. Their ears are flapping all the time and look very thin and flexible at the edges”²¹³.

Using his camera to take photographs, and making notes and assumptions about their make- up enforced the idea that Maurice was making useful scientific analysis of the animals he was hoping to collect. Due to the difficulty in firstly spotting an elephant, and secondly ending its life as quickly and efficiently as possible, these pre-emptive sessions were crucial preparation for a hunter, allowing him to shoot later with purpose and restraint. Following another two days of seeking a large elephant, Maurice wrote:

“Saw 10 elephants, no big tusker, move on and see another 20 elephants, nothing bigger than 2foot”²¹⁴.

At the close of 1930 Maurice sighted an elephant and spent considerable time considering whether it was worthy of collecting:

“Then we saw a lone elephant. Looked at him for a long time at 2 or 300 yards distance, and eventually made out that his tusks were but small ones, so pushed on again”²¹⁵.

These sightings and comments from 1922 and 1930 suggest that there were relatively few elephant detected on safari in comparison with more abundant, less desirable hunting targets. The specimens that were available were considered to be inferior and not worth expending the permit allowance or ammunition to collect. This may have influenced Maurice’s decision not to prioritise collecting an elephant until he was certain of success.

Still only a recent settler in Kenya, Maurice must have anticipated being able eventually to acquire a more suitable elephant, hence his decision not to collect on these early occasions. Despite this hope, years passed between sightings of elephant, making a specimen an extremely crucial and desirable addition to his collection.

²¹³ MED (15/02/1922)

²¹⁴ MED (17/02/1922)

²¹⁵ MED (31/12/1930)

Maurice's initial reluctance to complete his Big Five with an elephant may have been due to apprehension of making a clean kill. Several more abortive attempts were made at acquiring elephants before Maurice acquired his chosen specimen. In 1924 on Safari in Sudan Maurice had a close encounter with an elephant where he was taken by surprise and was not in a position to collect:

“As I was eating my porridge at the front of my tent this morning I heard a noise, and a moment afterwards an elephant appeared from out of the bush at the back of my tent and snapped off my back tent pole. The brutes head and ears looked enormous in the dim light. I couldn't shoot as he would probably have stepped or fallen onto the tent and flattened everything inside”²¹⁶.

This comment indicates that elephants could rarely be collected spontaneously and careful planning was needed due to the dangers of their size. The tracking and collection of elephants represented a serious risk and testament of skill on behalf of the collector. The celebrated taxidermist and Male Collector Carl Akeley was almost killed by an elephant on his hunt in 1921, and “lay unconscious and untouched for hours because his men felt he was dead”²¹⁷. Although large and cumbersome, thus comparatively easy to locate and track, the prestige in acquiring an elephant trophy was transferred through the method of the kill. It needed to be efficient and precise in order to fell the animal neatly without excessive suffering. The best way to achieve this was to use larger bullets which risked tearing the precious commodity of the hide. Furthermore, a badly injured elephant posed a great danger to the hunter if not mortally wounded. These factors deterred all but the most skilled and confident hunters, suggesting why Maurice was content to build up his portfolio with numerous smaller trophies before feeling prepared to tackle the largest.

In January 1934, Maurice was on safari along the Tana River in Kenya. Although he initially expressed hope of acquiring “a medium elephant”, he decided not to take out the more expensive permit to shoot elephants²¹⁸. This decision was quickly rescinded as he came upon a group of elephants in a situation that made success seem very likely (figure 34). He recorded his kill in great detail, suggesting the significance of the acquisition against less important specimens:

²¹⁶ MED (10/04/1924)

²¹⁷ Haraway, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy', p267

²¹⁸ MED (30/01/1934)

"Had only got 2 miles outside the town when we came onto some Bull elephants alongside the road. Hared back to Bura to deposit the cost (\$25) of a 1st Elephant license. The wind was luckily quite good and the elephants in very thin bush with fairly short grass. Black picked out for me the beast with the best horns. We walked up to about 40 yards and I sat down and could still see nearly the whole body and part of the legs. Fired 3 shots with my .470 Rigby. One bullet went through the middle of the leg, one just behind the leg, and as he turned away I gave him another behind the shoulder on his other side. He then spouted torrents of blood from his mouth, and only went a few yards before falling down and dying. Quite good tusks. The longest one having unfortunately had a small piece broken off the end. The meat of which will be made into a stew for our dinner tomorrow. Black and Ndolo (Maurice's hunting companion and his gun-bearer) were very particular that we should pluck a handful of living grass, and lay it on the head of the dead elephant. This is a gesture on our part to show that although we certainly have killed the elephant yet we wish his spirit well, and so have brought it some food. They also put some grass on my head or shoulder. A convenient form of "blooding!"

Figure 34: Maurice's photograph of his elephant prior to the shooting



Maurice's acquisition account adheres to a tradition of updating a traditional English countryside custom to serve new contexts in Kenya. Maurice combined the beliefs of his native gunbearers with the English hunting tradition of "bleeding". The observance of this ritual demonstrates Maurice's modification of a comforting signifying practice to give legitimacy to a new form of hunting. A similar appropriation of religious custom was demonstrated by Delia Akeley on the collection of her first elephant²¹⁹. In a photograph called "The Christening", she is seen posing underneath two freshly severed tusks whilst her forehead is anointed with their pulp²²⁰. Both of these rituals are symbolic of the supernatural elements to collecting, where the collectors saw their kill as a rite of passage. Haraway describes this as:

²¹⁹ Haraway, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy', p272

²²⁰ Ibid

“A sacrament, a mark on the soul signing a spiritual transformation. It is a sacred moment in the life of the hunter, a rebirth in the blood of the sacrifice, of conquered nature”²²¹.

Despite being already in his middle age, for Maurice, the “bleeding” ceremony concreted his passage into adulthood and initiation into the Male Collector network.

Posing beside the dead animal was a common practice adopted by the Male Collectors to display their dominance and stake their claim of ownership over the dead animal. The elephant is the only known photograph of Maurice participating in this ritual, suggesting the value and status given to this kill and his wish to document the occasion (figure 35). His usual practice was to photograph the animal alone, which removed the connotations of dominance and suppression, aligning the kill with scientific study and practicality to ensure the animal was mounted realistically.

Figure 35: Maurice posing behind his elephant



²²¹ Ibid, p273

The parts of the elephant that Maurice harvested can also reveal how Maurice intended his acquisition to be viewed and remembered. Unable to preserve the entire specimen due to space and time restraints of preserving a large carcass before it was unworkable, Maurice had to be selective in the parts he conserved. He therefore chose the tusks, jawbone, skull, two forefeet, one hindfoot, one sole of hindfoot, one toe nail, one slab of skin, two ears and tail of the elephant. Maurice took a photograph of his car loaded with the spoils of his elephant (figure 36). As with his posed photograph, this image appears to exaggerate the size of the elephant and its appendages, furthering his reputation as a powerful and dominant Male Collector.

Figure 36: Maurice's Hupp car loaded with the elephant tusks



Maurice was particularly anxious for the safety of this specimen, which would need to be prepared and packed for transportation to his taxidermist of choice in England. He therefore hired a hut to store it while the safari continued, and paid a local boy to sleep on the threshold 24 hours a day to guard it:

“We had arranged with the local askari at Bura that 8 boys should walk out to the elephants head, lift it into Black’s lorry and then they would lift the head into the empty hut, where one boy would sleep in front of the door of the hut, and get 1/- a day for so doing”²²².

The Nairobi-based outfit Safariland was used to pack up the elephant for shipment to Rowland Wards in London to be preserved. It was divided into four cases:

- “Case 1: 2 forefeet, 1 hid foot, 1 hind sole, 1 toe nail.
- Case 2: 1 piece hide, 2 ears, 1 tail.
- Case 3: 1 skull and lower jaw.
- Case 4: 2 tusks.²²³”

The cases were insured for a total of £120²²⁴, again suggesting the great value attributed to the specimen.

Over ten years after first arriving in Kenya, Maurice had now completed his Big Five. Although his collection was by no means considered complete, the elephant represented a substantial marker of its quality and prestige. As his collection gained ground and validity, so did Maurice’s reputation as a collector. The collection of the elephant demonstrated Maurice’s continued construction of his identity as a skilled and significant collector, moving through the ranks of the Male Collector network. Although he had started life on the side-lines of this exclusive group, the acquisition of the elephant suggests that he penetrated their circles successfully and matched, or bettered, their achievements.

²²² MED (06/02/1934)

²²³ *Invoice from Safariland to Lord Egerton, (13/04/34), LEF, CRO*

²²⁴ *Ibid*

3.4 Meteorite: Expressing Supremacy

Factfile

- Object Title: Meteorite (figure 37)
- Description: Large meteorite section taken from meteorites found at Gibeon, South West Africa, in 1908 by E Zelle. Weighs 365lbs.
- Date Collected: 04/09/1935
- Location: Windhoek, Namibia

Figure 37: Meteorite



The acquisition of Maurice's meteorite in 1935 demonstrates Maurice's awareness of his elevated status as a Male Collector and the right it gave him to requisition material for his collection. He had reached his mental and physical maturity as a collector and had firmly established himself as a powerful collecting force. The

collection of the elephant in the previous case study has demonstrated that Maurice attempted to cast his identity alongside other Male Collectors to be seen to fit in and emulate their success. Assuming this identity acknowledged a position of physical, moral and intellectual supremacy over other races, as well as objects and species he wished to collect. As Maurice's career progressed, his collecting became an emphatic declaration of his belief in his superior status as a Male Collector. Mangan and McKenzie describe hunters of this period as "a defiant manifestation of the assumed and alleged superiority of the privileged Anglo Saxon male"²²⁵. The Male Collector Weston Jarvis stated his belief in this ideal, writing that being an Englishman was "the greatest prize in the lottery of life"²²⁶.

Maurice's elevated self-belief is represented in the types of objects he felt able to collect and the methods that he felt confident to apply to collect them. Csikszentmihalyi identifies "objects of power" that demonstrate their collector's "vital erotic energy and place in the social hierarchy"²²⁷. The meteorite, an aesthetically remarkable part of Maurice's collection, encapsulates this imagery of masculine authority. The existence of this rare and unusual piece in a stately home in Cheshire has been a surprising discovery for audiences throughout the decades, and represents one of the most blatant cases of "diversion tactics" being used by Maurice to overcome barriers to acquire an object that was initially unavailable²²⁸. Maurice was only able to collect this piece by asserting his status as a powerful Male Collector, demonstrating his belief in his right to collect at this confident stage of his life.

Belonging to the Male Collector network and being supported by other collectors had a significant impact on the expansion of the MEC in the 1930s. A tangible benefit of being connected to the inner circle of Male Collectors was that Maurice gained access to land, permits and advice that would otherwise have been unavailable. For example, in March 1924 he shared a cabin with famous safari guide Denys Finch Hatton and secured a crucial letter of introduction to arrange his first safari in

²²⁵ Mangan and McKenzie, 'Imperial Masculinity', p1235

²²⁶ Weston Jarvis, *Jottings from an Active Life*, p249

²²⁷ Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly (1993) 'Why We Need Things' in Lubar, Steven and Kingery, W David (eds.) *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Smithsonian Institute, p23

²²⁸ Appadurai, 'Commodities and the Politics of Value', p88

Sudan²²⁹. Maurice appeared to value the advice he received and frequently recorded conversations in his diary pertaining to the best places to travel to collect certain game, the best equipment to take and the best guides to ask for (figure 38). He then adhered to this advice dogmatically, which enabled him to overcome his own inexperience and learn from his superiors. Another initial motive behind this copy-cat behaviour could be a desire to fit in. For example, on a fishing trip to the Campbell River in 1902, Maurice was advised that “Billy” was the best guide to contract, so he sent for him from the Indian village. However, soon after they encountered another white fisherman who informed Maurice that he had the wrong Billy. Even though he had no reason to complain of his service it was important for Maurice to make the right impression, so he promptly dismissed him and told him to send back the real Billy²³⁰. Such advice was precious to Maurice, who wanted to be seen to blend inconspicuously with other more experienced settlers.

²²⁹ MED (19/03/1924)

²³⁰ MED (01/09/1902)

This demonstrates that Maurice felt confident in sharing his expertise with others, and was becoming recognised as a competent Male Collector.

Belonging to a collective group gave the advantages of sharing knowledge and legitimising the practice of collecting through mass participation, but collecting became an increasingly solitary pursuit as Maurice's career progressed²³³. This is another indicator that he had initially needed the help of others, but had accumulated enough experience to collect productively on his own. McKenzie has described the "difficulty of masculine and individualistic men conforming to club mentality"²³⁴. Franco argues that the late nineteenth century Imperial male identity embodied "self-reliance, individualism and competitiveness"²³⁵. Rivalry meant that collectors were often secretive of their practices and possessive over territory. Maurice had observed this in British Columbia in 1901 when he recorded that:

"Hartmann's young chap comes up, on the hunt for a deer, and does not appear too pleased at finding us encamped so near his hunting ground"²³⁶.

On an African safari in 1931, Maurice met two rival hunters and wrote:

"Two Greeks came along with 4 or 5 porters. They are heading in the same direction as I am, and are also after game. They wouldn't have a cup of tea, or sit down, but just pushed on up the hill"²³⁷.

The actions of these rival men suggest that there was not an easy camaraderie between collectors operating in the same area, and that they preferred to operate alone. Despite an early tendency to organise his safaris in the company of more experienced collectors, such as alongside the Buxton's in the early 1920s, Maurice soon identified other collectors as threats to his success. His diaries indicate that he was vigilant to their activities and jealous of their achievements. On another occasion in British Columbia he wrote that:

"The man encamped near French Bar seems to be enjoying himself as we have heard 7 shots over the far side of the creek within a couple of hours"²³⁸.

²³³ MED suggest that later safaris were usually conducted alone.

²³⁴ McKenzie, 'The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition', p70

²³⁵ Franco, 'The Ritualisation of Male Friendship' p285

²³⁶ MED (18/11/1901)

²³⁷ MED (28/12/1931)

These wary sentiments could escalate into physical clashes over space and sabotage of each other's acquisitions. On safari in Sudan in 1924, Maurice encountered two Englishmen camped nearby, and was furious when he lined up a shot, only for the animal to be scared away by the shots of the rival party²³⁹.

More evidence of his confidence as a solitary Male Collector can be found in the organisation of Maurice's later safaris, which were usually solitary endeavours designed to take in regions where he was extremely unlikely to encounter another male collector. In Sudan on Christmas day in 1928, Maurice did not miss company or the traditional ceremony of the season, but felt privileged to spend it alone:

“Delightful to think that on this Christmas Day there is not a single white man nearer than, certainly, 250 miles, and in some directions nearly 2 or 3 times that distance”.

Maurice's diaries suggest that he planned in advance for trips to remote or previously un-travelled lands in the hope of surpassing the endeavours of other collectors. In February 1914 Maurice sketched out a plan for a trip to the Tian Shan Mountains, a remote region of Central Asia (Figure 39)²⁴⁰. In 1932 Maurice reached the Belgian Congo, and was hopeful of collecting unknown specimens that would increase his prestige:

“These mountains would be splendid for poking about in; there must be a lot of forest game, some probably quite new to science”²⁴¹.

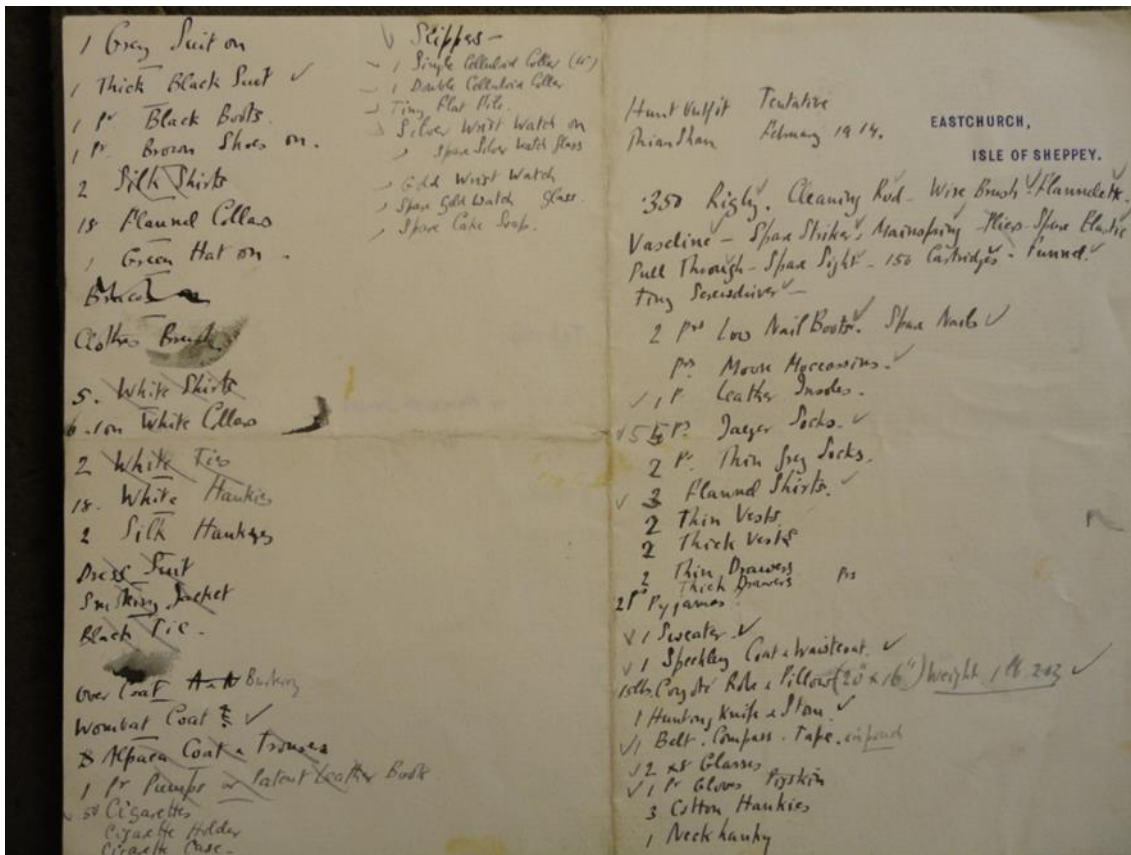
²³⁸ MED (26/11/1901)

²³⁹ MED (13/04/1924)

²⁴⁰ *Maurice's list for tentative Tian Shan trip*, (February 1914), LEF, CRO

²⁴¹ MED (12/01/1932)

Figure 39: Maurice's list for Tian Shan trip



In November 1927 Maurice talked to a sea captain regarding a potential trip to Great Hamish Island²⁴². Despite the difficulty of getting there (the captain told him he was only allowed two seasons of sailing in the Red Sea in his lifetime due to the effect of the heat on the temper), Maurice was keen to make the journey to surpass the success that the Duke of York had there in shooting gazelle²⁴³. The hostility of the Island was outlined in his diary, suggesting that Maurice was prepared for the difficulties he would face:

“The Islands are blistering hot, without any water, and they cut the boots to pieces, so rope-soled shoes should be worn”²⁴⁴.

Having established such facts before his proposed journey, Maurice was equipped for success, although it does not appear that he ever completed this safari. In the

²⁴² MED (15/11/1927)

²⁴³ Ibid

²⁴⁴ Ibid

same year Maurice planned a trip to Yemen and sought the advice of the Chef Commissioner at Aden to facilitate his difficult proposition²⁴⁵. He wrote:

“Found him very anxious that I shouldn’t go into the Yemen country since the Iman of Yemen would certainly think that I had some political scheme on; so I said I would be satisfied with the Aden protectorate country, which includes the Hadramant. I might try for Ibex in the hills that one sees from Aden, which apparently have not been hunted”²⁴⁶.

These examples suggest that Maurice was no longer content to travel in traditional safari country, but wished to navigate lesser-explored regions on his own volition. Collecting in these regions and acquiring new specimens would augment the variety of his collection and increase his prestige as a Male Collector.

Progressing from his first trip to Matabeleland where he had boasted of his own natural aptitude for safari life, Maurice continued to make assertions of his authority with increasing conviction throughout his career. In June 1918 Maurice went fishing at Lake Keuka in Hammondsport, New York with a local man, Will Dart²⁴⁷. Maurice recorded in his diary:

“Will complained bitterly of the cold, although he had on a thick sweater, a thick mackinaw, and a heavy blanket; and I had only a Burberry”²⁴⁸.

On a fishing trip off Scarborough in 1931 with his friend Reggie Wigglesworth, Maurice wrote: “Sea was rough. Was ill once. Reggie 7 times”²⁴⁹. These anecdotes provide subtle suggestions of Maurice’s own endurance and fortitude that made him such a successful Male Collector compared to other men who lacked his hardy resolve.

As Maurice developed his identity as a collector, he displayed self- confidence to such a level that it was clear he was no longer preoccupied with simply “fitting in”, but wished to be seen himself as a pioneering Imperial presence. However suitably placed he may have been in age, status and location to be considered as his natural

²⁴⁵ MED (11/11/1932)

²⁴⁶ Ibid

²⁴⁷ MED (14/06/1918)

²⁴⁸ Ibid

²⁴⁹ MED (26/08/1931)

successor, Maurice never sought to fill the void left by Delamere's death²⁵⁰. He was, however, keen to demonstrate that he was no longer cowed by Delamere's reputation, but had grown to be his equal in status and significance. On his first trip to Kenya in 1921 Maurice had played the tourist and been excited to view Delamere's lands in close proximity:

“A very beautiful drive past Elementeita Lake and Delamere's farm. We see Delamere's house in the distance, on the other side of the lake”²⁵¹.

A few years later, Maurice had established a substantial presence in Kenya with lands adjoining Delamere, and was keen to boast that his agent received the same wages as Delamere's infamous agent Boy Long. This implied that Maurice's holdings were of equal size and importance to the man that most settlers in Kenya sought to emulate²⁵².

There are numerous examples in his diaries where Maurice demanded treatment he considered to be representative of his elevated position of importance in Kenya. On a safari to Northern Rhodesia in 1949 Maurice wrote that:

“The local chief of Chikwa addressed a letter to me here this morning, telling me that he had given a 5/- each fine to the natives who were beating a drum in this village the other night, after having told that they mustn't do it because it keeps me awake. And the village Headman got fined 7/- for not stopping them!”²⁵³

This tenacity was most often demonstrated when Maurice was frustrated in his efforts to collect, and was forced to assert himself to overcome obstacles. In 1938 Maurice was admitted for a stay at the London Hospital for Tropical Diseases. Confined and frustrated, Maurice wrote a detailed letter of complaint to the hospital, outlining many minor injustices that had given him offense. These included:

²⁵⁰ Maurice did not enter local government or assume an unofficial role of visibility in the settler community.

²⁵¹ MED (01/08/1921)

²⁵² Balance sheets of 1947 show that Maurice paid his agent Mr E Wright in Kenya a salary of £500. This compares to a salary of only £125 paid to his agent Mr N Cowell in Cheshire, where the position was less about status and public recognition. *Balance Sheet* (1947), TPA

²⁵³ MED (17/06/1949)

“A man marched into the room with a ladder and smoking a stinking cigarette and announced that he was going to clean the windows. Was quite surprised when I told him to get out.

When getting into the lift the first day after an examination by the doctors, the lift boy went on reading a paper until I told him to wake up, and take me up to my room.

The nurse brought the toast and butter, but no knife”²⁵⁴.

In a similar context of incarceration, Maurice was prevented from travelling abroad during the Second World War, and had to endure the appropriation of Tatton Park as a military training ground for the RAF²⁵⁵. Maurice wrote a series of memos to the overseeing officer venting his frustration at the lack of respect shown to himself and his ancestral home during the occupation:

“Will officers who open their bedroom curtains when going to bed please only do so after finally putting out their light. I am responsible for the blacking out of this house and I don’t at all want a £10 fine as was recently imposed by a local magistrate. Will all be as economical as possible with the electric light. I make my own electricity and it costs money. Also coal is not easy to get and diesel oil is continually going up in price.

Several officers have come here in a somewhat irregular manner. Ones in residence having handed their bed, or half of it, over to another, without a by your leave. This bed-crashing without any notification to anyone must now please cease!”²⁵⁶

These examples demonstrate that Maurice was comfortable in demanding respect that he considered due to him. This social confidence extended through his collecting.

Maurice’s belief in his right to collect and his superiority in a number of social situations is apparent through several acquisition stories of items Maurice sought for his collection, of which the meteorite is an exceptional example. In his description of

²⁵⁴ *Letter from Maurice to the Hospital of Tropical Diseases, (July 1938), TPA*

²⁵⁵ *Tatton Park Guidebook, p9*

²⁵⁶ *Memos from Maurice to the RAF (c. 1939-45), TPA*

cultural biographies, Kopytoff describes how objects can become “sacred”, having left the commodity market and being unavailable for trade²⁵⁷. Even though these are usually the most precious and valued objects, they are essentially “worthless” as no price can be assigned to them. Although sacred objects should be unavailable, Appadurai details how the most innovative individuals can draw sacred objects back into the sphere of commoditisation using “diversion tactics”²⁵⁸. He asserts that it is usually through diversion tactics that the displays of the “other” appear in western homes, as culturally-precious objects have been forced to become commodities once more through a power imbalance in favour of the Western collector²⁵⁹.

Maurice can often be seen to have employed diversion tactics to acquire objects that were originally denied to him. In December 1931 Maurice collected object no 278a, a piece of bark cloth²⁶⁰. In his description, he detailed its ceremonial use in native huts and how it was highly regarded as a functional aspect of their material culture:

“Bought today for 1/- a roll of bark cloth. The bark cloth that I bought on December 30, I chose out of some 6 or 8 selections offered to me. The natives were much amused when I held each piece up against the sun, to judge its thickness and freedom from holes or weak places. They didn’t seem to want to sell any; though they had several new pieces drying outside, and a lot in use in the hut. I took 2 photos of them making it”²⁶¹.

This acquisition account implies that bark cloth was an essential and utilitarian object in the culture of these particular peoples. For Maurice, the cloth was valuable as an authentic marker of his experience with these people, and the cloth can be interpreted as a souvenir. Maurice appraised the samples for their aesthetic perfection, which caused them to become amused as this was a novel occurrence. It was difficult for them to assign a price to the cloth as they were not accustomed to assigning it a commodity value. Maurice was able to bring the cloth onto the market by offering a sum that overcame the original reluctance to sell.

²⁵⁷ Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography of Things’, p73

²⁵⁸ Appadurai, ‘Commodities and the Politics of Value’, p88

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p89

²⁶⁰ MED (30/12/1931)

²⁶¹ Ibid

These tactics can be seen in practice again in February 1933 when Maurice collected a series of bows and arrows from a head herdsman:

“I was fortunate to buy for 20/- all the bow, quiver etc. from the old head Herdman. That was his own price. He hated to sell the blood-arrow. He also had a pair of firesticks and I insisted that these should be included in the sale, as well as all the ordinary arrows. After he had agreed, and handed over everything to me, I said “Santa”, or “thank you” in Swahili: and he got very agitated and said to Collinson “good heavens, does he want Santu also?” Santu being his very pretty daughter of just-marriageable age. However, I felt that I had made a very good bargain, even without “Santu”!”²⁶²

Similarly to the cloth, the herdsman initially refused to sell as the objects were priceless to him as functioning tools and marks of his culture. To guarantee the sale, Maurice had to pay a high price to give the herdsman no alternative. By 1950 towards the end of his collecting career, Maurice’s use of exploitative tactics appeared to have increased when he purchased the pipes of two young boys for two sweets²⁶³.

Maurice had demonstrated that he would not be thwarted when he had decided to acquire an object. In 1941, Maurice was in pursuit of a bomb that had dropped onto his estate, which he decided then belonged to him. He wrote to the lieutenant of the local regiment:

“I was of course very much looking forward to adding the bomb to my collection. I don’t know whether it is officially wicked to give back a bomb to its “rightful owner?” But I do want my bomb!”²⁶⁴

These examples suggest that Maurice’s collecting could be entrepreneurial, but rarely frustrated or denied.

The collection of the meteorite in 1935 can be seen as Maurice’s most obvious attempt at employing diversion tactics to acquire an object. Maurice’s collection already housed two objects that he believed to be meteorites; one that was thought

²⁶² MED (10/02/1933)

²⁶³ MED (09/02/1953)

²⁶⁴ *Letter from Lord Egerton to 2nd Lt Newton, (20/01/1941), LEF, CRO*

to have landed in his childhood home of Rostherne Manor on the outskirts of the Tatton estate, and another reputed to be from Arizona²⁶⁵. Maurice had also amassed a small selection of geological samples from his travels, suggesting that the subject was of some interest to him. Consequentially, on May 14th 1935 Maurice appeared to be excited to visit the site of the Hoba meteorite in Namibia (figure 40)²⁶⁶. Maurice recorded the encounter in his diary:

“It is practically square, 10ft on each side and about 4ft deep and is thought to weigh 60 tons. It perhaps fell hundreds of years ago and the denudation of the surrounding country caused it to appear on the surface. Mr Feldtman sent a little piece of it home for analysis and he tells me that it is mostly iron with about 20% of nickel”²⁶⁷.

Figure 40: The Hoba meteorite in situ



²⁶⁵ It has since been proved that neither are genuine meteorite samples, but due to national trust policy of not updating original labels they retain Maurice’s misguided interpretation. It is not uncommon for objects to be mis-identified, and it is likely that the majority of meteorites in collections are imposters, making genuine samples all the more special.

²⁶⁶ MED (14/05/1935)

²⁶⁷ Ibid

Today the meteorite is much diminished having been heavily vandalised by souvenir hunters chipping away pieces for their collections. It had been assumed that Maurice was one of them. The ambiguity of the source of the meteorite in the MEC has stemmed from Maurice's original display, which used photographs of the Hoba meteorite alongside his sample in a suggestive manner. Taking the story of the meteorite back to acquisition for this thesis has been able to clarify conclusively that the meteorite is not part of the Hoba, but was actually collected several months later from a separate source entirely.

Maurice collected his meteorite on Sept 4th 1935. According to his records, it was part of a series of several meteorites that were found at Gibeon, South West Africa in 1908 by E Zelle²⁶⁸. When travelling in the area, Maurice discovered that several specimens were being held at the local Public Works Department at Windhoek. Determining to see them, it is likely that Maurice may already have had it mind to attempt to acquire one. He wrote in his diary:

“Found that they had both already had slices cut off them as souvenirs, and that they would have been cut up still more, only that the electric power hacksaw consumed so much current in cutting them up. They offered me a slice of one of them that was laying out in the yard; and I said I'd like the whole piece!²⁶⁹”

The fact that it had been common practice to slice off sections of the meteorite suggest that however distinguished, Maurice was not unique in being presented with a specimen. Not content with this, Maurice insisted on taking a whole piece. Although the negotiation appeared to be brief, Maurice's victory was short-lived when he met resistance trying to ship the meteorite out of the country and home to Tatton. He wrote:

“Called up the administration building to ask for an export permit, and here ran into a peck of trouble, as Mr Courtney Clarke's secretary thought that these were government property and couldn't be given away. This morning I went to see Courtney Clarke about it. He was very sticky; he didn't think he would

²⁶⁸ MED (04/09/1935)

²⁶⁹ MED (07/09/1935)

give me the meteorite. So I gave him a fairly broad hint that I know all about his present head of Police's activities!²⁷⁰"

Faced with losing the meteorite, Maurice resorted to using the only way left to ensure he remained in a position of power during the exchange. In perhaps his most underhand exchange of his collecting career, it appears that he blackmailed a government official, extorting him to relinquish the object into his care.

Having collected the meteorite in such an unusual manner, Maurice had demonstrated that he was determined to acquire certain prestigious specimens for his collection and could employ a number of methods to do so. Initially reliant on the support and advice of others, Maurice had developed his career through his own aptitude for embracing the ambitious and competitive mentality of the Male Collector.

²⁷⁰ Ibid

3.5 Summary

Establishing the rationale of the MEC can be achieved through the histories of these three significant objects representing different acquisition methods considered to be appropriate by the collector. Situating Maurice into his social context can explain why these objects were desired and pursued in particular fashions. The objects present a timeline in the evolution of Maurice as collector, charting his progress from an initial advantaged, but excluded position on the side-lines of society, to a confident and intimidating presence having completed his initiation into the Male Collector network.

The Matabele axe represents the influence of Maurice's upbringing, particularly his education and family identity, in forming his initial aspirations to collect the "right" material by the "right methods". Ostensibly moulded into the guise of a collector through the examples and encouragement of his relatives, the rationale of Maurice's collection was very much a social production. Having established that he should become a collector, the same influences dictated the type of objects that would be appropriate to collect. The context of reverie surrounding popular explorer figures coupled with the lure of Africa as a continent of opportunities for young men of means and motivation made this an appropriate hunting ground for Maurice to establish his collection. The acquisition of the axe was a symbolic exchange of power as Maurice asserted his burgeoning identity as a superior power aligned with a group defined here as the Male Collectors. These were formed through the ideological outpourings of a cohort of author explorers and inspired by the productions of museums and great exhibitions. The new ideology of muscular Christianity and the Imperial male moulded a new generation of aristocratic and upper class young men to take up the mantle of empire building. Striving to fit in with these men by emulating their customs and practices enabled Maurice's collection to prosper under a system of mutual recognition and support.

Following Maurice's first experience of travelling and collecting, the acquisition of the elephant several decades later demonstrates that Maurice had shaken off parental supervision and entered adulthood. These next steps in following an established path to settler life in Kenya represent self-determination as he explored new opportunities that moved beyond the influence and expertise of his family. Failing

fortunes and the ability to reinvent identities in Kenya was a significant lure for young aristocrats, alongside the established practice and rite of passage of safari. These were crucial mitigating circumstances that shaped the ideology of the Male Collectors. Adapting past traditions in new circumstances defined the idiosyncrasies of this group. Big Game hunting was a laudable past-time to expend masculine energy conquering the wild beasts of nature. The acquisition of the elephant, one of the highly desired Big Five trophies, was testament to Maurice's skill as a hunter as well as his successful integration into the culture of the Male Collector.

Finally, the acquisition of the meteorite demonstrates Maurice's confidence in asserting his status and identity to overcome barriers that should have made the object unavailable. The growth and reputation of his collection was advanced by Maurice's exploitation of the Male Collector network to acquire the skills and permissions needed to collect without restriction. Having been heavily dependent on the assistance of his elders to collect the axe, Maurice was able to make use of a bank of knowledge carefully amassed over his career and supersede the advice of others with his own experiences. This gave him the confidence and authority to collect in restrictive circumstances. Deliberate and discerning in his selection of objects, his collection grew with purpose and reflected his identity as an influential Male Collector.

Chapter 4: Ethical Collecting

4.1 Introduction

Following an examination of Maurice's development as a Male Collector in chapter three, chapter four delves deeper into the philosophy that underpinned their collecting methods. In particular, this chapter identifies a highly evolved ethical code that protected the exclusivity of the sport of Big Game hunting. Conservation had become an increasingly pertinent issue as tourist safaris decimated regions of game. Tourists were condemned for collecting specimens indiscriminately and with "unfair" methods. In retaliation, it became necessary to define a set of rules that recognised the skilled properties of hunting as a professional sport. These rules clearly delineated the accomplished and measured labours of the Male Collector from the rash and clumsy attempts of the amateur. Male Collectors believed themselves to be the true custodians of Big Game hunting as their intellectual and physical superiority enabled them to appreciate the delicate balance between conservation and extermination.

This chapter continues to establish an identity for Maurice the collector by illuminating the categories of social make up provided by Clarke¹. The politics of gender remains the most pertinent thread in this chapter. The code and camaraderie of the Shikar club is identified as a crucial aspect of social identity, exploring how masculine ideals were translated through the practice of collecting. It is also easy to draw comparisons between the collective masculine ideology of the Shikar Club and religious observance, and this notion is explored in the trend of fraternal organisations. The theme of religion is also considered to be at play in contesting beliefs of ownership and domination of specimens. Club ethics are traced in the practice of collecting alongside servants of different religion and culture, highlighting a divide that was strictly enforced to preserve the Male Collector authority. Finally, this chapter brings knowledge to the psychological profile of the collector, suggesting

¹ Clarke, 'Culture as a System', p44

that the troubling status of an incomplete collection had tremendous power over his collecting practices. Objects collected outside of the rigid ethical framework of the Male Collectors have a troubling status as “fetish” objects and represent a reverse in the balance of power between collector and collection².

The first case study considers the acquisition of a leopard in 1928 and charts how it was made possible by Maurice’s adherence to an ethical code. This study evaluates the impact of Maurice’s interpretation of acceptable collecting methods upon the expansion of his collection. It concludes that although ethical consciousness essentially limited the number specimens acquired, Maurice’s animal trophies were aesthetically impressive and well regarded. This study examines his membership of the Shikar Club which was an official recognition of his affinity with the most eminent and prolific collectors of his era. It explores how the club’s ethos of temperance, deference, conservation, safety and performance shaped the selection of specimens and the devices Maurice deployed to acquire them. Whereas previous case studies have focused on Maurice’s personal application of skill and capability in the acquisition of his objects, the acquisition of his rhino presents an opportunity to discuss the contribution of his servants. Maurice’s opinion of his own superiority and heightened sense of morality is studied in his treatment of his “boys”, his native servants, who accompanied and aided his safaris.

This chapter concludes by analysing the tension between ethical collecting and the need to develop and complete a collection at any cost. The final case study examines the conflict between Maurice’s identity as an aristocrat and authoritative landowner with the need to regulate his behaviour to fit the rules laid out to protect the sport of Big Game fishing. The collection of the tunny fish occurred against a backlash towards the decadent and often immoral collecting methods of the privileged elite and wealthy tourist. This case study documents examples of Maurice facing tests to his ethical integrity and often succumbing to the temptation to collect important specimens using untested or unauthorised methods.

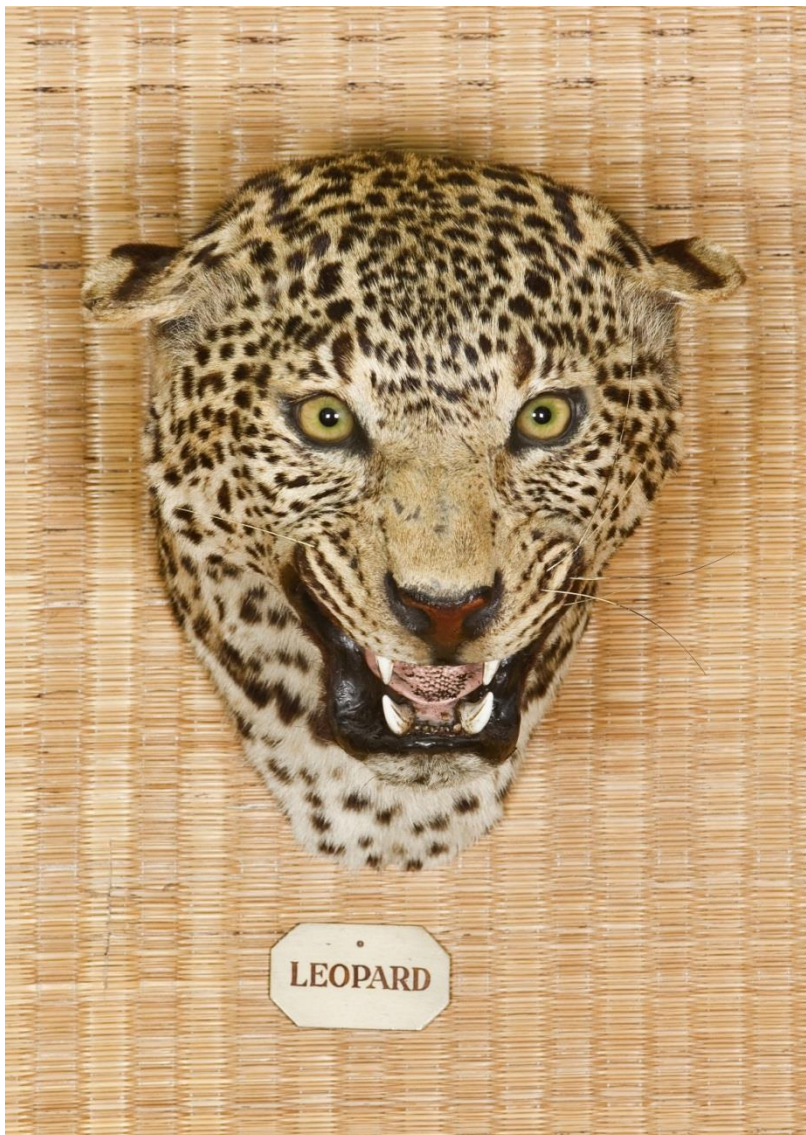
² Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p81

4.2 Leopard: The Rules of the Shikar Club

Factfile:

- Object Title: Leopard (figure 41)
- Description: Taxidermy “trophy” head of an adult male leopard, preserved by Rowland Ward
- Date Collected: March 2nd 1928
- Location: Dinder River, Sudan

Figure 41: Leopard



This case study presents the acquisition of a leopard in 1928 in context of a strict ethical code of conduct that governed Maurice's collecting. This code dictated the rules of what was and was not possible in the process of acquisition, and its blatant expression in the collection of the leopard suggests that Maurice aligned his behaviour with the sanctioned practices of the Male Collectors.

The establishment of an ethical code which enabled the acquisition of the leopard was made possible through the development of fraternal organisations that kindled and safeguarded Imperial male identity. At the close of the nineteenth century, the ideal of a Victorian man was reimagined, becoming removed from home and hearth and resituated in the outdoor realm of physical endeavour. Franco describes a need to cement this identity through fraternities as men sought to “replace family relationships that were often emotionally unfulfilling” with the company of other virile men³. Several of these organisations were formed around the theme of game sports. Weidner describes the foundation of the Boone and Crockett club in 1888, patronised by Theodore Roosevelt and with the premise of promoting “manly sport with the rifle”⁴. This suggests that as Big Game hunting became established as a popular sport, protective measures were adopted to ring fence the activity as the social property of the elite.

Male Collectors found a natural home within the confines of the Shikar Club. An exclusive group of royal and aristocratic hunters, members of the Shikar Club were united in their belief of their right to collect and the right methods to collect by⁵. McKenzie described the club as a symbol of “the virility of British imperial big-game hunting”⁶. It was “the product and celebration of cultural values, reflecting the political, social and economic power of physically competent, advantaged men”⁷. The club was founded in 1907 by a group of ex-public school upper class hunters including Frederick Courtney Selous whom Maurice had met and photographed in 1896. By 1945 there were 273 members of the club, all men who, by prescribing to the club's ethos, can be identified as Male Collectors alongside Maurice⁸. Despite not

³ Franco, 'The Ritualisation of Male Friendship', p293

⁴ Weider 'Gifts of Wild Game', p359

⁵ McKenzie, 'The British Big-Game Hunting Tradition', pp70-96

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid, p87

⁸ *Shikar Club Small Book*, (1945), LEF, CRO

having attended Eton and Rugby as a prerequisite of being part of the inner network of Male Collectors, Maurice's name was included amongst the 33 founding members of the club, a decisive mark of his acceptance into their inner circle. Maurice is also featured on the attendance lists of the annual Shikar Club dinners between 1911-14, where he socialised with eminent Male Collectors such as Captain Paul de Crespigny, PB Vanderbyl, JG Millais and Abel Chapman (figure 42)⁹. This demonstrates that at the start of his collecting career he embraced the social side of the club and made crucial contacts that would support his collecting endeavours.

Figure 42: List of Shikar Club members from 1946 handbook. Original members are denoted with an asterisk

Members (continued).		13
<i>Name and Address.</i>	<i>Districts shot in during the last 10 years.</i>	
DUNBAR-BRANDER, A. A., Esq., Ivy Bank, Bishopmill, Elgin, N.B.	—	
*DUNMORE, EARL OF, V.C., M.V.O., 23, Sussex Lodge, Sussex Place, W.2.	—	
DUNN, CAPTAIN H. G. M., H.Q. Royal Artillery,	—	
EDEN, SIR TIMOTHY CALVERT, BART., Fritham, Lyndhurst, Hants.	None.	
*EGERTON OF TATTON, LORD, Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire.	—	
EGERTON, SIR PHILIP GREY, BT., Oulton Park, Tarporley, Cheshire; Boodles Club, St. James's St., S.W.1.	—	
*ELPHINSTONE, LORD, K.T., L.L.D., Carberry Tower, Musselburgh, N.B.	—	

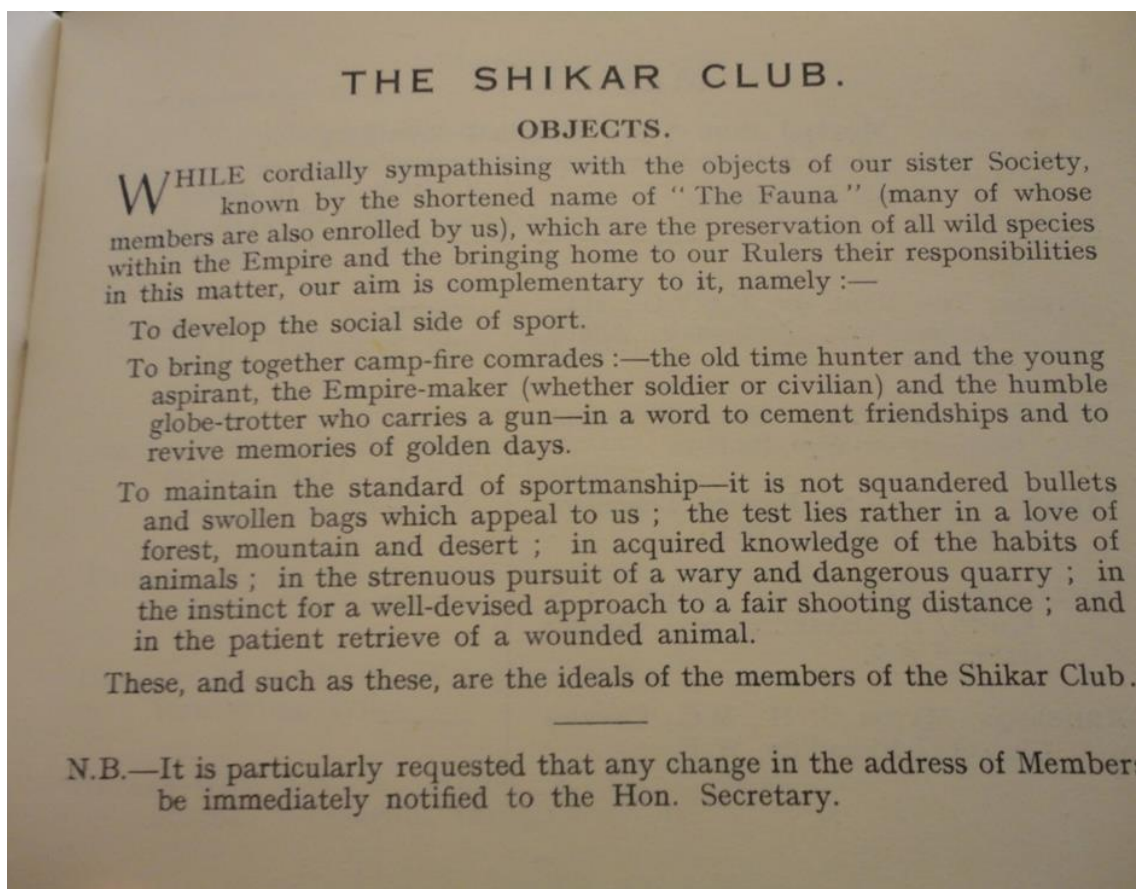
The club's objectives were to nurture the social side of sport, revive memories of the golden days of hunting, and maintain a standard of sportsmanship based on fair-play (figure 43)¹⁰. Their emphasis on fair-play and promotion of the original incarnation of the frontiersman can be seen as retaliation against the increasing trend of tourist safaris. Spicer described the mass foundation of professional safari companies luring

⁹ *Shikar Club Annual Dinner Programmes, (1911-1914)*, LEF, CRO

¹⁰ *Shikar Club Small Book, (1909)*, LEF, CRO

wealthy clients to Kenya for short-term pleasure trips, standing in contrast to the regular and dedicated activities of the Male Collectors¹¹. These amateur collectors killed mercilessly and indiscriminately, whereas the Shikar Club required collecting “to be accomplished as a sportsmanlike act”¹². Roosevelt expressed his disgust at “excessive game butchery” which amounted to “a repulsive debauch”¹³. As an honorary Shikar Club member, Roosevelt’s statement echoed the club’s ethos that sportsmanship was not about “squandered bullets and swollen bags”, but in “acquired knowledge of the habits of animals”¹⁴.

Figure 43: The objectives of the Shikar Club from Maurice’s handbook



Publications of the period also set out tangible rules that dictated an ethical tradition of hunting. Rowland Ward’s “Sportsman’s Handbook” ran into several editions and was a “practical manual for sportsmen engaged in seeking and collecting trophy

¹¹ Spicer, *The Temptress*, p90

¹² Haraway, ‘Teddy Bear Patriarchy’, p258

¹³ Roosevelt, *Outdoor Pastimes*, p336

¹⁴ *The Shikar Club Small Book*, 1945

specimens”¹⁵. The Game Ranger Arthur Blayney Percival provided guidelines in the appropriate dispatch methods for the most desirable Big Game specimens¹⁶. The latter was included in Maurice’s substantial collection of books on the subject of travel and sports, suggesting that he attempted to develop his understanding of fair play in hunting through extensive publications on the subject.

These publications make it clear that it was necessary to understand the constitution of “fair game” in order to claim an ethical and accomplished kill. This consideration was lacking in tourist safaris that measured success on the number of animals acquired, whereas Male Collectors were conservative and cautious in their acquisitions. Their goal was to acquire the perfect male specimen, as measured by his size and symmetry. Haraway described the “perfect expression” of the male animal form which made it the primary target for a hunter¹⁷. A large male specimen was aesthetically striking in exhibition, but it also represented the physical prowess of the hunter who had selected a mature opponent to capture. In contrast, a female animal or a juvenile male specimen would have been a disappointment to a collector as it would be poorly regarded in a serious collection. Kenyan Game ranger and Shikar Club member Arthur Blayney Percival dictated that “females and calves should be avoided: they are no use”¹⁸. In August 1921 Maurice killed a female kongoni and a small male warthog and lamented both acquisitions as wasted bullets and telling of his lack of skill¹⁹. The female was shot by accident as he had assumed it was a male, and he had judged the warthog to have larger tusks than it actually had. In 1921, taxidermist and celebrated American Male Collector Carl Akeley shot a gorilla of the wrong sex, and “was disturbed as he wished to kill as few animals as possible”²⁰. Similarly, in 1939 on safari in Somaliland, Maurice was seeking a male Pelzeln’s gazelle only if he believed it to be bigger than his previous best²¹. He consequently shot specimen no 572, a male Pelzeln’s gazelle, but wrote:

“I thought the male’s head an especially good one so after a little manoeuvring put a solid .375 through both lungs just behind the shoulders at

¹⁵ Morris, *Rowland Ward*, p140

¹⁶ Blayney Percival, Arthur (1924) *A Game Ranger’s Notebook*, Nisbet and Co

¹⁷ Haraway, ‘Teddy Bear Patriarchy’, p258

¹⁸ Blayney Percival, *A Game Ranger’s Notebook*, p192

¹⁹ MED (08/08/1921)

²⁰ Haraway, ‘Teddy Bear Patriarchy’, p258

²¹ MED (12/03/1939)

about 80 yards. Just before shooting it I had had qualms about it being quite as good as I first thought and consulted Ndolo, who said it was mzuri sana. On taping it I found the horns to measure only 112. Very very annoying as I do loathe making mistakes like these”²².

These examples confirm that females and juveniles were not only considered to be an unfortunate waste, but also tangible evidence of the incompetence of the collector.

Having identified appropriate specimens for collection, the subsequent challenge for the Male Collector was to display his skills in selecting the appropriate weapon and the expert dispatch of the animal. The Hon WH Drummond, an efficient Male Collector, explained that “it is undoubtedly far prettier work, and more sportsmanlike, to kill with a single ball...than to ultimately cause the death of an animal from weakness and loss of blood after repeated shots”²³. Percy Selous explained the difficulty involved in selecting the exact spot to shoot an animal:

“One would imagine that with a huge beast it would be very easy to plant a bullet in a manner sure to be effective, This is by no means the case, and it took consideration before I settled on the exact spot at which to fire”²⁴.

A hunter’s reputation was enhanced if they could prove that they had tracked and appraised the animal carefully before the kill, and dispatched it cleanly and efficiently. The practice of keeping field notes and diaries provided detailed evidence of prowess and a forum to celebrate success. In 1897, Percy Selous described a protracted leopard hunt in which he exercised extreme patience in the pursuit of his quarry:

“I could not get a good shot at him, the angle was too acute to fire with safety at his head. Under the circumstances it would have been too risky to have attempted a shot, so I was compelled to wait until he gave me some sort of

²² Ibid

²³ Drummond, *The Large Game*, p115

²⁴ Selous, *Travel and Big Game*, p128

chance. Once or twice I raised my weapon, only to lower it, feeling it was safer to wait”²⁵.

Selous waited until he had a clean, clear shot rather than make a hasty and potentially unsuccessful attempt.

Physical exertion was also lauded in specimen acquisition. Clarence Edwords described how he acquired an antelope specimen by crawling barefoot:

“I began a careful stalk. Crawling about four hundred yards up a ravine, I reached a spot within five hundred yards of the animals, unobserved. I chose the best ground I could find and began a snake-like movement up the slope. I accepted anything for cover, ant-hills, bunches of grass, cactus bushes... In this way I made two hundred yards in two hours, and had not been seen”²⁶.

Maurice described how he collected specimen number 356, a female kongoni, in a similar fashion in 1935:

“Did a lot of crawling, and also quite a lot of real tummy work. We did very well, and they never, I think at any time had any inkling of our presence”²⁷.

Maurice continued to take a physically active role throughout his life in the correct approach to acquiring specimens. In 1955 in India when he was 81 years old, Maurice climbed a tree and waited three hours in the hope of acquiring a leopard:

“Climbed up on to the Machan, 20ft up a willow tree about 15 yards from the dead buffalo, very comfortable with a mattress to sit on. Stayed there until 8pm”²⁸.

These careful stalks and prolonged moments of acquisition bestowed the resulting specimen with extra value to the collector. For example, in 1935 Maurice acquired specimen number 400, a male Iguana, and wrote:

“My first shot with the .22 Tell Buchse went through his neck and shattered his foreleg, the second into the head, the 3rd a miss and the 4th a solid .22

²⁵ Ibid, pp.55-56

²⁶ Edwords, Clarence E (1893) *Camp-Fires of a Naturalist*, Sampson Low, Marston and Co, p11

²⁷ MED (09/01/1935)

²⁸ MED (17/02/1955)

apparently went into his brain. But even then, after partial skinning when Ndolo started to remove his guts he woke up and tried to bite Ndolo. The vitality of these beasts is certainly amazing”²⁹.

Percy Selous was another Male Collector who was awed by the tenacity of creatures that resisted acquisition. After shooting a doe gemsbuck he recorded:

“I found that the bullet had completely torn away the apex of her heart, and yet she had galloped at least a hundred yards... practically without bleeding a drop, - another instance of the extreme vitality of such creatures”³⁰.

These accounts suggest that Male Collectors bestowed greater affection on specimens that put up a worthy fight and tested their skill. In contrast, a specimen acquired too easily held less worth. It represented an unfair balance of power weighted in the hunters favour rather than a challenging test of sportsmanship, and the thrill of the chase was absent. Maurice presented “easy” specimens as deserving of being killed, such as number 446, a female nyala acquired in 1935: “certainly these beasts are very stupid. It is a wonder they have not all been exterminated”³¹.

Respect for the animal and granting it a quick and efficient death had to be balanced with wounding it to ensure best preservation of the valuable skin. In Durban in 1934 Maurice collected specimen number 312, a black wildebeest:

“Fired but unfortunately broke his left foreleg at about the body-line. He went off with that leg swinging. Followed on in the motor car for a couple of miles, when he lay down. Shot him in the chest as he got up to look at us, without perceptible effect, and again behind the shoulder as he was turned away to make off. Was using solid bullets so as not to spoil the skin but they are evidently not very successful with a tough beast like this. Altogether a very poor performance”³².

If an animal was spoiled, it was a wasted kill, for which collectors expressed regret. In 1897 Percy Selous lamented that his badly torn lion skin was “simply of no value,

²⁹ MED (15/08/1935)

³⁰ Selous and Bryden, *Travel and Big Game*, p113

³¹ MED (23/10/1935)

³² MED (28/04/1934)

and could only have been an eyesore, so I did not bother to take it off³³. Skinning was a delicate process, as proved in Maurice's unsuccessful preservation of a springbuck in 1934:

“Took a huge slab of skin off the back, and then broke an ear, and took a lot of skin off the side of the face. So as both the skin and also the head were both quite ruined for mounting”³⁴.

Taking time to prepare a skilled shot ensured that collectors acquired aesthetically pleasing specimens for their collections. Specimens shot in haste were more likely to be wasted.

An increasingly pertinent issue to the Shikar Club was an awareness of conservation³⁵. The eminent naturalist and founder of the American Boy Scout movement Ernest Thompson Seton became convinced to put aside his gun “to stop the extermination of harmless wild animals” so as not to put natural heritage “beyond the reach of our children”³⁶. This message was a call to action for the Shikar Club to curb the excesses of animal wastage. In recognising a decline in animal numbers, the Shikar Club rules further drew the sport of Big Game hunting into the exclusive sphere of the wealthy upper classes. In 1903 the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of Empire was established by Male Collector Edward North Buxton, a relative of Maurice's friend Geoffrey Buxton who facilitated his first voyage to Kenya in 1920³⁷. Although concerned with diminishing numbers of game in Africa, its membership represented most of the eminent hunters of the day, earning them the nickname of the “penitent butchers”³⁸.

This conflict between wishing to kill and preserve animals was a recognised paradox. Writing in 1989, the Prince of Wales drew attention to the “apparently strange contradiction” that men could enjoy shooting, but also have “a great love and intimate knowledge of Nature”³⁹. He stated that only those reared in the countryside could properly comprehend this concept, implying that the established sporting elite

³³ Selous and Bryden, *Travel and Big Game*, p100

³⁴ MED (04/05/1934)

³⁵ *Shikar Club Small Book* (1909)

³⁶ Seton, Ernest Thompson (1901) *Lives of the Hunted*, Scribner Press, p12

³⁷ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, p211

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Ruffer, Jonathan (1989) *The Big Shots: Edwardian Shooting Parties*, Quiller Press Ltd, p7

were the sole heirs to this noble philosophy. A love of nature was encouraged by Male Collectors to align their sport with science rather than recreation. Roosevelt had encouraged men to be more than hunters, such as explorers or naturalists to distance themselves from the “repulsive debauch” of meaningless slaughter⁴⁰. He praised Percy Selous as the epitome of the multifaceted Male Collector, who was “much more than a mere big-game hunter, however; he is by instinct a keen field naturalist, an observer with a power of seeing; and finally he is a writer”⁴¹.

Support of conservation was not only a marker of a superior moral outlook, but it was also necessary to enable the sport of Male Collectors. Although their premise involved ending lives to amass a collection, their productivity was inevitably moderated by the need to preserve game to protect their sport and way of life for the future. These concerns amplified with the passing of time as it became more apparent that wildlife was not an inexhaustible supply. During Maurice’s first trip to Africa in 1921, his sightings of wildlife appear plentiful. His first animal kill, a zebra, was selected from amongst regular sightings of herds of 500-700 animals⁴². Writing in 1924, Blayney Percival surmised that “the lion population does not seem to diminish”, and that “this country should remain a hunting ground for many years”⁴³. The Prince of Wales and Lord Mountbatten amassed 30 tigers on an Indian safari in 1921⁴⁴.

These statistics and statements stand in sharp relief to descriptions in Maurice’s later diaries that suggest an obvious decline in the majority of species he was interested in acquiring. As soon as 1927 on a repeat safari to Mount Elgon, Kenya, Maurice discerned this decline: “saw and heard no game, which seems very scarce here now”⁴⁵. By 1949 when Maurice returned to Africa after a hiatus caused by the Second World War, he was disappointed to find that official rules had changed to reflect this. He wrote that new permits were issued allowing only “2 heads only of each species” and were “being now strictly enforced”⁴⁶.

⁴⁰ Roosevelt, *Pastimes of an American Hunter*, p336

⁴¹ Selous, Percy (1908) *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, MacMillan and Co, pxi

⁴² MED (27/07/1921)

⁴³ Blayney Percival, *A Game Ranger’s Notebook*, p3, p7

⁴⁴ Morris, *Rowland Ward*, p63

⁴⁵ MED (30/12/1927)

⁴⁶ MED (18/06/1949)

The depletion of wildlife stock necessitated action to preserve what remained, in turn making collecting more prohibitive and exclusive. Various permit systems introduced rigid allowances for collecting. This process had begun long before Maurice's first safari in 1896, by the time of which several species, including the blaubok antelope and quagga, had already become extinct⁴⁷. On safari in the Belgian Congo in 1932 Maurice described the types of permit available to him:

“The small game permit costs Frs 250 and gives no elephants. The large game permit costs Frs 5000 and gives 2 elephants and allows one to import 5 guns, 4 of which may be rifles. A permit to shoot one or more okapi must be obtained from the Ministre des Colonies at Brussels and one must state that it is for a museum”⁴⁸.

This record confirms the very high cost of a permit allowing elephant, and outlines that particularly rare species were unavailable on the open market. These permits helped draw the sport of Big Game hunting back into the protective custody of the Male Collectors and away from destructive popular tourist safaris. Excluded by the cost, many could not aspire to afford the most expensive permits that would enable them to collect the most rare and desirable specimens. Adhering to his permits affected the expansion of Maurice's collection as they prevented him acquiring certain specimens he found attractive. In 1925 he wrote: “saw some roan but didn't shoot as I haven't a permit for roan”⁴⁹.

Certain animals were often excluded from permits for a period of years to encourage numbers to recuperate, indicating that collecting was a serious threat to species existence. In South Africa in 1934 Maurice was told that: “the shooting of both the vaal rhebok and the roué rhebok is closed for another 2 years”⁵⁰. In April 1938 Maurice finally travelled to Cyprus to hunt Mouflon after having anticipated the trip for several years⁵¹. On arrival he was shocked to find that there were reputed to be only 10 or 15 Mouflon left alive on the island⁵². Faced with a barrier to collecting a much-desired specimen, Maurice stressed that his permit was already granted, thus giving

⁴⁷ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, p204

⁴⁸ MED (12/01/1932)

⁴⁹ MED (30/12/1925)

⁵⁰ MED (09/05/1934)

⁵¹ MED (21/04/1938)

⁵² Ibid

him the right to shoot under any circumstances: “I have my permit actually arranged for, and nobody can revoke it unless the governor goes back on his word, which is unthinkable”⁵³. Reluctantly, Maurice recognised his ethical responsibility as a Shikar Club member and agreed not shoot. As a caveat he wrote:

“I stressed the point that if in a few years time the mouflon population had increased very considerably I should expect to be given a permit, whatever laws were passed. A very disappointing business after having come all this way. But there seemed nothing else to do in this matter”⁵⁴.

Reluctantly abandoning his planned safari, Maurice decided to contribute to efforts to restore their numbers:

“Although unable to hunt the mouflon, I finally decided to go and examine their country and learn what I could about the prospects of preserving them”⁵⁵.

His intentions appeared to be noble but were largely self-serving. Only by intervening in the conservation effort could he be sure of returning to acquire an example of this important specimen for his collection. Satisfied that prospects looked good to resume his hunt in the near future, Maurice wrote:

“There seems to be quite a good chance of preserving the mouflon and of my returning at some future to shoot one, since the government agree that my license is only temporarily in abeyance, and I could have gone and hunted a mouflon on this trip, had I wanted to”⁵⁶.

For the second time, Maurice stressed the validity of his permit, insisting that his sacrifice be recognised and his moral integrity be commended.

Aside from their insistence on fair play in collecting and support of conservation, the rules of the Shikar Club were also practical and regulated a very dangerous sport. Members shared advice based on real experience in the field, giving them greater success at collecting large, rare or dangerous specimens. Diaries and field notes were often translated into print for mass consumption. The aim behind the

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ MED (26/04/1938)

⁵⁶ MED (30/04/1938)

publication of Blayney Percival's "A Game Rangers Notebook" was to educate would-be hunters of the dangers of the sport arising "far more often from carelessness than any other causes"⁵⁷. Even experienced Male Collectors experienced calamities arising from lack of skill or due care and attention. Percy Selous shared his experience of facing a rhino (figure 44):

"I let him have the other barrel, and he fell forward, getting up again immediately, however, and coming straight on at me like a battering ram. My gun was now empty, and my horse became very unruly; but I evaded his rush and galloped across to the other cover as the rhinoceros crashed headlong into that I had left"⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ Blayney Percival, *A Game Rangers Notebook*, p56

⁵⁸ Selous, *Travel and Big Game*, p133

Figure 44: Illustration of charging rhinoceros from Selous and Bryden *Travels and Big Game*



In 1906, Shikar Club member Major Powell Cotton described being attacked by a lion in the Congo, whereby the Major remained calm as the lion charged at him, but his gun-bearer fled in fear⁵⁹. These accounts of extreme danger emphasised the skill of the hunter and inspired other men to follow the examples of their heroes.

Maurice's collection of his leopard demonstrated that he had honed his collecting technique through personal experience as well as learning from the examples of others. He was therefore able to apply best practice in a dangerous situation, allowing him to acquire a highly regarded specimen that would augment the reputation of his collection. He wrote:

“Fired as it stood about 200 yards away, and hit it behind, and it started walking slowly to another little bushy island, near the right bank. Trying to spot the leopard on the island, when Mabbrukki spotted him, not on the Island, but on the rock outcrop. At the same moment he came for us. I sat down and fired

⁵⁹ *The Powell-Cotton Museum Guidebook*, p10

at probably 5 to 10 yards distance into his chest, but he came on, and bit my left-arm, then went off 30 yards to the island, and died immediately at the foot of it. Mabbrukki tells me that he hit him with a lump of drift wood when he got me. I bathed the toothmarks in my biceps with permanganate, and changed my torn shirt and coat”⁶⁰.

The acquisition escalated into a perilous situation, but Maurice regained control by reacting appropriately, served by his years of experience in the field. Instead of abandoning the acquisition when the circumstances became dangerous and seeking immediate personal safety, Maurice overrode natural instinct and remained calm. Sitting down enabled him to focus his shot and conclude the kill quickly and efficiently. In comparison, Maurice recorded accounts of the poor choices of others which stood in relief to his own actions and provided useful reference points to ensure the success of future acquisitions. Following his injury from the leopard, Maurice recovered in hospital in Khartoum where a Hungarian man was admitted after being fatally mauled by a lion:

“Apparently he was poking his gun about in some long grass, trying to find a wounded lion, and the lion actually caught hold of his rifle and then bit him in the thigh. Hunyady is said to have declared that he was going to be careful no longer, but take chances on anything, however dangerous”⁶¹.

Maurice drew attention to the fact that Hunyady abandoned care in his collecting methods and became a victim of his own recklessness. Hunyady did not heed the practices of the Male Collectors. Following his near death experience with an elephant, the hunter Carl Akeley tried to recover his nerve and good reputation by collecting another elephant as soon as possible. However, his wife Mary described the affair as “stupid and unsportsmanlike”, as he had hunted before he was fully recovered, meaning that his boys had to carry him in a chair on the trail and he wounded the animal with hasty shots in his over-enthusiasm”⁶². These examples suggest that members of the Shikar Club distained men who did not follow safe and reasoned hunting procedures.

⁶⁰ MED (02/03/1928)

⁶¹ MED (19/03/1928)

⁶² Haraway, ‘Teddy Bear Patriarchy’, p270

Particularly remarkable in Maurice's account of his leopard encounter is that he was able to report an extremely unusual and exciting incident in a dogmatic style in his field notes. Maurice's diaries can be defined as factual, un-emotive accounts of a man who endeavoured to portray himself as a professional collector operating in a restrained and sanctioned manner. Shikar Club ethics can be seen to be responsible for these methodical accounts of collecting animal specimens. Mangan and McKenzie describe the common tendency of hunters of this period to align big game hunting with scientific study to distance killing from base brutality⁶³. Therefore, "masking big-game hunting in a pseudoscientific language...distinguished elite hunting from mere barbarism"⁶⁴. By describing the practical and skilled elements of the acquisition process and avoiding sentimentality or enthusiasm, Maurice could boast that he was contributing to furthering the knowledge of the sport, as advocated by the objectives of the club⁶⁵.

Although the Shikar Club recognised that "blood lust" was an innate quality in "real men" and a defining characteristic of masculine identity, the "social and economic advantage" of the Male Collectors and Shikar Club members meant that hunting must be established as civilised and scientific⁶⁶. This can be seen in Blayney Percival's instructional guide to hunters, which was particularly aimed at Shikar Club members⁶⁷. He presented protracted narratives of the identification, habits and territory of animals in the wild before describing the most efficient way to kill them. His acquisition of crucial specimens was recorded in the same matter-of-fact style as scientific description of species differentiation. Male Collector Clarence Edwards justified his kills by generating descriptive accounts of his animals to augment knowledge of animal species. For example, on acquiring an antelope, he wrote:

"The muzzle was delicately and well formed. It was completely covered with hair, with the exception of a narrow streak between the nostrils. The ears were small- smaller than those of the common deer. The eye was large and dark hazel. I had seen it described as 'black,' 'very black,' or 'intensely black,'

⁶³ Mangan and McKenzie 'Imperial Masculinity Institutionalized', p1225

⁶⁴ McKenzie, 'The British Big Game Hunting Tradition', p76

⁶⁵ *The Shikar Club Small Book*, (1909)

⁶⁶ McKenzie, 'The British Big Game Hunting Tradition', p76

⁶⁷ Blayney Percival, *A Game Rangers Note Book*

and I made a close examination to satisfy myself. It was a hazel which, at a short distance, could easily be mistaken for black, but it was not black”⁶⁸.

Edwards’ insistence on clarifying the eye colour as “hazel” as opposed to a variety of “blacks” suggests that he believed he was undertaking a useful scientific survey through his acquisitions.

Maurice’s earliest diaries demonstrated an appreciation of the importance of detailed and explicit field notes. In 1907 in British Columbia Maurice collected specimen numbers 0.42 and 0.43, two bear cubs⁶⁹. He recorded:

“Spied a black bear. I fired a rather hurried shot but apparently only slightly wounded her in the forearm. A moment later got a shot at a cub and made it lie down hollering, then another one, which had climbed a tree when I cracked at the mother, reappeared again and I plugged it in the top of the middle of the back, just too high to break the spine; he started hollering like fury and I killed him with a shot in the front part of the body”⁷⁰.

This account from early in Maurice’s career appears to be particularly graphic as he describes the killing of a family of bears and anthropomorphises them with the use of “hollering”. Following his initiation into the Shikar Club and his development as a Male Collector, these descriptive embellishments lessened and were replaced with specific detail of exactly how the animal was wounded and ended its life. For example, specimen number 484, a male common zebra was acquired in 1936:

“Getting a good opportunity at a zebra I shot it probably through both lungs, as it trotted off 100 yards then stood still and suddenly keeled over”⁷¹.

This account echoes the more experienced recordings of Male Collectors who were well used to disguising the thrill of the chase in precise clothing. An example of Percy Selous’ account of collecting a leopard:

⁶⁸ Edwards, *Camp Fires of a Naturalist*, p14

⁶⁹ MED (11/09/1907)

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ MED (10/02/1936)

“I found that the bullet had completely torn away the apex of her heart, and yet she had galloped at least a hundred yards... practically without bleeding a drop, - another instance of the extreme vitality of such creatures”⁷².

Precise references to shot locations and their effect on the animal added valuable information to the knowledge pool of the Male Collectors for future acquisitions. They mark a move towards a more scientific appraisal of Maurice’s own performance and the display of his skill and knowledge of his craft. This can be seen to develop further in 1939 when he acquired specimen number 551, a male oryx, which shows an increased level of detail, including information of the bullet and its trajectory:

“I put a .375 SN bullet into the middle of his and the bullet was found in the skin of the far shoulder, having cut the heart in two, en route. A very good performance in a fairly thick animal”⁷³.

Maurice increased his level of detail further still to describe specimens that were unfamiliar to him, or that he thought might be of interest to others. The time taken to record these examples suggest that shooting new species for the first time was particularly gratifying to Maurice, who expressed genuine curiosity and interest in the natural world. In 1935 in South Africa Maurice acquired specimen no 392, a female grysbok⁷⁴. He wrote:

“I was quite pleased, as it is the first grysbok that I have ever shot, or even seen close to. The coat is very like that of a steenbok, i.e. reddish-brown, but interspersed all over with white hairs, like the white hairs in a black-fox”⁷⁵.

The acquisition of the leopard indicates that the staunch ethical framework of the Shikar Club could be seen at play in his acquisition practices. The selection of adult male specimens and adhering to permit allowances enabled Maurice to participate in a sport held in the protective sphere of wealthy Male Collectors. The neat and imposing appearance of his specimens augmented his reputation as a Male Collector as they reflected his status as a man able to afford to collect the most

⁷² Selous and Bryden, *Travel and Big Game*, p59

⁷³ MED (27/02/1939)

⁷⁴ MED (11/07/1935)

⁷⁵ Ibid

desirable specimens as well as his skill with a gun. Finally, following their code of behaviour enabled him to collect a specimen in a life threatening situation.

4.3 Rhino: Managing “Boys”

Factfile:

- Object Title: Female Rhino (figure 45)
- Description: Mounted taxidermy “trophy” head of a female rhinoceros prepared by Rowland Ward
- Date Collected: March 13th 1931
- Location: Nanyuki, Kenya

Figure 45: Rhino



This case study considers a mounted rhino head, killed in Nanyuki, Kenya in 1931. Whereas previous case studies have focused on Maurice's personal application of skill and capability in the acquisition of his objects, the acquisition of his rhino presents an opportunity to discuss the contribution of his servants. Despite their numbers and importance to the organisation of the safari, native servants, or "boys", have been a largely invisible presence in the acquisition stories told by Male Collectors. Their absence from historical accounts or derogatory rendering does not mean that their contribution was worthless, but falsely conceals the true measure of their significance to a collector and impact upon his collecting activity. The collection of the rhino involved the participation of Maurice's gun-bearer Mabbrukki, with whom he would have his most enduring master/servant relationship. Uncovering the master and servant roles enacted between Maurice and Mabbrukki goes further to deconstruct Maurice's ethical ideology as a collector.

The tradition of using native Africans as servants or guides on safari was long established by the time of Maurice's first sojourn in BEA in 1921. On his journey from "Cape to Cairo", Ewart Scott Grogan employed more than 100 porters to carry the heavy loads of tents and equipment (figure 46)⁷⁶. By 1925 Maurice's diary reveals that a registration system was in place, cataloguing servants available for hire:

"Engaged Muga wa Teehera No MKS 0.506711 as personal boy at 25/- a month wages and 25/- per month for posho; and gave him £2 for a safari outfit"⁷⁷.

This account indicates that Muga was assigned a number which would enable Maurice to verify his past positions and experience. As well as making the process of hiring boys for safari more efficient, registration also legitimised the practice. McKenzie described how the employment of servants became normalised through the collective actions of the Male Collectors:

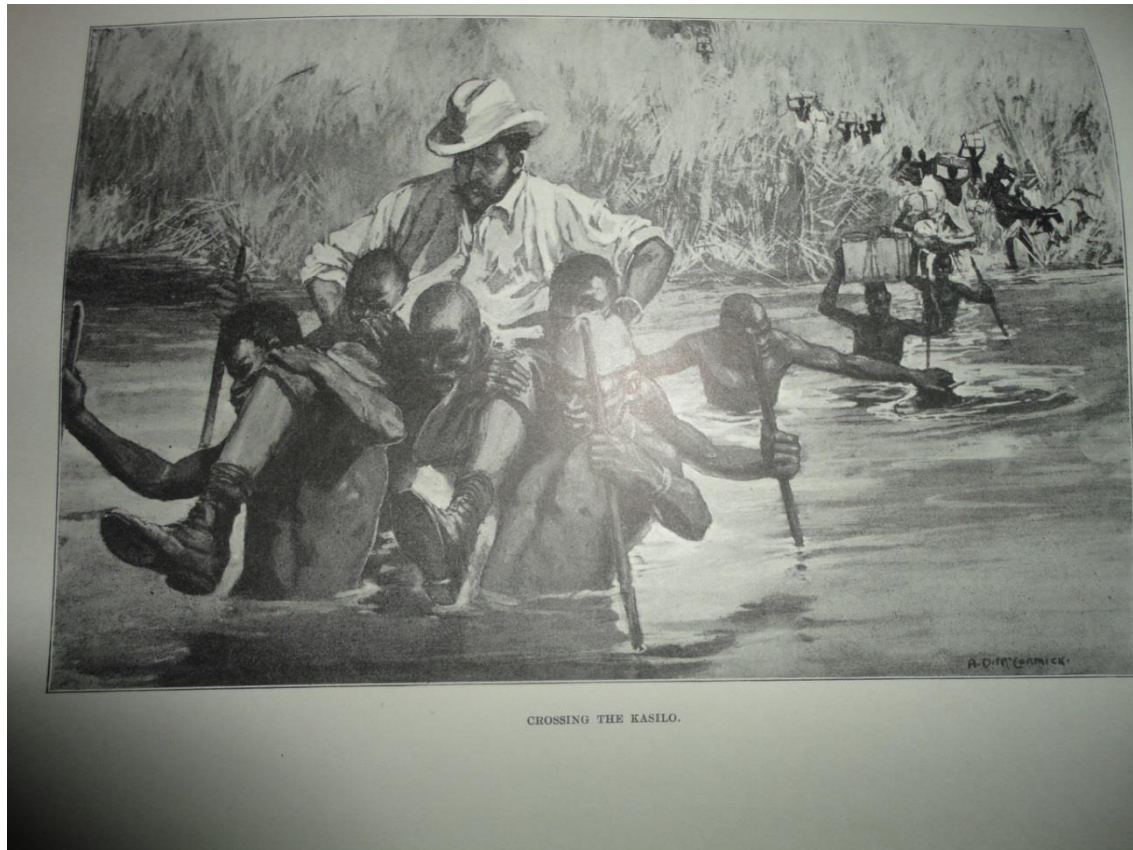
"The social and material conditions under which elite hunting flourished enabled privileged men to indulge in sport sanctioned and legitimised by the wider community"⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ Davenport Hines, *Ewart Scott Grogan*

⁷⁷ MED (15/11/1925)

The roles the boys assumed and behaviours expected of them were constructed as a cohesive feature of safari practice.

Figure 46: Illustration depicting ES Grogan on safari with his porters, taken from his book *From Cape Town to Cairo*



Maurice's use of native servants reveals that he was attempting to establish his identity as a Male Collector by adopting customary habits and ethical frameworks. The network of Male Collectors shared the services of the best servants through the provision of references. Accessing these references benefitted Maurice as they recommended skilled guides that increased the productivity of his safaris. In August 1919 in Detroit Maurice received some advice from Paul W Tara on a possible fishing trip. Maurice wrote:

⁷⁸ McKenzie, 'The British Big Game Hunting Tradition', p87

“Good guides are Joe Sears, Charlie Kettle and Joe Humphreys. Local knowledge is absolutely essential and on no account take a bad guide nor fish without one”⁷⁹.

This example demonstrates the Male Collector conviction in the worth of a good guide, and affirms the importance of adhering to the advice of more experienced collectors.

The wages of Maurice’s boys reflected his attempts to balance his wish to command cost effective labour with complying to the going rates considered appropriate by the Male Collectors. On a duck shooting trip to Merganser Bay in December 1918 Maurice employed an Indian guide and wrote: “I paid the Indian \$4 a day, the going club rate is from \$3-\$4 per day”⁸⁰. On a safari in Kenya in 1922, Maurice again paid what he believed to be a generous rate based on what others had advised him, despite the protestations of his boys:

“One toto porter ran away. The boys tonight complained of the smallness of their kibaba (just 1 ½ lbs) with all the hard work they’re doing! I told them that Rathbone had said it was a generous size”⁸¹.

Despite their dissatisfaction, Maurice refused to alter the allowance to fit the unique circumstances of his safari, preferring to enforce the advice of a more experienced Male Collector. On safari in Sudan in 1924, Maurice was advised not to give liberties to his boys by Mr WRG Bond, the Governor of Fung Province:

“Do not overtip! Do not give a skin away until the whole trip is finished. Bond tells me that one’s boy or cook try to get skins out of one and then sell them”⁸².

This suggests that following advice was not only crucial for his own success as a collector, but it also protected the entire concept of the Male Collector safari by enforcing a tradition of difference between the roles of master and servant.

McKenzie agrees that collecting game was “a feature of European colonisation which reinforced moral and assumed physical divisions between virile and “other”

⁷⁹ MED (25/11/1919)

⁸⁰ MED (07/12/1918)

⁸¹ MED (09/02/1922)

⁸² MED (03/04/1924)

inferior cultures, which was subsequently woven into the fabric of colonial ideology”⁸³.

Variations in the wages of boys who assumed different roles was another crucial element of this “tradition of difference” by which Male Collectors confirmed the values they placed on different services. When planning a safari in Sudan in 1928, Maurice wrote:

“Engaged 3 boys: Personal boy Haroon Salim at £4-5-0 per month, £1-10-0 food per month, £1 clothing for trip. Cook Osman El Hag at £4-10-0 per month, £1-10-0 food per month, £1 clothing, Skinner Osman £10-0-0 per month, £1 clothing. They all seem good lads and have good chits”⁸⁴.

His personal boy was paid less, as although this role had greater personal access to Maurice which inevitably encouraged a closer relationship, it was considered to be less skilled.

The “Skinner” was paid the most, suggesting that his talents of preparing and preserving Maurice’s specimens were valued highest. As his safaris evolved to become more organised and efficient, so too did his appraisal and payment of his servants. At the end of a safari in 1931, Maurice devised a complex payment method for his boys, awarding more wages to those who had walked up hill than those who had gone down a hill or had sat in camp⁸⁵. This confirms that the service of boys was carefully appraised and compensated according to their contribution to the safari and their employer’s success.

An inexperienced hunter, such as Maurice when he arrived in Kenya in 1921, relied heavily upon the local knowledge and familiarity of his guides. As well as his dependence on his boys for directions and advice in successfully navigating unknown territory, they also assisted with his productivity in collecting an acceptable number and selection of specimens. Although Maurice planned his safari routes based on research and the advice of other collectors, he expected his boys to lead him into game-rich areas and held them accountable for lack of game sighted:

⁸³ McKenzie, ‘The British Big Game Hunting Tradition’, p78

⁸⁴ MED (22/11/1928)

⁸⁵ MED (01/02/1931)

“Told my Askari-hunter to get out today and locate the game, or I should tell that he and all the men here were a lazy lot”⁸⁶.

Threatening to destroy their reputations as guides through bad references would prevent them from securing future employment. Incentives were offered to boys who led him to suitable specimens:

“Was poled and paddled by 2 natives upstream for 2 hours looking for crocodile. I am to pay them 50 cents a day each. I have offered them an extra present of 2/- for a big croc”⁸⁷.

On safari in 1932, Maurice acknowledged the value of his gun-bearer who was more accustomed to sighting game: “I always make Juma go ahead of me, as he sees both game and things like snakes so much quicker than I do!”⁸⁸ Using Juma in this way meant that Maurice’s collecting was likely to be more fruitful and he also protected himself from potential threat. The role of the guide was therefore crucial to the success and safety of the hunter, who was rendered impotent without this guidance. Even their physical bodies were utilised, designating them as part of the equipment hired to facilitate the safari. In South Africa in 1935 he wrote: “I fired 2 shots, resting the rifle on Ndolo’s shoulders”⁸⁹. Later that year in Zanzibar, Maurice relied on his boys for transportation:

I was carried for 300 yards on the shoulders of a fairly clean native, dumped into a dug-out, poled through a narrow channel through the mangroves until the channel widened, then transferred into a Ngalau, or double outrigger canoe through a channel just wide enough for it”⁹⁰.

In the Belgian Congo in 1951, Maurice was carried in a machila, a device associated with the deference and divide between African men and White Imperialists:

“A conveyance that I had read a lot about but never even seen, much less ridden in. A comfortable, well-cushioned deck chair slung on two poles and another pole slung fore and aft from these poles, and connected by 3 or 4

⁸⁶ MED (02/02/1931)

⁸⁷ MED (16/02/1934)

⁸⁸ MED (02/01/1932)

⁸⁹ MED (31/08/1935)

⁹⁰ MED (17/11/1935)

riems. These upper poles the porters- 2 fore and 2 aft- place on their shoulders and so carry the weight of the chair. The porters go along at a tripling walk. The motion, though slightly jiggety, is not at all bad”⁹¹.

Using the bodies of his boys in this way was a tangible marker of distinction between the two parties.

These examples of the employment of boys demonstrate Maurice becoming familiar with the boundaries set in place to safeguard the subservient relationships between White master and Black servant as a crucial part of his initiation into the Male Collector network. Maurice’s relationship with his boys did not grow organically, but was inherently influenced by an expectation of appropriate class and race hierarchy. Although the tradition was newly established, a firm set of boundaries was quickly established by Imperial settlers and collectors, alongside an unwritten set of rules that upheld their ideology. These ranged from minute concerns of propriety to large scale offences, but mass observance was demanded from each serious collector. One of these rules dictated that boys should not speak English to their masters:

“In those benighted days of Empire it was considered impertinent for a black man to understand English, let alone to speak it. The result was that none of them made any effort to learn our language, so we had to learn theirs instead”⁹².

Denying boys the right to communicate in the tongue of their employers justified their differentiation as subservient and ignorant. Other ways in which the divide was instigated was through camping conditions on safari. On Maurice’s Dongola safari in 1928 only the three most important boys were given riding camels whilst the rest of the boys were expected to make the journey on foot⁹³. Furthermore, at night time Maurice remained distinctly segregated from his boys:

“The Hammla men have got another good tree some 75 yards away and down-wind of me, so I should not be kept awake by them talking at night”⁹⁴.

⁹¹ MED (08/03/1951)

⁹² Dahl, *Going Solo*, p35

⁹³ MED (01/12/1928)

⁹⁴ MED (02/12/1928)

On safari in Somalia in 1934, a large thunderstorm emphasised the difference in comfort between Maurice's camp and that of his boys:

“We had a fearful thunderstorm this morning about 5am. The boys were pretty well drowned out, while I had my verandah-pole down. Of course just the one night on this safari that N'dola hadn't cut me a rain-trench and knocked in the tent pegs the last thing at night. However my new personal boy who is in most things rather an ass, got me tea quite quickly”⁹⁵.

Despite coming out of the storm relatively unscathed in comparison to his boys, Maurice was critical of their diligence in attending to his needs. Drawing attention to their deficiencies reveals the level of service he believed he was entitled to as he asserted his position as a Male Collector.

In 1921 on his quest for rhino, Maurice's gun-bearer Mabbrukki broke the most fundamental rule that protected the barriers of difference between employer and servant⁹⁶. Maurice had left Mabbrukki behind to skin a buffalo shot that morning when he described hearing nine gunshots fired in the distance⁹⁷. He wrote:

“All this was Mabbrukki shooting a big rhino that apparently came within 50 yards of him. I abused Mabbrukki soundly for shooting; and he said he shot for it for me, and it was all the same if I or he shot it. An awful pity”⁹⁸.

As it has been proposed in the case study of the leopard, Maurice's collecting was governed by a strict ethical code of conduct that stemmed from a social consciousness and aspirations to fit in with an elite group of hunters. Marvin described the “authentic experience” of hunting, which meant that value was given to specimens through the perfect method of their acquisition⁹⁹. This incident tested Maurice's interpretation of the fundamental rules of the Male Collectors. Haraway outlined the crucial rule that “the African could not be permitted to hunt independently with a gun in the presence of a white man”¹⁰⁰. Maurice was prompted to remind Mabbrukki that he was not an equal partner in the hunt. The

⁹⁵ MED (28/12/1934)

⁹⁶ MED (22/11/1921)

⁹⁷ Ibid

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ Marvin, 'Enlivened Through Memory', p207

¹⁰⁰ Haraway, 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy', p276

master/servant barrier had been breached, causing both parties distress and humiliation.

The activity of native peoples as collectors was not condoned by the Male Collector network, who believed that they alone had the right and capacity to collect based on their own superior design and morality. African hunting methods were seen as primitive and unrestrained against the selective and technological hunting methods employed by the White Hunter¹⁰¹. Maurice was particularly unforgiving if he found native peoples hunting near his own planned safari routes. He accused them of sabotaging his success by threatening to acquire the best wildlife for themselves, or by scaring it away through their primitive and indiscrete hunting methods. In October 1935 Maurice acquired objects no 422a, a male iguana, and no 422b, a knobkerrie¹⁰². He wrote of the former: “taken away from my guide’s brother whom we found hunting near our camp with 2 totos and 2 dogs”¹⁰³. Of the latter he wrote: “Came on a man, 2 kids and 2 dogs chasing Nyala and also doubtless heading for this camp. Bagged the man’s knobkerrie and sent them packing”¹⁰⁴. Just as he had taken the Matabele axe, Maurice repossessed these items from their original owners in demonstrable evidence of his superior right to own them¹⁰⁵.

Maurice’s response to the body of the rhino killed by Mabbrukki befitted the stance of Male Collectors who assumed ownership of confiscated specimens. It would have been theoretically possible for Maurice to claim the trophy as his own and doctor his accounts to suggest that he himself made the kill. Refusing to accept a specimen that he did not personally shoot for his collection suggests that he upheld the ethical code of the Male Collectors. Nevertheless, Maurice recognised the wasted life, poor behaviour of his servant and potentially his own negligence as “an awful pity”¹⁰⁶. Tracing the fate of this specimen through Maurice’s Big Game book indicates that Mabbrukki’s rhino was gifted to Nairobi museum. This ensured that even though he could not accept it himself, the specimen was not completely wasted¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰¹ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, p80

¹⁰² MED (11/10/1935)

¹⁰³ Ibid

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ See case study of Matabele axe, chapter three

¹⁰⁶ MED (22/11/1921)

¹⁰⁷ *Big Game Book*, CRO

The collection of this rhino confirms that the key difference between Male Collectors and their servants was a difference in moral judgement. Whereas Maurice defined his identity through his civility and moral restraint, the opposite was expected of his boys; that they should be incapable of mastering themselves and suppressing animal emotions. Maurice believed himself to be superior to his boys as he could exercise a well-developed sense of right and wrong. Whereas his boys attempted to lead Maurice into shooting animals indiscriminately, Maurice preferred to take his time to select only the best and most suitable animals for his collection¹⁰⁸. He often accused his boys of persuading him to shoot inferior specimens due to a misguided need to please their master, or by being led by their base and un-mastered greed for meat. On a trip to Sardinia in 1900, he commented that his boys told him “all the geese were swans”¹⁰⁹, and he that he was led to shoot a “wretched little brute of six years, though Antonio had so insisted that he was ‘grand’ when I didn’t wish to fire”¹¹⁰. In Sudan in 1930 Maurice wrote of his gun-bearer’s disappointment that he would not shoot without applying his moral training:

“Yesterday evening Ali and I out after a big gazelle, approached one, but I refused to shoot. Ali very annoyed- for a few minutes!”¹¹¹

Maurice also accused his boys of lying to excuse their mistakes, and described the constant vigilance needed to expose their deceptions. In 1930, Maurice wrote:

“I was amused the other day, when we were talking of eyesight, at Ali saying that he could never see distant objects well unless he was having plenty of tea and sugar. And he didn’t need much pressing to make him admit that he was clean out of sugar!”¹¹²

On a Yemen safari in 1939 Maurice uncovered another ploy:

“Noticed my chauffeur Mohammed Issa busily twiddling the trip speedometer when he thought I wasn’t looking. Thereby increasing the mileage from 194 to

¹⁰⁸ See previous case study on leopard

¹⁰⁹ MED (18/10/1900)

¹¹⁰ MED (24/10/1900)

¹¹¹ MED (25/03/1930)

¹¹² MED (24/03/1930)

275. However luckily I had taken the main speedometer figures when leaving Aden so that little scheme didn't work"¹¹³.

However much Maurice chastised his boys for behaviour he deemed to be unsuitable, it was almost expected that they should behave in this way. Roald Dahl recognised this when his personal boy misunderstood his intentions and killed a German settler, believing that it would please his master. He wrote:

"I refused to blame him for what he had done. He was a wild Mwanumwezi tribesman who had been moulded by us Europeans into the shape of a domestic servant, and now he had broken the mould"¹¹⁴.

Native servants were moulded to fulfil roles defined by alien criteria, and it was anticipated that they would inevitably fail to succeed due to their baser nature.

The balance of power could sometimes revert, exposing Maurice's naivety and immaturity in unfamiliar contexts. In November 1921 his friend Haywood explained how the "natives" had convinced him that hyena could spontaneously change sex from one year to the next, accounting for their mistake in causing him to shoot a female¹¹⁵. In 1935 in Namibia, a boy gave Maurice what he considered to be a plausible explanation for his discomfort:

"The last few days we have all been bothered by an itching rash that I had taken to be prickly heat. But that the Hottentot boy explains that it is caused by a hairy caterpillar. Apparently he walks over a bit of one and some of the skins stick into the skin. Then one scratches, breaks the hairs and they stick into a new part of one's skin and again one scratches and carries the hairs still further. This seems quite plausible and I did find a very hairy caterpillar in my tent the other day"¹¹⁶.

In keeping with his practice of recording information for his own growth and future reference, as well as for a scientific interest in the make-up of species, Maurice recorded both of these anecdotes in his diary as fact. They suggest that his

¹¹³ MED (22/01/1939)

¹¹⁴ Dahl, *Going Solo*, p80

¹¹⁵ MED (25/11/1921)

¹¹⁶ MED (15/05/1935)

superiority was not infallible, and that the instructional relationship between a collector and his boys could be reciprocal.

In particular, Maurice demonstrated an interest in documenting the ethnographical differences between himself and his boys and used his experiences to expand his knowledge. He recorded observational notes in his diaries describing their customs:

“Saw the boys beating boards with sticks to make the flying ants come out of the ant heaps, and then they eat them”¹¹⁷.

He also enjoyed watching a Ngoma, a traditional dance celebration, in 1931:

“About midday my great Deluka, or Ngoma started, mercifully about 200 yards off by the river with a big tree as a grandstand. I went down later, and was given a chair to sit on, while the people danced up in a half circle within a yard of me; the men mostly nothing on, the women and even the girls quite a lot. Luckily these nigs have mostly very little smell to them; with Kenya natives one would have been suffocated on a hot day like this. Quite the best dancing I’ve seen, none of that monotonous row of shuffling kuke women that we got in Kenya. The dance for about 100 guests cost me 25/-, i.e 15/- for the beer, 10/- for the supper of 5 sheep, the band of tom-toms consisted of any otherwise unemployed guests, and played from 12-6, when the guests went home”¹¹⁸.

This account suggests Maurice’s interest in local customs, but ascertains that he remained a passive spectator. His review compares practices from different countries, displaying his knowledge of different cultures and his attempts at ordering his world into hierarchies based on his own understanding. Prompted partly by his own genuine interest in the cultures and customs of other peoples, the awareness of cultural difference gave distinction to his collection. In 1936 Maurice wrote to the British Museum asking for a scientific name for the tribe of Bushmen of South West Africa to more accurately label objects in his collection¹¹⁹. Just as he wished to demonstrate the taxonomic genus of his specimens to be seen as an educated, legitimate collector, so too did Maurice believe that human races could be

¹¹⁷ MED (08/02/1924)

¹¹⁸ MED (01/02/1931)

¹¹⁹ *Letter from British Museum to Lord Egerton, (02/12/36), LEF, CRO*

differentiated and labelled as distinct species. The Museum replied that: “as a general rule we are not keen on such names for human races”¹²⁰. However, assigning hierarchies to races was a common practice to the Male Collectors. Clarence Buxton, District Officer in Kenya, described the hierarchy of the Masai tribe in Kenya:

“The Masai are beautiful men. They are aristocrats and are quite conscious of it, from their delicate ankles to their finely shaped nostrils. They have a sense of effortless superiority, even over the white man”¹²¹.

Percy Selous also included a whole chapter dedicated to describing the subtle differences between races he had encountered in Africa in exactly the same format as his expositions on animal races¹²². Maurice made frequent observations of the differences between races, capturing interesting “types” in photograph and ethnographic description. On safari in Belgian Congo in 1932, Maurice took photographs of native men as they walked past his hotel:

“Natives of all ages and sexes are streaming past this hotel du Lido all day long. A glorious place to put a cinema on a stand just in front of the verrandah, and press the button whenever an interesting type comes along”¹²³.

He repeated this practice in Yemen, a place lesser travelled by White men:

“Took a lot of cine-photos. The people did not seem to object at all, and were far more well-behaved than those at Makalla. One could spend days here photographing every types of natives”¹²⁴.

Maurice’s interest in the religion of his boys extended to his willingness to deviate from his usual hunting practices to kill animals for meat according to an alien set of rules:

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Buxton, Clarence (unknown date) *The Affects of Western Civilisation on the Tribal Systems of the Masai and Jalus Tribes*, RH

¹²² Selous, African Nature Notes

¹²³ MED (11/01/1932)

¹²⁴ MED (08/12/1933)

“First shot a doe oribi for Mohammed to kill in the orthodox mohammadian fashion and have to eat for himself”¹²⁵.

Shooting to wound only was often difficult to achieve and was not in keeping with the Shikar Club’s humane and non-wasteful shooting methods. On seeking an alternative to appease both parties Maurice consulted his cook and recorded in his diary:

“Mohammed my cook tells me there is no need to actually cut the animals neck, just to say “alahu akhbarah’ when the shot is fired. The boys however say that it might only be wounded when the shot was fired and then the magic words wouldn’t work, but if I would blow a whistle when the beast actually dies then it would be alright. Unfortunately I haven’t got a whistle”¹²⁶.

After further negotiations with his boys, they reached a compromise:

“The boys now tell me that if I say the magic words “Alahu AkBarah” when the beast dies it will be quite alright for a Mohammedan to eat it”¹²⁷.

This account suggests a degree of consultation and cooperation between master and servant through which Maurice was able to adjust his collecting methods and provide a patriarchal level of care for his subordinates.

A patriarchal relationship based on the intellectual, moral collector caring for his ignorant, unenlightened servant can be seen in the interactions between many Male Collectors and their boys throughout the period. Although it has been suggested that Male Collectors based their relationships with their servants on a tradition of inequality, the longevity of some of their associations and services rendered blurred the boundaries of the divide. Frederick Selous used the same boy “John” for over twenty five years, and described him as: “A most faithful servant. He is still alive today, and long ago christened himself John Selous”¹²⁸. Roald Dahl described the reciprocal sense of loyalty and devotion between himself and his boy Mdisho:

¹²⁵ MED (28/01/1924)

¹²⁶ MED (27/04/1924)

¹²⁷ MED (28/04/1924)

¹²⁸ Selous, *African Nature Notes*, p333

“In return (for his service), you looked after him and his wives (never less than two) and his children who lived in their own quarters at the back of the house. Mdisho was tall and graceful and soft-spoken, and his loyalty to me, his young white English master, was absolute. I hope, and I believe, that I was equally loyal to him”¹²⁹.

In 1928 Maurice returned to the Dinder region of Sudan and re-employed Haroon Salim. He wrote:

“Haroon Salim, my personal boy on my last Dinder trip, met me at Port Sudan, and took me on again!”¹³⁰

His suggestion that it was Haroon that “took on” Maurice, rather than the opposite way around reflects Maurice’s confidence in the company of familiar boys, and an easy familiarity in the lexis of friendship. The recurrent instruction of particular boys in Maurice’s service facilitated comfortable alliances as they became familiar with each other’s habits.

Maurice demonstrated an admiration for the skills of particular boys in his service that enabled his collecting. On his Dongola safari, Maurice employed Ali as he was one of only a few men who had ever travelled the region before¹³¹. Ali and Maurice formed an unusual friendship that transcended the tradition of a patriarchal or professional relationship. This was partly due to the fact that Maurice was heavily reliant on Ali’s guidance in an unfamiliar environment region, but it was also based upon a mutual respect. Maurice wrote:

“Ali seems a good hunter; careful of the wind, doesn’t rush things, and- almost best of all- quite understands hallaling the beast at the base of the neck instead of cutting its throat”¹³².

Maurice recognised the skill of his gun-bearer and enabled the practice of his religious customs. As a result, Ali was afforded an unprecedented degree of leniency when his behaviour did not meet Maurice’s exacting standards. On one occasion Maurice spotted a big sheep and proposed to follow it but Ali disobeyed and led him

¹²⁹ Dahl, *Going Solo*, p34

¹³⁰ MED (28/11/1928)

¹³¹ MED (01/12/1928)

¹³² MED (11/12/1928)

home, claiming that he was afraid Maurice's legs would give out¹³³. Instead of punishing him for his disobedience Maurice admitted that Ali was probably right. Maurice also submitted to Ali's direction on another occasion during the safari when he was persuaded to shoot an animal that was not in keeping with his strict requirements:

"I stupidly asked Ali whether he was a big one and he of course said he was a very big one, so I fired and killed him stone dead, and on eventually clambering down to him found that he was small. I abused Ali at first; but he seemed so sorry at my disappointment that I admitted it was entirely my own fault!"¹³⁴

This relationship stands out amongst Maurice's accounts as unusually close and benevolent. In an unprecedented mark of their mutual respect, Maurice visited Ali's family at the end of the safari and was welcomed by them:

"The whole Ali retinue were lined up to give us, or rather apparently me, a royal welcome, with queer noises from the women and children which were doubtless intended for cheers. They have certainly tried to do me honour, and must have spent a lot of time rigging up the hut so nicely"¹³⁵.

Maurice had been disappointed with Mabbrukki's disobedience in 1921 when he had shot a rhino, yet his relationship with Mabbrukki was one of his most enduring, suggesting a reciprocal loyalty or indebtedness between the two parties¹³⁶. Maurice had to wait ten more years to acquire a rhino of his own, but Mabbrukki was once again the gun-bearer present on the safari¹³⁷. In March 1931 Maurice was on safari in Nanyuki, Kenya when he acquired specimen number 271, a female rhino, and recorded her measurements in his Big Game book (figure 47)¹³⁸. Despite the importance of the specimen to his collection, his account remains consistent with his methodical collection records that documented the facts of the encounter:

¹³³ MED (14/02/1929)

¹³⁴ MED (17/02/1929)

¹³⁵ MED (13/03/1930)

¹³⁶ MED (22/11/1921)

¹³⁷ MED (13/03/1931)

¹³⁸ Ibid

“Suddenly as I was riding along I saw a grey thing in the bush, 50 yards ahead, which I knew must be a rhino, as much too small for an elephant. Hastily jumped off, took my .470 double from Mabbrukki and stood ready for events while Juma took the sight caps off my .350 magnum.

Advanced another 20 yards, Mabbrukki throwing 2 or 3 stones to liven things up. Then made out a cow rhino, with a very big calf, and one younger.

Eventually the cow came out sideways into an open patch, and we could see the horns that Mabbrukki said were good, so I fired at the cow, the .350 magnum bullet going in just behind the shoulder, doubtless through both lungs, as she dashed out past us to our right, upwind, with blood pouring out of her mouth or nose. I gave her another as she past, apparently a miss. She went 250 yards, followed by the 2 totos, then fell over, and was dead when we got up to her. This was at 9am.

Sent the Lumbwa back to Marais, who arrived with his waggon; put the skull, skin, 2 fore feet and slabs of hide on it, and then all off home, arriving at 4pm”¹³⁹.

¹³⁹ Ibid

Figure 47: Maurice's rhino in his African Heads Game book

				LENGTH T to Tip.		
269.	Granti.	Mar. 7. 1931.	Baringo.	$16\frac{3}{8}$	$17\frac{5}{8}$	$9\frac{3}{8}$
271.	<u>F</u> Rhino.	Mar. 13. 1931.	Nanyuki.	18	13	
272.	Granti.	Mar. 15. 1931.	Nanyuki.	$23\frac{1}{4}$	23	$9\frac{1}{2}$
273.	Topi.	Dec. 22. 1931.	Kagera.	16	16	$9\frac{3}{4}$
275	<u>F</u> Topi.	Dec. 24. 1931	Kagera.	$14\frac{1}{2}$	$14\frac{3}{4}$	6.
276.	Oribi	Dec. 24. 1931.	Kagera.	$5\frac{1}{8}$	$5\frac{1}{16}$	$2\frac{1}{8}$ Pit
277.	Impalla.	Dec. 25. 1931	Kagera.	$26\frac{1}{2}$	$26\frac{5}{8}$	$19\frac{3}{8}$
281.	Sitatunga.	Jan. 24. 1932	Kabale.	$16\frac{5}{8}$	$16\frac{3}{4}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$
282.	Mrs Gray.	Mar. 7. 1932	B. d. Shazd.	27	$26\frac{3}{8}$	$15\frac{1}{8}$

Rowland Ward acknowledged receipt of the head and foot of the rhino less than three months later and proceeded with the mounting¹⁴⁰. On this occasion, Mabbrukki had acted in a positive supporting role to the collection of a very important specimen, demonstrating an effective working relationship between collector and servant. He was photographed alongside the specimen, immortalising his contribution to the acquisition (figure 48).

¹⁴⁰ Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (13/06/31), LEF, CRO

Figure 48: Either Mabbrukki or Juma posing with the rhino



Examples of positive and sentimental relationships cast the Male Collectors in a progressive light, but acknowledgments of these feelings were rarely publicised and remained private. However deep these bonds may have been forged, it was essential for the boys to be seen to fit the role prescribed to them to prop up the status of the Male Collectors and support their way of life. Mabbrukki had been Maurice's gun-bearer of choice for over decade, but this long service did not grant him immunity from censure. Maurice's Baringo safari on which he acquired his rhino was his first trialling a new gun-bearer, Juma¹⁴¹. Maurice wrote:

¹⁴¹ MED (06/03/1932)

I had 4 boys with me, Kisaiga, Erastos, Mabbrukki and Juma, a Nandi that Costello has found me as an understudy to Mabbrukki, as the latter is getting altogether too annoying with his pay and posho shaaries, especially since he was one of the gunbearers to the Prince of Wales”¹⁴².

Although Maurice and Mabbrukki had a long history of association, Maurice believed him to be over ambitious and was preparing to replace him with a more biddable candidate.

The justification behind the behaviours of Male Collectors towards their servants was perpetrated through the language used to refer to them. Maurice made an effort to record the names of his boys for his factual safari records, but he often made up derogatory names of his own, including “One-Arm”, a retainer used in Zimbabwe in 1923¹⁴³, and “Lumpy-Head” for a servant used in Sudan in 1930¹⁴⁴. Maurice used many terms to refer to his native servants, ranging from “little friend”, “nigger”, “vulture”¹⁴⁵, “baboon”¹⁴⁶, and “savage”¹⁴⁷. These terms were not uncommon. Rowland Ward’s most frequently used terms included “coloured attendants” and “darkies”¹⁴⁸. Weston Jarvis called his servants “niggers” and himself the “Great White Chief”¹⁴⁹.

This polarisation of power in the lexis used between the British Imperialist and African servant was further highlighted through the widespread use of the term “boy”, which was commonly used, and has been used throughout this case study, to describe adult African men. Haraway argues that Black male servants were perpetually infantilised by the White man’s pronoun choice of “boy”¹⁵⁰. This term upheld their right to consider and treat servants as subordinates that were inferior in moral and intellectual development. Justification for the use of the incorrect pronoun is also seen through the descriptions of child-like behaviour, naivety and complete dependence on their white employers. Percy Selous described giving a giraffe to his boys:

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ MED (20/03/1928)

¹⁴⁴ MED (11/02/1930)

¹⁴⁵ MED (03/01/1935)

¹⁴⁶ MED (29/07/1949)

¹⁴⁷ MED (02/02/1930)

¹⁴⁸ Morris, *Rowland Ward*, p18

¹⁴⁹ Weston Jarvis, *Jottings from an Active Life*, pp.132-133

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p275

“When I told them that they could have the cow, they were in a state of frantic delight. They soon...departed in a neck-and-neck race to begin their disgusting orgies”¹⁵¹.

His description renders his servants as children or even animals fighting over a carcass discarded by their master.

The collection of both rhinos presented in this case study suggests that, despite a culture of interest and developing intimacies with his servants, Maurice’s sense of belonging to the superior collective of the White Male Collector could not be overcome. Where physical and sociological barriers were breached, Maurice became uncomfortable and protective of the status quo. Mistrustful, derogative and hostile sentiments underpinned the foundations of the White Settler’s relationships with native Africans, no matter how successfully they were moulded to roles beneficial to the culture of the Male Collectors.

¹⁵¹ Selous and Bryden, *Travel and Big Game*, p45

4.4 Tunny Fish: Collecting at Any Cost

Factfile:

- Object Title: Tunny Fish (figure 49)
- Description: Mounted taxidermy specimens of two Blue Fin Tuna, or “tunny” fish prepared by Rowland Ward
- Date Collected: August 26th 1933
- Location: Scarborough

Figure 49: Tunny Fish



This case study considers two blue fin tuna fish, known as tunny fish, caught by Maurice on a single line off the coast of Scarborough in 1933¹⁵². Although it has been demonstrated that Maurice’s encounters with animals were influenced by a set

¹⁵² MED (26/08/1933)

of rules that governed his behaviour, his collection of the tunny fish represents his own personal and abstract interpretation of an acceptable ethical framework. Despite challenges and disappointments, he remained dedicated to acquiring a specimen that he considered to be absolutely necessary to his collection. Their collection generates discussion of the conflict between Maurice's identity as a pillar of moral rectitude and the tempting path of self-gratification. The fish are evidence of the fact that he was prepared to collect at any cost, and that his mantra of playing by the rules could be put aside if it didn't get results. These acquisitions failed to meet the rigorous standards of morality imposed by the Male Collectors.

Big Game fishing is a sport that has remained relatively obscure and undocumented, perhaps due to its brief phase of popularity in comparison to the dramatic and enduring legacy of Big Game hunting. Interest in fishing locations and specimens waned quickly, giving a narrow time window for Male Collectors to advertise their skills and work under intense pressure to acquire a specimen that was at the height of its fashion. In 1908 Maurice spent time at Tampico in Mexico attempting to catch tarpon¹⁵³. Kokomoor described how:

“Well-heeled outdoorsmen comprised the majority of anglers. They travelled from the North, Midwest, and even from across the Atlantic to court the silver king, and they mark the sport's popularity as much more than a regional phenomenon”¹⁵⁴.

Maurice's presence in 1908 at the peak of the sport's popularity suggests that he wished to be seen to participate in the most high profile collecting campaigns. His attendance was a public gesture of his taste as a collector and deposited prestigious specimens in his private collection.

Tunny fishing emerged as a trend much closer to home centred in Scarborough from 1930-1954. Just as they had descended upon Tampico and Southern Florida, Male Collectors now turned their attention to the North Sea. The Northern Echo predicted that:

¹⁵³ MED 26/02/1908- 26/03/1908). Maurice hooked 22 fish in 28 days, but was only able to gaff two

¹⁵⁴ Kokomoor, Kevin (2010) *In the Land of the Tarpon: The Silver King, Sport and the Development of Southwest Florida, 1885-1915*, Florida State University

“It is certain that this year a large number of “big-game” fishermen will make Scarborough their headquarters while they vie with each other in attempts to be the first person to catch a tunny in British waters on rod and line”¹⁵⁵.

Competition to be the first to catch a tunny was great, and in August 1930, Lorenzo Mitchell Henry became the first to acquire a fish (figures 50 and 51)¹⁵⁶. Like Maurice, Mitchell Henry was an experienced Big-Game hunter with an excellent track record of kills in Africa and British Columbia¹⁵⁷. Big Game hunting and fishing were two sports that were seen to be linked, with participants in one area generally thought to be interested in the other. Scarborough was advertised as the only place outside of Africa where hunters could have a genuine big game experience¹⁵⁸. Therefore, parallels can be drawn with the ethical framework set out in previous case studies to dissect the practice of hunting. Newspapers seemed aware of this link between the sports that spanned the continents. They reported the big names that had already arrived in Scarborough, and speculated as to whom else was likely to join them. The Daily express published that:

“Another tunny fisher on the spot is Mr Ramsey of Aberdeen. I expect that when Colonel Stapleton Cotton hears the news...he will fly to Scarborough, so keen is he on the sport”¹⁵⁹.

This suggests that a number of collectors had earned reputations for their sport, and that being amongst the first to acquire a new and intriguing specimen would have enhanced this reputation further.

¹⁵⁵ *Northern Echo*, (18/02/30), SMA

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁷ Mitchell Henry, Lewis (1998) *A Family Account, The Mitchell Henry Family Website*

¹⁵⁸ The Eastern Daily Press remarked: “One need not go to Africa or further afield for big game hunting”, *Eastern Daily Press* (30/08/34), SMA. The South Wales Echo printed: “You can have more thrills in an hour without leaving British waters than you would get in a week in the African jungle”, *South Wales Echo* (06/09/34), SMA.

¹⁵⁹ *Daily Express*, (29/08/30), SMA

Figure 50: Tunny Club records from 1930 showing the first catch by Mitchell Henry

1930

TUNNY

NAME	WEIGHT	LINE	DATE
Cotton, Lt. Col. R Stapleton	630.1bs.		3rd Sept.
Hannam, F. B.	591.1bs.		9th. Sept.
Hardy, H. J.	392.1bs.		17th. Sept.
Henry, L. Mitchell.	560 lbs.		27th. Aug.

These four fish were awarded B.S.A.S. Rowing Boat Certificates.

Average weight of 4 fish awarded certificates. 543 lbs.
 One other fish was caught.

Figure 51: Mitchel Henry and his tunny which held the record until surpassed by Hedley Lewis



Maurice's attention was immediately piqued by the news of the large and unusual fish and prospect of adding to the prestige of his collection and personal reputation. He arrived in Scarborough the very next day after Mitchell Henry caught his fish in 1930, suggesting that he wished to be amongst the first men to acquire a specimen¹⁶⁰. Losing the race of collecting the first specimen was a blow to other fishermen, (FB Hannam, lamented that "I, like everyone else, would have been pleased to achieve this feat"¹⁶¹), but the challenge was set to acquire additional,

¹⁶⁰ The Daily Express published: "Earl Edgerton (sic) of Tatton Park is joining Mr Mitchell Henry to-day", *Daily Express*, (29/08/1930), SMA

¹⁶¹ Hannam, F.B. 'Wonder Fish in English Waters' in the *Illustrated London News*, (13/12/1930)

larger specimens, as was common practice in the Big Game hunting traditions overseas.

Maurice recorded the names of other collectors fishing nearby, suggesting that, just as in Africa, rivalry was intense. In 1933 he wrote: “Lady Leigh and party were also fishing in the vicinity, landing 8 fish between them”¹⁶². The most famous fisherman was perhaps Baron de Rothschild, who fished from his enormous yacht Eros¹⁶³. Lady Broughton, the first wife of Maurice’s neighbour Lord Jock Delves Broughton at Doddington Park and an experienced big game hunter in Africa, became the first woman to land a tunny¹⁶⁴. Uncomfortable with the unfamiliar and vulgar practice of sleeping on a boat with fishermen, she slept in a tent on deck as if she was on an African safari, again drawing parallels between Big Game hunting and Big Game Fishing (figure 52).

Figure 52: Lady Broughton on board her boat



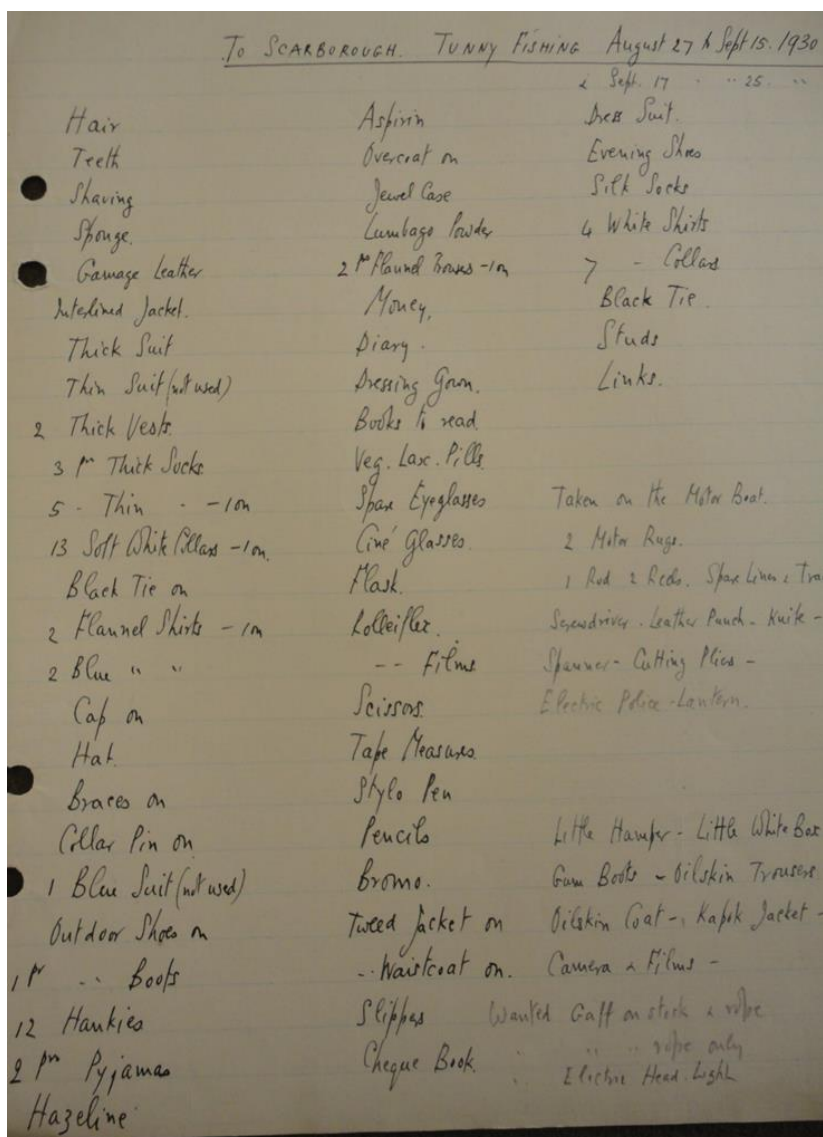
¹⁶² MED (26/08/1933)

¹⁶³ *Tons of Tunny- Memories of 25 years of Big Game Fishing off the Yorkshire Coast*, Exhibition at Wood End Museum of Natural History (10/09/1995- 30/09/1996), SMA

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

Just as with tarpon fishing decades earlier, aspiring elite collectors entered the tunny competition to be seen at the right place at the right time, as much as to catch a fish for their collections. Male Collectors used tunny fishing as an exercise in self-promotion. Presenting the right public impression through the choice of accommodation and equipment was essential. Maurice stayed at the Pavilion Hotel in Scarborough¹⁶⁵. His packing lists indicate that he took dress suits and evening wear alongside fishing tackle, maintaining visual markers of his prominent status (figure 53)¹⁶⁶.

Figure 53: Maurice's list of clothes and equipment taken to Scarborough



¹⁶⁵ MED (24/08/1931)

¹⁶⁶ This did not indicate that he took part in social occasions to flaunt his presence, but that he continued to practice the tradition of dressing for the evening regardless of location. Maurice's packing lists show that he packed evening wear throughout his safaris (see chapter five)

Maurice also promoted the spectacle of the sport by hiring an expensive vessel and crew. He used his position and wealth to team up with the best and he sailed with Mitchell Henry in 1930 and 1931 but paid for a larger share of the boat so that he had the right to fish every day¹⁶⁷. In 1932 he was again able to use his connections to boost his chance of success and sailed with Colonel Edward Peel's yacht the St George (figure 54)¹⁶⁸. Peel was a local Knutsford man, born into the aristocratic Peel family and his huge yacht was staffed by an entirely Sudanese crew, again drawing parallels with the Big Game hunting traditions assisted by native "boys" in Africa, and the organic progression and transference of rules and skills to Big Game fishing in England. Sailing with these accomplished men increased the likelihood of acquiring a specimen, but also portrayed a visual statement of wealth and significance to other fishermen and spectators on the quayside.

Figure 54: Peel's yacht St George



Other aspects of self- promotion did not sit so comfortably with Maurice's ethical standpoint and natural aversion to publicity. The Daily Mail described tunny as "not

¹⁶⁷ MED (27/08/1931)

¹⁶⁸ Ibid

so much fish but an event”¹⁶⁹. The waterfront bustled with spectators as fish were brought ashore by their fame- hungry conquerors (figure 55). As Maurice’s double catch of his tunny fish was an unprecedented incident, it inevitably aroused much interest. One local man recalled the sense of wonder he felt encountering the fish as a boy:

“As a small boy of ten years old I lived about 500 yards from the harbour at Scarborough. The year was 1933. At this time Scarborough was a very industrious fishing port with dozens of deep-sea trawlers and in-shore fishing boats. A beautiful yacht, a sight to behold, was in the bay, and we learned that it was owned by Lord Egerton from Tatton hall in Cheshire, and he was on board fishing for Tunny fish. Rumour infiltrated the town of Scarborough that Lord Egerton had, in fact, caught two tunny, and, as you can imagine, as this was then such a small town the utmost interest was shown and it became the talk of the locals, aided and abetted by the chatter from the Scottish fishing girls, who worked on the pier cleaning and gutting the fresh herring.

My pals and I, being nosy lads, heard with much excitement that the Tunny fish were being landed at the pierhead and eventually the boat arrived and the Tunny were hoisted off the yacht by a crane and were then placed onto large brass-fronted, spring-type scales. What a size the fish were, over six feet in length! A fisherman’s dream!”¹⁷⁰.

This statement was recalled decades after the fact, suggesting that the catch of Maurice’s tunny was, and remained, a significant standout memory from the tunny fishing era.

¹⁶⁹ *Daily Mail* (08/08/1935), SMA

¹⁷⁰ *Memoirs of William Donnelly*, Tatton Park Collections Newsletter No 19 (September 1998), TPA

Figure 55: Crowds gathering to watch fish being brought ashore in 1949



Despite the tale becoming immortalised in oral histories, there remains little tangible evidence from the time to commemorate the occasion. Just as hunters would pose beside their kills in Africa, it was customary for fisherman to be photographed alongside his catch (figure 56). Fish were hung vertically next to their captors for maximum aesthetic effect with their massive weight statistics clearly pinned to their bodies. This represented the battle between man and monster and the fisherman's skill at overcoming such over-large beasts. This practice did not seem to be appealing to Maurice, who had seldom employed the boastful practice of trophy photographs, and whose diffident personality impelled him to shun the spotlight. Perhaps due to his private nature or in acknowledgement of his respect for the

working men that made up his crew, Maurice approved a less formal photograph posed on board the ship shortly after the catch (figure 57).

Figure 56: Jack Tansey (centre with rod) posing beside his catch of six fish

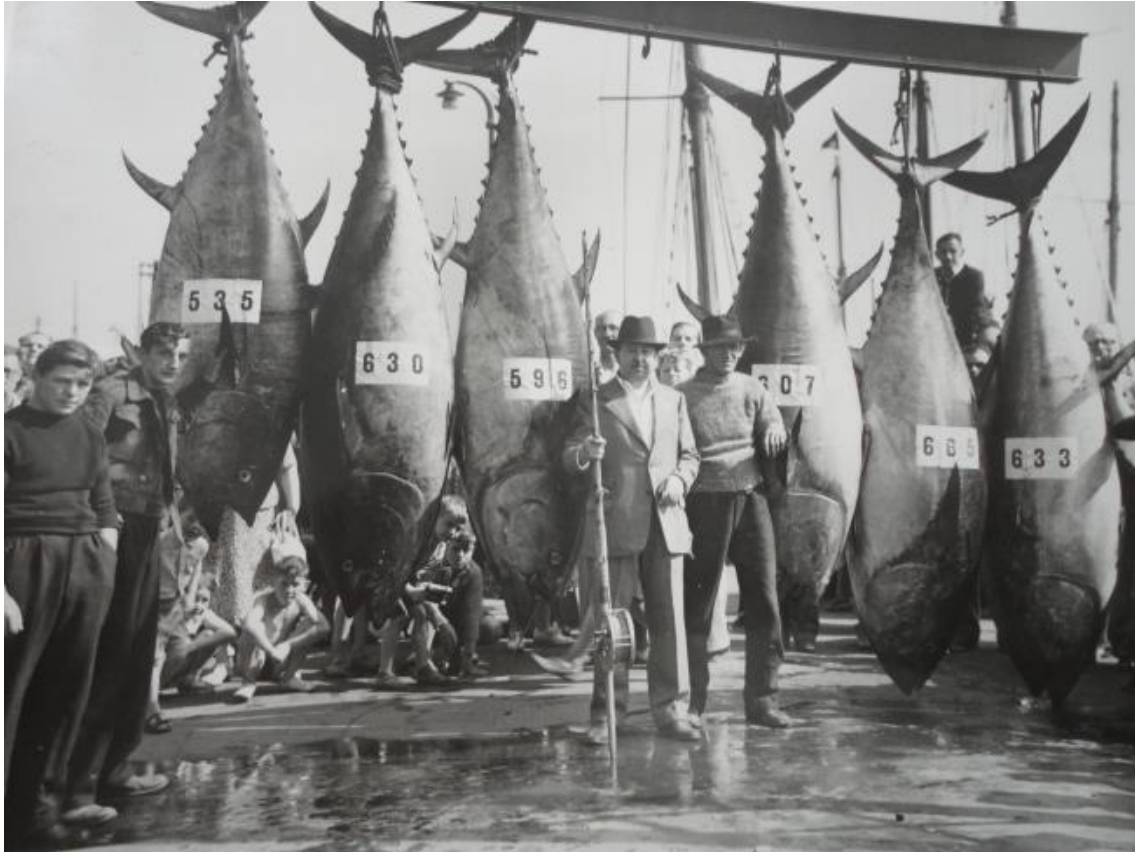


Figure 57: Maurice and his tunny fishing crew



It has been seen in the case study of the elephant that Maurice relied heavily upon a wealth of literature and personal recommendations from more experienced Male Collectors to assist with his acquisition of Big Game specimens. In contrast, tunny fishing was a burgeoning sport evolving in the present, meaning that there was little preparation available to increase his opportunity of making an acquisition. Maurice's struggles to acquire a specimen were documented in his diaries which present his increasing frustration as his usual experienced collecting methods failed to yield results. As testament to his determination and perseverance, in 1931 Maurice sailed

over 900 miles in less than a month, sailing from 6am to 6pm most days, but failed to acquire a fish¹⁷¹. His partner Mitchell Henry wrote that:

“Lord Egerton and I fished every possible day, going out early and returning late; covered hundreds of miles”¹⁷².

Despite this perseverance, Maurice did not acquire a specimen in that first year. In 1932, Maurice returned promptly for the new season eager to try again¹⁷³. This season was almost more of a disappointment to Maurice, as on August 30th the Knutsford Guardian reported:

“Lord Egerton of Tatton has been engaging in his favourite sport of tunny fishing off the coast of Scarborough, and on Tuesday he hooked a fish with which he played for seven hours before losing it. It towed him 20 miles”¹⁷⁴.

Whilst Maurice mourned “the one that got away”, he watched jealously as his fishing companion Colonel Peel hooked the then record tunny at 789lbs¹⁷⁵. The second year had closed and he still had not acquired a specimen. His anticipation must have been steadily increasing and as he returned for his third year it appears that he was very eager to collect a tunny fish for his collection.

On August 24th 1933, Maurice’s patience was finally rewarded and he landed his first fish weighing 647lb¹⁷⁶ (figure 58). The occasion aroused interest and was documented in the press:

“Lord Egerton set up a new Yorkshire coast record for this season with a fish weighing 647lb. It was his first tunny”¹⁷⁷.

¹⁷¹ MED (19/09/1931)

¹⁷² Mitchell Henry, *Fishing Gazette*, (11/10/1930), SMA

¹⁷³ MED (29/09/1932)

¹⁷⁴ *Knutsford Guardian*, (02/09/1932), TPA

¹⁷⁵ MED (30/09/1932)

¹⁷⁶ MED (24/08/1933)

¹⁷⁷ *Overseas Daily Mail*, (02/09/1933), SMA

Figure 58: Maurice's first tunny fish being landed by his crew



The fish was immediately dispatched to Rowland Ward's for preparation suggesting that he was satisfied with this fish and intended it become part of his collection¹⁷⁸. Two days later an extraordinary event rendered this first fish inconsequential. Maurice had stayed on ship out at sea overnight and began fishing at 5.30am¹⁷⁹. At 8.15am his bait was taken and after 25 minutes he landed a 538lb tunny that was hooked very precariously on his line by a single loop around its tail¹⁸⁰. Unbelievably,

¹⁷⁸ MED (24/08/1933)

¹⁷⁹ MED (26/08/1933)

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

on the actual hook was a second fish that weighed 699lbs, and it was landed forty minutes later¹⁸¹.

Despite the incredibility of this event, Maurice wrote a usual precise and factual account for his records:

“A fish weighing 699lbs was hooked in the mouth, taking out all the grey- 96 thread-line (approximately 180 yards) and about 150 yards of green 60 thread line. The second fish, 538lbs in weight was held by the 60 thread line with a single hitch around one fluke of the tail. The 538lb fish was gaffed 25 minutes after the 699lb fish had taken the bait. The 699lb fish was gaffed 40 minutes later. All the 96 thread line, and approximately 75 yards of the 60 thread line were still out when the 538lb fish was gaffed. Originally 200 yards of the 96 thread line was spliced to as much of the 60 thread line as the reel could comfortably hold. Approximately 20 yards of the 96 thread was lost previously”¹⁸².

An amusing but unsubstantiated memoir in the Tatton archive purports to interpret Maurice’s true feelings after catching the fish as he dictated to a friend:

“This is a wonderful moment for me. I had a dreadful time, I hate the sea, I am a shockingly bad sailor, but I had to have a tunny for my big game museum. Thank god I have got one at last- you will never see me again”. And we never did’.¹⁸³”

Maurice’s factual account obscures his personal feelings after his catch, but the quoted anecdote imagines that he felt a mixture of pride and relief at having achieved two acceptable specimens for his collection. This account emphasises his need to acquire a specimen to fill an imagined void in his collection. Even though he did not enjoy the process, he pursued his aim with an obsessive determination. It is certain that he did not return to Scarborough after the double acquisition, suggesting that his need was satisfied. The fish were sent to Rowland Ward’s the same day and prepared together for Tatton, whilst his first fish caught two days prior had lost its

¹⁸¹ Ibid

¹⁸² Ibid

¹⁸³ *Account given to a Mr Laughton, (August 1933), TPA*

importance and was declared spare, being eventually donated to Manchester Museum¹⁸⁴.

Two seemingly opposed object interpretations could be seen to define the tunny fish specimens at collection. The first could describe the fish as fetish pieces that represent the all-encompassing desire and need of the collector to achieve them. By theory, this reading is super imposed at the moment of acquisition when Maurice's need was sated and no further specimens were acquired. Although he did not hold the record, he appeared to be appeased with his adequate examples of the species, suggesting that the fish were in fact interpreted as scientific, "systematic" specimens for his collection¹⁸⁵. To further understand Maurice's relationship with his fish, his acquisition process and contemporary reaction to it needs to be analysed in greater detail.

Maurice learned and abandoned the pursuit of tunny fishing within a three year window. As a newly-birthered sport, Maurice would have witnessed an increasing level of protection implemented to sanctify its rituals. By his final season in 1933 the Tunny Club was formed as a backlash against increasingly unethical collecting methods (figure 59)¹⁸⁶. It was formed to safeguard the new tradition of tunny fishing, and cement the "rules" of fishing, just as the Shikar club regulated the sport of Big Game hunting¹⁸⁷. Tunny fishing had been promoted as an emerging tradition for a privileged few men. It was an exclusive sport requiring massive resources to hire equipment and experienced skippers to ensure success. It has been seen that from 1930 Big Game hunters had descended upon Scarborough bringing the spectacle of their yachts and the glamour of their presence as they posed beside their fish on the quayside. Many small scale local fishermen became angry that these aristocratic fishermen used motorboats and large crews to land the fish instead of making the physical catch themselves. The Oxford Mail ran the story:

¹⁸⁴ MED (26/08/1933)

¹⁸⁵ Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p85

¹⁸⁶ *British Tunny Club Members Book*, (1933-1951), SMA

¹⁸⁷ Ibid

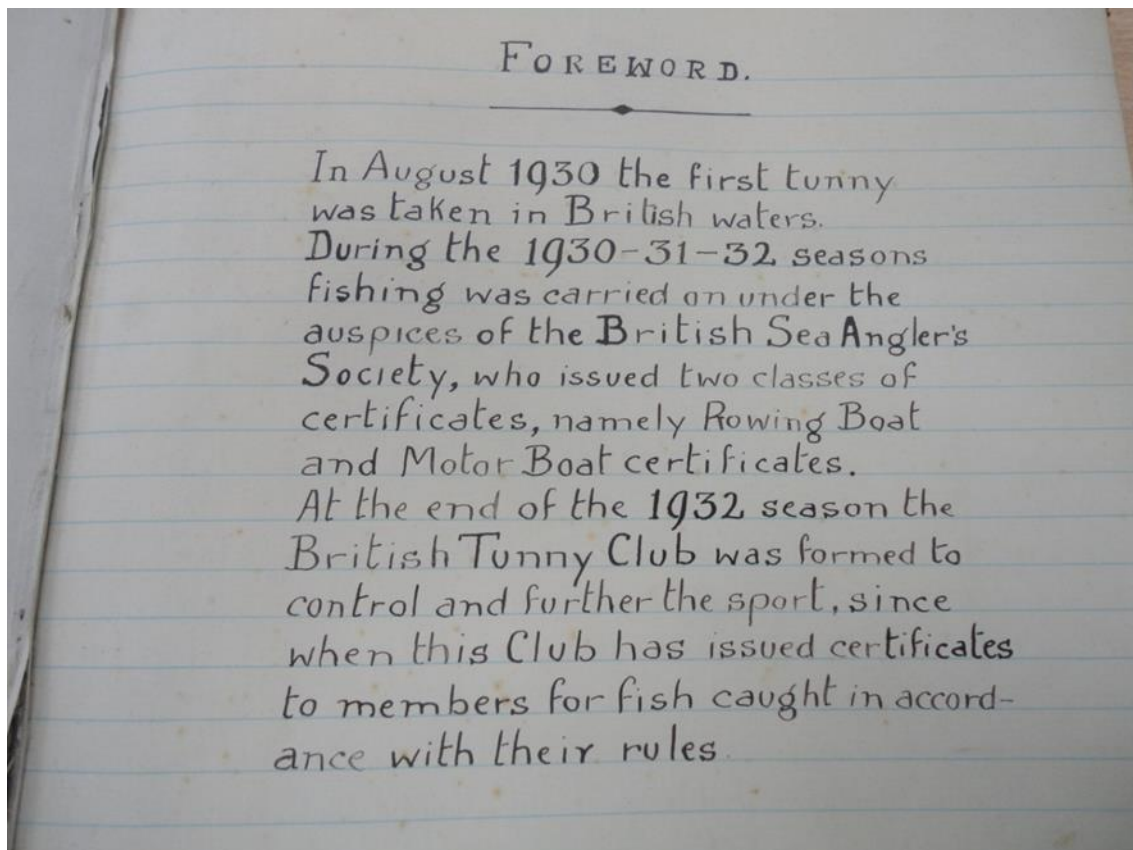
“The great grievance is that ambitious anglers are not content now to fish unaided from small boats, but use motor boats and even yachts, and accept assistance from members of the crew in securing their fish”¹⁸⁸.

Experienced fisherman Eric Horsfall Turner described the physical exhaustion of his first catch:

“My left arm, which took the weight of the rod, had lost all feeling. The sweat ran into my eyes and I felt the strange pounding exhaustion of a cross country race”¹⁸⁹.

These sources suggest that the true art of Tunny fishing was not perfected by the rich in their yachts, but was the inheritance of the small scale, humble, fisherman eager to embrace the physical challenge.

Figure 59: Foreword to the record books of the British Tunny Club



¹⁸⁸ *Oxford Mail*, (26/09/1933), SMA

¹⁸⁹ Horsfall Turner, Eric (1950), *Trials by Tunny*, Yorkshire Life Illustrated

Male Collectors accepted that they needed to demonstrate their own skill in the acquisition of tunny to assign the pursuit as an accomplished “sport”. Mitchell Henry was rumoured “to practice daily in his Ealing, west London garage with a complicated system of weights and pulleys to simulate a charging tuna”¹⁹⁰. In 1938, Captain CH Frisby recorded how he caught a record five fish in one day:

“I went out in a small motorboat, a fact I would like to stress, because clearly it is wrong to think that tunny fishing can only be conducted off Scarborough by the very rich using super yachts”¹⁹¹.

These beliefs in the importance of physical labours and fair and personal resources were translated into the ethos of the Tunny Club:

“Under the rules of the Tunny Club, tunny must be played single-handed with rod and line from a rowing boat. It is this rule that is constantly infringed, and consequently what was once a great sport is being ruined and, which is worse, the reputation of British angling smirched in the eyes of the world”¹⁹².

These rules were established after Maurice had acquired his specimens, but they cast a shadow on the respectability of his collecting methods. The local backlash of Scarborough fishermen who objected to the annual invasion of aristocratic collectors and their disregard for fishing using condoned methods and manpower condemned the activity of men such as Maurice, who were prepared to do little of the physical work themselves. One of these indignant fishermen was the local man John Hedley Lewis, who in 1949 decided on the spur of the moment to set off to catch a fish. He swapped a crate of beer on the quayside for second hand tackle and bait, and joked that he would that day catch the biggest fish on record¹⁹³. He set off at midnight, hooked his tunny at 3.30am and gaffed it by 5.05am¹⁹⁴ (figures 60, 61 and 62). His fish weighed in at 852lb, holding the record for the largest tunny landed in Scarborough. In comparison to the carefully planned and arduous sailings made by Maurice, Hedley Lewis’s luck seems particularly striking, and was promoted as a taunt to the Big Game fishermen.

¹⁹⁰ Elliot, Keith (3/10/93) *Why They Are No Longer Slaying Our Tuna*, The Observer

¹⁹¹ Frisby, Captain C.H. (1938) *Newsclipping*, SMA

¹⁹² *Morning Post*, (26/09/1933), SMA

¹⁹³ *Big Stuffed Fish To Be Restored*, (unknown paper and date), news clipping, SMA

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*

Figure 60: Hedley Lewis posing beside his record fish



Figure 61: Hedley Lewis's fish, now in storage at Scarborough Museum



Figure 62: Tunny Club records showing the entry for Hedley Lewis' record fish

1940 (continued)			
Weatherby. C.N.	3	September	537 lbs. Grey Seal
Charrington. H.N.	3	"	607 " " "
Cohen. Saville	3	"	678 " " "
" "	7	"	749 " " "
Kirby. L.	3	"	703 " " "
Peel. J.M.	4	"	546 " " "
Peel. D.F.	5	"	701 " " "
Crowther. H.M.	7	"	534 " " "
Watkins. A.B.K.	7	"	423 " Blue Seal
" "	8	"	696 " " "
Crowther. Harry	10	"	671 " Grey Seal
Lewis. J. Hedley	16	September	852 " " "

Maurice may have been too late to become a member of the Tunny Club (figure 63), but it is unusual that he sought to collect using undesirable ethical methods when he had generally conformed to high standards of accountability in previous acquisitions. His failure to take an active role in landing the fish himself stands in sharp contrast to his previous safaris and fishing expeditions, where it was crucial that each specimen was targeted and acquired personally. In 1908 when fishing for Tarpon in Tampico, Maurice struggled to collect specimen number 0.55d, a similar sized fish to a tunny, and recorded his struggles as a crucial and necessary part of the acquisition:

“Hooked a good fish which jumped several times and put up a good fight before I landed him in about 20 minutes. Proved to be 6ft 3 ½, weight exactly 100lbs”¹⁹⁵.

Figure 63: Tunny Club records from 1933, the year of Maurice’s tunny acquisitions, showing the names of anglers awarded certificates for acceptable standards of practice

NAME	WEIGHT	LINE	DATE
Baker, G	763 lbs	Red Seal	10th Sept:
Broughton, Lady Vera	553 "	Red	8th Sept:
"	523 "	"	3rd Sept:
Brown, H.A.	688 "	Red	3rd Sept:
Dugdale, Capt T. L.	638 "	Red	17th Aug:
Forrest, J.	610 "	Red	9th Sept:
Gaze, R. P.	558 "	Red	3rd Sept:
Leigh, E.	456 "	Green	"
Penny, G.	610 "	Red	29th Aug:
Preston, J. S.	502 "	Red	2nd Sept:
Rogers, J. E. M.	639 "	Red	10th Sept:
Rowley, Maj G. S.	644 "	Red	6th Sept:
Sigrisl, F.	620 "	Red	4th Sept:
Sopwith, T.O.M.	740 "	Red	7th Sept:
" Mrs. T.O.M.	505 "	Red	25th Aug:
Spriggs, F. S.	550 "	Red	4th Sept:
Stancliffe, Mrs. J.	630 "	Red	12th Sept:
Wilson, A.C.	540 "	Red	29th Aug:
Yule, Miss G. M.	623 "	Red	29th Aug:

Average weight of 19 fish awarded certificates. 600 lbs
 Sixty-one other fish were caught by members of the Club.

One reason that might explain the change in methods is the fact that Maurice was almost 60 years old in 1933 when he collected his fish, making the physical effort required to gaff a fish almost untenable. This could justify why he felt content to fish from comfortable yachts and utilise a large and experienced crew. However, it has

¹⁹⁵ MED (26/03/1908)

been seen in previous case studies that Maurice was proud of his physical capabilities, and was stalking and climbing trees to acquire specimens as an octogenarian¹⁹⁶.

It is more likely that Maurice understood the unique situation of the pressures of time that necessitated a quick acquisition of a tunny while the craze remained topical. By 1933 with two seasons fishing having passed unsuccessfully he would have become increasingly desperate to acquire one at any cost. Danet and Katriel argue that the main reason that people continue their collections is that they are working towards a final point of closure¹⁹⁷. Belk and Wallendorf agree that completing a collection completes the individual¹⁹⁸. If a “systematic” reading is applied to the MEC then Maurice’s lack of a tunny fish meant that his collection could not be considered complete.

It is also possible that Maurice simply enjoyed the practice of collecting in this illegitimate, but self-satisfying, manner. Although Maurice promoted the dogmatic moral stance of the Shikar Club regarding the right and wrong way to shoot, there are other examples that suggest he relinquished self-control and indulged freely in his love of dispatching game. One benefit of participating in the network of Male Collectors was that he was invited to shoot on private land, which negated the need for expensive permits and enabled him to increase his collection without restraint. In Kenya in 1937 he wrote:

“Motored off to Chamberlain’s farm. Found the manager SS Stanway just coming out of the gate. Said I could shoot anything I liked”¹⁹⁹.

Any game on private land was considered to be the property of the owner, and so “fair” game. Hence, private land was protected and guarded jealously. Maurice was particularly quick to enforce ownership of his land and exclusive right to game there:

“After tea to View Point and found a Mr Bennett and his wife and car having tea there. Told them not to come again”²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁶ On a tiger hunt in India in 1955 Maurice climbed a tree to shoot a tiger, MED (17/02/1955)

¹⁹⁷ Danet and Katriel, ‘No Two Alike’, p230

¹⁹⁸ Belk and Wallendorf, ‘Of Mice and Men’, p240

¹⁹⁹ MED (19/06/1937)

²⁰⁰ MED (10/03/1934)

Collecting on private land also affected the methods Maurice used to acquire specimens as there was no public accountability for his actions. In 1925, Maurice indulged in a “drive” where the unhurried and laborious traditions of hunting on foot were abandoned in favour of a fast car:

“On a Reedbuck Drive, very hard to hit them running but splendid fun and the first time that I have ever done this sort of shooting. Blazed away through everything that started up so got through about 20 cartridges or more”²⁰¹.

From this drive, Maurice acquired specimen numbers 144-47, two reed bucks and two does, although none of the specimens were preserved for his collection. This may have been because Maurice did not want to memorialise this acquisition method, that the animals were not considered good enough due to hasty shots ruining skins, or that they were never needed at all for his collection but killed for sport. Rare in his collecting career, Maurice had killed four animals needlessly, and abandoned his self-restraint for hedonistic pleasure. Maurice was not the only collector to have circumvented proper practice to acquire specimens. MacKenzie described how Roosevelt used ungentlemanly methods to collect in BEA in 1912, including allowing wounded animals to escape and using excessive numbers of beaters to acquire buffalo²⁰².

The idea that Maurice was able to enforce his authority to collect objects that should have been unavailable to him has been visited in the case study of the meteorite. The practice of using his status to overcome barriers was also exercised to allow him to collect in regions where it was not considered safe or appropriate for White Travellers. When planning a safari in Kenya in 1934 Maurice wrote:

“Had tea and dinner with Norman the DC and got leave from him to go on, into the smallpox area at our own risk”²⁰³.

In 1932 Maurice was planning a trip to Yemen but was advised not to travel beyond the British protectorate at Aden²⁰⁴. Appreciating the danger, but keen to travel regardless, he wrote in his diary:

²⁰¹ MED (01/02/1925)

²⁰² MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, p163

²⁰³ MED (02/02/1934)

“Note: to suggest to Col Reilly that I may be allowed to hunt gazelle without going far inland in the hopes of getting several varieties, including the spotted one mentioned by Cranford. And to impress on Col Lake that I want an oryx very badly, and to invite both to Tatton next summer”²⁰⁵.

In both of these scenarios he was able to manipulate and influence the permissions of the District Commissioners. He used his position of superiority to appease his need to travel and collect, regardless of concerns for his own safety, and wielding the persuasive incentive of an invite to Tatton Park as a bargaining tool.

A further benefit to enforcing his position was the ability to acquire permits that were expensive, and therefore prohibitive to most hunters. The key purpose behind these expensive permits was to safeguard threatened species by making them unavailable for mass collection. In 1924, the cost of a permit that included an elephant was such that it was unattractive to hunters who would be unlikely to find a good enough specimen to justify the expense²⁰⁶. Permits therefore protected the moral standpoint of the Shikar Club by promoting both temperance and conservation. The consequence was that the permits were only available to an exclusive group of hunters that could afford them. Furthermore, a complex hierarchy of permits existed that enabled men of higher status to acquire more specimens. MacKenzie describes twelve different licences available in Kenya in 1937 that divided European hunters according to a hierarchy of privilege²⁰⁷.

Maurice was one of few men who could use his financial superiority to collect desirable objects that bolstered the status of his collection. However, as permits became increasingly constrictive, Maurice demonstrated that he was prepared to exploit his connections to increase the allowance of game available to him. In 1923 Maurice arrived in Zanzibar and encountered difficulty in acquiring a rifle license from the Treasurer who claimed that there were few Dik Dik left on the Island²⁰⁸. Despite having been made aware of the depleted population of the antelope, he remained

²⁰⁴ MED (11/11/1932)

²⁰⁵ Ibid

²⁰⁶ Blayney Percival wrote that it was “difficult to find a male with tusks of a size that offers any adequate return for the cost of the license”, (Blayney Percival, *A Game Rangers Notebook*, p195). This explains why Maurice did not purchase an elephant permit until after he had sighted a potential specimen to collect.

²⁰⁷ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, p209

²⁰⁸ MED (24/03/1932)

resolved to collect and asserted his position of authority to override the Treasurer's ruling²⁰⁹. Planning his Dongola safari in November 1927, Maurice paid a visit to the Assistant Civil Secretary in Khartoum regarding "getting more heads than the ordinary license allowed for"²¹⁰. In 1939 at the beginning of a safari in Somaliland, Maurice wrote:

"Went to fix up my game license. Wasn't able to get much concession for extra heads, so suggested taking out 2 licenses, which was agreed upon, since the govt. are apparently very poor and glad to get in as much revenue as possible. According to the game laws one can always shoot extra heads of certain animals for extra money; so that these extras on the top of 2 full licenses should give me all the heads that I could possibly want"²¹¹.

These insinuations of receiving more than his due suggest that Maurice was often able to negotiate extra allowances or a reduction in price on his permits, exploiting corrupt governances and disregarding his own moral responsibilities. Maurice was not the only hunter to imaginatively interpret the "rules". In 1935 he visited Major P Van der Byl who had hunted alongside Frederick Courtney Selous, Maurice's hero from his first visit to Africa in 1896²¹². He recounted that Van der Byl had:

"Applied for permission to shoot a Bontebuck, which is "Royal" game, and received an official document from the Prime Minister stating in very official language that it was quite impossible to grant this request. But below the Minister had written "But I shouldn't let this stop you, if I were you!"²¹³

Although such behaviour was against a moral code, it was obviously common to the elite who regarded themselves as above contrition. On a safari in BEA in 1907, Winston Churchill was "permitted to secure as many trophies as he pleased to symbolise his physical as well as political dominance of the imperial environment"²¹⁴. If status could not overcome the rules, then money often could. In 1932 Maurice recorded advice on a possible safari to Angola:

²⁰⁹ Ibid

²¹⁰ MED (21/11/1927)

²¹¹ MED (26/07/1939)

²¹² MED (21/07/1935)

²¹³ Ibid

²¹⁴ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, p162

“Drinks can be put into a petrol can; or one can give the customs officer 1 bottle of whiskey, as baksheesh, and will then not look at the rest. If permits are being held up, a bribe of 500 Angola dollars should be given”²¹⁵.

Maurice suggested that this may have been a common practice amongst Male Collectors who did not fear repercussions from the poorly enforced permit system and indulged freely in their pastime of Big Game hunting.

A further way that collectors could push for allowances beyond their due was to navigate loopholes in the permit system and collect on behalf of museums. In 1909 Theodore Roosevelt undertook his famous safari in Kenya and had any game regulations waived as he was collecting on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution and National Museums of New York²¹⁶. In 1935 in Cape Town, Maurice was able to collect during closed season by showing his museum permit²¹⁷. In 1936 in Somaliland, Maurice wrote:

“Although there is a close season from March 15-June 15 the governor, in view that I have come all this way and made all my arrangements has granted me permission to hunt during the close season on condition that all my specimens go to the museum”²¹⁸.

Specimens donated to museums had played second fiddle to building up his own collection, but the benefit of holding a museum permit was that it gave permission to shoot more animals than an ordinary civilian collector. Although Maurice had donated certain rare specimens, or those that were considered surplus, to museums throughout his early collecting career, by the 1930s he was sufficiently constrained by increasingly restrictive permits that he chose to seek official permission to represent a museum. Maurice’s permit from the Manchester Museum was dated March 1934 (figure 64)²¹⁹.

²¹⁵ MED (13/01/1932)

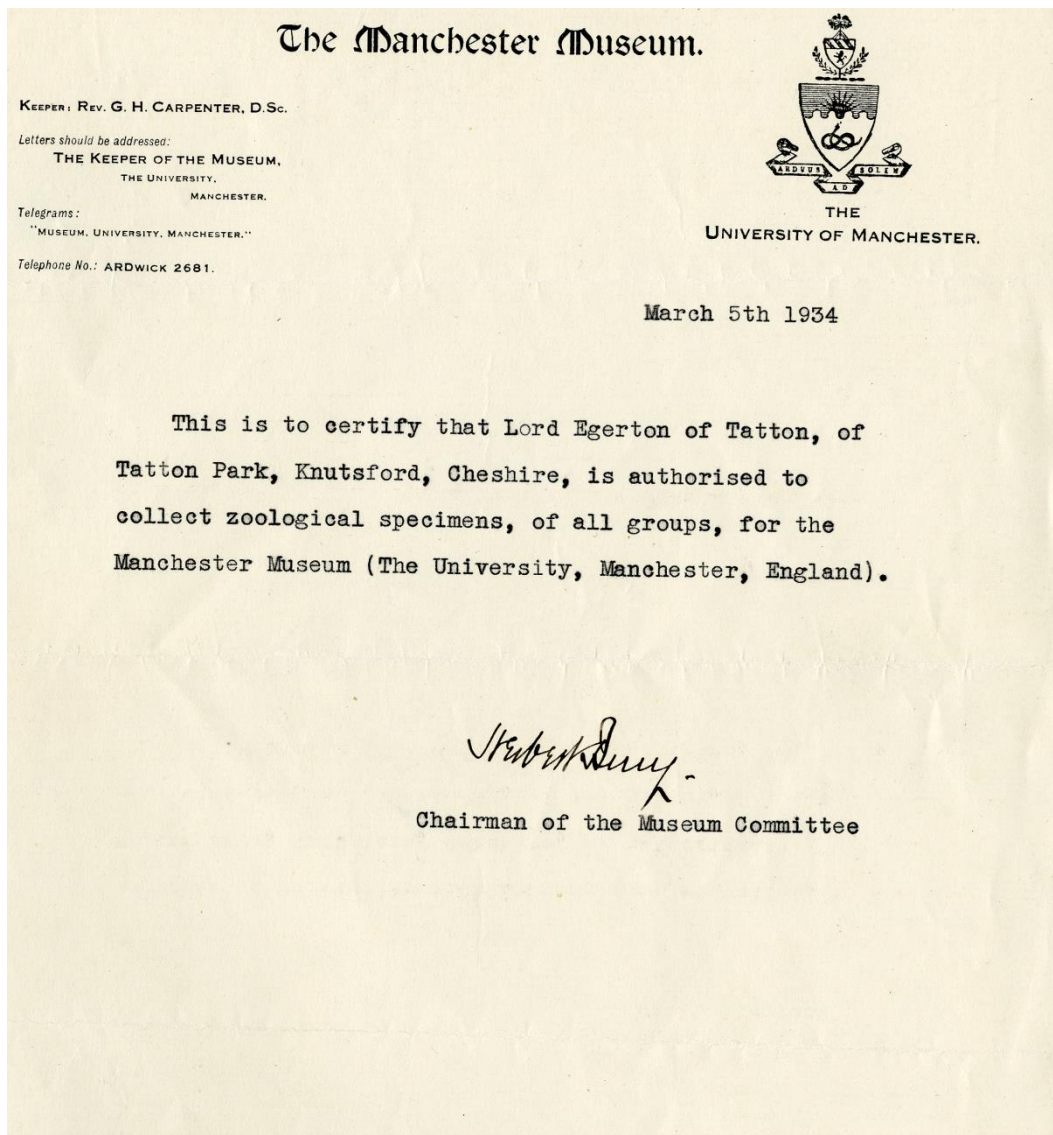
²¹⁶ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, p162

²¹⁷ MED (01/07/1935)

²¹⁸ MED (16/03/1936)

²¹⁹ *Permit from Manchester Museum*, (05/03/1934)

Figure 64: Maurice's permit to collect on behalf of Manchester Museum, 1934



By 1937 Maurice had donated a total of 46 specimens to Manchester Museum, which were killed in addition to animals for his own collection²²⁰. His convenient excuse of his museum authorisation to collect more widely appeared to be under threat in the mind 1930s as Manchester Museum began to run out of space to display his loans and donations. He wrote to the museum in March 1937:

"It does seem a pity that no further mammals of any size can now be accepted. I was in Liverpool Museum one day last Autumn. Quite a fine collection"²²¹.

²²⁰ *List of Specimens donated to Manchester Museum, (10/08/1937), LEF, CRO*

²²¹ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Manchester Museum, (27/03/1937), LEF, CRO*

His letter expressed his frustration that he could no longer donate. It also contained thinly veiled threat, indicating that the reputation of the museum would suffer without his patronage, and that he would be forced to associate with a rival institution.

Seeking a solution, Maurice proposed that the museum should take over the adjacent building belonging to the University Dental Hospital²²². He insisted that his motive was to see Manchester “rank to better advantage as compared with museums in some of the other larger cities”²²³, and offered a financial incentive of “£1,000 to re-fit the building”²²⁴. The Museum countered with a letter stressing that this plan would only be possible with a larger donation, and that Maurice might consider himself to be perfectly set up to act as patron. They wrote:

“The actual extension of the museum will not be started for some years unless meanwhile money is donated for this special purpose”²²⁵.

Maurice did not proceed further with this proposition, suggesting either that he could or would not commit substantial sums outside of his own collection or was not interested in leaving a tangible legacy through his museum donations. The expansion and reputation of his private collection remained his priority, while his museum donations were predominantly an expedient side-line that supplemented his sport.

Viewed in light of these examples of using his status and influence to navigate loopholes in official measures to protect game stock and an ethical tradition of collecting, Maurice’s short cuts in the collection of the tunny do not seem so out of character. The unique situation of the sport of tunny fishing, which rose so rapidly from obscurity to hysteria meant that rules did not come to be formally established until the third year that Maurice had attempted to collect. Eager to acquire a specimen quickly to fill a need in his collection, Maurice felt justified in his methods despite popular backlash against the empty splendour of aristocratic fishermen.

²²² *Letter from Norman Cowell, Lord Egerton’s estate, to Manchester Museum, (06/07/1937), LEF, CRO*

²²³ *Ibid*

²²⁴ *Ibid*

²²⁵ *Letter from Norman Cowell to Lord Egerton, (07/05/1937), LEF, CRO*

4.5 Summary

This chapter has delved deeper into the ethos and ethics of the Male Collectors which governed Maurice's behaviour. The collection of the objects used in the first two case studies demonstrates Maurice's efforts to adapt his collecting methods to follow the stringent guidelines of the Male Collectors. The acquisition of the leopard has highlighted the relevance of the rules of the Shikar Club, an exclusive masculine tradition of camaraderie, virility and accomplishment. These privileged men regulated collecting by setting standards of performance that advocated restraint, deference and decency. The virtuous, patient and correct methods of Shikar Club members resulted in the assemblage of specimens that reflected the pride and skill of the collector, enhancing his and his collections reputation.

The rules of the Club and the struggles to embody them by the Male Collectors are almost comparable with religious observance. Maurice's collection of his rhino laid out an example of his belief system under threat from the insubordination of servants whose roles were designed to prop up and grant legitimacy to his status. Managing his boys and meeting their expectations as a master, whilst also engaging sympathetically with their belief systems marked his success as a resilient and ethical Male Collector. Finally, the collection of the tunny fish suggests that no matter how deeply the rules of the Shikar Club were entrenched, they could be circumvented in circumstances that challenged his ethical integrity. Tunny fishing was a sport in its infancy that quickly escalated beyond reasoned control. Competition and excitement spurred Maurice's desperation to be amongst the first men to acquire such a valuable specimen. This influenced his collecting methods which did not meet with the approval of more principled fishermen at the time.

Chapter 5: Ordered Collecting

5.1 Introduction

This chapter develops the cultural biography through the study of a further three objects that explicate the rationale and identity of the collection. Having established the foundations of the collection and Maurice as a Male Collector in chapter three, and the ethical framework that defined their ideology in chapter four, chapter five now assesses the shared collecting characteristics of the group. The chosen objects symbolise the theme of order and examine Maurice's intent to collect in a methodical manner, which was often hampered by a need to abandon measured practice to achieve results. This chapter also explores how Maurice gained a reputation as a collector of irrational curiosities despite an effort to promote an image of himself and his collection as ordered and systematic.

The first case study suggests that Maurice's collecting was largely a structured and premeditated process supported by record keeping and extensive collecting paraphernalia. As Maurice's collection grew from its modest foundations, most objects were selected with careful deliberation and pursued with skill and conviction. His tendency to achieve order through the selection of material and the process of acquisition is synonymous with a "systematic" definition of object identity¹. Maurice's collection of the hunting dog took place on his longest safari which required precise preparations, knowledge and experience of safari outfitting as well as large funds to mobilise it. Keeping order of a safari was an outward sign of the self-control and mastery of the collector. Maurice's record keeping enabled him to master his collection and gave the impression to others that he was also a master of himself. This case study analyses Maurice's tendency to create lists to ensure the success of his safaris, and tracks his progression as a collector through their increasing level of detail and accuracy. The implications of the style and quantity of equipment and clothing needed for a safari are studied as vital accoutrements of the Male Collector. This safari therefore brings evidence to the economic element of Maurice's social

¹ Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p85

persona, arguing that collecting was an all-encompassing activity for the Male Collectors which blurred the boundaries between hobby and career. The economic design of the safari was a performance by the individual to create impact and present an obvious public conformity to this social group.

The second case study of a Mrs Gray antelope presents evidence that although Maurice wished to portray himself as an ordered collector, he often struggled to maintain order when faced with hurdles such as hostile lands and peoples, extreme physical conditions and his own innate urges and impulses. This study is an example of the dogmatic pursuit of objects in uncondusive circumstances. Maurice's collection of his Mrs Gray's antelope weaves a narrative of order in chaos. This study details some of the factors that inhibited Maurice's collecting abilities and the practices taken to overcome them. It uses Clarke's description of the importance of "material culture" in influencing the social rules governing Maurice's collecting process². Covering both internal and external threats to Maurice's attempts at keeping order, it concludes that Maurice's greatest enemy to the completion of his collection was his own body as he failed to perform to the high standards he envisaged for himself. As an aged Maurice continued to collect into the 1950s, his ordered belief system became discordant with an altered intellectual rationale following the decline of Empire and the relevance of the Imperial Male identity.

Objects given to Maurice as gifts represent the wide dissemination of Maurice's reputation and identity as a collector. As this reputation formed, his collection was able to grow through appropriate bequests and gifts. This case study uncovers how this was possible by highlighting his compliance to a series of cultural markers and behaviours associated with the Male Collectors. Whilst collecting specimens in ordered ways was vital to the construction of his reputation as a successful collector, the types of gifts given suggest that his collection was not always interpreted as a systematic collection as Maurice may have preferred, but as an abstract depository of curios.

This chapter concludes that Maurice's collection was augmented significantly through the imposition of an ordered structure of planning and executing his safaris. Although Maurice presented an outward appearance of order, it was not always

² Clarke, 'Culture as a System', p45

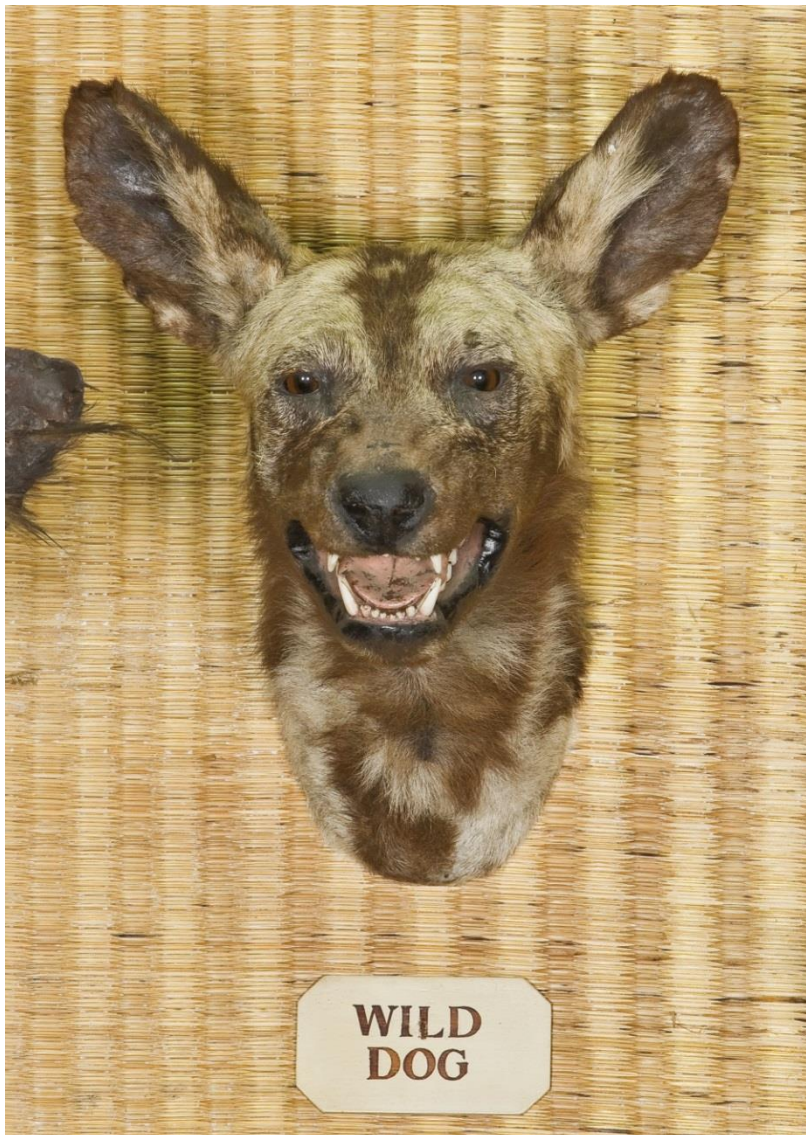
possible to resist collecting outside of this rigid structure. Nevertheless, he successfully constructed a reputation for himself as an ordered Male Collector in line with others in this social group. Maurice imposed order on his collection in tandem with a broader tradition of control exercised in British Imperial governance and exploration in the early twentieth century.

5.2 Hunting Dog: Becoming an Ordered Collector

Factfile:

- Object Title: Female Hunting dog (figure 65)
- Description: Mounted “trophy” head of a female hunting dog, a species also described as wild dog.
- Date Collected: December 19th 1928
- Location: Dongola Desert, Sudan

Figure 65: Hunting Dog



On December 19th 1928, Maurice collected specimen no 218, a female hunting dog. The collection of the hunting dog occurred during Maurice's longest safari, taking in the dessert of Dongola between December 1st 1928 and April 10th 1930³ with intermittent rest stops in Sudan. The unusual length of this safari suggests that Maurice was able to prioritise collecting above other competing interests, both business and personal, at home and abroad.

The key to Maurice's success was the careful planning and arranging of the safari to ensure that as far as possible nothing was left to chance. Early safaris had set a precedent for large outfits to ensure a high degree of comfort and support in relatively unknown territory. For example, the elephant hunter Arthur Neumann set out on safari from Zululand in 1893 with fifty porters and twenty donkeys⁴. Frederick Selous and three companions made a safari in 1879 using 150 oxen to pull baggage waggons and ten riding horses⁵.

Organising a safari in the early twentieth century remained a massive undertaking involving days of preparation and the gathering of equipment and servants to transport it. Dorothy Powys Cobb recalled some of this preparation in her memoirs of her childhood in Kenya:

“Setting off on a safari was quite an organisation. So many porters were collected and each load weighed about 60lbs. quite a number of donkeys were used to carry tents, food, cooking pots, bedding and camp furniture which included camp beds, folding camp chairs, canvas tables, folding tripods with canvas wash basins, canvas buckets for carrying water for horses and washing”⁶.

Elsbeth Huxley described the wonder of watching a safari set off:

“The porters were marching smartly with their morning strength and chanting a vigorous song. Their loads were of all shapes and sizes: long tent poles which, though jointed, poked out at such a distance fore and aft that to manoeuvre them through bush must have presented appalling difficulty: a tin

³ MED (01/12/1929- 10/04/1930)

⁴ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, p152

⁵ Selous, *African Nature Notes*, p313

⁶ *Reminiscences of Dorothy Powys Cobb*

bath full of lanterns; folding-chairs and tables; rolls of bedding; chop-boxes of food; everything you could think of. It was a miniature army on the march, guarded by three or four askaris looking fierce and superior with nothing to carry but their rifles and water-bottles”⁷.

Finally, the Male Collector Weston Jarvis who had been a member of Maurice’s Matabele party in 1896 described his safari contingent in Rhodesia in 1910:

“Our outfit included shooting ponies, a buck wagon and span of oxen to carry our bedding, cooking utensils, ammunition etc., my excellent servant to valet and cook for us, and a few natives”⁸.

All of these accounts indicate that the safari remained large and cumbersome and as much for public show as practical support. Adopting the correct safari equipment was as essential to reflect the experience and prestige of the hunter as it was to enable hunting to take place.

Maurice’s safari planning was manifested in list making and the organisation of thought on paper. These insightful sources can be translated to reveal the extent of his preparation behind each collecting trip. His plans to travel to particular regions with the design to collect suggest that the MEC was primarily structured as a “systematic” collection, representing an intellectual rationale and the ordered mind of the collector⁹. From his detailed lists that accompanied each travel diary, the extensive scale of his safari administration can be revealed. For example, on a week-long safari in Kenya in 1949, Maurice recorded that the baggage weighed an impressive 1300lbs¹⁰. His list making was all-encompassing, covering the contents of his jacket:

“Field glasses, reading glasses, AN Cine glasses, Iodine, potash perming, lancet, spare loose linen tape, hanky, Stephens cap, chocolate in pouch,

⁷ Huxley, Elspeth (1962) *The Flame Trees of Thika: Memories of an African Childhood*, Penguin Putnam Inc., p181

⁸ Weston Jarvis, *Jottings from an Active Life*, p231

⁹ Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p85

¹⁰ MED (09/03/1949)

measurements book, spare pencil, string or cord, carborundum stone, bromo"¹¹.

And also including his rifle case:

"Young's cleaning fluid, Young's water mixture, cleaning rod with loop solid and screwed at end, bronze brush for oil and water, steel and bristle and brass brushes, telescope sight screwdriver, 6" screwdriver, foresight screwdriver, wide-jaws pliers, flannelette patches, cleaning cloth, pocket pull through, telescope sight in cow hide case, rifle with leather sight cap on it, rifle sling, spare striker and spring or bolt-complete. Magazine spring, extractor, spare sight cap"¹².

These lists included brand names to distinguish his use of specific, high quality and respected goods from generic products. They suggest that as well as being an essential tool to order to his safaris, Maurice's lists and record keeping allowed him to regulate his own behaviour in line with stringent guidelines imposed by other Male Collectors. Powell Cotton was another Male Collector who organised his safaris with meticulous detail. In common with Maurice, he kept travel diaries, inventoried his acquisitions and photographed the landscape¹³. Demonstrating his command of his safari through recording the correct selection and quantities of equipment provided tangible evidence of Maurice's alignment with the ordered and economically advantaged Male Collector network.

The organisation of a thorough and well-executed safari was crucial to the positive construction of Maurice's reputation as a collector. Mastering the microcosm of safari management suggested that the collector was capable of operating as a figure of power in the wider Imperial sphere. Mangan and McKenzie describe how "competent big-game hunters had acquired skills crucial for Imperial responsibility"¹⁴. The difficulty of managing the various elements of safari were described by the collector William Louis Abbott in 1888:

¹¹ MED (17/05/1937)

¹² MED (23/02/1939)

¹³ Coutu, 'The Elephant in the Room', p492

¹⁴ Mangan and McKenzie, 'Imperial Masculinity', p1230

“If anyone thinks travelling in Africa is easy, he is very much mistaken. I have to turn out around 4.15, wake all hands, keep an eye on men while marching. Stir up cooks and stewards so that I can get something to eat. Treat the sick and foot sore... write journal, arrange presents with chiefs, are some few duties”¹⁵.

Bringing together the necessary equipment for a safari and keeping control of its tumultuous components was a skill carefully honed and recognised as an exclusive trait of the Male Collectors. Maurice reserved severe criticism for those unable to meet these exacting standards and ostracised them from his good opinion. For example, on safari in Sudan in 1924, Maurice commented that he was glad to leave his friend Copeman’s untidy camp¹⁶.

Maurice’s need to keep order of himself and his collection through rigid behaviour and thorough documentation can be attributed to Pearce’s stereotype of male collecting as “a distinct, and important, even self-important, activity” involving “set times and settled practices”¹⁷. These organised traits of white European male collectors are also synonymous with organised “systematic” collections with efficient, complete and educated rationales¹⁸. Maurice appeared to adapt organically to this systematic mind-set which enabled him to exploit his talents for self-restraint and frugal living. McKenzie described how respect amongst elite hunters was generated not just through class consciousness, but through:

“An admiration for physically competent men, who combined a rational understanding of wildlife and the environment with marksmanship and emotional self-control”¹⁹.

He described the “Spartan values” of another Male Collector, Sir Claude de Crespigny, who opposed the effeminate “feather-bed aristocrats” who declined military duty and “sporting pleasures”²⁰. Maurice was able to align his temperament with that of other Male Collectors through tangible practice, which facilitated his

¹⁵ Taylor, Paul Michael (2015) ‘William Louis Abbott in Madagascar: Revisiting Archival and Museum Resources of a Smithsonian Naturalist from the 1890s’, *Museum Anthropology* 38 Vol. 1, p31

¹⁶ MED (23/04/1924)

¹⁷ Pearce, *On Collecting*, p214

¹⁸ Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p85

¹⁹ McKenzie, ‘The British Big Game Hunting Tradition’, p81

²⁰ *Ibid*, p71

acceptance as part of the exclusive group. Maurice's nephew Lord Albemarle listed Maurice's main attributes that fit this ordered ideal:

“His attention to punctuality, his determination to have things done exactly as laid down by him, his hatred of noise or ill-behaviour, or things not being in their proper places”²¹.

These traits are evident in Maurice's lists and diary entries, which indicate that he became a successful collector by enforcing rigid routines. He described his typical day in 1926:

“My alarm clock goes off at 5am, my boy immediately brings some hot water, and a few minutes afterwards breakfast of 2 fried eggs, if in stock, otherwise fried meat, tea, marmalade and scones. Then out a-hunting at 6am or a little earlier, home anytime between 11 and 2pm, a lunch of meat stew, prunes, or dried apples and coffee. A light tea, and supper at 6pm, a stew or a roast, apples or prunes, or cornflour pudding and cocoa and to bed at 7pm or a little before. Not forgetting a sundowner of sherry out of a miniature nickel tumbler, before supper”²².

Several years later in 1930, Maurice did not deviate far from this successful model, but elaborated his record keeping to include further detail of his daily schedule:

“My usual day is as follows’: Kisaiga's alarm clock I set for 3am. At 4.30 am he brings me my tea and a few minutes later 3 local eggs poached, if they are available, at a price of 2 ¼ per 6 or else just bread and jam. Then at 5am I and Msabaa and 3 or 4 local boys start out either on foot, or occasionally per motorcar. We get back to camp most often between 10 and 12, very seldom earlier, and occasionally much later. The moment I get in I have a pot of tea and a half hour or hour afterwards I have breakfast, even if getting in in the afternoon. More tea, porridge with generally local milk, meat or eggs and dried fruit. Then a combined bath and shave, a writing up of diary, clean gun, perhaps a little read on my bed; at 4pm tea or cocoa with bread or biscuits and jam. Then about 4.30 a walk round, in a double terai this time; home at

²¹ Albemarle, *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Maurice*, p2

²² MED (09/04/1926)

dusk, or perhaps a good deal later if with a head, a swill down in the canvas bath. Supper. Soup, meat, pudding or dried fruit, preceded by a Sundowner of one small nickel mug of French vermouth, topped up with a dash of lime-juice and put into a nickel tumbler and filled up to the brim with boiled water out of my “gulla” or earthenware water jug”²³.

These two accounts indicate a development in Maurice’s style of record keeping, which became more detailed as his collecting career progressed. Analysing the subject matter of the sources also reveals a progression. In 1920 Maurice scribbled a list of supplies for his first planned safari when reaching BEA (figure 66). The list has been amended and corrected, and later appears to have been crossed through to disregard. In February 1923 Maurice prepared for a safari to the Menengai Crater in Kenya, and wrote lists of the equipment, food and supplies he would need (figure 67). This second list, still planned relatively early in Maurice’s collecting career, indicates that Maurice detailed supplies in a more confident manner from his inexperienced list of 1920. In comparison, lists made on later safaris became more precise and his human and physical resources substantially augmented, demonstrating Maurice’s evolution into a practiced and expert collector.

²³ MED (05/03/1930)

Figure 66: Maurice's safari list 1920

B.E.A. 1920
Camp outfit.

Maurice's list

1 Tent	✓	Hazeline.
1 Camp Bed in Canvas Sack 6'6"	✓	10' 1" Medicated Tape.
1 Canvas Sheet 7' Square	✓	5 gr Quinine Tablets.
Paper-mache Basin & Cover	✓	Bandages.
Rhooakhee Chair	✓	Clinical Thermometer.
Table	X	
Canvas Bath.	X	
Wolseley Valise.	✓	
2 Mattres. 6'4"	✓	
Blankets	✓	
1/2 Kapik Quilt.	✓	
1 Fur Robe.	X	
2 Pillow.	✓	
1 Bath Towel	✓	
1 Face Towel	✓	
Light Green Toilet Holdall.	✓	
Looking Glass.	✓	
Scapbox.	✓	
Brush.	✓	
Shaving Soap 2 Sticks	✓	
Grille Antibial Payer, Blades, & Strip. Shaving.	✓	
1 Sponge on rulle Square.	✓	
3 Tubes Kodynos.	✓	
pr. Hairbrushes.	✓	
Comb.	✓	
1 Toothbrush	✓	
1 Buttonhook.	✓	
1 pr Scissors.	✓	
1 Cloth Brush.	✓	

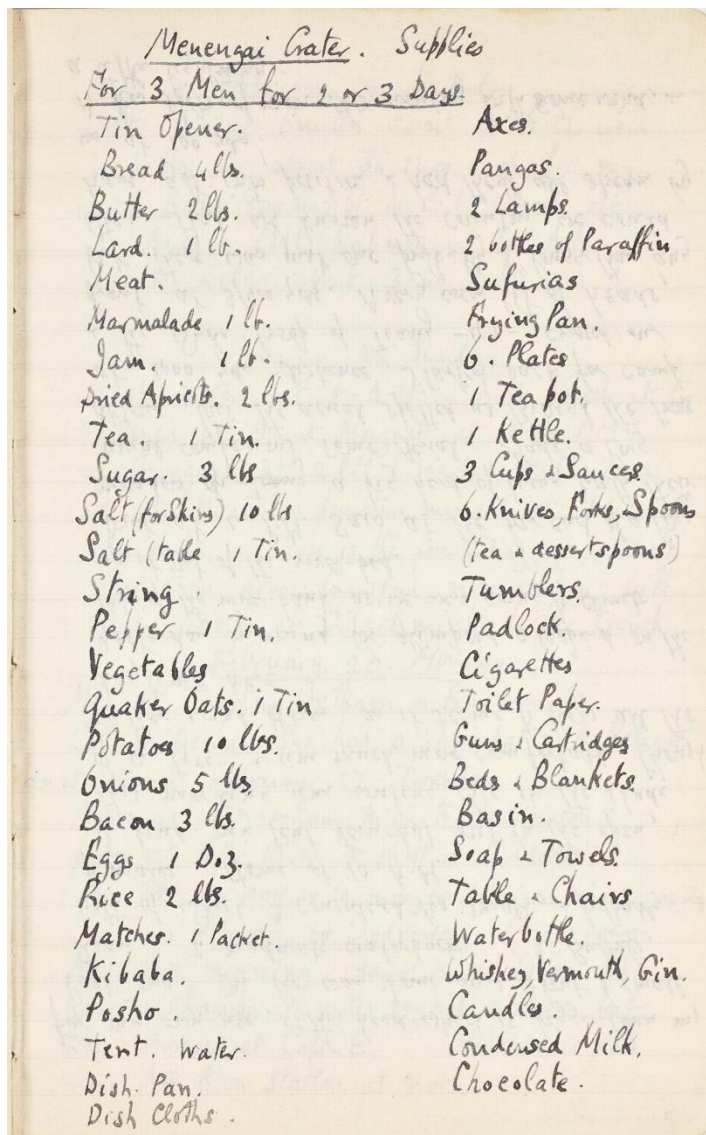
Mastle Matchbox. Sheds. Lids. Triclops.

Large White Umbrella

Aluminium Collapsible Drinking Cup.

M

Figure 67: List of supplies taken on safari in February 1923



The planning of Maurice's Dongola safari was spectacularly thorough due to the ground-breaking and momentous occasion of the trip. The only other man to have explored this region of Dongola as thoroughly was an African Prince called Youssef who had travelled by car in 1923²⁴. At this time, the Dongola desert was a dangerous place associated with bandits, meaning that few collectors felt capable of navigating it safely, and skilled planning was essential for safe passage²⁵.

²⁴ MED (03/12/1928)

²⁵ Due to only one previous safari in this region on record, it was necessary for Maurice to employ servants who had experience of the region. Maurice's servants were often afraid, and came up with a plan to identify strangers. They called Maurice "Your Excellency, Count" and urged Maurice to shoot on sight anyone who failed to address him with this title. MED (07/01/1929)

Maurice's diaries recorded painstaking details about the numbers, wages and positions of servants, equipment packed, weight of luggage, and modes of travel on the Dongola safari. This was Maurice's first experience using camels and 32 were hired to support the safari:²⁶

"My first experience of camel riding, and after the first few minutes feel right at home, as my camel is nice and smooth, especially at the 5mph trot"²⁷.

This provides another example of Maurice stressing his natural aptitude for safari life. Maurice measured the average speed of the rest of his Hammla at 2 ½ miles per hour as well as the mileage covered each day²⁸. Figures 68 and 69 show how Maurice recorded this detail through his list of his servants or "boys" and camels hired to accompany the safari, as well as his list of supplies which gives exact quantities of essentials amended for different proposed time periods.

²⁶ MED (01/12/1928) Two riding camels were for Maurice's personal use, three were riding camels for his main boys, six camels carried Maurice's personal baggage and food, 13 camels carried water and a further eight carried grain.

²⁷ MED (02/12/1928)

²⁸ MED (01/12/1928)

Figure 68: List of supplies taken on safari in Dongola 1930

November 28 Friday Thursday
 Arrived Karcima in the afternoon, & had tea & dinner with Mr E. Perry, the Traffic Manager or Port Captain, & slept on the Steamer Victoria, which does not leave until 10 A.M. tomorrow.

December 1. Saturday
 The boat arrived at Debba about 4 P.M. after a slow but not unpleasant voyage, as I was the only 1st or 2nd class passenger, so had two decks all to myself.
 Found E. G. Coryton & his wife on the government boat & everything fixed up for my trip.
 My Hammala is as follows: -

Head Khabir (Shekani):	Ali Muhammed Isa	Tip say £2
1 st " "	Musa Ali Isa	" " "
Head Hammala Man	Muhammed Ali Isa	" " 1
2 nd " "	El Tom Saleh	" " 1

The Head Khabir is the head of the Hammala.
 Each of the Khabirs get £4 per Month pay.
 The Camel Men are paid through their Camels.

- 2 Riding Camels for E of T. : P.T. 15 per Day.
 Saddles for these are possibly an extra.
- 3 Riding Camels for my 3 Boys. P.T. 12 per Day
- Ordinary Camels 2 P.T. 10 per Day
- 6 Baggage Camels (my baggage & my food). 13 Water Camel
- 8 Grain Camels,

Figure 69: List of supplies taken on safari in Dongola 1930

DOUBLE THIS FOR 6 WEEKS, BUT TREBLE :-
 MARMALADE - JAM - BISCUITS - VERMOUTH - LIME JUICE
 COCOA - DRIED FRUIT - TEA - SALT

SUPPLIES FOR 1 MAN FOR 2 WEEKS

	1 Mont	1 Mont
Flour	6 lbs	9
Sugar	3	5
Tea	1	2
Milk (Dried)	1	2
Rice	2	4
Marmalade	1	2
Jam	2	4
Salt for say 2 lbs per		
Skins. head of game		
Sulphur		
Butter	2	3
Lard or Butter	2	3
Baking Powder	1 Small Tin	2
Pepper	1	1
Potatoes	7	10
Sardines	3 Tins	5
Bacon	3 1/4 lb	5
Biscuits	1 Tin	2
Whiskey	1 Bottle	1
Vermouth	2	4
Lime Juice	1	2
Salt	1/2 lb.	1
Posho		
Matches	1 Packet	2
Tin Opener		
Fresh Vegetables		
Meat		
Milk		
Eggs	24	
Dish Cloth	4 yds	
Bread - Dried Yeast	1 Tin	
String		
Pangas	2	
Onions	3	5
Cheese	1 lb.	1
Cocoa	1/2 lb.	1
Dried Fruit	5 lbs	8
Corn flour	1 Tin	2
Axe	1	
Instant Postum		
Soup Tablets		
Dehydrated Vegetables		
Tinned Kippers	2 lbs	4
Meats	6	8

Aside from supplies, another vital subject matter of Maurice's lists was clothing. A visual statement of belonging to the Male Collector group, wearing the "right" clothing was essential for respect as well as functionality. When he first arrived in Kenya in 1921, Maurice was a novice in acquiring the equipment and clothing he would need to align himself with his contemporaries. Not yet complying to the image of a Male Collector, he recorded that he wore a simple "Khaki coat, medium suit waistcoat, thin shirt, moleskin trousers"²⁹. By 1926 his standard clothing had evolved to include a terai hat, which would become his signature headgear, and a spine pad (figure 70)³⁰. The spine pad was devised and worn by White settlers in Africa to remedy a

²⁹ MED (24/07/1921)

³⁰ MED (24/06/1926)

misguided notion that the intense sun could damage the spine³¹. In reality, it was impractical and burdensome, adding an unnecessary layer to the Male Collector costume.

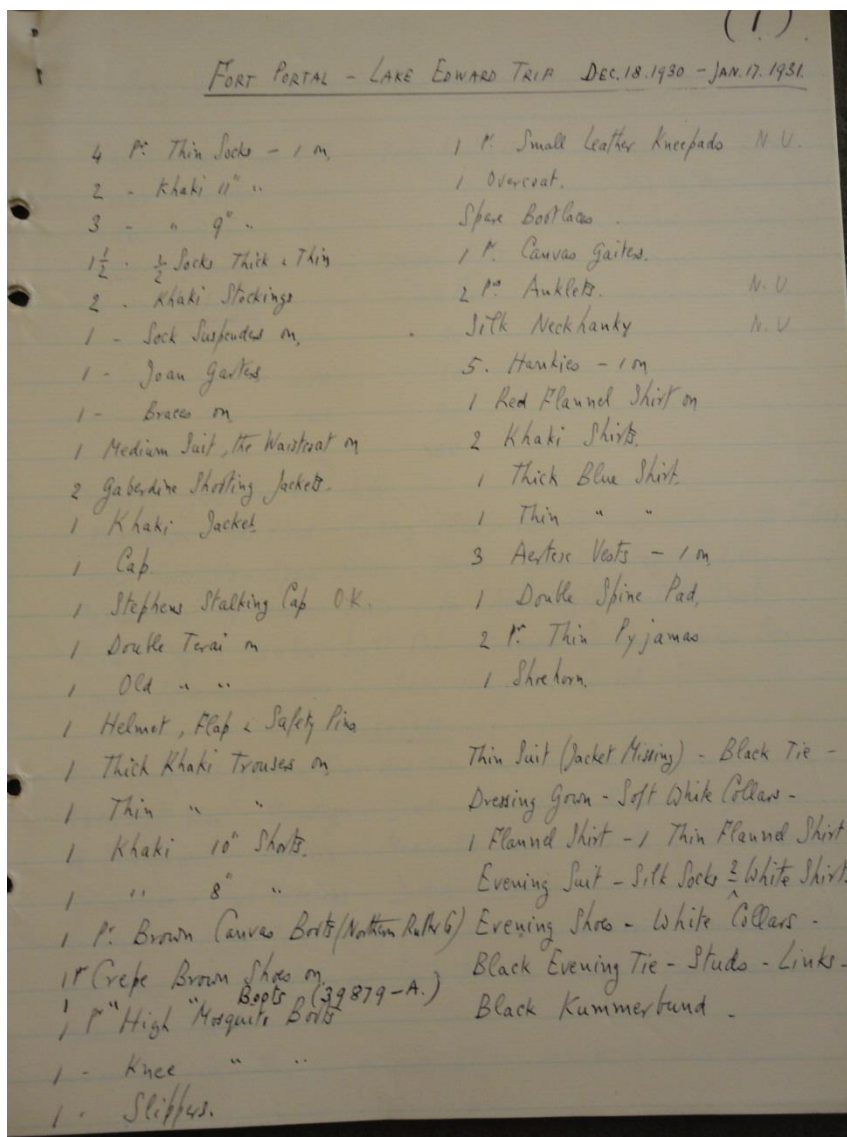
Figure 70: Spine pad



A packing list written by Maurice for a month long safari between December 1930 and January 1931 demonstrates the range and expanse of clothing carried (figure 71). The specific detail in these lists suggests that Maurice was intensely selective of his clothing, such as including socks of varying thickness and lengths for different purposes. The double terai hat and spine pad remained essential parts of his safari wardrobe.

³¹ The Imperial War Museum describe the use of a spine pad in their collection: “the pad was worn to protect the wearer's back from intense heat that was thought to cause heat-stroke”. *Imperial War Museum Online Catalogue* at: <http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30015898>

Figure 71: Maurice's wardrobe list for Fort Portal trip



The inclusion of evening dress alongside hardy, practical garments demonstrates that Maurice continued to dress for dinner in a manner suitable to his rank despite being alone, unobserved and far from civilisation. Alone save for his native servants on a safari to Somaliland in 1939, Maurice documented his cases including one dedicated exclusively to evening wear:

"My personal baggage requires:

A: steel trunk 30x14 1/4 x12" high.

B: ditto 24 1/2 x15x10

C: suitcase solely for evening clothes

D: 2 green canvas sacks 28x46 high.

E: dressing case”³².

This was a phenomenon that baffled Roald Dahl in his description of the “Empire Builders” he encountered in Tanganyika in the 1930s, and was clearly an important ritual to preserve rank:

“The male species of the Empire-builder, whether he is camping in the jungle or is at sea in a rowing boat, *a/ways* dresses for dinner, and by that I mean white shirt, black tie, dinner-jacket, black trousers and black patent-leather shoes, the full regalia, and to hell with the climate”³³.

Once Maurice had adopted the correct clothing of the Male Collector, he continued to wear it across several decades and in differing terrain. On a safari to the Belgian Congo in 1953 when Maurice was 79 years old he wrote that he was wearing:

“The usual gabardine jacket and Stephens trousers. Thick khaki socks, Nakuru Bata-type low boots and Rubbey Omniped foot pads, aertex 40” shirt, helmet with hunting cine-glasses. Ross x7 glasses. .375 H&H rifle”³⁴.

Although outdated, cumbersome and representative of a tradition of masculinity now in its decline, Maurice continued to wear these items that had become vital visual markers to the Male Collector identity. As well as purporting to be practical, the garments involved a degree of ceremony and outward show that marked continuity with past roles of importance and responsibility.

As it has been argued in chapter three, Maurice relied upon the advice of others and established customs to fit in, but later came to assert his confidence as a collector when he considered himself to fully embody the Male Collector ideal. Maurice’s lists are further evidence of this as they demonstrate that he was able to adapt traditional items to better suit his purpose and aid his collecting. For example, on safari in Zimbabwe in 1923 Maurice recorded:

“Clothes on: khaki shirt, Nairobi Gabardine jacket, shorts, thin Hammond puttees over stockings, boots and Philips soles. With so much grass, stockings get too full of grass seeds and the puttees collect quite a few.

³² MED (24/03/1939)

³³ Dahl, *Going Solo*, p21

³⁴ MED (09/03/1953)

Phillips soles are not really quiet enough in this stony country. One should have all-rubber soles”³⁵.

This suggests that he improved his performance through list making as it provided a tangible record of his successes and areas of deficiency. It was especially important for Maurice to learn, develop and grow as a collector in order to amass a successful and well respected collection. He used his diaries as a candid record of progress and errors. As such, their content varies from self-congratulatory to retrospective and admonishing. For example, in August 1921 Maurice killed a kongoni³⁶, but was almost immediately distracted by the greater proposition of leopards.³⁷ When he returned to the kongoni he wrote:

“Back across the plain, finding that the vultures had eaten up all my kongoni, we stupidly having neither covered it up nor left a man with it. A good lesson!”³⁸

Recording this self-advice served as a permanent record of his mistake, from which he could hope to learn from in future. An example of this advice being adopted on a later occasion can be seen after the shooting of his family of leopards in 1921, when Maurice later learned he should have taken the floating, or lucky, bones from the kills, in keeping with common Male Collector practice. When Maurice killed his lions in 1924, he recorded that this time he remembered to harvest them³⁹.

Further records for improving his performance logged the amount of bullets expended on safari, averaged out per head acquired. After his safari to the Athi Plains in Kenya in 1923, Maurice recorded that he used 22 shots on 6 heads, which averaged as 2.66 shots per head⁴⁰. Recording this information served several purposes for Maurice: it presented an apparent concern about developing the sport of hunting by providing accurate information on the types and amounts of ammunition needed, it provided a personal reference to attempt to better his performance next time, and it proved a concern to be cost efficient. Specifically

³⁵ MED (19/04/1923)

³⁶ An antelope species

³⁷ MED (23/08/1921)

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ MED (05/01/1924)

⁴⁰ MED (06/03/1923)

recording details about his armaments may also have served to boast of his skill in field-craft, where he owned the correct set of weapons in common with other Male Collectors, and could select the most appropriate to collect a specimen neatly and demonstrate his expertise. McKenzie described how hunting hierarchies were formed based on the “type and calibre of weapons used”, where collectors could be criticised for easy sport if their weapon included time saving features or was too advanced, taking away from the skill of the hunter⁴¹. In 1951 Maurice’s firearm certificate from the Cheshire Constabulary recorded 38 guns in Maurice’s possession⁴². This was an impressive selection of firearms, suggesting that the selection of weapon was a vital part of the collecting process.

Maurice’s diaries and Big Game book where he recorded measurements of each of his acquisitions were also part of the essential equipment taken on safari, and replaced his western goods as valuable commodities⁴³. On safari in 1930, Maurice seemed surprised when his boy produced two five pound notes from Maurice’s belongings. He wrote:

“Unfortunately I haven’t handled my money for about 2 months, and the end corner that he pulled them out of is one that I keep my diary and the big game books that I look at almost every day”⁴⁴.

This indicates that Maurice became completely engrossed in the alternative lifestyle of his safaris, which required the prioritisation of a separate set of equipment to Western life. Money was no longer an everyday concern, whereas his game books were heavily consulted. The Big Game book was custom made for game hunters, and included sections to record the information necessary to document a kill, the correct Latin name for the specimen, as well as essential measurements. Maurice’s entry for the hunting dog includes the date of acquisition, a letter “T” to indicate the specimen was deposited at Tatton Park, the number given to the specimen, its common name, sex, Latin name and location of acquisition (figure 72)⁴⁵. The book included pages of “heads wanted”, suggesting that Maurice had a clear rationale for

⁴¹ McKenzie, ‘The British Big Game Hunting Tradition’, p77

⁴² *Firearm Certificate* (08/06/1951), LEF, CRO

⁴³ The *Big Game Book* is mentioned as part of his collection in Maurice’s Will, p5

⁴⁴ MED (26/03/1930)

⁴⁵ *Big Game Book*

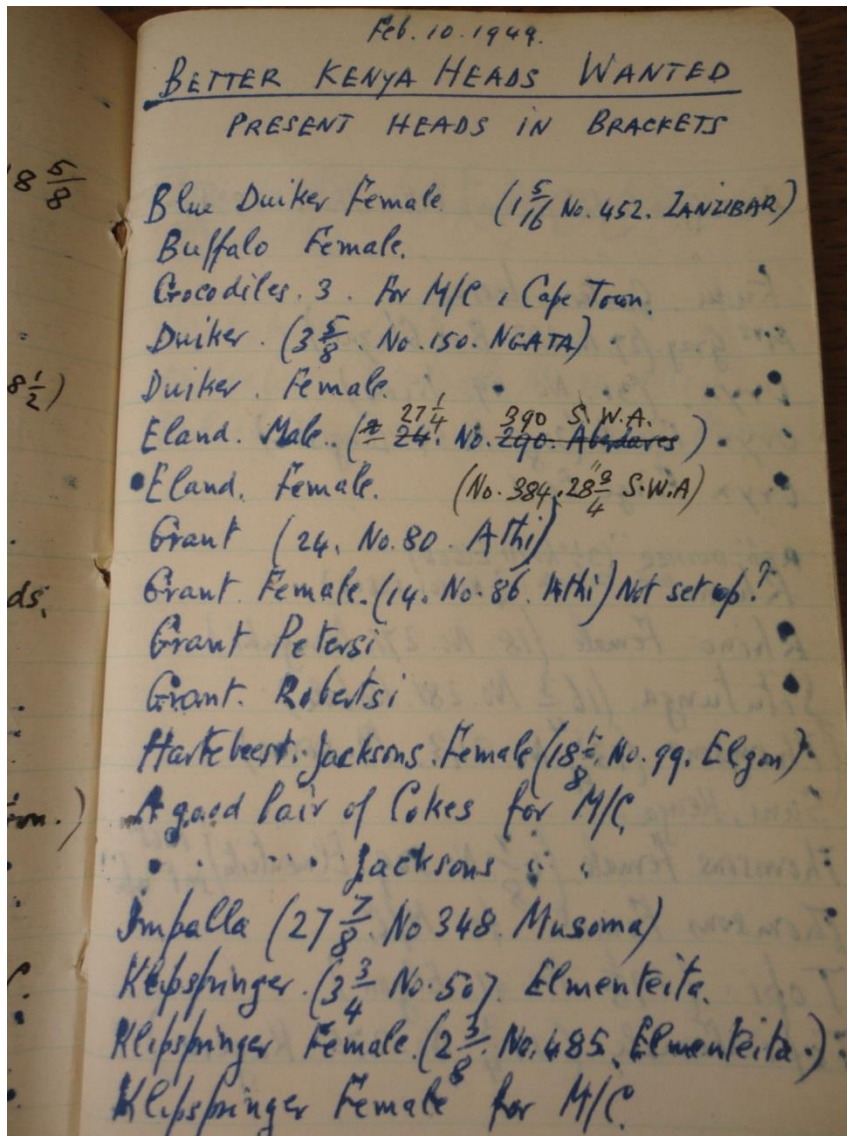
his collection, and a sense of what was needed for it to feel complete, again synonymous with “systematic” collections⁴⁶ (figure 73).

Figure 72: Page from Maurice’s Big Game Book showing entry for the Hunting Dog, no 218

Date	No.	English Name	Sex	Latin Name	Locality	Length	Circumference	T to Tip	Height	
June 29, 1926	177	Kirk's Lk. Dog	Male	<i>Rhynchotragus kirkii covendishii</i>	Irvingia	3	3	18 ³ / ₈	14 ¹ / ₂	The Madras ...
Nov. 5	T 180	Canis ...	Male	<i>Canis canis</i>	E. Ceylon					
5	181	"	Male	<i>Canis canis</i>	E. Ceylon					M.R. ...
5	182	"	Female	<i>Canis canis</i>	E. Ceylon					T.H. ...
6	T 183	Spotted Hartebeest?	Male		E. Ceylon	18 ³ / ₈	18			
Feb. 21, 1927	T 187	Antel	Male	<i>Gazella zeyheriana</i>	Dinder	14 ³ / ₈	14 ³ / ₈			
Mar. 1	MJC 189/30	Tiang	Male	<i>Dama tiscus</i>	Dinder	21 ³ / ₈	21 ³ / ₈ (RW)			
Mar. 2	191 /sc	Leopard	Male	<i>Felis pardus</i>						
9. 1926	201	Red Duck	Female	<i>Cephalophus natalensis</i>	Elgon	13 ³ / ₈	13 ³ / ₈			
July 18	213	Roebuck	Male	<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>	Andoverkie	7 ¹ / ₄	7 ¹ / ₂			
19	T 214	Fox	Female	<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>	Andoverkie					
19	T 215	Roebuck	Male	<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>	Andoverkie	8 ³ / ₈	8 ³ / ₈			
Sept. 1	P. 2 216	Red Deer	Male	<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	Taita Park	34 ³ / ₈	34 ³ / ₈			
Dec. 7	216 A	Dorcas Gazelle	Female	<i>Gazella dorcas</i>						
19	T 218	Wild Dog	Female	<i>Lycan x pictus</i>	Dongola					
20	T 219	Dorcas	Female	<i>Gazella dorcas</i>	Dongola	6 ³ / ₈	7			
25	T 220	Canis Fox	Male	<i>Vulpes pallidus</i>	Dongola					
26	T 221	fox	Male		Dongola	36	39 ¹ / ₄			
Jan. 1 1929	T 222	Addax	Male	<i>Addax nasomaculatus</i>	Dongola	30 ¹ / ₂	30			
6	223	Addax	Male	<i>Addax nasomaculatus</i>	Dongola	30	30 ¹ / ₂			
14	224	Dorcas	Male	<i>Gazella dorcas</i>	Dongola	10	9 ³ / ₈			
19	MJC 225	Addax	Female	<i>Gazella dama</i>	Dongola	7 ⁵ / ₈	7 ³ / ₈			
24	T 226	Burrowing Shep	Male	<i>Amotragus lewis blainei</i>	Dongola	22	23 ¹ / ₂			
27	T 227	Addax	Female	<i>Addax nasomaculatus</i>	Dongola	27 ⁵ / ₈	28			
31	T 228	Wild Dog	Female		Dongola	15 ¹ / ₂	37 ⁵ / ₈			

⁴⁶ Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p85

Figure 73: Page of wanted notes from African Heads Game Book



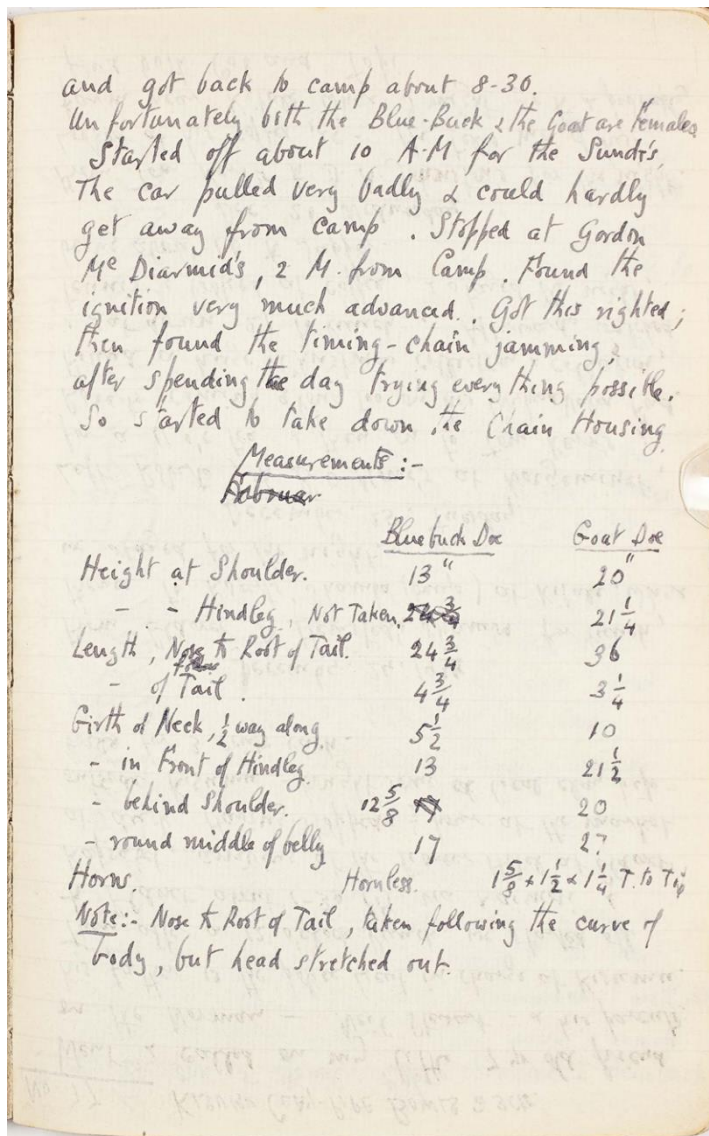
The Big Game books were completed by Maurice shortly after acquisition from notes Maurice had made in his diaries in the field (figure 74). The accuracy of these records was essential to be considered for public record books of Big Game hunting, but they also provided an exact framework for the taxidermist to refer to when mounting the specimen. Maurice's taxidermist, Rowland Ward, "urged hunters and collectors to record details of their specimens while they were still fresh in the field"⁴⁷. This made the finished product particularly accurate and life like. Where specimens were damaged in preparation or storage, it was essential that another be acquired to make sure than an adequate mount could be made by the taxidermist. For example,

⁴⁷ Morris, Rowland Ward, p41

object no 121, a male ariel, was collected six days after no object 117, another male ariel, whose headskin was damaged and was subsequently thrown away⁴⁸.

Organisation and attention to detail in the preparation of specimens was crucial to ensure that the “huge cost of a safari, and the subsequent taxidermy” were not compromised through inefficient practice⁴⁹.

Figure 74: A page from Maurice’s diary noting measurement



The excessive administration behind Maurice’s safaris can be seen to be a product of the ethical framework advocated by Male Collectors, which has been discussed in chapter four. A crucial aspect to this was the educated judgement and accomplished

⁴⁸ MED (15/04/1924) and (21/04/1924)

⁴⁹ Morris, Rowland Ward, p87

dispatch of animals and the paradoxical belief that true pleasure in hunting was derived through a respect for nature and conservation. Theodore Roosevelt expressed anger at the indiscriminate hunter, arguing that “if sport is made an end instead of a means, it is better to avoid it altogether”⁵⁰. Therefore, the planning of a safari should be seen a crucial part of the process of acquisition, demonstrating the superior ethical enlightenment of an ordered Male Collector.

This ordered approach to planning meant that safaris were usually designed with the intention to acquire specific objects or animals to enhance Maurice’s own and his collection’s reputation, such as a safari to Kipipiri in 1921 to hunt Bushbuck⁵¹. On February 15th 1939 in Somaliland, Maurice began the day determined to collect a female dibatag⁵² so that he would have a complete pair⁵³. He subsequently hunted one to the exclusion of all other game sighted, acquiring specimen no 54, a female dibatag⁵⁴. Satisfying his purpose, he recorded in his diary: “I have now completed my necessary Dibatag, so we can go off now after something else”⁵⁵. A few days later Maurice concluded: “I am quite glad to be shutt of the strain of collecting dibatags, within a reasonable time”⁵⁶. This example proves that he set goals in collecting, and felt pressure to collect the specimens he desired within tight time scales. This was also demonstrated in the focus to achieve a tunny fish, meaning that this ordered collecting method greatly restricted his productivity.

The acquisition of the hunting dog brings together the themes of order and preparation and reveals Maurice’s successful utilisation of the paraphernalia of the Male Collectors. His ambitious Dongola safari demonstrates Maurice’s growth and a capability as a collector, and the objects acquired became a large and important segment of the MEC. A particularly profitable safari, Maurice collected 24 geological and ethnographic objects in total, including stone samples, fossils, eggs, cloth and

⁵⁰ Roosevelt, *Outdoor Pastimes*, p337

⁵¹ MED (26/09/1921- 11/10/1921)

⁵² An antelope species

⁵³ MED (15/02/1939)

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ MED (17/02/1939)

axe heads⁵⁷. Including the hunting dog, he also acquired 28 animal specimens, including several varieties of antelope, fox, mice and moth⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ MED (07/10/1928- 31/03/1929)

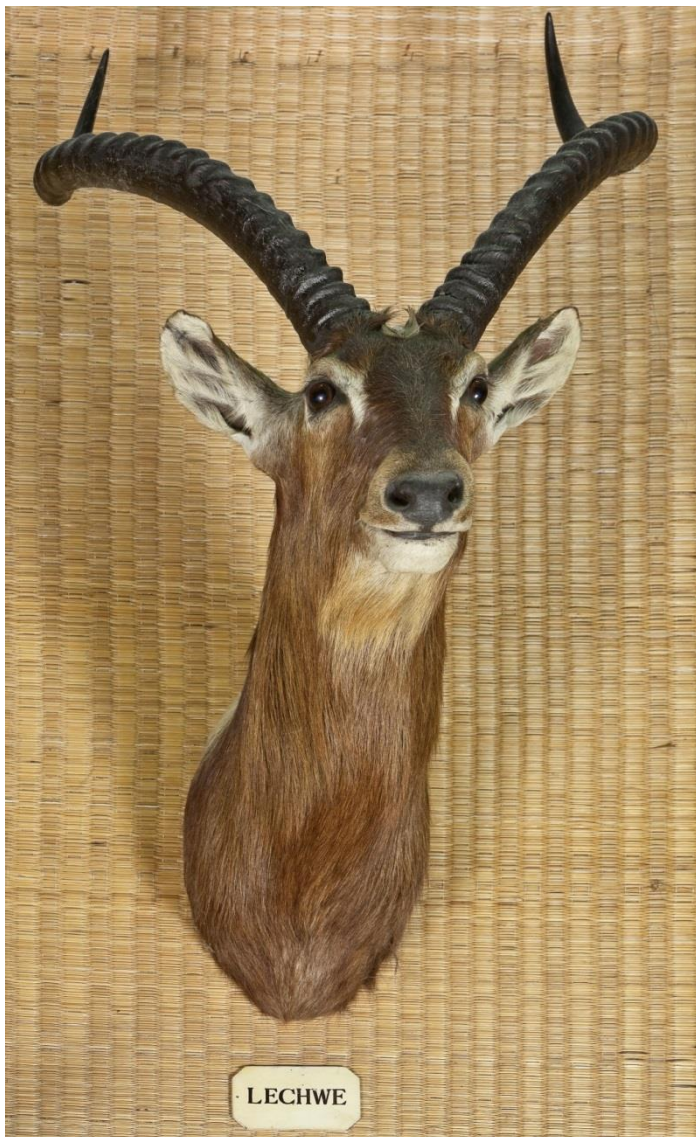
⁵⁸ Ibid

5.3 Mrs Gray Antelope: Order in Chaos

Factfile:

- Object Title: Male Mrs Gray's Antelope, also known as Nile Lechwe or Wasserbock (figure 75)
- Description: Mounted taxidermy "trophy" of a male Mrs Gray antelope
- Date Collected: 7th March 1932
- Location: Mongalla, Sudan

Figure 75: Mrs Gray's antelope



It has been argued that careful planning increased Maurice's chance of success at acquiring specific specimens and aligned his status with the efficient and dedicated practice of the Male Collectors. This case study suggests that there were occasions when Maurice's collecting was thwarted through his own inefficiency or circumstances outside of his control. Maurice's Mrs Gray antelope was collected in 1932 and represented a disappointing conclusion for a much anticipated acquisition. Its collection tested the application of Maurice's dogmatic methods as he failed to achieve the results he had come to expect. The Mrs Gray prompts discussion of the challenges that stood in opposition to Maurice's planning and measures his response to them.

Maurice's safari to Dongola had been the result of careful planning and accumulating recommendations of sites to visit and equipment to pack⁵⁹. Occasions when his plans were thwarted or he was forced to act spontaneously occurred less often and usually as Maurice travelled in remote and inhospitable regions where little pre-emptive research was available (figures 76 and 77). For example, in the autumn of 1902 he attempted to sail up river in the Yukon at the end of the season, but had missed the very last sailing boat by a few hours⁶⁰. This mistake could be attributed to his ignorance and inexperience as a fairly green traveller, or possibly an overconfidence that his status and money could open doors and gain him what he wanted. A few days later on October 2nd Maurice managed to secure a passage and sailed with around 60 other men on the Prospector, but a few days later it ran into difficulties⁶¹. Abandoning the ceremony of a First Class passenger and suddenly in danger of his life, Maurice was forced to assist with pitching half of the baggage to lighten the ship's load, shortly followed by the remaining half when the ship still could not navigate the river crossing⁶². As the journey grew increasingly perilous, another bad crossing on October 7th required all the men to stand ashore and haul the ship with a long line⁶³. Three long lines were broken in the same practice on October 9th⁶⁴. Finally overcome by the conditions, on October 10th twenty of the men decided to give up the voyage and return to Dawson City by mush or boat. This

⁵⁹ See chapter 5.2, Hunting Dog

⁶⁰ MED (21/09/1902)

⁶¹ MED (04/10/1902)

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ MED (07/10/1902)

⁶⁴ MED (09/10/1902)

extreme example at the start of Maurice's career suggests that even with his high level of planning, collecting was rarely an easy or predictable process, but could be frustrating and even dangerous.

Figure 76: Photograph taken by Maurice in British Columbia, 1902



Figure 77: Photograph taken by Maurice in British Columbia, 1902



The length and intensity of Maurice's safaris meant that it often became difficult to keep order of his records and keep his orientation when he had spent prolonged periods alone detached from the reality of the civilised world. After returning to Nairobi after a safari up Mount Kenya, Maurice wrote his diary on February 2nd 1926: "Found that today is Wednesday 3rd so have missed a day somewhere!"⁶⁵ This confusion was a common occurrence, as seen by dates later amended in his diaries, such as in 1955 when Maurice crossed out the date of February 18th and replaced it with the 19th, writing: "A day lost somewhere!"⁶⁶

Aside from struggling to keep order of the organisation of his collecting expeditions and record keeping, Maurice also faced a struggle to keep order of his acquisition process. Not all objects in the MEC were acquired with careful planning, but were collected spontaneously when exceptional opportunities presented themselves or when Maurice momentarily abandoned his restraint to indulge temptation. Amongst these specimens were four Colobus monkeys that crossed Maurice's path in

⁶⁵ MED (02/02/1926)

⁶⁶ MED (19/02/1955)

September 1921, presenting him with a “good opportunity to collect some specimens”⁶⁷. On an earlier occasion, Maurice wrote that:

“A porcupine came along to within a few yards of us, when I hit over the head with a stick and took the hindquarters home for supper. Had boiled porcupine for dinner- excellent”⁶⁸.

In cases such as these Maurice felt justified in collecting the specimens as he reasoned that the animals had presented themselves to be killed. This belief was reinforced in South Africa in 1935 when Maurice collected specimen no 406, a female springbuck, “that came deliberately across our front and stood there as if asking to be shot”⁶⁹. Other animals were unfortunate casualties of his lifestyle, such as specimen number 185, a male Steinbuck: “run over with motor car on shamba at night”⁷⁰. Curiosity often overcame his usual patient and methodical collecting methods, as seen in the collection of specimen number 158, a mongoose:

“I saw a little ferrety animal standing on its hindlegs on the Buffalo trail in front of us, to get a better look at us, so I shot it. A mongoose, according to Mabbrukki, its hair is of 2 colours, yellow and dark-brown like a kilpspringers”⁷¹.

Based upon his desire to acquire large and rare species to enhance the reputation of his collection, Maurice felt justified in collecting animals he could not immediately identify.

Despite Maurice’s proven capacity to collect effectively, there were a few occasions when his attempts to collect an object was denied. In February 1931 Maurice wrote:

“My askari collected some men with spears and quite nice shields, of which I said I would buy 6 each at the price he gave me viz pt5 for spears and pt10 for shields, but when I offered them the money they refused. Obviously not enough”⁷².

⁶⁷ MED (30/09/1921)

⁶⁸ MED (21/11/1901)

⁶⁹ MED (24/08/1935)

⁷⁰ MED (10/01/1928)

⁷¹ MED (30/01/1926)

⁷² MED (01/02/1931)

In 1932 in Uganda he wrote:

“I tried through the little local shopkeeper to get one of the sheep- bells that some of the small girls use as a moochie, and also one of the moochies made of a lot of lengths of key chain; but was unable to get hold of any”⁷³.

These disappointments reflect areas of deficiency in the collection, where Maurice was resolved to collect but lacked the skill or means to complete the transaction.

The acquisition account of Maurice’s Mrs Gray antelope reflects a continued pursuit of a specimen that proved elusive to realise. Maurice had attempted to convene his safari in Mongalla, Sudan, in February 11th, but had been defeated by intense heat and an injured ankle. He wrote:

“It is certainly too hot for me, and I’m proposing to push off back to Kenya and ask the Sudan Game Warden to cancel my present licence and give me another at the end of March or preferably later”⁷⁴.

Recovering quickly, Maurice actually resumed his safari on March 2nd, when he recorded a page of advice on the habits and possible locations of Mrs Gray specimens in the region. On March 7th, after a strenuous hunt through the swamp, Maurice finally acquired his specimen (figure 78). He wrote:

“As far as the eye can see a dead flat plain dotted everywhere with little dykes and swampy patches, over all of which two of the boys carried me arm-chair fashion most efficiently. Then we found 5 males, and did a 300 yards on hands and knees over the spongy and very blackening burnt swamp-grass, to another ant heap. Spied them for a long long time, but eventually decided that the best of them was not quite good enough. A poor head of 24” or so for a “one in a lifetime” head”⁷⁵.

Maurice had allowance for one specimen on his permit, and the rarity of the species made it a “one in a lifetime” head⁷⁶. He had previously listed a Mrs Gray as a key specimen to acquire in his “wanted” list, which suggested he anticipated finding a

⁷³ MED (24/03/1932)

⁷⁴ MED (23/02/1932)

⁷⁵ MED (07/03/1932)

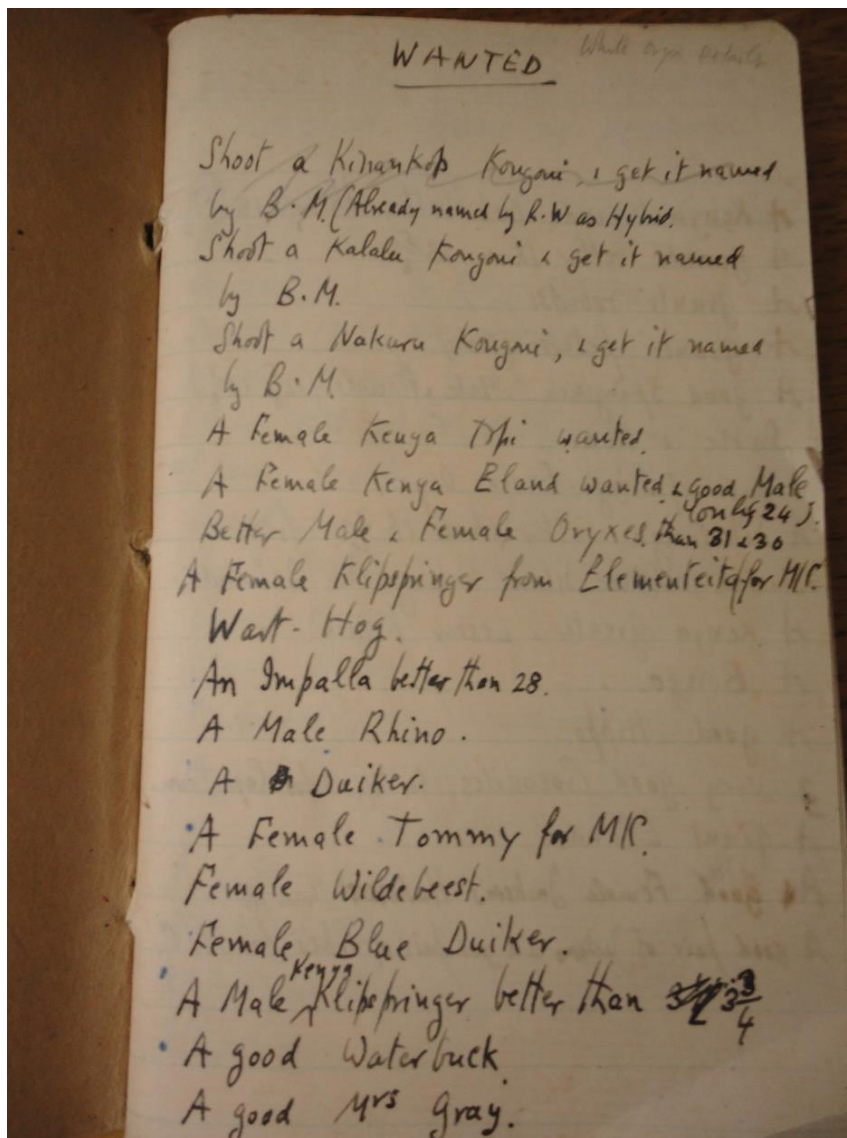
⁷⁶ Ibid

specimen to fill a deficit in his collection (figure 79). These factors made it crucial to find a good specimen worthy of collection as he would not have another opportunity at such a prestigious animal. The acquisition began with a demonstration of Maurice's skill at stalking and appraising game, but unusually he still chose to collect despite not selecting a suitable specimen. Maurice was persuaded to shoot an inferior specimen demonstrating that his ordered acquisition process could be overcome to ensure that his primary objective of attaining a specimen was met.

Figure 78: Maurice's entry in his Game Book for the Mrs Gray

				LENGTH T H Tip.		
269.	Granti.	Mar. 7. 1931. Baringo.	$16\frac{3}{8}$	$17\frac{5}{8}$	$9\frac{3}{8}$	
271.	Rhino.	Mar. 13. 1931. Nanyuki.	18	13		
272.	Granti.	Mar. 15. 1931. Nanyuki.	$23\frac{1}{4}$	23	$9\frac{1}{2}$	
273.	Topi.	Dec. 22. 1931. Kagera.	16	16	$9\frac{3}{4}$	
275.	Topi.	Dec. 24. 1931. Kagera.	$14\frac{1}{2}$	$14\frac{3}{4}$	6.	
276.	Oribi.	Dec. 24. 1931. Kagera.	$5\frac{1}{8}$	$5\frac{1}{16}$	$2\frac{1}{8}$	Pitman's
277.	Impalla.	Dec. 25. 1931. Kagera.	$26\frac{1}{2}$	$26\frac{5}{8}$	$19\frac{3}{8}$	
281.	Sitatunga.	Jan. 24. 1932. Kabale.	$16\frac{5}{8}$	$16\frac{3}{4}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$	
282.	Mrs Gray.	Mar. 7. 1932. B. d. Shajit.	27	$26\frac{3}{8}$	$15\frac{1}{8}$	
283.	W. Eared Kob.	Mar. 11. 1932. - ..	$21\frac{1}{4}$	$21\frac{3}{8}$	$8\frac{9}{16}$	
284.	Uganda Kb.	Mar. 23. 1932. ..	$21\frac{1}{4}$	$20\frac{1}{2}$	12.	
285.	Steinbok.	Feb. 10. 1933. Laikipia.	$3\frac{7}{8}$	$3\frac{7}{8}$	$2\frac{3}{8}$	AT
286.	Steinbok.	Feb. 10. 1933. Laikipia.	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$	
287.	Granti.	Feb. 11. 1933. Laikipia.	$23\frac{1}{2}$	$23\frac{5}{8}$	$7\frac{3}{4}$	
288.	Oryx.	Feb. 11. 1933. Laikipia.	29	$29\frac{5}{8}$	9	AT
89.	Tommy.	Feb. 12. 1933. Laikipia.	15	15	$5\frac{1}{4}$	
90.	Eland.	Feb. 16. 1933. Aberdare				
94	Elephant.	Feb. 3. 1934. Tana.				Right Tusk Left Tusk Length Weight Circum
2.	Arabian Gazelle.	Nov 29. 1933. Kaimosi.	11	11	$5\frac{1}{16}$.	

Figure 79: Maurice's "wanted" list, indicating his hope of acquiring a "good" Mrs Gray



Maurice's account reports that he worked hard to acquire this specimen, tracking a small herd through treacherous terrain and crawling on the ground. Maurice was fifty seven years old at the time of this acquisition, and although he was prepared to let his servants carry him before the initial sighting, he concluded the collection through his own physical endeavours. As Maurice grew older, he found it increasingly difficult to keep pace with former collecting patterns and lamented the inevitable decline in his physical capabilities. On a safari in Somaliland in 1939 when Maurice was sixty four years old, he wrote:

“I didn’t go out hunting this afternoon. I realize that I shan’t be able to hunt continually morning and evening and keep going ok”⁷⁷.

This suggests that advancing age made it impossible for him to continue to collect according to disciplined routines and the stringent ethical methods of the Male Collectors. This is particularly evident following the conclusion of the Second World War, after which both Maurice and the identity and ideology of the world had altered significantly.

After a particularly protracted safari in Somaliland which concluded in March 1939, Maurice’s diaries break for a nine year period, resuming again in December 1948⁷⁸. Hampered by the outbreak of war, Maurice was forced to remain at Tatton, but encroaching old age may have been another factor that dissuaded him from returning to Kenya immediately following its cessation. In this ten year period, much had changed for British travellers and settlers in the colonies, including the modes of transport available. Instead of the week-long voyage by ship that Maurice had previously undertaken, he could now reach Kenya in a single day by aeroplane⁷⁹. This made the journey much more efficient, but removed the camaraderie of Male Collectors who had shared advice as well as cabins on board ships.

Returning to Kenya in 1948, Maurice began his first safari in over ten years to Ngobit⁸⁰. Maurice appears to have tried to retain a continuity with his past methods that had afforded him so much success, reinstating familiar practices and re-using old equipment, such as his old clothes:

“Clothes on: the usual gabardine jacket, khaki shirt, red aertex vest, too warm for waistcoat, Stephens greenish trousers, very old terai hat, crepe soled boots, anklets, silvamar x6 glasses”⁸¹.

Even though his clothes had not changed, Maurice had, and at 74 years old he could not hope to undertake a safari on the same terms as before:

⁷⁷ MED (28/01/1939)

⁷⁸ MED break from 26/12/1939 and resume again on 20/12/1948.

⁷⁹ MED (20/12/1948). Maurice travelled to Kenya from London airport.

⁸⁰ MED (03/02/1949)

⁸¹ MED (07/02/1949)

“My first walk since 1939. Found the walking very very tiring so sat reading all the rest of the day”⁸².

Maurice used the safari to test his endurance and was proud to boast that he was still able to make progress, echoing his past practice of asserting his skills as a Male Collector:

“Without having fired a shot, this 7 days of safari has been most useful to me personally, and shews that at 9000-10000 feet I can poke along for 3 or 4 days or 6 days out of 7 if I go ridiculously slowly, i.e. real still-hunting. This after 10 years of abstinence from any safari. But the hands and feet might “go” at any faster speed”⁸³.

Maurice’s use of the word “abstinence” implies that his enforced absence from Kenya was a deprivation, and that being severed from his natural and preferred lifestyle as a Male Collector was a test of self-control. However, he struggled to maintain order of his body as his hands and feet were unpredictable and not the hardy, skilled appendages they had once been. Although initially optimistic about resuming his collecting prospects, after several months on safari in Northern Rhodesia in 1949, during which he turned 75 years old, Maurice’s health was beginning to suffer. He wrote: “weighed 126lbs on a proper weighing machine today, say 20lbs underweight”⁸⁴. Slight, frail and weak, Maurice began to fear the end of his safari career. In 1953 in the Belgian Congo, Maurice wrote:

“In the afternoon I collapsed outside my tent and Ogawa dashed and picked me up. Maybe the heat, which is just 100f by my thermometer, is too much for me nowadays. Not feeling very bright and with the likelihood of having to give up my hunting and push off home”⁸⁵.

Maurice clearly struggled to recognise the end of his career as a collector. At the end of his Belgian Congo safari he did not consider himself to have been defeated, and wrote that he was saving his Belgian francs for a future visit to that country⁸⁶. Despite his optimism, his hopes were not to be realised, and he did not collect in Africa

⁸² MED (04/02/1949)

⁸³ MED (15/03/1949)

⁸⁴ MED (21/09/1949)

⁸⁵ MED (07/01/1953)

⁸⁶ MED (09/03/1953)

again. However, he made one final safari, visiting India for the first and last time in 1955 and achieving a lifelong dream of acquiring a tiger for his collection⁸⁷. Struggling to maintain the balance of order throughout his career, facing the inevitable decline of age may have been the greatest battle of Maurice's life.

⁸⁷ MED (08/02/1955)

5.4 Gifts: An Ordered Reputation

Factfile:

- Object Title: This case study considers numerous gifts including a wooden water pipe (figure 80)
- Description: Wooden water pipe excavated by Westminster Water Board and Gifted to Maurice Egerton.
- Date Collected: 1924
- Location: London

Figure 80: Wooden water pipe



This case study presents the acquisition of a wooden water pipe and several other objects that were accepted into the MEC as gifts. These stand in sharp relief to the majority of objects that were purposefully selected by the collector himself. Although gifts make up a very small part of the collection, the acquisition method is significant as it altered the MEC's organic growth and identity as a product that exclusively reflected the identity of the collector. Gifts in the collection give insight into how Maurice and the MEC were perceived by different audiences. The context of these gifts reveals that as his reputation grew, objects were donated that were thought to fit in with the rationale of the collection or that would appeal to Maurice as an established collector. This case study first establishes how Maurice attempted to

promote a reputation as a Male Collector, and how this consequentially enabled his collection to expand through gifts given to him. These gifts demonstrate that Maurice collected objects primarily to satisfy his own requirements and perceived sense of identity, but that he was prepared to accept objects collected by others if they contributed to the completeness or prestige of his collection.

Franco argues that the giving of gifts was a common practice in a fraternal tradition at the end of the nineteenth century⁸⁸. In particular, exotic or curious artefacts collected from across the Empire made fitting gifts for young members of the aristocracy to encourage their growth into a new generation of Imperial males. Richard Harper Crewe of Calke Abbey was given an ostrich egg on his twenty first birthday⁸⁹. Gift exchange amongst the established members of the Male Collector network strengthened their fraternal bond and identified active members of the group. However, a competitiveness to create the best collection discouraged the act from becoming deeply entrenched. The small number of gifts in the MEC are obvious reminders of Maurice's social participation with the Male Collector group and present evidence that his reputation as a collector had become widespread and respected.

The main documentation of Maurice's reputation as an eminent Male Collector can be found in annual publications of Big Game kills. Nineteen editions of Rowland Ward's "Records of Big Game" were published between 1892-1984⁹⁰. Amassed by the celebrated taxidermist Rowland Ward based in Piccadilly, the annuals listed record measurements for each species of Big Game across the continents alongside the name of the collector. In the front pages of his diaries Maurice jotted down the current records of game lifted from the popular Rowland Ward annuals. He did not solely list specimen measurements as targets to beat, but also included the names of the hunters who dispatched them, as seen in his records of Mule deer featured in his Big Bar diary of 1900, lifted directly from the third edition of "Records of Big Game" (figure 81)⁹¹. This suggests that the hunter became immortalised alongside his specimen, and that other collectors were aware of, and envious of his name.

⁸⁸ Franco, 'The Ritualisation of Male Friendship', p294

⁸⁹ Barczewski, *Country Houses*, p136

⁹⁰ Morris, *Rowland Ward*, p137

⁹¹ MED (1900)

Figure 81: Maurice's list of records of mule deer

Length or outside Game.	Mule Deer.		Name
	Widest Inside	Points	
30	41	17	H. A. James
28 $\frac{5}{8}$	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	5+5	Lord G. Barclay
28 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	6+4 B.C.	M'Gee, Campbell.
28 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 $\frac{1}{2}$...	Major Maikland Kinman
27	21 $\frac{5}{8}$	6+5 N.A.	Sir Edm. Loder
27	22 $\frac{3}{4}$	5+5 B.C.	D. H. Crake.
26 $\frac{7}{8}$...	36	Theodore Roosevelt
26 $\frac{3}{4}$...	26	Baillie Grohman.
26 $\frac{3}{4}$	20 $\frac{1}{8}$	5+5	Ernest Farguhar
26 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	6+5 B.C.	T. P. Kempson.
26 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	Hon. F. Thelluson
26 $\frac{1}{8}$	22 $\frac{1}{8}$	6+6	Capt. F. Cookson.
26	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	7+5	Lockburne.
26	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	4+4. B.C.	J. V. Colby
25 (No 23)	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	5+4	
24 (No 28)	17	10 B.C.	T. P. Kempson.
23 $\frac{1}{2}$ (No 32 4ft)	21	26 B.C.	J. Turner-Turner -

Rowland Ward's lists equipped Maurice with the necessary information to collect the right specimens for a respected collection. They also fostered a healthy sense of competition, motivating collectors to better each other and see their own names immortalised in print. In the third edition published in 1899, Ward wrote that:

"This work is prepared for sportsmen and scientific men who are interested to see comparable measurements at a glance. These records can be added to"⁹².

This statement encouraged hunters to use the book to better their collecting as well as bettering each other by stating that the list was not definitive and was to be

⁹² Ward, Rowland (1899) *Records of Big Game*, 3rd edition, Rowland Ward, pxi

amended with new entries. Morris describes how the book “provided a subtle boost to taxidermy as it helped encourage further hunting and collecting”⁹³. Not only did Ward’s patronage increase, but so too did the development of the sport of Big Game hunting.

Maurice’s name first entered the books in the 9th edition published in 1928 where he is featured in the records of 17 animals⁹⁴. Of these 17, he held the 41st record for the antelope species kongoni, following Baron A de Rothschild, Major Powell Cotton, the Duc d’Orleans and General GN Colville, and immediately preceding HRH the Duke of York⁹⁵. In the 10th edition published seven years later he had extended his reputation by featuring 23 times, with the prestige of being listed second for the antelope species Kirk’s dik-dik and Damara dik-dik⁹⁶. Maurice’s name was now included alongside the most celebrated Male Collectors.

The ambition to be featured in the publications can be seen in Maurice’s diaries, confirming that the drive to establish a reputation directly shaped the acquisition and growth of the MEC. When Maurice acquired specimen no 340, a male springbuck, in South Africa in 1934 he commented:

“A good beast with a very fine pair of horns, that will probably figure quite high up in Rowland Ward’s book; and a very handsome trophy for the Tenants Hall at Tatton”⁹⁷.

The springbuck was subsequently featured at a respectable 10th position in the 10th edition of “Records of Big Game” published in 1935⁹⁸. In 1939 he acquired specimen no 546, a male Speke’s gazelle male, and wrote:

“Very pleased to get my first Speke, and not a bad head either, a good 11” by rough measurement and therefore in The Book”⁹⁹.

Maurice’s reference to Ward’s annuals as “The Book” confirms that it was the most important publication and accessory to Maurice’s collecting at that time. Ward’s

⁹³ Morris, *Rowland Ward*, p137

⁹⁴ Ward, Rowland (1928) *Records of Big Game*, 9th edition, Rowland Ward

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p112

⁹⁶ Ward, Rowland (1935), *Records of Big Game*, 10th edition, Rowland Ward, p96, p100

⁹⁷ MED (21/05/1934)

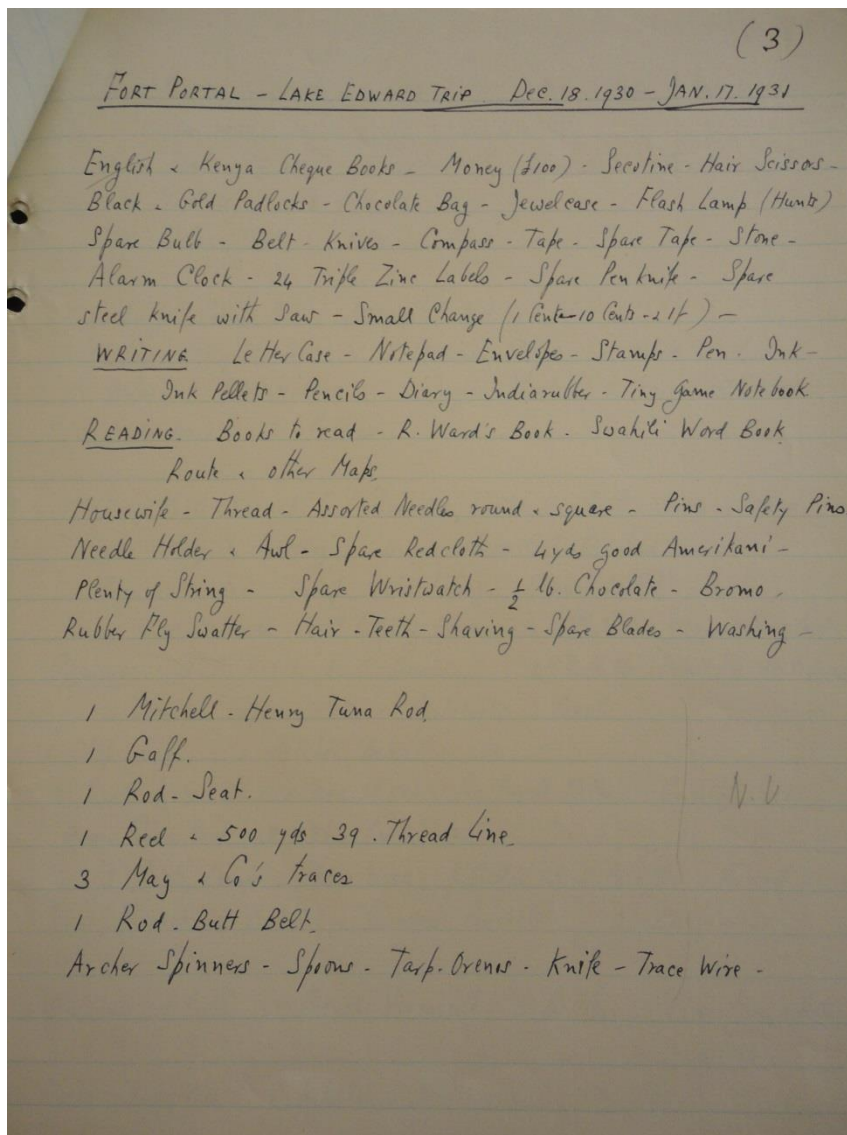
⁹⁸ Ward, *Records of Big Game*, 10th edition, p193

⁹⁹ MED (22/02/1939)

records were considered just as indispensable to other Male Collectors. Elspeth Huxley described how the hunter Mr Montagu owned just two books: “A bible, and Rowland Ward’s *Records of Big Game*”¹⁰⁰. Maurice’s safari packing lists also indicate that he took a copy of “Records of Big Game” on safari as essential reading material alongside phrase books and maps (figure 82). The availability of Ward’s lists in the field increased Maurice’s prospects of amassing a well-regarded collection as he was driven to compete against current records. The size statistics enabled Maurice to make educated judgements about whether an animal was worth acquiring, preventing him from shooting indiscriminately and wasting his permitted allowance on inferior specimens.

¹⁰⁰ Huxley, *Flame Trees of Thika*, p247

Figure 82: Maurice's safari packing list



Distinguished collections of large specimens enhanced the status of a collector. Specific large specimens attracted increased attention amongst the Male Collectors, and prestige was awarded to those that acquired them. In 1927, Maurice was desperately seeking an eland, the biggest breed of antelope, and he “stopped at every native shamba to make enquiries” into recent sightings¹⁰¹. In October 1937 Maurice was hunting for a distinctive stag in Dorset and wrote:

¹⁰¹ MED (04/07/1927)

“In the evening looked for stags near the Piddle River. Jumped one that I thought exceedingly small. Couldn’t find the other, whom the locals call King Kong”¹⁰².

These examples suggest that particularly attractive specimens were singled out and that hunters competed to win glory by achieving these prestigious prizes. Seeking large or wondrous specimens in this manner was common practice amongst this group. McKenzie notes how “a subtle hierarchy emerged in which shots who took most risks in challenging more dangerous quarry species were singled out for especial praise”¹⁰³.

Not satisfied merely with collecting the biggest of specimens, Maurice also sought to collect the rarest. Selous described the overriding lure of rare specimens when he encountered a rare breed of antelope: “gemsbuck...are hard enough to get, and to see them was to want a head”¹⁰⁴. Collections including animals that were less abundant, reclusive or difficult to track were testament to the skill of the collector and awarded him greater esteem. Maurice’s diaries present many examples of his quest to be amongst the first to acquire specimens that were new to science. In 1924 Maurice discussed a rare goat that had been identified in Kenya, and so far only one man had a specimen¹⁰⁵. The following year he wrote to the curator of the South Kensington Museum expressing his wish to collect a yellow backed duiker:

“Skins of which have lately been brought in by the natives, but which I believe, has never so far been shot in that locality, so possibly it may be a new variety”¹⁰⁶.

A decade later in 1935 the noted Male Collector Major Powell Cotton informed Maurice that he was “doubtful whether any white man has ever shot an okapi”, which made Maurice determined to be the first to do so¹⁰⁷. These accounts indicate that Maurice became very excited at the prospect of possible new species, and clamoured to be one of the first to acquire them.

¹⁰² MED (05/10/1937)

¹⁰³ McKenzie, ‘The British Big Game Hunting Tradition’, p77

¹⁰⁴ Selous and Bryden, *Travels and Big Game*, p111

¹⁰⁵ MED (21/01/1924)

¹⁰⁶ *Letter from Lord Egerton to South Kensington Museum*, (12/02/25), LEF, CRO

¹⁰⁷ MED (05/10/1935)

The biggest indication of Maurice's successful reputation as a collector can be seen through the gifts he accessioned into his collection. The majority of these gifts were presented by those who had a close awareness of Maurice's identity as a collector and the type of objects he would find appealing. Their gifts represented their acknowledgement of Maurice's status and sympathies with the material he sought to collect. One such example was a Coco de Mer Nut which was given to Maurice by his agent of his Kenyan estate Ngata on February 3rd 1938 (figure 83)¹⁰⁸. It could be assumed that an employee would naturally attempt to flatter his employer through gift giving, but it should be noted that the status of a farm manager was significant in its own right at this time. The managers of the largest farms such as Hugh Coltart at Maurice's N'gata farm in N'Joro and Boy Long of Delamere's farm were Male Collectors in their own right. Therefore, gifts exchanged between these men validate that Maurice's reputation had disseminated amongst other collectors in the network. Maurice acknowledged the gift acquisition method in his object label:

"More closely related to the Dom Palm of Africa and the Palmyra palm of India and Ceylon than to the ordinary coconut. Length 12" width 9" a portion of the shell at the smaller end is made to open on 2 brass hinges. Given to me by my Ngata farm manager- Hugh Coltart, upon the day of his marriage with Miss Constance Jones, Mrs Kinsey's sister on Feb 5 1938"¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁸ MED (03/02/1938)

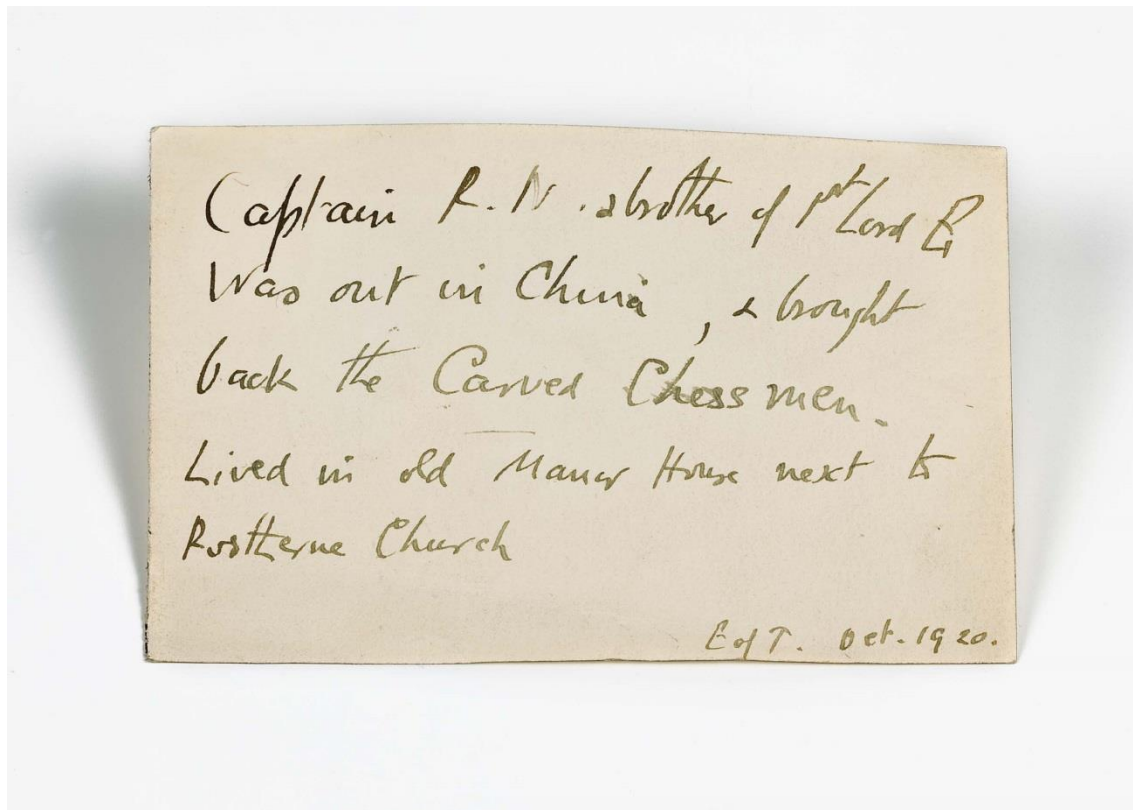
¹⁰⁹ Ibid

Figure 83: Coco de mer nut



The detailed label and prominent position in Maurice's exhibition suggests that the nut became an important piece of the overall collection. The nut was acknowledged as a gift, suggesting that Maurice was not ashamed of its origins as a product of someone else's experience in the field. Further gifts featuring in the MEC include a rare and exquisite Chinese chess set. Maurice was again explicit on the object label that the piece was collected by another, in this case his great uncle (figure 84). It promoted Maurice's reputation by linking him to an historic tradition of eclectic collecting.

Figure 84: Maurice's handwritten object label for the carved chess set



Both the nut and the chess set held intrinsic value to the status of Maurice's collection. Their donors had successfully identified objects that would assimilate well and promote the prestigious reputation of the MEC. Coco de Mer Nuts were rare commodities owing to their scarcity and mystery surrounding their provenance. Washed ashore with little known of their origins, nuts were fiercely protected and promoted as possessing mystical powers that ranged from enhancing sexual desire, to providing an antidote to poisoning¹¹⁰. Consequently they traded for vast sums of money, making this acquisition by Maurice a real coup and a talking point for his collection. The value Maurice assigned to the nut can be gleaned through his display interpretation:

"This was once believed to be the fruit of long life. It was first found floating in the Indian ocean by the Portuguese explorers; and when the Eastern protectorate heard of the supposed properties, fabulous sums were offered for a single nut. The beaches of all Indian ocean islands were scoured for

¹¹⁰ Rilwan, Ali (2004) *The Mystery of Maldivian Coconut*, Bluepeace online at: <http://www.bluepeacemaldives.org/news2004/coconutmaldivica.htm>

specimens washed ashore; and eventually the fruits were traced to the Seychelles Islands. The first nut sold in Europe fetched £300”¹¹¹.

Maurice’s focus on the economic history of the nut suggests that this increased its value to his collection as something singular and scarce. A rare and unique piece, it was considered to add value to the rationale of his collection.

Another gift given by a man of influence to the Male Collector network was samples of wood from Sudan in 1928¹¹². Maurice recorded:

“Mr Alymer, conservator of forests has given 2 pieces of light wood and one of his heaviest, 216a1 very light- herminiera elaphroxylon, 216a2 medium aeschryiomene pfundii, 216a3 heavy aeachia”¹¹³.

The precise description of the woods and scientific lexis suggests that the samples were easily incorporated into Maurice’s collection as they complimented the systematic collection interpretation encouraged by his ordered collecting routines. Two further gifts given by a close acquaintance to Maurice’s collection are object numbers 509f and 574g, described as “two kummel bottles belonging to the Czar of Russia”¹¹⁴. These examples of relics or royal souvenirs have no precedence in the collection, but represent an acknowledgement by another that they would be given a suitable home and appreciation in Maurice’s collection. Maurice described how he was gifted the first bottle by Major Radclyffe, a fellow Male Collector, whom he hosted at Tatton Park in 1937. The second followed as the hospitality was reciprocated at Radclyffe’s Dorset estate two years later:

“Height about 14 ½”. Diameter about 2 ½ of green glass. About 1893 the Jermyn St wine merchants, Godfrey Williams and Co offered Major CE Radclyffe’s father 100 dozen of the Czar’s specially made kummel out of the last 2 bottles- very soft and delicious-. This kummel was probably then about 100 years old, and the bottle itself about 60 or 70 years old. One of the empty

¹¹¹ *Coco de Mer Nut Object Label*, TPA

¹¹² MED (24/11/1928)

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ MED (26/12/1939)

bottles was given to me to-day, and one on Dec 7th 1937 when Major Radclyffe stayed at Tatton”¹¹⁵.

These gifts demonstrate that the exchange of objects between men of similar standing and inclination was a mark of recognition, equality and fraternity between the Male Collector group. The bequests to the MEC were not always in keeping with Maurice’s own collecting priorities but represent a mark of approval and the efforts of his friends to further enhance its reputation.

As his career progressed and his exhibition became established in the Tenants Hall, objects were sent directly to Tatton Park by people with vague or no connections to the collector. These objects are particularly crucial in demonstrating the wide dispersal of Maurice’s reputation beyond his own social framework. Amongst these gifts was a wooden water pipe donated by Westminster Water Board in 1924; a curiosity of a bygone age that they believed would rest comfortably alongside some of Maurice’s other curiosities, and a Maori stone axe given by a tenant in July 1939¹¹⁶. The wide range of the subject matter of these gifts from a multitude of donors suggests that the MEC had acquired a reputation as a collection of “curiosities”, or strange and rare objects. This reading may have been unappealing to Maurice, who sought to promote a reputation as an ordered collector.

Gifts given to Maurice were directly encouraged by the construction of a successful reputation as a Male Collector. In particular, the inclusion of gifts in his exhibition proved that accepting gifts could be extremely worthwhile for Maurice, and that it was made possible through his own controlled and ordered behaviour. Gifts appear to have been accepted with good will, but were always clearly demarked from his own acquisitions through his inventory and labelling process¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ MED (10/05/1939)

¹¹⁷ For example, the Maori axe was assigned the object the number 574a instead of the consecutive 575

5.5 Summary

This chapter has uncovered the context surrounding the collection of three objects that represent the collector's interpretation and implementation of order. It has developed the cultural biography by exploring three different methods of acquisition and their consequences to the reputation of the collection and its collector. The acquisition of the hunting dog on Maurice's largest safari highlights the importance of managing the expansion of the collection through documentation, rigid routines and outward compliance to the customs of the Male Collector. A well organised safari provided visual confirmation of Maurice's belonging to an exclusive and idealised profession. Keeping lists and notes, packing suitable equipment and wearing the right clothes served as physical evidence of his competence as a collector and his determination to learn and grow.

The collection of the Mrs Gray antelope presents a contrary narrative of a lack of order when Maurice's controlled collecting methods were threatened by unproductiveness. Whereas Maurice had used detailed planning and ordered collecting methods to acquire large and rare specimens, there were occasions when he abandoned his reasoned approach to collect spontaneously. Many obstacles posed a threat to Maurice's ordered collecting, including poor planning, extreme conditions and his own frailty and incompetence.

The gifting of objects, an unusual but significant acquisition source, stands out from a collection of carefully designed, personal objects, suggesting that it was crucial for Maurice to construct a reputation as a successful and disciplined Male Collector. Maurice's skill at keeping order constructed and promoted his identity as a collector, which had far-reaching consequences outside of his immediate working periphery.

Chapter 6: Exhibition, Audience and Legacy

6.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the second stage in the life of the collection. Having situated their contexts and connotations at the moment of acquisition, Maurice's objects are now considered as showpieces displaced from their original environment and uses. Similarly, this thesis establishes Maurice's role as a curator rather than collector. Ewin and Ewin argue that the definition of a curator has only been applied to an "employee of a heritage organisation"¹. This excludes the roles of men such as Maurice who deployed the same practices of arranging and interpretation to create an exhibition in his private home. Instead of accepting a traditional practice of curatorship perpetuated by museums, we should as Mangione suggests look to how individuals "challenge, negotiate and elaborate" dominant conventions². Longair argues that the agency of the curator can be seen through "the physical environment of the museum, the ordering and arrangement of the collection and the public exposition of knowledge through lectures, displays and exhibitions"³. Maurice's selection of space, his curation and choice of audience are considered in this chapter and delineate the distinct development of this cultural biography into a privately retained and managed collection.

This chapter addresses the legacy of the MEC measured through the efforts of Maurice to construct a perpetual monument and through the memories and testaments of his audience. So far, the cultural biography of the collection has considered the status of objects at collection, dissecting their appeal to the collector and the connotations of the methods used to acquire them. This chapter revisits three of the objects seen in previous case studies to document the subsequent phases in their lives as they have been removed from their original contexts and redefined as part of a collection. Vergo describes how inclusion in exhibition "confers

¹ Ewin, Timothy A.M and Ewin, Joanne V (2015) 'In Defence of the Curator: Maximising Museum Impact', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 31, Vol. 4, p323

² Mangione, Gemma (2016) 'Making Sense of Things: Constructing Aesthetic Experience in Museum Gardens and Galleries', *Museum and Society* 14, Vol. 1, p34

³ Longair, Sarah (2015) 'Cultures of Curating: The Limits of Authority', *Museum History Journal* 8, Vol. 1, pp.1-2

upon them a 'meaning' beyond any significance they may already possess"⁴. The interpretation given to exhibited objects reflects the personality and philosophy of the hosting institution or individual, making the exhibition an ideal format to continue to pursue the identity of its curator. This idea is supported by Ferguson who argues that an exhibition will always "reveal the identity of the maker"⁵. The curation of the objects in their new lives as exhibition pieces will be studied to determine how the collection was used to construct an enduring image of the collector.

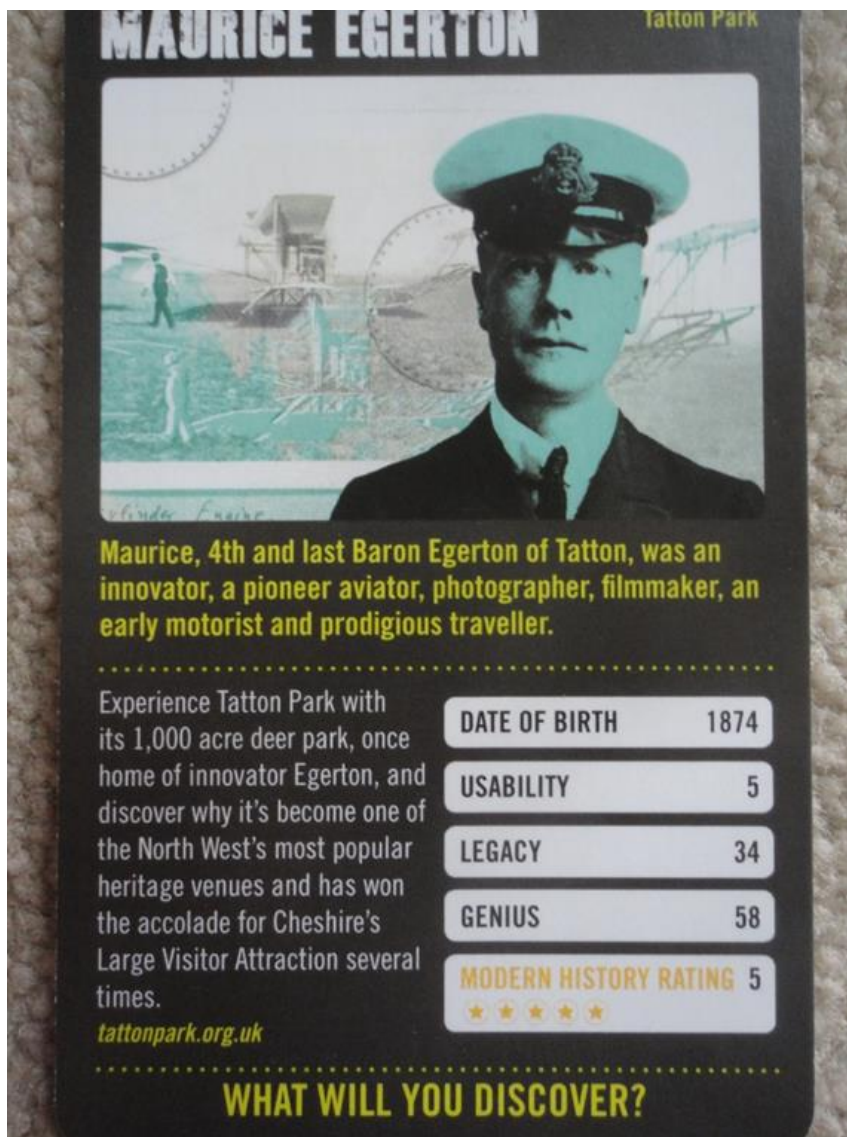
In 2011 a new deck of Top Trumps cards was launched to celebrate "Modern History Greats"; 30 key heroes and inventions from the North West of England⁶. The inclusion of Maurice alongside notorious names and events such as Richard Arkwright, George Stephenson and the Peterloo Massacre can be seen to claim him as crucial to the history of the region (Figure 85). The card promotes his important contribution to early flight, motor sport and filmmaking, suggesting that Maurice was a man of many parts, most of them pioneering, ground-breaking and magnificent. Yet public surprise at the existence and scope of the MEC, so conspicuous amongst the usual trappings of a country estate, suggests that the legacy of Maurice Egerton the collector has struggled to endure the passing of time. An undeserved slide into anonymity, perhaps prompted by his shy and retiring personality that caused him to avoid the spotlight in life and evade the headlines post-mortem, has meant that his name does not feature as prominently as it should in records of late Imperial history. Records of his travels and collecting activities have not received due attention unlike his more celebrated acquaintances such as George Eastman, Ewart Scott Grogan, Frederick Courtney Selous, Karen Blixen, Denys Finch Hatton and Lord Delamere.

⁴ Vergo, 'The Reticent Object', p46

⁵ Ferguson, 'Exhibition Rhetorics' p184

⁶ The cards were produced as part of a temporary marketing scheme called 'Modern History' which encouraged families to explore the heritage sites of the region. 'Modern History' and its website <http://www.modernhistory.co.uk> (no longer available) were funded by the European Regional Development fund. The Top Trump cards could be ordered for free as an incentive for visiting three sites affiliated with the scheme and collecting stamps on a passport. *Maurice Egerton Top Trump Card* (2013), Modern History

Figure 85: Maurice Egerton Top Trumps Card, Modern History Greats 2011



An elusive term to quantify, the “legacy” of the collection and collector will be pursued through three case studies that demonstrate their impact in different areas of memory. The first study represents a deliberate attempt by the collector to build an appropriate house for his collection and establish a material legacy. It assesses the implications of his selections of a meaningful space and taxidermist for his specimens. Choosing to create a private exhibition rather than pursue museum donation for his collection suggests that Maurice sought to establish a personal legacy tightly bound to the memory and sense of place of his ancestral home. Poulter has supported the idea of a “Victorian fashion” for collecting which helped

“cement positions of status and social distinction for individuals and their families”⁷. She confirms that private exhibitions were used to flaunt lineage and distinction, which has caused them to be seen as the antonym to the ordered, neutral and passionless displays of the museum. This chapter opposes the flawed premise of binary opposites that has been favoured by Saumarez Smith (“the experiences of visiting historic houses and visiting museums are, and should be, completely different”⁸) and Bann, who saw a continuity between early modern cabinets of curiosity and contemporary private house displays⁹. Dismissing the MEC as disordered and subjective misrepresents the value of the cultural biography and enduring legacy of the collector.

The second interpretation of the legacy of the MEC begins to assess its contemporary impact through the responses of initial audiences. The experience of these visitors was strategically engineered to receive messages of wonder, majesty and paternalism. Their responses again bring to attention the apparent divide between the educational museum and chaotic private exhibition, as Jordanova suggests that they are incompatible with the museum that requires the repression of “childish awe of ‘treasures’ and ‘wonderful things’ associated with personal souvenirs”¹⁰.

Finally, the third case study considers the legacy of the MEC when separated from the influence of its collector. Despite the care and attention levied upon his collection, Maurice’s relentless drive for expansion came to threaten its wellbeing as financial pressures threatened the survival of his family home. It was accepted fondly by a community who identified with Maurice’s lack of pretension, but the fate of the collection became unstable as his fortunes diminished throughout his lifetime. It is argued that Maurice’s insatiable desire to collect became a poisonous legacy as the collection struggled to survive without its advocate and protector.

⁷ Poulter, *Connecting Histories*, p92

⁸ Saumarez Smith, Charles (1989) ‘Museums, Artefacts and Meanings’ in Vergo, Peter, *The New Museology*, Reaktion, p18

⁹ Bann, ‘The Return to Curiosity’, p128

¹⁰ Jordanova, Ludmilla (1989) ‘Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums’ in Vergo, Peter (ed.) *The New Museology*, Reaktion, p40

6.2 Tunny Fish: The Legacy of Exhibition

This case study returns to the two tunny fish collected in 1934 and continues to trace the next stage in their cultural biographies as they were put to use post acquisition. It has been seen in chapter four that the two tunny fish specimens were acquired circumventing Maurice's usual rigorous ethical standards in collecting. Maurice exacted a high degree of participation in their preservation, indicating an intense interest in these special specimens that he intended to be a focal point of his collection. This makes them an apt case study to uncover Maurice's curatorial intentions through display. This case study considers firstly the construction of an appropriate arena to showcase and memorialise his collection, and secondly, his curatorial relationship with his objects as Maurice manipulated their roles through exhibition.

The compulsion to display collections was almost universal amongst Male Collectors in the early twentieth century. Barczewski argues that it would have been common for British houses to be "littered with imperial objects"¹¹. As described in chapter two, objects brought home from the empire were considered to be a natural progression of aristocratic consumption. For example, Weidner describes the British hunting tradition of bringing game back to the home at the end of a successful day¹². She describes a sense of pride associated with the tangible evidence of the virility and skill of the hunter¹³. This practice can be seen to be replicated and updated through the act of bringing trophies home from the colonies into the domestic sphere. Displays of "imperial power on the walls of country houses" were flagrant evidence of pecuniary advantage and enhanced social status¹⁴.

Having competed to acquire the best specimens, constructing a display enabled the process of self-representation to continue by formally showcasing the fruits of their endeavours. Lyons agrees that collecting should be seen as "a practice of representation as much as ownership", whereby displays of objects were required to

¹¹ Barczewski, *Country Houses*, p221

¹² Weidner, 'Gifts of Wild Game', p346

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, p30

support an image of the collector¹⁵. Barczewski also attests that collections were displayed to “enhance the social prestige of the collector”¹⁶. Exhibitions were crucial for Male Collectors to continue to demonstrate a belonging to the group as well as their own personal identity within it. Therefore, although most collectors were compelled to exhibit, the format of their exhibitions demonstrated subtle differences of personality.

One particularly exceptional interpretation of a collection was Captain Henry Brocklehurst’s recreation of the African Serengeti at his Staffordshire estate of Roaches. One spectator recorded his astonishment when he glimpsed emu, yak, llamas and blackbuck grazing in the historic English parkland¹⁷. For Brocklehurst, who had served as Game Warden of Sudan, setting up a zoological garden at his own home enabled him to observe and live amongst the animals he had encountered on his travels and share his knowledge of them. The local press praised this form of animal display, claiming that the animals enjoyed “all the advantages and none of the disadvantages of life in their native land” being emancipated both from traditional zoo captivity and the “competitive sphere of the jungle”¹⁸.

Amongst those that created displays of their specimens in the form of taxidermy included Major Powell Cotton, who constructed vast dioramas at his ancestral home of Quex Park in Kent. Similarly, the Duc d’Orleans displayed large habitat groups of specimens and encouraged visitors to walk through them following “discreet railings”¹⁹. Brocklehurst’s animal “utopia”²⁰ was an experiment in the unique, but it did not completely supersede his desire to create a more traditional display to cement his reputation as a collector and to act as a legacy beyond his death. Barczewski argues that it became common for collectors to emulate the “carefully labelled and presented” museum-style in their country homes²¹. Brocklehurst also constructed an exhibition in the Tenants Hall at his family seat of Swythamley Hall, lining the walls with trophies in an authoritative and imposing display of his prowess (figure 86). This format would become a popular standard format for the ancestral

¹⁵ Lyons, ‘Objects and Identities’, p116

¹⁶ Barczewski, *Country Houses*, p227

¹⁷ *The Leek Post and Times*, (13/08/1938)

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Morris, *Rowland Ward*, p98

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Barczewski, *Country Houses*, p227

hall displays of the Male Collectors. Morris affirms that at the beginning of the twentieth century, “trophy heads were becoming far and away the most numerous items that were prepared” by taxidermist Rowland Ward²².

Figure 86: Swythamley Tenants Hall



The choice of where Maurice would exhibit his collection was a conscious one, shaped as much by the legacy of his family history and awareness of the displays of his contemporaries as his own personal preference. As it has been documented in chapter two, Maurice would have been mindful of the collections his predecessors had bestowed at Tatton, and the expectation both to protect and augment what had come before. The importance of the ancestral home to aristocrats would have been greatly entrenched due to centuries of familial associations with a single place of residence. Csikszentmihalyi describes the home as representing “a symbolic ecology” of “continuity and change”, through which accumulated possessions are “repositories of meanings about the self”²³. Unique from his ancestors, Maurice had

²² *Morris, Rowland Ward, p111*

²³ Csikszentmihalyi, ‘Why We Need Things’, pp.25-26

spent long periods of time away from his home estate, and was ostensibly unconcerned with enlarging the collections of furniture, paintings or ceramics, or with redecorating the state rooms to leave his personal mark upon the house. However, in keeping with precedents set by other Male Collectors, such as Brocklehurst and Powell Cotton, Maurice decided to create his display at his ancestral home as opposed to his new estates abroad. This suggests that Tatton Park was a crucial platform that marked the foundations of Maurice's power and justified his status as an eminent Male Collector.

By 1935 Maurice's expanding collection had demanded that the house be modified to reflect his own identity and immediate needs. Instead of assimilating his objects into the wider Tatton collection, his legacy would be the Tenants Hall; a requisitioning and reimagining of a space that became a museum room to showcase his acquisitions as a distinct and cohesive whole (figure 87). An early incarnation of the Tatton Park guidebook described the strong sense of identity linking the TH with its owner:

“He, like the seven generations of Egerton's before him, left the imprint of his personality and interests on the place. Nowhere is this imprint clearer than in the Tenants Hall, built especially for him, to display the big game trophies and souvenirs collected on his travels”²⁴.

The layout of the original TH is testament to Maurice's intentions to present an imposing display of the Imperial male. Trophies and weaponry lined the walls, heraldry was draped from the ceilings emphasising his noble lineage, and a stage area was constructed as a sitting room draped abundantly in animal skins (figure 88). Jones and MacLeod argue that museum architecture “adds authority” to institutional discourses²⁵. Recalling the original function of the building as a meeting and entertaining space for tenants, it is apparent that any audience would be visually overawed by this display of a magnificent hunter.

²⁴ *Tatton Park Guidebook* (1977), TPA

²⁵ Jones, Paul and McLeod, Suzanne (2016) ‘Museum Architecture Matters’, *Museum and Society* 14, Vol. 1, p207

Figure 87: Tatton Park Tenants Hall pre 1935



Figure 88: Stage detail from Tatton Park TH pre 1935



Maurice's battle with space was a recurring theme throughout his career as a curator. Despite having inherited Tatton Park with all its potential exhibition possibilities in 1920, it was not long before Maurice required further space. As early as 1926 Maurice was corresponding with his Tatton estate agent Charles Longe regarding a 30 foot extension for the TH (figure 89)²⁶. As well as extending the floor plan, Maurice hoped to increase the height of the ceiling. He wrote to Longe describing how the present low beams of the hall interfered with the line of sight for his cinematograph²⁷. Longe proposed that the new hall "excludes any beams at all" and was to be "carried out entirely in iron work"²⁸. Maurice was clearly anxious that the hall be remodelled to high standards but also to a quick timescale. Longe apologised that "I don't think you will find the work nearly completed by June. We

²⁶ *Letter from Charles Longe to Lord Egerton, (27/01/1926), LEF, CRO*

²⁷ *Ibid*

²⁸ *Ibid*

have not been able to get on extra hands. However, I am trying to impress...the necessity of hurrying up”²⁹.

Figure 89: Extended and remodelled TH post 1935



Maurice’s correspondence with his agent reveals he had exacting specifications and closely monitored the brief despite being absent for the majority of its build. His aesthetical preferences for a vaulted ceiling and long walls for displaying trophies have received different interpretations. Simon Moore described how Maurice “attempted to recreate a hunting lodge atmosphere” with the design of the hall “since that was the sort of dwelling in which he felt most at home”³⁰. Maurice’s nephew described the new TH as an organ hall, and as a monument to Maurice’s love of music³¹. What is clear is that the primary function of the original hall was reimagined into something entirely new and personal to Maurice. An insightful reflection of its scale and significance was given by Cheshire Life magazine, who declared that “the hall was the pinnacle of Maurice’s ambition and took five years to build and house

²⁹ Letter from Charles Longe to Lord Egerton, (13/04/1926), LEF, CRO

³⁰ Moore, ‘A Future for the Egerton Collection’ p37

³¹ Albemarle, *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Maurice*, p1

his meticulously labelled collection”³². The TH became a palpable and profound extension to Tatton Park, adding an original footprint to the neo-classical edifice of the mansion.

The choice of the TH at Tatton Park was not necessarily the most obvious location for display, and was not the sole venue for his collection. Maurice owned several disparate areas of land in Kenya and Tanganyika that varied from coffee plantations to livestock farms and industrial factories³³. His main residence was his estate he had named N’gata, meaning “plain” in Swahili, situated in N’joro near to Nakuru in Kenya’s Rift Valley. Here, Maurice built a simple mud and wattle construction affectionately referred to as the “chateau in the wattle” whilst he decided where and how to begin constructing a more permanent home³⁴. As early as November 1921 Maurice was scouting for potential house sites on his land in Kenya, but in 1930 his mud chateau had been simply upgraded to a small concrete building and not a residence of any style or substance³⁵. In April 1937, thirteen years after he first took up his allocated land in Kenya, Maurice finally authorised the laying of the foundations for his new house that would become known as “The Castle” (figure 90)³⁶. However, interrupted by war and a ten year hiatus from visiting Africa, Maurice was not able to fully occupy his new home until 1951 when he was 77 years old. A momentous occasion, he recorded in his diary “moved over into the BIG HOUSE”³⁷.

³² O’Reilly, Mandy (February 2005) *The Last Lord of Tatton*, Cheshire Life

³³ *Balance Sheet* (1947)

³⁴ MED (18/01/1926)

³⁵ MED (18/11/1921), (21/11/1921)/1930)

³⁶ MED (19/04/1937)

³⁷ MED (14/11/1951)

Figure 90: Lord Egerton Castle, Kenya



Many factors are likely to have inspired the build. The fact that Maurice was finally contemplating constructing a monumental residence in Kenya at the age of 66 suggested that Maurice might have been finally comfortable with his position in Kenya as an eminent settler and Male Collector to require a home that truly reflected his status. It would also provide a greater level of comfort as his age advanced and he continued to spend increasing amounts of time away from Tatton. By this time, many of the notable aristocratic settlers had already built large and exotic residences befitting their perceived status as imperial lords³⁸. Although it has been seen that he did not share many of the leisure pursuits of his neighbours in the Happy Valley, their precedent for building permanent structures may have encouraged Maurice to follow their example to fit in with his societal equivalents. Despite a seeming lack of motivation to entertain or befriend the locals, the castle was certainly designed to make a statement and to take its place amongst the residences of the settler elite.

Just as with the extension of the TH, the style of his new Kenyan residence reveals much about his perception of his own identity and the image he wished to portray to

³⁸ Fox, *White Mischief*, p19

others. One local resident described the interest of the settler community in 1938 that Maurice was building a large stone residence in an English style:

“I think it is true to say the whole community was interested in his building of an old English castle, an exact replica of his castle in England. Then, to my great delight, I heard he had imported an organ to go into the big baronial hall”³⁹.

These memoirs indicate a comparison between the Castle and Tatton Park, particularly a near replica of the TH described as “the big baronial hall”, complete with organ (figure 91). One visitor to the Castle described the effect of the Hall, called the salon, which greatly evokes an image of Tatton’s TH:

“The organ occupied the one end of the big hall he called the salon. This room was full of trophies, on the walls and in glass cases around the walls; there was no furniture in it”⁴⁰.

These similarities were not subtle and were much remarked upon by spectators and retrospective scholars. A conservation report into the condition of the Castle in 2002 described how “the design was inspired by Egerton’s mansion in Knutsford”, and that an organ was installed in the great hall that “bore the family crest in a similar manner to the organ case at Tatton Hall”⁴¹. Other aristocratic settlers had also maintained connections with their ancestral residences, such as Lord Erroll, who had built a new home but retained the name of Slains in memory of the original⁴². Maurice followed this pattern of emulating Tatton in the design of Egerton castle, as the physical bricks and contours of Tatton were symbolic of his family history and represented the traditional seat of his power.

³⁹ *Memoir of Esther E Hopcraft*

⁴⁰ *Memoir of Vivienne Jones* (11/09/1998), TPA

⁴¹ *Egerton University Conservation and Development Plan*, (2004), TPA, p11

⁴² Osborne, *The Bolter*, p150

Figure 91: The Baronial organ hall at the Castle, Kenya



The interior of the Castle was an empty space allowing Maurice to surround himself with objects that were exclusively meaningful to him, as opposed to locating space for himself amongst the copious relics of his ancestors as at Tatton Park. Erecting the Castle almost as a replica of Tatton Park complete with its own TH suggests that Maurice may have intended to replicate his museum, or at the very least create a suitable space to house aspects of his collection in Africa just as he had in Cheshire. However, records indicate that Maurice kept surprisingly few specimens in this new environment, and those that were retained in Kenya did not reflect the best of his collection. One visitor described how “the “Castle” rooms were fairly austere and my mother would remark later that they needed a woman’s touch and cried out for bowls of flowers!⁴³”

⁴³ *Memoir of Vivienne Jones*

Maurice's Big Game books make it possible to view the final depositories of his specimens and analyse the significance of his choice of locations. They reveal that a very small proportion of specimens were housed at the Castle, including object number 151, a Kongoni Buck, of which he recorded in his diary "kept horns for the shamba only"⁴⁴. This supports a hypothesis that Maurice wished to keep the largest and most rare specimens at Tatton Park to present an imposing and cohesive collection.

The creation of his display in the TH was precipitated by Maurice's status change having recently inherited the Tatton title and estate following the death of his father in 1920⁴⁵. Prior to this date, it was common for the majority of his animal acquisitions to be donated to museums as opposed to being kept for his own private residence of 9 Seamore Place, Mayfair⁴⁶. One such specimen, a very large old mouflon ram acquired in 1900 in Sardinia, would almost certainly have been reserved for his private collection had it been acquired post 1920 due to its record ranking size in Rowland Ward's annuals, making it a particularly valuable piece⁴⁷. This suggests that Maurice's burgeoning collection was initially constrained by space limitations which resolved after inheriting Tatton Park.

Thereafter, Maurice's records continue to demonstrate that he reserved his biggest and best specimens for display at Tatton, funnelling substandard or surplus specimens to his residual homes or to museums. In 1938 Maurice collected specimen number 510, a male aoul, but was undecided if it warranted a place amongst his best pieces at Tatton. He wrote: "kept at N'gata. TH someday if no better head obtained"⁴⁸. On the same safari Maurice acquired specimen number 515, a female coke's hartebeest female, which was stored for some time at the safari outfitters "Safariland" while Maurice decided if it was good enough to accept for his Tatton collection⁴⁹. He eventually decided: "kept at Ngata, too small for TH. A very poor head but an addition to my collection until I can do better"⁵⁰. These examples

⁴⁴ MED (05/12/1925)

⁴⁵ Tatton Park Guidebook, p7

⁴⁶ Maurice listed this address at the front of his travel diaries and was headed on his correspondence prior to 1920.

⁴⁷ MED (14/10/1900)

⁴⁸ MED (06/01/1938)

⁴⁹ MED (01/02/1938)

⁵⁰ Ibid

evidence a considered process of appraisal that ensured specimens at Tatton reflected the pinnacle of his accomplishments. Fellow Shikar Club member Abel Chapman had described his collection as representing “a long series of the most strenuous endeavour, of tremendous hard work, plus the risk of adventuring into unknown regions, where we had no certainty of success or failure”⁵¹. This suggests that Male Collectors including Maurice used their primary displays to preserve and evoke memories of their most intrepid and lauded encounters.

Of the specimens donated to museums, three distinct considerations can be detected behind the allocations. The first was to offer particularly rare specimens to the British Museum, whose acceptance of his specimens gave legitimacy and approval to Maurice’s reputation as a successful Male Collector. Between 1924 and 1938, 17 specimens were donated to the British Museum, including six species of fruit bat acquired at Mount Elgon, Kenya in 1925⁵², and numbers 234 and 235, the skins and skulls of two gerbils collected in 1929⁵³. Cultivating a relationship of benefactor with museums had reciprocal benefits. Museum expertise increased the authentication and accuracy of his own displays. In 1931 he wrote to the curator of the Manchester Museum requesting the correct Latin names for eight specimens in his collection, including the coyote of the Okanagan Valley in British Columbia, and ostrich of the Dongola Province in Sudan⁵⁴. In December 1939 Maurice sent fifteen rock specimens to the museum asking for identification⁵⁵. In return, Maurice donated specimens that would attract additional audiences to the museum⁵⁶. He also continued a £3 yearly subscription to museum funds begun by his father and facilitated their own research⁵⁷. In 1921 the museum requested access to the privately owned Rostherne Mere, and Maurice granted permission appreciating that any research on his property would be beneficial to raising his own profile⁵⁸. This

⁵¹ McKenzie, ‘The British Big Game Hunting Tradition’, p79

⁵² *Letter from the Natural History Department at the British Museum to Maurice Egerton*, (10/09/1925), LEF, CRO

⁵³ *Letter from British Museum to Lord Egerton*, (04/11/1929), LEF, CRO

⁵⁴ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Manchester Museum*, (19/06/1931) LEF, CRO

⁵⁵ *Letter from J Wilfred Jackson, Manchester Museum, to Lord Egerton*, (13/12/1939), LEF, CRO

⁵⁶ *Letter from Manchester Museum to Lord Egerton* (28/01/1925), LEF, CRO. This details the museum’s appreciation at being loaned a specimen: “I personally appreciate your generosity in sending this very valuable specimen for our collection”.

⁵⁷ *Receipts for £3 Subscription to the Museum for the Years 1922-32*, LEF, CRO

⁵⁸ *Letter from Manchester Museum to Lord Egerton*, (01/04/1921), LEF, CRO

paid dividends a decade later when a new species of fern was discovered and dedicated to Lord Egerton⁵⁹.

A second incentive, to free up space by offering surplus or lesser quality specimens to local and regional museums, was likely to have been a more immediate concern. Creating a favourable impression of the collector was simply a fortunate by-product of the donation process. Maurice's space issues have already been highlighted in this case study, and a large sum of trophies was stored by his taxidermist Rowland Ward at their external warehouses⁶⁰. Museum donation was preferable to warehouse storage as alongside public appreciation his specimens were cared for by skilled hands (figure 92)⁶¹. In January 1908 Maurice wrote to the Manchester Museum proposing to loan them an ovis dalli sheep specimen until he had solved his space problems⁶². He wrote: "I cannot house him myself at present. It will save me warehousing it or offering it elsewhere"⁶³. Following the museum's formal acceptance of the specimen he wrote "I am very glad to get a good home for him, until the accommodation here is enlarged"⁶⁴. The museum received the specimen in February, and wrote that they had "placed it in an honourable position, which it can occupy until such time as you are ready to receive it"⁶⁵. The language used in correspondence with the Manchester Museum made it clear that specimens sent there were on loan and could be recalled by Maurice if required⁶⁶.

⁵⁹ *Letter from Manchester Museum to Lord Egerton*, (04/07/1932), LEF, CRO

⁶⁰ *List of Trophies Held in Store at Stoke Newington*, LEF, CRO

⁶¹ Many of his specimens were destroyed by fire in 1954. *Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton*, (16/02/1954), LEF, CRO

⁶² *Letter from Maurice Egerton to Manchester Museum*, (12/01/1908), TPA

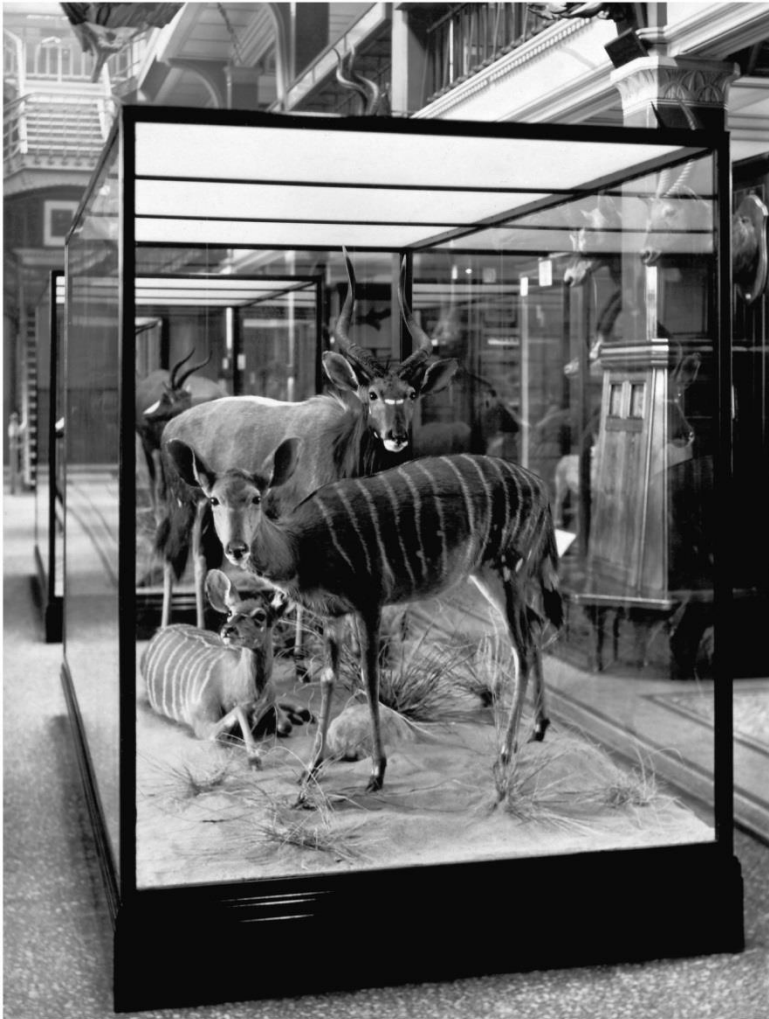
⁶³ *Ibid*

⁶⁴ *Letter from Maurice Egerton to Manchester Museum*, (17/01/1909), TPA

⁶⁵ *Letter from Director of the Manchester Museum to Maurice Egerton*, (08/02/1909), TPA

⁶⁶ *Letter from Keeper of the Museum to Maurice Egerton*, (24/05/1921), TPA

Figure 92: A case of antelope donated to Manchester Museum



In 1920 Maurice gave a further case of sheep to Manchester Museum, but his recent ascension to the title of Lord Egerton of Tatton had put the status of the bequest into doubt. Maurice's agent in British Columbia, Charles Cowan, wrote to the museum to suggest that Maurice would "settle about the final disposal of the sheep" on his return from East Africa⁶⁷. Having inherited the Tatton estate, it would be possible for Maurice to take command of his collection, now having both the space and resources to care for it himself. This implies that museum donation may not have been final, but was viewed as an expedient way of storing specimens that he might wish to recall to his private collection when possible to do so.

⁶⁷ *Letter from Charles Cowan, Agent for Maurice Egerton, to Manchester Museum, (20/09/1920), TPA*

Despite having inherited more space in 1920, Maurice continued to donate to museums throughout his later career at periods of high capacity. He wrote to Manchester Museum in July of 1927 offering a further bequest:

“I am proposing to weed out some of my less good “heads” here, to make room for some East African ones. Will you please let me know whether you would care to have any of them for the Museum? If so, I would tag the ones that I do not want, and then you might perhaps come here one day and choose any that you wanted out of them”⁶⁸.

This statement does not imply that philanthropy and the patronage of his local museum were a primary motive for donating; rather that he viewed the museum as an expedient depository for surplus and inferior specimens. It suggests that Maurice wished to keep his collection up to date with recent and larger acquisitions from Africa taking the place of older and smaller specimens acquired from British Columbia and Chinese Turkestan earlier in his career. His early specimens were re-evaluated and bestowed with less value due to their sizes, age and decline in fashion. This indicates that his collection and display were dynamic, constantly evolving and adopting new associations and identities throughout the collector’s lifetime.

The third motivation was to ensure that surplus specimens did not detract from the cohesion and standing of his private collection. In 1934 Maurice wrote a list musing permanent solutions for a selection of specimens that been held in the valet’s room at Tatton⁶⁹. These solutions included:

- “No 17, Bohor Reedbuck Male. Smaller than No 93 in Tenant’s Hall so can be given to Manchester Museum.
- No 0.3 White Goat Male yearling. Might be given away.
- No 0.70 Wapiti Male Tien Shan. Moth eaten neck near shield. Given to Liverpool Museum.
- Suni, set up by Rowland Ward 1931/32. Not one of my heads at all. Sent in place of No 152 which has been lost. Given to Liverpool Museum”⁷⁰.

⁶⁸ *Letter from Maurice Egerton to Mr Coward at Manchester Museum, (26/07/1927), TPA*

⁶⁹ *List of Heads in the Valet’s Room, LEF, CRO*

⁷⁰ *Ibid*

This list again supports the statement that only the largest and best of Maurice's specimens were reserved for display at Tatton Park. Furthermore, the disposal of the suni specimen which had come into his possession by mistake confirms that he was not prepared to accept someone else's hunting trophy for his collection. Just as with the case study of the rhino specimen shot by Mabbrukki in chapter four, Maurice's ethical code prevented him from presenting the trophy as a legitimate acquisition. The suni was not assigned a number in his Big Game book as it had never been considered as part of his collection.

The list also suggests a hierarchy of museum donation, where smaller surplus trophies were gifted to his most local museum in Manchester, and trophies that were damaged or not associated with him went further afield to Liverpool Museum. This was not an isolated event; in 1940 Maurice donated a further six specimens to Liverpool Museum, three of which were shot by a friend Ernest Wilbraham Dixon of Tarporley⁷¹. This allocation process was likely to have been influenced by his more established patronage of Manchester Museum, where a large selection of good quality specimens on display upheld his positive reputation in his local environment.

Two further lists compiled by Maurice and labelled as "B" and "C" indicate the different fates of objects that for various reasons he did not consider part of his collection. The former details odd specimens at Tatton as of April 1927, and the latter a list of historical mounted heads already at Tatton in 1909 at the inheritance of his father, Alan de Tatton 3rd Baron Egerton⁷². In light of the Shikar Club rules of ethics that advocated fair play in hunting, the "C" list would have been the most problematic for Maurice. These specimens were already part of the Tatton collection granting them immunity from disposal, but as trophies that spoke of the endeavours of his ancestors, such as: "C6, Eland, one of several tame Elands in Tatton Park that had been given by Lord Derby. This one died of Rinderpest in 1860", or of unknown provenance, such as: C1 Canadian Moose, Nova Scotia, probably shot by Major Egerton when quartered with regiment about 1850", and: "C3 Himalaya sheep said

⁷¹ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Liverpool Museum, (10/09/1940), LEF, CRO*

⁷² *B and C List, LEF, CRO*

to have been shot by 1st Earl Egerton”, Maurice was reluctant to display them in the same vicinity as his own⁷³.

In contrast, the “B” list included specimens that existed on the periphery of Maurice’s collection, awaiting official confirmation of acceptance. This list included ten specimens collected prior to his new numbering system of 1921⁷⁴. Of these, four had been stored at his London home before being relocated to Tatton following his inheritance⁷⁵. Even though these were his own specimens, they were not considered for inclusion in his permanent display due to neglect (such as 0.31a Silver fox head rather moth eaten and discarded in 1937⁷⁶) and size restrictions in the original incarnation of the TH. As this list included several particularly large and rare specimens, such as his tarpon fish acquired in Mexico in 1908, and a Mammoth tusk from the Klondike, also 1908, it appears unlikely that they were excluded from display for reasons other than space⁷⁷. It has been seen that his collecting expanded voraciously and was conducted in more professional contexts following his inheritance of Tatton Park. As this venue was quickly filled, specimens competed for a place in his exhibition or risked museum donation or storage. In 1940, Maurice made an inventory of specimens held in his cellar, counting nineteen trophies in total⁷⁸.

Having demonstrated that Maurice created and preferred the venue of the TH for his primary exhibition, this chapter now turns its attention to the preservation of specimens and implications for the legacy of his display. Following the exceptional acquisition of the tunny fish off Scarborough in 1933, Maurice had dispatched the specimens the same day for preservation⁷⁹. The immediate dispatch of the tunny fish indicated Maurice’s excitement to add them to his display, but it was also essential to ensure specimens reached the taxidermist for preservation before they decayed. This was much more difficult to achieve on safari, where expeditions could remove a collector from civilisation for weeks, the African heat hastened organic deterioration and the long boat journeys to return the specimens to a London-based taxidermist

⁷³ *C List*

⁷⁴ *B list*

⁷⁵ *Ibid*

⁷⁶ *Ibid*

⁷⁷ *Ibid*

⁷⁸ *List of Horns in Cellar*, (06/11/1940), LEF, CRO

⁷⁹ MED (26/08/1933)

delayed the preparation process further. It has been seen that a skinner was the most highly paid and valued role in his safari outfit, and his packing lists indicate that large quantities of salt were essential to preserve specimens in the field. Following immediate skinning on safari, Maurice's skins were treated and prepared for shipment by local taxidermist firms in Africa⁸⁰. Using these firms to model to specimens would have removed the barriers of time and reduced the costs associated with storage and travel, but much to their disappointment they were denied the lucrative commission of mounting the specimen. Maurice wrote of encountering two local taxidermists in South Africa who were disappointed to lose the prestige of mounting his specimens:

“Dr Gill, curator of the South African Museum, Cape Town, who very kindly promised to finish off and ship my bontebuck skin, if I did not quite like to entrust them to a Cape Town taxidermist. Also Mr Graham Ivy, taxidermist, of 88 Long Street, Cape Town, who agreed to finish off and ship all my other heads and skins, though apparently not very keen on the job. He would like the work of setting up my heads, instead of just sending the horns and skins to Rowland Ward”⁸¹.

Insisting on using a London taxidermist ensured a continuity of quality and cohesion amongst his trophies on display. His choice of taxidermist, Rowland Ward, based at his premises known as “the Jungle” in Piccadilly, had great implications for the standard and prestige of his display. Ward's was one of the oldest and best known taxidermists in the world, and also prepared the specimens for Major Powell Cotton at Quex Park and several other Male Collectors including Winston Churchill, Lord Curzon, Lord Delamere, Walter Rothschild and the Duc d'Orleans who purchased over 2.500 items for his museum⁸². By the early twentieth Century Wards was proudly supplying the British Royal family alongside Maharajahs and major museums⁸³. The advantage of this choice was that Maurice's animals were mounted professionally by some of the greatest taxidermy artists available, giving him a collection that would earn renown and appreciation amongst his contemporaries.

⁸⁰ MED (19/05/1934)

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Morris, *Rowland Ward*, pp.37-38

⁸³ Ibid, p39

Maurice generally appeared to be impressed with the quality of his specimens. In 1940 he wrote to Ward:

“Your last lot of heads seemed to be nicer than usual- more- “brilliant” as it were”⁸⁴.

Wards were at the forefront of trialling new techniques to produce superior and long lasting specimens, reflecting their respectable reputation and patronage by the most prestigious Male Collectors. Morris describes how “any miracle could be performed in Piccadilly’s “Jungle””⁸⁵. Wards replied to Maurice’s praise:

“We are using a new dressing for working into our scalps which may be the reason for making them appear brighter”⁸⁶.

The consequence of their skilled techniques has been that the specimens have endured display and remain “brilliant” into the present.

The quality of the tunny fish mounts is brought into obvious relief when compared to the fate of the famed 852lb record breaking fish caught by John Hedley Lewis in 1949⁸⁷. Lacking Maurice’s status and resources, Hedley Lewis’s options were limited in selecting a taxidermist and exhibition venue befitting his prize⁸⁸. In 1998, Natural History conservator to the Nation Trust James Dickinson surveyed the condition of Maurice’s Rowland Ward tunny at Tatton in comparison with Hedley Lewis’s fish at Scarborough museum. He commented that:

“You will see it was mounted by Gerrards of London who were always 2nd rate compared to R Wards as taxidermists and I can confirm from recent personal experience that the mount is not a patch on the two you have caught by Lord E”⁸⁹.

⁸⁴ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (20/01/1940), LEF, CRO*

⁸⁵ *Morris, Rowland Ward, p38*

⁸⁶ *Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (21/01/1942), LEF, CRO*

⁸⁷ *Tons of Tunny*

⁸⁸ Hedley Lewis’s fish was displayed in a side show circus tent on the Scarborough promenade, *Big Stuffed Fish to be Restored*

⁸⁹ *Condition Survey of MEC (2003) Lancashire Conservation Studios, TPA*

The enduring quality of Maurice's specimens by Ward's extended to his full collection of trophies in the TH. In 2002, Natural History conservator to the National Trust Simon Moore appraised the specimens and commented:

“Considering their age most of the heads and skins are still in good condition, largely due to the excellence of the original taxidermy. The Egerton family spared no expense by employing Rowland Ward of Piccadilly, the (then) best taxidermy firm”⁹⁰.

Referring to the fact that Maurice “spared no expense” indicates the pecuniary implications of his choice. In 1936 Rowland Ward charged Maurice at a rate of £12 per specimen⁹¹. Typical annual bills for works completed ranged from £324.7.1 in 1937⁹² to £104-7-6 in 1952⁹³ (figure 93). Shouldering this cost was another example of asserting his position as an elite Male Collector as it allowed him to establish a first rate collection bearing the Ward name.

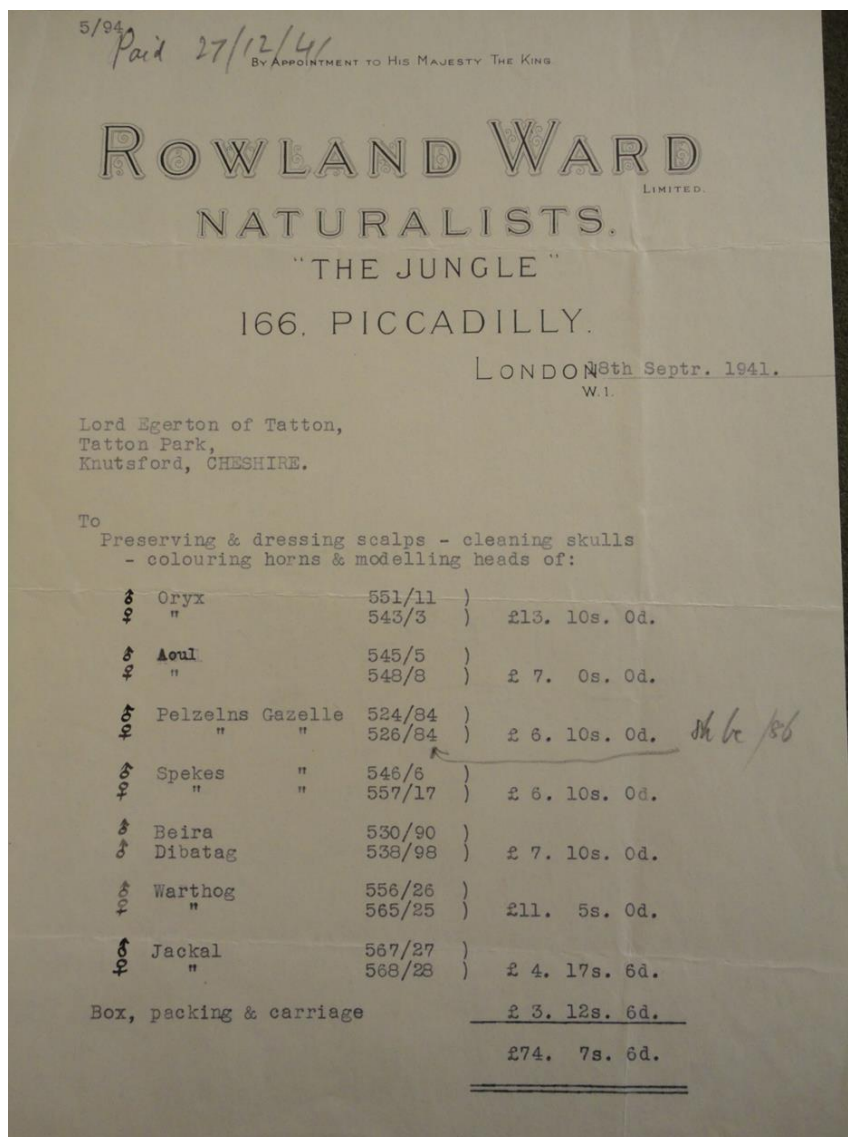
⁹⁰ Moore, 'A Future for the Egerton Collection', p36

⁹¹ *Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (23/06/1936)*, LEF, CRO

⁹² *Invoice from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (1937)*, LEF, CRO

⁹³ *Invoice from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton (1952)* LEF, CRO

Figure 93: An invoice from Rowland Ward, 1941



A unified degree of excellence and recognition that his specimens on display were of the highest standard appeared to be very important to Maurice. Maurice was critical of specimens that he considered to be poorly set up. In 1908 he visited Mexico's Natural History Museum and commented "very poor indeed, the animals are shockingly badly set up"⁹⁴. 1955 he visited the Bombay museum and commented: "the Indian animals interesting but not well set up"⁹⁵. Distinguishing between skilled and substandard preservation indicated that Maurice was very discerning of the standard considered acceptable for his display.

⁹⁴ MED (18/02/1908)

⁹⁵ MED (10/02/1955)

The work of taking apart and reassembling specimens with the addition of non-natural material such as wire frames, glass eyes and stuffing materials meant that Maurice's specimens had completely ended their lives as natural specimens and had been re-imagined as cultural art pieces. Marvin describes this transition from natural to cultural as an exclusive act of the hunter who re-activated a dead specimen and brought it back to life⁹⁶.

Maurice remained in frequent correspondence with Ward's to give directions and began to be associated with certain styles of mounts. In 1931 he wrote to Ward's regarding the set-up of specimen no 191, a male leopard, and ordered:

“Dress the head and skin in one, stuffing the head like you did my Sudan lion, and more recently my timber wolf”⁹⁷.

In 1934 he ordered seven specimens to be set up for display at Tatton, and instructed: “my heads always to be left with long necks”⁹⁸. These examples indicate that he was heavily invested in the fate of his specimens post acquisition even though he remained absent from Tatton for long periods of time.

The best way of ensuring that Maurice's specimens were prepared to his standards was to spend time with them post mortem and photograph or record painstaking measurements and details. This ritual gave Ward's the information they needed to prepare the model as accurately as possible. In 1938 he acquired specimen number 521, a female leopard, and wrote:

“Circumference of face and cheeks under the chin and about 1” below the base of the ears-16 ½. I have always thought that RW makes a leopard face much too fat, and the above measurement will be a useful guide for him”⁹⁹.

In 1922 Maurice had returned a leopard specimen outlining where he felt the taxidermist had made his mistakes:

“I am returning to you my leopard head. You may remember me saying last year that I thought the leopard head was too fat through the cheeks. I would

⁹⁶ Marvin, 'Enlivened Through Memory', p211

⁹⁷ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (25/06/1931), LEF, CRO*

⁹⁸ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (06/04/1934), LEF, CRO*

⁹⁹ MED (04/01/1938)

say that you should take off 3/8 inch off each cheek of the leopard! It is also too big immediately behind the ears and the back of the head in line with the ears should have a hollow in the middle, instead of being puffed out round. Are they eyes right? They look to me too yellow”¹⁰⁰.

These specific criticisms again demonstrate Maurice’s investment in the preservation of his specimens, and his unwillingness to accept a less than perfect trophy for his display.

Maurice was particularly explicit in his orders for the preparation of the tunny. Unlike any other specimen he submitted a diagram of the fish with detailed instructions of their colours as drawn from his first-hand memories (figure 94)¹⁰¹. As tunny were new to taxidermists, Maurice’s instructions would help ensure that the fish were recreated as accurately as possible by craftsmen who may not have handled the specimens before. Keen to satisfy Maurice and avoid irreversible mistakes when working with an incredibly volatile medium, Ward’s created a small scale of model of the potential tunny mounts and sent it to Maurice for approval¹⁰². Maurice was still not fully satisfied with the model and responded:

“You have got a lot of the “idea”. Perhaps you could get painted some sample colourings for me to look at. I will bring up a cine film of tunny fishing. It may help you a bit”¹⁰³.

This protracted correspondence suggests that Maurice was nervous of entrusting Ward’s with his fish, and that even though they had already prepared hundreds of trophies for him, each trophy was a carefully considered individual creation.

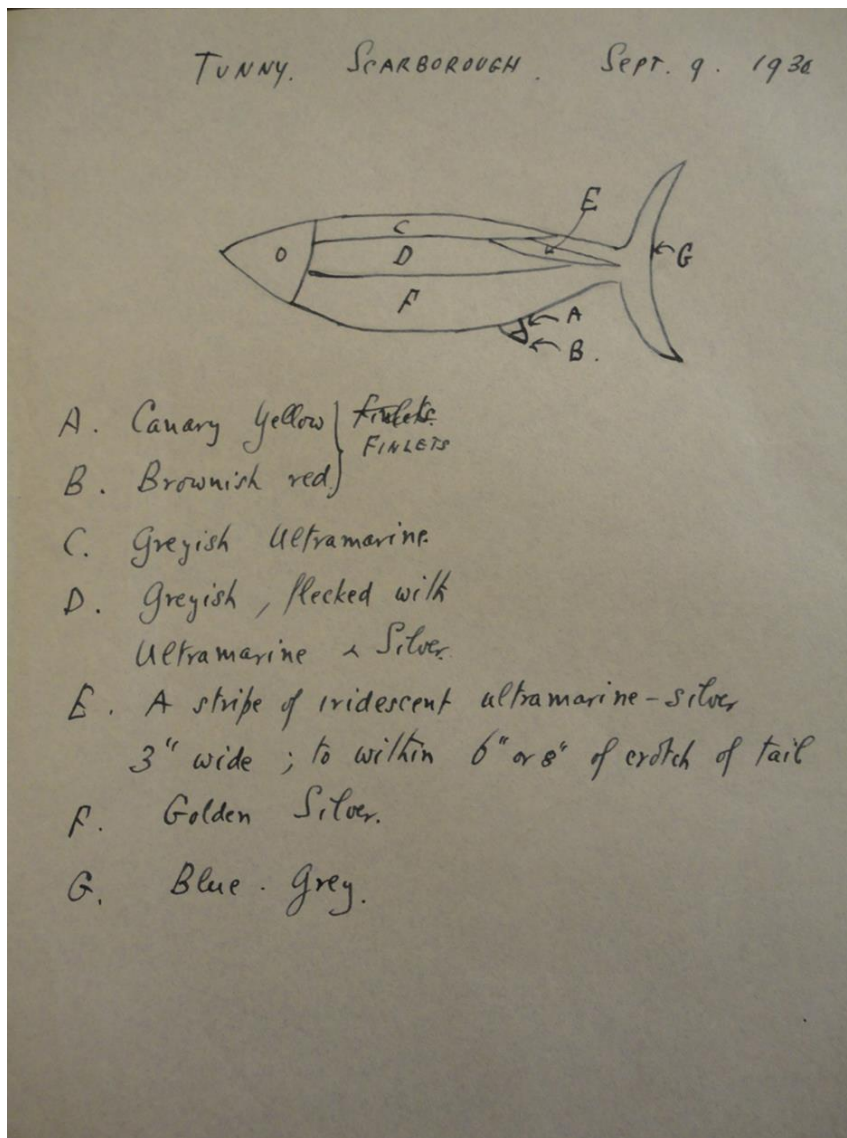
¹⁰⁰ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (April/May 1922), LEF, CRO*

¹⁰¹ *Tunny Fish Diagram, (09/09/1934), LEF, CRO*

¹⁰² *Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (06/10/1933), LEF, CRO*

¹⁰³ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (08/10/1933), LEF, CRO*

Figure 94: Maurice's diagram of tunny fish colours



A key need for Maurice's specimens to be constructed as accurately as possible was to satisfy the memory of the actual encounter and capture it in perpetual still-life. The advantage of having filmed the tunny fish allowed Ward to view the correct style of the fish. Other specimens had to be described from memory or requested in specific poses. In 1939 Maurice sent specimen number 387a, a rock hyrax to Rowland Ward, and wrote with his order:

The hyrax was lying down on the edge of a rock, like Landseer's lions, and reminded me very much of Alice's Cheshire Cat. I don't know whether you can copy that combined pose?¹⁰⁴

This suggests that Maurice had a strong awareness of his collection, recalling the details of each specimen easily to mind, and preserving them to compliment the memory of the crucial moment of acquisition. His regular correspondence with Rowland Ward reflected both the scale of his patronage, making him one of Ward's most valuable customers, and the level of his investment in the growth and organisation of his collection.

Maurice's interest in the preservation of his specimens extended to their treatment and positioning within his exhibition. Unusually for objects in his collection that were positioned together in the TH, the two tunny fish were given a separate exhibit on the servant's corridor, just outside the internal doors to the hall. As Maurice entered his collection internally through his home the fish would have been the first objects viewed. Consequentially, they served as an introduction to the collection and gave visitors their first taste of the exhibition that they would encounter within the hall. This placement suggests that Maurice wished the fish to stand alone as distinct marvels that conveyed crucial messages of power, status and wonder.

In reality, these authoritative connotations may have developed incidentally and not through his usual precise organisation. In response to the craze of mounting tunny fish specimens for display, the daily mail commented on the problem of space:

"There is one grave disadvantage about tunny: if you want to preserve your best specimens in glass cases it means structural alterations to your house"¹⁰⁵.

In a letter to Rowland Ward in 1933, Maurice wrote of his plans to display the tunny, revealing his struggles to find a suitable location¹⁰⁶. As new trophies that had rarely been seen before in museum contexts, there were few precedents from which to draw inspiration. Furthermore, their large size resisted a safe and striking aesthetic

¹⁰⁴ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (04/10/1939), LEF, CRO*

¹⁰⁵ *Daily Mail, (08/08/1935), SMA*

¹⁰⁶ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (08/10/1933)*

display. Having sent Maurice a scale model of this fish to experiment with, Maurice replied to Ward's:

"We have played with your model and a single electric light. We thought that a little top light was good, but not very much. I am wondering whether it would be best to build up a brick wall with timbers inserted. Perhaps my suggestion of vertical girders would be better"¹⁰⁷.

This correspondence indicates that Maurice wished his fish to be displayed effectively with suitable accompaniments of light and a stage setting.

Although his hand may have been forced to display the fish outside of his museum room due to space restrictions, Maurice's tunny display had a striking and memorable effect upon its audience. In 1998, years after he had watched them being landed as a boy, William Donnelly, formerly of Scarborough re-discovered the fish on a visit to Tatton Park with his family. He speculated on the attraction of the tunny in 1933, and expressed renewed delight at encountering them many years later:

"It must have been a great day for Lord Egerton when the fish arrived at Tatton Hall in 1933. The house would have been in its glory days, filled with servants etc. Today the walls have numerous trophy heads of foxes, deer, antelope, buffalo but I bet his greatest thrill was having a Tunny on his line, what a fight between man and fish and what great excitement for him in 1933 and now for me in 1998"¹⁰⁸.

Donnelly's belief that the tunny would have been Maurice's biggest triumph and most valuable specimens is echoed in the method of their acquisition, as well as their extended care through exhibition. Donnelly's depiction of the rare tunny against a backdrop of more common trophies such as antelope draws attention to the obscurity of tunny fishing as a phenomenon, the exclusive status of the participants and the short lived viability of the sport; all factors that increased the prestige and wonder of collecting and displaying a tunny specimen. Due to this rarity, few fish specimens are known to have survived much beyond the life of the sport itself.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ *Memoir of William Donnelly*

Hedley Lewis's fish disappeared from history until 1985 when his daughter in law discovered it "covered in dirt with its colour unrecognisable" in a barn on her farm¹⁰⁹.

Maurice's care of his specimens, sparing no expense in their preservation and creating a monumental, protective environment for them has ensured that the narrative of his triumphant moment of acquisition has been preserved. His purposeful planning of a material legacy was successful, and the fish remain the best representations of the obscure sport of tunny fish existing today.

¹⁰⁹ *Evening News*, (27/02/1985)

6.3 Meteorite: Audience and Purpose

Having acquired his large piece of meteorite from Windhoek in 1935, it is again possible to trace the redeployment in its biography as it became a valuable showpiece in Maurice's TH museum. In particular, it is notable that the meteorite was encountered and consumed by different audiences, each with a different agenda and reaction to the interpretation offered by the curator. Csikszentmihalyi attests that audience reactions were crucial to validating a collector's perceived identity through public acceptance of his artefacts¹¹⁰. Therefore, tracing the audiences admitted to the TH and, where possible, their reactions to the MEC further builds an image of Maurice as a collector represented through his objects.

The consequences of Maurice's choice to house his collection at Tatton Park meant that his audience demographic was primarily small scale, local, and, most crucially, selective. The principal benefit of selecting Tatton for his primary exhibition as opposed to a public venue was that his collection remained private; enclosed behind the formidable and impenetrable walls of his ancestral home. Admission to his museum was heavily censored and limited to a handpicked number of approved guests, usually accompanied by Maurice himself as tour guide. This meant that he was able to interpret the collection himself and ensured that his visitors received the "right" impression of himself and his objects.

The scarcity of primary public accounts of the TH makes it difficult to construct an accurate image of Maurice's museum during his lifetime. This suggests that he might have been guarded or over cautious in allowing public access, intending to safeguard his and collections reputation by avoiding mass scrutiny. This is in keeping with witness accounts that describe Maurice as a shy and diffident individual, who preferred to enforce his privacy in the sanctuary of his own home¹¹¹. His fleeting annual physical presence in Cheshire also made it difficult to open his exhibition with any regularity. Both of these factors made it difficult for Maurice to foster relationships and encourage audiences to view his collection with any regularity.

¹¹⁰ Csikszentmihalyi, 'Why We Need Things', p25

¹¹¹ Albemarle, *Life and Character of the Late Maurice*

A significant segment of the audience to Maurice's exhibition was his peers and other Male Collectors. Many of these visitors were acquaintances and allies made on his travels and invited to Tatton repay debts of assistance and advice that had enabled him to succeed in his collecting activities. Amongst the names recorded in the Tatton Park visitor book are the Male Collectors John Ramsden, Donald Seth Smith, Sir Harold MacMichael, Major RF Carnegie, Lord Hugh Kennedy, Major C Radclyffe and Lord Martin Cecil¹¹². These entries demonstrate that, like his grandfather the 1st Baron, Maurice hosted many of the leading figures in foreign politics and travel¹¹³. One visitor to Tatton Park around 1990 remembered a particular camping trip on the Tatton estate as a boy, when:

“Lord Egerton arrived and pulled up a log for his ‘friend’ (a very small but distinguished looking gentleman) and introduced him as Emperor Haile Selassie to the amazed children!”¹¹⁴

Such eminent and respected figures seemingly endorsed Maurice's exhibition through being members of his exclusive audience.

Maurice's high-class guest list extended beyond his immediate periphery to include other established or rising personalities in fields outside of collecting. These were often figures of interest to Maurice who had excelled themselves in sport or industry and whose company would be appealing to the like-minded peer. They were not on an equal social footing but their visits were reciprocally beneficial as each gained access to a different experience and sphere of interest. One visit made around 1945 by the 1928 Olympic silver medal sprint winner Walter Rangeley and his son Colin gave Maurice the opportunity to use his camera to film Walter making starts¹¹⁵. In return, the father and son took tea with Maurice and visited his collection, Colin feeling very “over-awed” by the experience¹¹⁶. Around 1948 Brenda Williams and Brian Freeman, two members of the Liverpool Pembroke Harriers, were invited to Tatton so that Maurice could record footage of Brian making sprint starts and high

¹¹² *Tatton Park Visitor Book* (1919-1954)

¹¹³ See chapter 2.1

¹¹⁴ *Memoir of an Unknown Visitor told to Sarah Wheeler, Education Officer at Tatton Park, (25/03/1990), TPA.* Although there is no documentation to conclusively validate this incident, it seems likely given that Haile Selassie was a guest of Lord Stamford at nearby Dunham Massey in 1936, *Dunham Massey Guidebook*

¹¹⁵ *Memoir of Colin Rangeley, (12/02/2015), TPA*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*

jumps¹¹⁷. Maurice personally guided the teenagers around the mansion, including the TH, and Brenda recorded that:

“We were so excited, we saw such a variety of objects- plants, coaches, furniture, art work, we just could not believe this was happening to us”¹¹⁸.

These examples suggest that Maurice used his collection to impress and reward his guests, sharing his talent and private world with them in return for access to their own specific gifts.

Beyond the hand-picked selection of guests chosen with purposeful deliberation to view his exhibition, Maurice met an obligation to enact the role of landlord and cultivate relationships with his tenants and local residents. His protracted collecting expeditions prevented a high level of integration with the local community to the high level of commitment shown by his ancestors, but Maurice acted as a patron of a number of local organisations and performed perfunctory ceremonial duties, such as trophy presentations at local shows¹¹⁹. For the majority of these appointments, Maurice’s involvement did not extend much benefit beyond a sense of prestige at being connected with an old name, but for a few societies close to his heart Maurice was a generous and committed benefactor. Amongst the organisations he supported were Royal May Day, Knutsford Football, Cricket, Tennis and Hockey Clubs, and the local branch of the British legion¹²⁰.

During the short summer months when he was in residence, Maurice bowed to expectations that he should make his residence available for the benefit of charitable societies¹²¹. These rare visits were often reported upon in the local newspaper, and indicate his low, but appreciated, level of involvement as a figurehead in civic life. Permissions to use the park were sought by diverse groups, but Maurice’s acquiescence and participation in the events varied according to his interest in the cause and level of comfort with associating with the people involved. In May 1931 it was reported that:

¹¹⁷ *Memoir of Brenda Williams* (May 2005) TPA

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹¹⁹ Maurice presented a trophy at the Knutsford Show, as reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, (06/09/1909), TPA

¹²⁰ Leach, Joan (30/062004) ‘Lordy’s Great Gift’, *Knutsford Guardian*

¹²¹ *Ibid*

“The Knutsford Traders Association held its annual carnival in aid of hospital funds on Monday. Lord Egerton again gave the use of his beautiful park, and he shewed his practical interest in the cause by judging, along with Mr CR Longe, his agent, the pony gymkhana events”¹²².

This suggests that despite closing the park completely during his absences, Maurice did occasionally grant recreational use of Tatton Park to local groups when their activities were in keeping with his ideals of the promotion of community spirit and outdoor pursuits.

One main advantage of Maurice screening the groups that visited the park and choosing the spaces in which they were to be admitted was that he could select appropriate audiences for his exhibition. Adult groups were more selectively vetted for visiting the TH. One group admitted in 1932 were the Cheshire branch of the Primrose League, which his family had supported for several generations:¹²³

“His Lordship gave a warm welcome to the 120 delegates who attended. He gave them the use of the Tenants Hall in which he has housed a large number of his shooting trophies obtained from Canada, British Columbia, Kenya Colony and other big game countries. The Leaguers were greatly interested in the wonderful collection of heads and curios and his Lordship took the greatest pleasure in explaining their origin and use”¹²⁴.

This report suggests that Maurice was confident and even took pleasure in curating his collection to receptive audiences. Using the space as an imposing meeting hall as it was originally intended, his guests were impressed and awed by the display of an evidently skilled and capable lord. This was exactly the reaction that the TH was designed to engender.

The groups that made up the majority of Maurice’s audience were local boys’ organisations and underprivileged children from urban areas of Manchester. It was common for Male Collectors to assume a patrimonial role within their local community. William Cotton Oswell who had travelled with David Livingstone invited

¹²² *Knutsford Guardian*, (29/05/1931)

¹²³ The most famous Primrose League supporter was perhaps Alice, the Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos, who became Earl Egerton’s second wife, *Tatton Park Guidebook*, p37

¹²⁴ *Knutsford Guardian*, (29/07/1932)

schoolchildren and apprentices to view his natural history collection at his home in Kent¹²⁵. Although it has been seen that Maurice often felt uncomfortable in the traditional class role that had been prescribed to him, he excelled at noticing and mentoring the young¹²⁶. As well as regular visits from local scouts and church boys' organisations, groups numbering thousands from across greater Manchester were invited to experience fresh air, exercise and respite away from the city and their daily routines:

“On Thursday, 2000 children from Manchester had access to the park, and Friday 1,500 children will be accorded the same privilege. Saturday the number expected will be 550”¹²⁷.

These young minds were particularly susceptible to Maurice's doctrine of paternalism and frontiership and were a captive audience. Plucked from their habitats of poverty and obscurity and placed in the clean air and opulence of the Knutsford estate, accounts suggest that the boys were entranced and bewildered by Maurice's strange and wonderful objects.

The Knutsford Guardian regularly reported on these special opportunities presented to local boys, singling out the rare degree of attention bestowed upon them by Maurice. Reports of the events indicate the high level of Maurice's involvement, and suggest that most were designed by Maurice himself based upon his own experiences abroad, such as this occasion in June 1924:

“The Rt Hon Lord Egerton of Tatton who is president of the Knutsford Young Men's Christian Association has kindly granted permission for the holding of the annual effort in behalf of the local association. This event is to take a very novel and thrilling form this year. In the afternoon morris dance competitions, a jazz band contest, side shows etc. utilising the wonderful natural setting of the woods and mere spectators will witness a wonderful panorama of life in the wild west. Indians will attack the white man's settlement, settlers will be burned at the stake, there will be a thrilling fight between a pale face and an

¹²⁵ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, p30

¹²⁶ Maurice was described as “the greatest friend the boys of Knutsford ever had”, *Evening News*, (January 1958)

¹²⁷ *Knutsford Guardian*, (09/06/1933)

Indian Brave, rescue in the nick of time from a burning hut, a sensational charge of cowboys in the rescue etc etc etc”¹²⁸

Although Maurice’s role in the organisation of the event was unclear, it is likely that his travels in America and British Columbia lent inspiration for the theme. The following week the same paper reported that: “Lord Egerton was an interested spectator at the Wild West Show and Carnival”¹²⁹. Again Maurice appeared to be cultivating new and exciting events that moved away from the traditional country side amusements to enthuse and nurture the spirit of adventure in his young audiences.

On many occasions, Maurice moved away from spectator and actively engaged with the boys. These settings bring his paternalistic intentions into sharper relief and demonstrate that Maurice felt at ease when humbled by the energy and inquisitiveness of children, as opposed to formal adult environments:

“Rostherne Parish Church Sunday School treat was held at Tatton Park by kind invitation of Lord Egerton of Tatton. The lake in the Japanese garden was the first place visited, and here in a large boat party after party of children were rowed around the centre island, the boys taking turns at the oars to their great delight, his Lordship being in charge as “skipper”. Tea followed in the Tenants Hall. After visits to the palm house and the other glass houses and the tower, the time arrived for the return journey, when hearty cheers for his Lordship conveyed to him real thanks”¹³⁰.

In 1939 four boys from slum housing in Manchester, one of whom was noted as a beggar in Piccadilly, were brought to Tatton for the day¹³¹. They were again rowed around the island again in the canoe, and given a pistol to shoot “injuns” in imaginary play¹³². Records indicate that the “humble rabbit caused most excitement and wild yells from the boys” who had never seen the countryside before and that when told that some ornaments in the house were 150 years old, they asked Maurice if he, too, was 150 years old¹³³. These examples indicate that a visit to the TH exhibition

¹²⁸ *Knutsford Guardian*, (06/06/1924)

¹²⁹ *Knutsford Guardian*, (13/06/1924)

¹³⁰ *Knutsford Guardian*, (01/08/1924)

¹³¹ *Record of Visits to Tatton Park of Children from Slum Areas*, (22/10/1939), CRO

¹³² *Ibid*

¹³³ *Ibid*

became an essential and organic element of a tour that had evoked a real image of his travels through sensory play and imagination.

Abandoning ceremony to personally orchestrate the visits of children made Maurice a popular and accessible figure, whereas he remained an aloof and mysterious figure in the local community. Removing formal barriers of status and age, he encouraged children to aspire to his example by serving them tea and letting them dress up in his clothes¹³⁴. One estate worker remembered how children would be allowed to jump on the mattress of the grand half tester bed in the silk bedroom, which he referred to as the “royal trampoline”¹³⁵. He may also have felt he was fulfilling a sense of duty as a role model by introducing boys to the sort of activities he believed would shape them into men. Lord Albemarle described Maurice’s relationship with local boys’ organisations:

“The highlight of his endeavours for years past was to befriend the young, to bring them on, and abet their healthy pleasures”¹³⁶.

For most of these visits from boys groups, the Tatton experience would include a tour of TH, opening up the formal spaces of the mansion to the chaos of tours and mass tea parties. The Knutsford Guardian recounted that:

“To them Tatton was wonderland, a house of adventure and learning. In the fabulous museum they examined treasures from every age and relics and symbols which illustrated the great pioneering spirit of their host”¹³⁷.

Whereas visits from adults have been seen to be generally official affairs based on deference and formality, children were given leave to question and explore and have multi-sensory experiences of the collection. The collection became tactile and glass case barriers were removed to allow them to interact or on rarer occasions even take away an item as a gift or reward:

“Trent Morton cleaned out a cupboard for Lordy, who let him choose as a reward two sheath knives and an emery stone to sharpen them. Lordy was

¹³⁴ Ibid

¹³⁵ *Memoir of John Turner Davies* (1992), TPA

¹³⁶ Albemarle, *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Maurice*

¹³⁷ *Knutsford Guardian* (06/02/1958)

happy to share his expertise and lent the boys his camera to experiment with”¹³⁸.

In 1950 Maurice recorded in the Tatton Park visitor book that one sixteen year old boy stole his toy cannon and either lost it or dropped it in the park¹³⁹. This accessibility stands in particular contrast with the educational experiences on offer in museums at the time, which Adams argues were “strictly visual, mediated by glass display cases, rather than tactile”¹⁴⁰.

Sources suggest that the meteorite was one of several principal items promoted by the curator and presented to make a memorable impression upon its young audience (figure 95). Miki Mornington, a young girl who grew up in a tenant family at Tatton Dale farm, recalled occasions when she was invited into the TH to marvel at Maurice’s exhibition:

“Perhaps most exciting of all was the tour through the Tenant’s hall, which housed so many treasures and strange things. Lord Egerton’s trophies from his hunting expeditions in Africa, his collection of guns and fishing tackle, an enormous elephant’s foot and the piece of meteorite which we found it impossible to lift”¹⁴¹.

Mornington’s recollection of being invited to lift the meteorite suggests that it was a tactile piece used to elicit responses of wonder and frustration in its young audiences.

¹³⁸ Leach, ‘Lordy’s great gift’

¹³⁹ *Tatton Park Guidebook*, (1923-1954)

¹⁴⁰ Adams, Kathleen M (2015) ‘Back to the Future?: Emergent Visions for Object Based Teaching in and Beyond the Classroom’, *Museum Anthropology* 38, Vol. 2, p90

¹⁴¹ *Memoir of Miki Mornington*, (1958/1959), TPA

Figure 95: Meteorite in situ in TH



Maurice's adaptation of his exhibition to inspire the young can be seen to be in keeping with the priorities of exhibitions in the great national museums that sought to educate and inspire the next generation of men to continue the Imperial legacy of travel and collecting artefacts. Haraway describes the elements of masculine patrimony woven into the exhibits of the American Museum of Natural History, where quotes from Male Collector Theodore Roosevelt adorned the wall to encourage the nation's youth:

“I want to see you game boys...and gentle and tender...Courage, hard work, self- mastery, and intelligent effort are essential to a successful life”¹⁴².

This sentiment can be seen in the formation of Baden Powell’s Scouting movement which was archetype and “institutional form” of heroic aspiration for boys in training to inherit the ideology of the Imperial male¹⁴³. Dawson describes how “children’s culture participated in that wider cultural project which overtly set out to inculcate in boys the desirable subjective of imperialist patriotic and moral manhood”¹⁴⁴. Boys groups, popular fiction and public exhibitions all played their part in the programming of boys in the new generation, just as Maurice had experienced in his own childhood. Personal recollections of visits to Tatton from boys preserved in the archive suggest that Maurice had patrimonial intentions through the construction of his exhibition¹⁴⁵. It is clear that the layout of the TH, as well as the personal interpretation given by the curator engendered profound and awe inspiring reactions to the collection.

Albemarle suggests that Maurice’s interest in mentoring young men was to mould them into men by providing them with encouragement and physical access to appropriate activities. This is evident in his personal patronage of the Egerton Boys Club in Knutsford and the state of the art facilities that Maurice provided for them:

“After the Second World War the Old Town Hall was equipped with the finest sports equipment available and handed over to the town’s young boys. With such a powerful benefactor there was little wonder the club soon became noted as “the finest youth club in the country”. Nothing was spared for the boys of Knutsford. Every possible type of sport was catered for: shower baths and a canteen were installed, full time instructors were brought in, playing fields were lent out in Mere Heath Lane and a superb library was available. Holidays abroad and visits to places of interest were for the asking. A large coach and van solved transport difficulties. In summer the males of the town were allowed to swim in Tatton Mere. Some afternoons Lord Egerton’s white

¹⁴² Haraway, ‘Teddy Bear Patriarchy’, p239

¹⁴³ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p151

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p235

¹⁴⁵ *Memoirs of Colin Rangeley and John Turner Davies*

sailed yacht would cruise across and “Lordy” as the boys fondly nick-named him, would shew peaches and other delicacies to them”¹⁴⁶.

As a child Maurice had missed out on the indoctrination on the playing fields of Eton, but a series of photographs taken in his early twenties at college suggest that he watched young men’s sporting events with interest (figures 96 and 97). The boy’s club became a forum for Maurice to promote an active lifestyle and to teach the skills that he saw as essential for any modern man. Closely modelled on Baden Powell’s Scouts for which he had a great respect, Maurice may have understood it to be his duty to prepare local boys to take up the mantle of empire¹⁴⁷. The formation of Baden Powell’s Scouting movement had similar intentions to mould a future generation of soldiers capable of shooting and taking orders¹⁴⁸. Brendon describes the intent of Baden Powell to create “manly white men” to counter the “threat of imperial decline”¹⁴⁹. Establishing a club that emphasised healthy outdoor pursuits as well as opportunities to travel ensured that local boys were satisfactorily fortified to emulate their patron.

¹⁴⁶ *Knutsford Guardian*, (06/02/1958)

¹⁴⁷ Maurice donated to scout groups in Africa, (MED 30/09/1935)

¹⁴⁸ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, p49

¹⁴⁹ Brendon, Piers (1979) *Eminent Edwardians*, Martin Secker and Warburg, p202

Figure 96: Photograph of boys playing sports taken by Maurice at Cirencester Agricultural College



Figure 97: Photograph of boys playing sports taken by Maurice at Cirencester Agricultural College



Maurice's hardy nature formed through years of travelling and collecting in desolate and unforgiving regions had transformed him into a self-sufficient and physically fit and capable man. These gifts augmented the experience of the boys as Maurice was personally involved in rowing canoes and supervising activity. On one unfortunate visit of the local scout group to Tatton mere, a boy lost his life after getting into difficulty in the water. The local newspaper reported that:

“Gallant attempts to save him had been made by Lord Egerton. Lord Egerton divested himself of his clothing and repeatedly dived into the water”¹⁵⁰.

Although ultimately futile, Maurice's actions exceeded the expectations of the local community and earned their praise and respect. He demonstrated that he was physically adept at administering activities and care of the boys.

¹⁵⁰ *Knutsford Guardian*, (29/08/1924)

Displaying his own prowess was crucial to promoting the image and reputation of the Male Collectors. McKenzie described the eagerness of Shikar Club members to disseminate masculine virtues in response to a fear that “contemporary youth had lost the tradition of hardihood, and were fundamentally soft, and not the least ashamed of it”¹⁵¹. This might explain Maurice’s encouragement of competitive sports amongst the boys in his clubs. One local historian found that:

“To encourage all-round effort, not just in sports but handicrafts and skills, a monthly prize of a python skin belt was awarded to the junior boy winning the most points. They were highly treasured prizes. Boxing was a competitive sport that Lordy often came to watch and applaud. Further encouragement came in by way of an invitation to Tatton to see boxing on TV when this was a great novelty seen in very few homes”¹⁵².

This practice prepared boys to become heirs to the masculine tradition of travel and game hunting. In 1914 the aristocratic English lady settler Cara Buxton wrote to her nephew Desmond, a pupil at Eton, encouraging him to practice his shooting¹⁵³. She wrote:

“I hear you are shooting awfully well and am delighted. Do practice rifle shooting then come out here and have a shoot with me”¹⁵⁴.

Having no children of her own, Cara’s regular correspondence with her nephew indicated a close relationship where she hoped to encourage the development of the next generation of hunters¹⁵⁵. Maurice cultivated patriarchal relationships with several sons of his neighbouring European settlers in Kenya. Amongst these were Johnny Marais and Willy Stahmer, who were treated to days out and lessons in shooting under Maurice’s care (figures 98 and 99).

¹⁵¹ McKenzie, ‘The British Big Game Hunting Tradition’, p72

¹⁵² Leach, ‘Lordy’s great gift’

¹⁵³ *Letter from Cara Buxton to Desmond Buxton*, (06/03/1914), RH

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*

¹⁵⁵ Cara continued this correspondence from 1913-1924 throughout Desmond’s time at Eton and Sandhurst

Figure 98: Willy Stahmer, photographed by Maurice in 1928

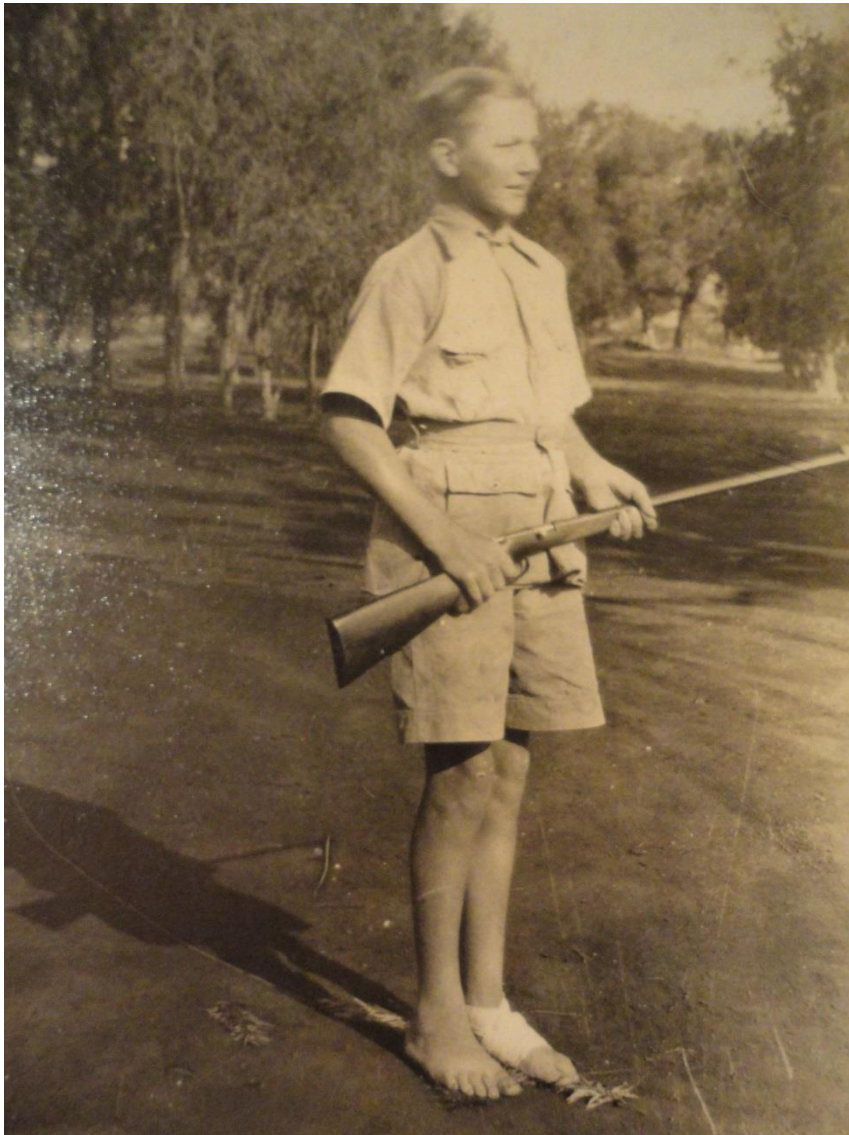


Figure 99: John Marais, photographed by Maurice in 1928



The display of the meteorite, so provocatively displayed as a showpiece in the TH, represented a legacy of instruction, whereby Maurice shared his expertise and unique experiences with a selective audience. In particular, the meteorite was able to change its semiology from a scientific specimen to a wondrous and tactile object of power.

6.4 Rhino: The Collection Post Maurice and Beyond

Just as with the preparation of the Tunny Fish, Maurice took an immediate and enduring interest in the preservation of his rhino specimen. Having acquired the rhino in March of 1931, Rowland Ward's acknowledged receipt of the scalp, skull and foot amongst two cases of specimens shipped to them from Kenya (figure 100)¹⁵⁶. Unlike the other pieces received in the shipment, the rhino was the only one to be prepared immediately, suggesting the importance and anticipation attributed to this particular piece. Maurice recorded that the finished mount arrived at Tatton in August, taking less than two months to prepare¹⁵⁷. It took its place in the TH alongside other specimens from Africa mounted upon his vast wall of animal specimens (figure 101).

¹⁵⁶ *Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (13/06/1931)*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*

Figure 100: Letter from Rowland Ward acknowledging receipt of the rhino trophy

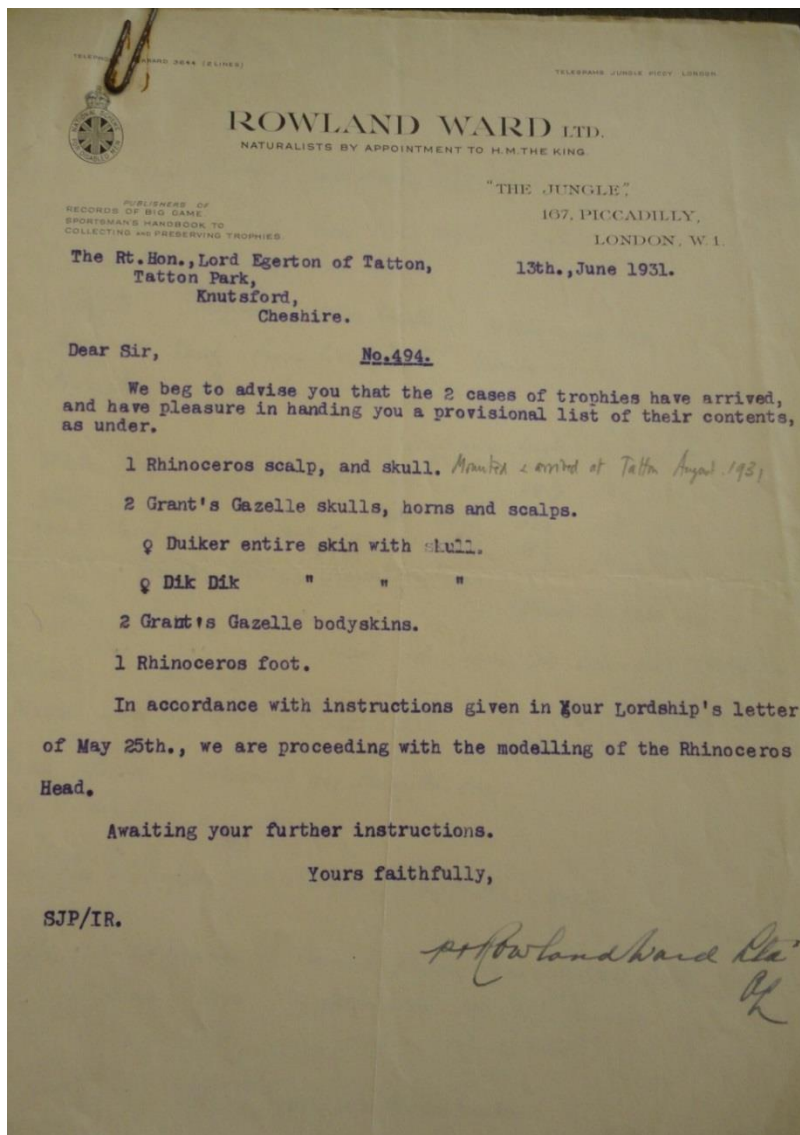


Figure 101: Maurice's rhino in situ in the TH



As a prestigious addition to his collection representative of his triumph in achieving one of the “Big Five” hunting trophies, the rhino mount understandably merited much attention. This case study links the importance of this trophy with Maurice’s own purposeful attempts at leaving a legacy through his collection. It discusses the undeserved obscurity of Maurice’s reputation when measured against the fame or infamy of more notorious Male Collectors. It documents an ever increasing struggle to champion an identity and legacy for a man who preferred his deeds to remain uncelebrated and actively welcomed anonymity during his lifetime. It considers how the legacy of the TH museum at Tatton Park came to be threatened by his collecting activity, which tipped the fragile balance into unsustainability. Having maintained Tatton Park against a prevailing context of aristocratic decline, in his later years it is evident that Maurice pursued and protected his collection to the detriment of his Cheshire property, spending increasingly protracted periods abroad. Finally, it looks to the present and future of the MEC, capturing current sentiment to the MEC and framing its legacy in the twenty first century.

As fortunes began to change for the aristocracy in the early twentieth century, a crisis of role and identity prompted many to become introspective retreat behind closed doors. Their presence had once been omnipotent in the community, overseeing everything from local government, the expansion and upkeep of villages and the patronage of clubs and societies. Their withdrawal from these offices represented shaken confidences in their relevance as public figures and in their pecuniary competences. At Tatton Park, the 2nd Baron and 1st Earl Egerton had been “treated like royalty in the neighbourhood”, and his funeral in his parish church at Rostherne had been attended by 282 tenants, 38 local tradesmen, 132 local workmen and representatives from over sixty charitable organisations of which the Earl had patronised¹⁵⁸. He had cemented his popularity in Cheshire by funding various initiatives for public advantage, such as financing the Manchester Ship Canal and founding and endowing a clergy training school¹⁵⁹.

Figure 102: Earl Egerton’s funeral, Rostherne Church, 1909



A retreat had begun to be seen under the lordship of Maurice’s father Alan, the 3rd Baron. In contrast to the majestic commemorations at the Earl’s death, only eleven

¹⁵⁸ Leach, Joan (2007) *Knutsford: A History*, Phillimore, p113

¹⁵⁹ *Tatton Park Guidebook*, p58

years later Alan was lampooned in his obituaries as “the peer who banned picnics”¹⁶⁰. One newspaper recorded that:

“Some of his orders caused a great deal of dissatisfaction at the time. The village of Rostherne on the Tatton estate had long been a resort of pedestrians and cyclists, and owing to the absence of public houses the villagers were in the habit of supplying teas. Lord Egerton issued a notice that he “will not permit any cottages to receive any person whatsoever into their cottages for the purpose of the sale of consumption of any refreshment. Any cottager infringing this rule will get instant notice to quit”. He explained that there was a certain rowdy element among the visitors, and added that on one occasion Lady Egerton herself had been pelted with apples”¹⁶¹.

This account suggests that Alan’s desire to deter tourists from the wider Tatton estate made him an unpopular landlord amongst his tenants. Another more recent article investigating the strange phenomenon of a lack of public houses surrounding the Tatton estate also attributes this to Alan’s ill humour:

“Lady Egerton- whose family owned Rostherne- closed the village’s last pub called the Grey Horse after rowdy drinkers upset her by shouting obscenities. Another theory was that Lord Egerton shut the pub because he disliked city cyclists invading Rostherne on day trips. Before axing the Inn, the Lord also banned tenants from selling cups of tea to tourists and found himself facing a 10,000 strong demonstration from visitors from the Manchester area”¹⁶².

These reports imply that Tatton became an increasingly isolated estate that viewed the encroachment of the city of Manchester and consequent leisure-seekers and tourists as a threat to the preservation of a private and ordered way of life. The family might once have commanded respect in their villages but could no longer expect to be treated with deference.

As his collecting expeditions took him away from Tatton for at least half of each year, Maurice can be seen to have taken a step further towards closing the doors between landlord and community. His informal and relaxed demeanour when he was in

¹⁶⁰ *Daily Express*, (10/09/1920)

¹⁶¹ *Daily Telegraph*, (10/09/1920)

¹⁶² *Knutsford Guardian*, (04/09/1996)

residence can also be interpreted as removing the barriers of class and privilege between aristocracy and tenant. Instead of sinking into obscurity through his absences, his reputation as an explorer and collector meant that he became a figure of mystery and intrigue, and his idiosyncrasies were widely reported upon. This identity as an eccentric had been assigned to Maurice before he inherited the estate, suggesting that his tenants had already formed certain expectations of him before he came to his maturity. In 1912 the Manchester Guardian reported how the traditional Christmas ball at Tatton Park in the TH was transformed “with some fine plants brought by Mr Maurice Egerton from South African forests”¹⁶³. Bringing back exotic and interesting specimens associated with his travels intrigued the community and began Maurice’s legacy of awe and wonder.

Following Maurice’s death at his home in Kenya in 1958, there was much local speculation about what would become of his collection, as well as his estate and any imagined fortune he might still possess. Accustomed to his rare and fleeting public appearances, many had not even realised that Maurice had not been in Cheshire since 1956, and had been living in Kenya on a permanent basis for several years before his death. The Knutsford Guardian produced a fitting epitaph when they declared:

“Lord Egerton was a man known to everyone, not only in Knutsford, but throughout this country and many parts of the world, yet he was known by no-one. Shy and retiring, Lord Egerton died as he had lived”¹⁶⁴.

The idea that his exploits made him “known to everyone” confirms that his reputation as a Male Collector was well entrenched, and yet “known by no-one” hints of his reclusive and introspective personality that repelled close acquaintances. One of Maurice’s closest surviving relatives, his nephew Lord Albemarle, wrote a memoir of his knowledge of his uncle, as he believed that no account had been able to capture a true likeness¹⁶⁵. He wrote that:

¹⁶³ *The Manchester Guardian*, (14/12/1912), p12

¹⁶⁴ *Knutsford Guardian*, (06/02/1958)

¹⁶⁵ Albemarle, *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Maurice*

“His modesty and desire for anonymity, and refusal to be featured in the public eye leave scant record upon the page of the history of our time. In his generation he walked alone by preference”¹⁶⁶.

Maurice’s immediate family were amongst the few that could claim to understand his complex character, but he had clearly endeared himself to the local population through his legacy of paternalism and opportunity. The poem of a local man captured the essence of Maurice’s role as a patriarch in the community:

“What can I write about this man,
This man few men knew;
What can I say and in my saying,
Know what I say is true.
With his hand upon my shoulder,
I remember as a boy;
He gave me all his parkland,
To use as my own toy.
Well, not exactly gave it,
Lent it, let us say;
But I’ll love our Lordy dearly,
For ever for that day.
He was a man who loved in life,
The very simple things;
And knew the inner happiness;
That boyish laughter brings.
Yet, for all his wealth,
He sometimes looked so sad;
As if he’d give his millions,
For a boy to call him ‘Dad.’
Lordy, in your going,
Goes a fragment of my heart;
For as a boy I loved you,
Yes, loved you from the start.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

Like your old cloth cap and crumpled mac,
Your ways were never gaudy;
May you rest in peace and know one thing,
You'll be remembered, Lordy"¹⁶⁷.

Written by a Mr Leslie Hewitt of Knutsford, the poem captures Maurice's easy and informal relationship with children, perhaps hinting that this was due to his own regret at not having children of his own. Despite his manifold talents and contributions to early flight, two war efforts, sportsmanship, industry and Imperial expansion, it was this intangible memory of a humble friend to children that became his most vivid contribution and lasting legacy.

Shabby dress and restrained and gentle speech became synonymous with Maurice and endeared him to the local community, removing the historic barriers of distance and formality between landlord and tenant (figure 103). Arguably due to this unusual behaviour, personal memories of Maurice have abounded and been recorded fondly in the Tatton Park archive. In 2003 Tatton staff received a letter from GR Mawson, who had stayed with relatives at one of the Tatton lodge houses during the Second World War. He was able to vividly recall an image of Maurice decades after his encounter:

"He was dressed in a nondescript way wearing what appeared to be an old tweed jacket complete with leather patches on the elbows, plus baggy tweed trousers, which gave no hint of the wealthy man that he was"¹⁶⁸.

In 1992 aged 83 years, a Mr Smith recalled a visit from Maurice who was:

"Driving an old ford which was almost in pieces with the right wing shaking up and down. Maurice didn't care that the car was in a terrible state and very dangerous. Maurice drove the car himself"¹⁶⁹.

Both of these statements refer to Maurice's habit of concealing his identity through behaviour and habits that did not match expectations for a Baron.

¹⁶⁷ *The Guardian*, (20/02/1958)

¹⁶⁸ *Memoir of GW Mawson*, (17/10/1903), TPA

¹⁶⁹ *Memoir of Peter Timmis Smith*, (11/05/1992), TPA

Figure 103: Maurice as a young man in shabby coat and hat which would become his trademark



Maurice's wishes at his death in January 1958 were an appropriate conclusion to his inclination to live without public spectacle. He declined a monument to mark his resting place and establish a tangible legacy and specified in his will:

"I desire that my body shall be cremated and the ashes cast to the four winds.
I do not wish to have a Memorial or other Public Service"¹⁷⁰.

Maurice was buried quickly and quietly in Nakuru North Cemetery¹⁷¹, denying the residents of Knutsford an opportunity to mourn his passing, although his name was

¹⁷⁰ *Maurice's Will*, p1

¹⁷¹ *Egerton University Conservation and Development Plan*, p9

subsequently added to a modest family grave in Rostherne churchyard alongside his father and brothers (figures 104 and 105).

Figure 104: Maurice's grave in Kenya



Figure 105: Maurice's grave at Rostherne Church



With Maurice's death, it became apparent that Maurice was truly "known by no-one" as the surprise of his fiscal legacy indicated that the true state of his finances had

been concealed from almost everyone¹⁷². The newspapers speculated over who would inherit the “Egerton millions”¹⁷³, but the secret of how depleted his funds had become was waiting to be exposed. Barczewski notes the “considerable” expense of acquiring specimens, which meant that the prestige sought by collectors was based on their willingness to “outlay large sums”¹⁷⁴. It comes as no surprise that a collection as varied and extensive as Maurice’s should have been achieved at considerable cost. Morris described how “a pair of full sized tigers might easily cost £150, the price of a two bedroom house in 1900”¹⁷⁵. Unwilling to curb these activities suggests that the balance of power began to tip as Maurice’s collection exerted an unhealthy amount of control over its collector. In consequence, his Cheshire estates and finances suffered gradual decline. First to be sacrificed were outlying properties and land on the wider Tatton estate. Ordsall Hall in Salford had been in Egerton possession since an inheritance in 1758¹⁷⁶. Put to a number of different uses, including a generous endowment from Maurice’s uncle Wilbraham, 2nd Baron and 1st Earl Egerton, to turn it into a college for the clergy in 1896, it was left to decay during the period of Maurice’s ownership¹⁷⁷.

The wider Tatton estate was greatly diminished in Maurice’s lifetime. In 1932 a number of outlying portions of the Tatton estate were offered for sale by auction¹⁷⁸. However, despite their being a large attendance, it was reported that business was not brisk, and the lots were withdrawn and later sold by private treaty. Of these lots, two dwellings at Ringway fetched £850, and a farm £4000¹⁷⁹. Further farms sold in the nearby villages of Mobberley, Marthall and Ollerton demonstrate that Maurice had begun to cut loose assets increasingly nearer to the main boundaries of his estate¹⁸⁰. In 1954, 45 lots of property in the dependent village of Knutsford were cut loose, raising Maurice £30,750¹⁸¹.

¹⁷² *Knutsford Guardian* (06/08/1997)

¹⁷³ *Knutsford Guardian*, (13/02/1958)

¹⁷⁴ Barczewski, *Country Houses*, p223

¹⁷⁵ Morris, *Rowland Ward*, p43

¹⁷⁶ *Ordsall Hall Guidebook*, (2011), Creative Lynx, p10

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p15

¹⁷⁸ *Knutsford Guardian*, (21/10/1932)

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*

¹⁸⁰ *Knutsford Guardian*, (04/11/1932)

¹⁸¹ *Accounts for Sale of Knutsford Properties*, (1954) LEF, CRO

The real threat to the heart of Maurice's property in England, Tatton Park, reveals how untenable his financial situation had become. The first indications that Maurice's collecting trips and businesses abroad were funded at the expense of his Cheshire home were seen in the 1930s, the most fruitful decade of Maurice's collecting career. A London solicitor wrote to Maurice explaining his weak financial situation and making grim predictions for the future¹⁸². He wrote:

"I am afraid that any suggestion I could make would only involve the sacrifice on your part of some things with which you would be unwilling to part. It would, of course, be a very great help if you could get rid of Nakuru Industries. I believe your London house is saleable, but even if you parted with that it would not solve the problem of the running expenses of Tatton Park, and I really feel that the time will come one day, sooner or later, that you will have to give it up entirely"¹⁸³.

The letter suggested that a sale of Tatton Park would be inevitable if Maurice did not consider scaling back his African ventures, which the solicitor understood would be an unpopular proposition.

Maurice endeavoured to protect a fundamental imagining of Tatton Park, but his crushing financial situation began to chip away at the integrity of the house. He resorted to breaking up some of the historic interiors collected by his ancestors, severing ties with the past to keep intact his own expanding collection and to safeguard his personal legacy. A letter from an aristocratic neighbour, Lord Derby of Knowsley, who was facing similar financial distress, advised Maurice that the sale of books was especially profitable¹⁸⁴. Following this advice, a series of books were sent to auction via Sotheby's to raise sums that were usually small but vital to the short term easing of his financial burden. In December of 1953 he disposed of a 15th century illuminated manuscript and a book of hours that would have been particular treasures of the Tatton collection¹⁸⁵. The decision to part with these manuscripts was a symbolic break with the preservative traditions of the past, accenting the financial ineptitude of the new generation. Along with 20 other books of lesser significance he

¹⁸² *Letter from Ellis Piers and Co, London, to Lord Egerton*, (unknown date), LEF, CRO

¹⁸³ *Ibid*

¹⁸⁴ *Letter from Lord Derby to Lord Egerton*, (07/08/1953), LEF, CRO

¹⁸⁵ *Sotheby's Auction Catalogue* (December 1953), TPA

raised £5379 from the sale¹⁸⁶. This sale alone did not ease Maurice's financial pressures for long, and further sales followed. In February 1954 a further book sold at the reserve price of £20 and in April a further three sold for an unknown sum¹⁸⁷.

Despite these sales, his situation remained desperate. The Westminster Bank wrote to Maurice in July 1953 informing him that his overdraft now stood at £250,000, and that "substantial and permanent reduction in your indebtedness to the bank" was required¹⁸⁸. Maurice replied:

"I have told my East African agent to sell my Iringa Farm. Also my textile factory at Nakuru. My English agent to sell Tatton farms and cottages. I have resigned from most of my societies. My neighbour Lord Stamford is proposing to buy some Tatton property that adjoins his. I am inquiring as to the possibility of the National Trust taking over this house"¹⁸⁹.

These concessions made to placate the bank demonstrate the measures that Maurice was willing to take to ensure that his second life in Kenya remained tenable. One of the memberships resigned was the Cheshire Hunt, severing almost two centuries of Egerton participation¹⁹⁰. Although some of his less profitable East African ventures were surrendered, Maurice ploughed on with breaking up the Tatton estate, and even hinted that the mansion itself, which had been in Egerton hands since the sixteenth century, should be demolished. He wrote in June of 1953:

"I am beginning to feel that if my conditions don't soon improve, I'll have to consider doing something very drastic. I believe that Lord Derby is demolishing part of Knowsley"¹⁹¹.

A month before the demand from Westminster Bank he had apparently entered into communication with the National Trust to discuss giving the property away¹⁹². Suggesting the level of seriousness with which he investigated this route, Maurice wrote to acquaintances that had already faced the same decision and had taken the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

¹⁸⁷ *Sotheby's Auction Catalogues*, (February and March 1954), TPA

¹⁸⁸ *Letter from Westminster Bank to Lord Egerton*, (28/07/1953), LEF, CRO

¹⁸⁹ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Westminster Bank*, (03/08/1953), LEF, CRO

¹⁹⁰ Ferguson, *The Green Collars*, p37

¹⁹¹ *Letter from Lord Egerton to Brocklehurst of the National Trust*, (05/06/1953), LEF, CRO

¹⁹² *Letter from Charles Brocklehurst of National Trust to Lord Egerton*, (17/06/1953), LEF, CRO

plunge. Of these was Henry McLaren, 2nd Baron Aberconwy, the previous owner of the Bodnant estate which had recently been given to the Trust in 1949. Writing from his London home, the appropriately named “Sanctuary”, he advised Maurice that:

“I should therefore, in your place, feel very confident that if you wish to go on living at Tatton, you would be able to do so”¹⁹³.

In August of that year the Trust corresponded with Maurice declaring their willingness to accept Tatton with an endowment to meet its running costs, which, in his reduced circumstances, Maurice was unable to provide¹⁹⁴.

Maurice was not the only African settler and Male Collector to experience hardship. Maurice’s increased investments of time and money into business interests in Kenya reflect a common pattern of struggle and decline. British settlers had found that Kenya was not a promised land of milk and honey, but a strange and unpredictable terrain where crops and livestock were at the mercy of the elements and rampant diseases. Lord Galbraith Lowry Egerton Cole, Maurice’s neighbour at Kekopey and brother in law of Lord Delamere, committed suicide in October 1929 aged 48¹⁹⁵. His epitaph read “buried here at his home, Kekopey, in which he laboured, loved and suffered much”¹⁹⁶. In the early 1940s Maurice was running his farms at Ngongogeri, N’gata and Jamji at a steady profit¹⁹⁷. Just a few years later these profit margins had decreased or had entered into debt¹⁹⁸. Maurice’s balance sheets of 1947 show the sale of his Jamji and Kapatungor estates to the Kenya tea company for £331,951 and £26,049 respectively¹⁹⁹. He also sold his shares in Kaphorech Ltd, collecting £125,000²⁰⁰.

Despite massive financial pressure, Maurice’s priorities in his balance sheets suggest that funds were still being used to grow his collection, and amongst his outgoings remained regular payments to Rowland Ward for the preparation of

¹⁹³ *Letter from Henry McLaren to Lord Egerton*, (1953), LEF, CRO

¹⁹⁴ *Letter from National Trust to Lord Egerton*, (17/08/1953), LEF, CRO

¹⁹⁵ *Egerton University Conservation and Development Plan*, p2

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*

¹⁹⁷ *Balance Sheet* (1942), TPA. This shows profits of £1427, £2447 and £55,260 respectively.

¹⁹⁸ *Balance Sheet* (1945), TPA. This shows profits of £695 for Ngongogeri, £287 for N’gata and £38,777 for Jamji. Losses of £486 were made in his new interests in Ifunda, Tanganyika and £204 for workshops at N’gata

¹⁹⁹ *Balance Sheet* (1947)

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*

specimens²⁰¹. In 1939 Ward's suggested that Maurice insure his collection of trophies for in excess of £10000, and his collection continued to expand substantially beyond that date²⁰².

The future of his collection became uncertain after Maurice's death. It was Maurice's wish that Tatton Park be accepted by the National Trust, excluding the park and grounds, which were to be the source of income to provide for death duties²⁰³. This would ensure that the "property shall be permanently preserved for the benefit of the Nation"²⁰⁴. Most crucially, it would also ensure that his collection would remain in situ, intact. The first codicil to this wish dealt specifically with his collection, before the "furniture furnishings books and pictures" of the house²⁰⁵. He declared:

"I give to the National Trust absolutely-

- (i) My collections of sporting trophies...and all other articles at the date of my death in the said Tenants' Hall... and all other exhibits of various kinds in the rooms near the Tenants' Hall or elsewhere at Tatton Hall to the intent that the same should be permanently maintained as a museum collection and should be housed at my said mansion house"²⁰⁶.

Specifying his preference for his private collection first suggests that it was of highest priority when imagining the final conclusion of the Tatton estate as centuries of Egerton ownership terminated.

The MEC did not receive the same level of interest and acclaim when viewed critically for the first time without the curator as a guide. Immediately following his death in 1958 Sotheby's auction house compiled a valuation of Tatton's contents. For Maurice's museum room, the listed items were only assigned a value if considered to be worth more than £20. Surprisingly, there was a clear gulf between the value Maurice bestowed on his collection and the official assessment of the

²⁰¹ *Invoice from Rowland Ward (1952)*

²⁰² *Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (1939) LEF, CRO*

²⁰³ Maurice's Will, p5

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p6

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p5

auction house. The fifteen hand carved display cases were valued at £150.0.0. These were essential facets of the collection, but were fundamentally designed to protect and promote the contents within. However, the listing for the actual collection, described as “display tables containing native art, various vessels, baskets, weapons and musical instruments, metals, numerous shells, jade and stone scrapers, and an Edward VII £5 gold piece, various flints, a large quantity of animal heads and skins and miscellaneous furniture” did not exceed the £20 valuation²⁰⁷.

The low valuation did not deter the National Trust from endeavouring to keep the display intact as per Maurice’s wishes, but his request was achieved slightly differently to his original imagining. The Trust did indeed accept Tatton Park, but the absence of an endowment meant that it was leased to Cheshire County Council in 1960²⁰⁸. Beginning in November of that year and running for 99 years at a nominal yearly rate of one shilling²⁰⁹, this lease set in place a financial management plan for the estate that would preserve the mansion as “an example of a country residence”²¹⁰, as per Maurice’s wishes. The lease stipulated that the council must “maintain such rooms...(herein after called “the show rooms”) as show rooms and to permit the public to enter and view the show rooms”²¹¹. However, in 1992 Maurice’s collection was withdrawn from its original manifestation in the TH²¹². This decision was influenced by changing attitudes and distastes towards the objects. Simon Moore, Natural History advisor for the National Trust explained that:

“Although the collection was made at a time when such mammals were still common, some may now view such trophies as being politically incorrect”²¹³.

Compounded with this was the intention to refit the TH “as a functions space” which meant that “the continued display of these items was, quite rightly, not considered compatible with this use”²¹⁴. The showcases were emptied, the contents of the drawers removed, and the collection became separated, its narrative fragmented, and its future uncertain.

²⁰⁷ *Sotheby’s Valuation of Tatton Hall*, (May 1958), TPA

²⁰⁸ *Lease Between National Trust and Cheshire County Council*, (15/02/1960), TPA

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*

²¹⁰ *Maurice’s Will*, p6

²¹¹ *Lease Between National Trust*, p6

²¹² *Brief for Designers and Writer/Researcher for Re-display*, (2004), TPA

²¹³ Moore ‘A Future for the Egerton Collection’ p36

²¹⁴ *Ethnomuseums Job Advert*, (06/04/2004), TPA

The loss of the TH as a visitor space was felt keenly by many visitors who had visited as children and who held the collection fondly in their memories despite its outmoded dialogue and representations of the past. At the turn of the twenty-first century, visitors were encouraged to leave feedback detailing their memories of the collection and disappointment that it could no longer be viewed, in the hope that funding could be sought to make a new permanent exhibition space to showcase a portion of the collection once again. Some comments highlighted the gulf in attitudes between those that could and could not easily tolerate the difficult subject matter on display. Jean of Timperley wrote:

“I used to walk through with my eyes shut while my husband admired the dead animals”²¹⁵.

Whilst attitudes such as these appeared to justify the removal of the exhibition, the majority of comments lamented the loss of the collection, indicating to Tatton staff that the time was ripe for a reappearance and sensitive re-imagining. Jackie Roome commented:

“As a child I remember the last room you came to was the large tenants hall. I was enthralled with all the trophies and the carriages and fire engine. I miss seeing them”²¹⁶.

Jan Slater wrote that:

“I’m so sorry the Tenants Hall wasn’t open to the public. I remember it, and missed it greatly”²¹⁷.

Some comments even outlined how a new strategy could ensure interpretation of the collection was relevant to the more enlightened view of modern times:

“Needs re-erecting to remind us of our obligations to preserve species not to destroy! It was an awe inspiring exhibition of the hunter!”²¹⁸

Buoyed by the invested interest of the public, in 2002 a case for advocacy was sought to bring the collection out of storage once more. Funding was sought to

²¹⁵ Jean Ferguson, *Visitor Feedback Forms*, (2003), TPA

²¹⁶ Jackie Roome, *Visitor Feedback Forms*, (2003), TPA

²¹⁷ Jan Slater, *Visitor Feedback Forms*, (2003), TPA

²¹⁸ Fran and Michael Bowers, *Visitor Feedback Forms*, (2003), TPA

translate the old servants' hall into a permanent exhibition space where a small proportion of objects could once again be viewed. Curator Sarah Burdett justified her desire to maintain the style of the displays in as original an interpretation as possible:

“We have not tried to reinterpret the collection and have tried to maintain some of the integrity of the earlier displays set up by Lord Egerton. The rationale behind this is that this was always a country house collection, the passion of the man who assembled it and an integral part of the collections at Tatton Park”²¹⁹.

Burdett acknowledged that the rationale of the collection was tightly bound with its conception as a “country house collection”, meaning that re-imagining or updating it as a museum exhibition would irrevocably alter its identity and appeal. Whereas this small display was designed to appease the call to restore the collection, it was not possible for the rhino to feature in this exhibit. Following a number of thefts and vandalisms to taxidermy rhino specimens in museums, Tatton Park removed their specimen from display for its safety. Consigned to storage for the foreseeable future, the legacy of the rhino has been silenced and is not able to communicate its story.

²¹⁹ Burdett, Sara (April 2005) *The Maurice Egerton Collection Re-Display Brief*, TPA

6.5 Summary

As the rhino, tunny fish and meteorite were prepared for exhibition, they entered a new phase in their lives as artificially preserved showpieces. Their treatment post acquisition can be viewed as a blatant manifestation of the collector's identity as a Male Collector seeking to represent an image of the self and create a legacy through material culture. Maurice's choice of exhibition space can be seen to be in keeping with displays commonly mounted by Male Collectors that flaunted their skill and disseminated a message of strength and prowess to their audiences. Maurice's exacting specifications for his exhibition, seen in his construction of the fabric of the TH museum through to his instructions to his taxidermist, suggest that he was heavily invested in creating a suitable and meaningful display space. This venue upheld a façade of his identity that he projected to chosen audiences, and his specimens became vessels that preserved the memories of his travels and acquisitions. Maurice's audience was carefully selected to give anticipated responses of awe and aspiration. Maurice primarily used his exhibition to cultivate the interests of youth and to inspire them to protect his legacy. Finally, Maurice's desire to expand his collection came to threaten its future as financial pressures demanded restitution. Saved for the nation following his death, Maurice's legacy has endured into the present but the loss of its collector has left the MEC defenceless and unsure of its relevancy to modern times.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis has endowed objects in the MEC with the power to “function as language” and speak first hand of their participation in important historic events¹. Objects have not simply generated meanings until a finite point of acquisition, but have survived into the present and accumulated a multitude of significances as they have been re-experienced over time². Presented in the package of the “cultural biography”, this thesis has traced some of these meanings and analysed the complexities of key objects within the MEC. It has addressed the particular legacy of a private collector and his multifaceted relationship with his collection. It has not been possible to accommodate a complete biography whereby the lives of the objects could be outlined in more depth immediately before and after the intervention of Maurice. It is hoped that future research opportunities might consider these unexplored periods in the collection’s life cycle. Over a thousand objects in the MEC have received no mention in this thesis, but are no less deserving or illuminating than the few selected for explication in the case studies.

Examining the MEC in motion through its core junctures has constructed a timeline of events that reflect the emergence and self-representation of Maurice as a collector. Collections do not come fully formed, but are the result of years of activity on behalf of the collector, whereby his growth and development is apparent alongside the physical accumulation of goods. Maurice used objects to represent his own tastes and understanding of the world, and as such his collection has been an excellent forum to interpret his status and motivations. As Prown summarises so distinctly:

“Objects reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of the individuals who commissioned, fabricated, purchased, or used them and, by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which these individuals belonged”³.

¹ Shelton, *Museum Ethnography*, p155

² Prown, Jules (1993) ‘The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?’ in Lubar, Steven and Kingery, W David (eds.) *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Smithsonian Institute, p3

³ *Ibid*, p1

In particular, this thesis has identified Maurice operating within an elite social group demarked as the “Male Collectors”. This group of aristocratic or upper class men collected primarily Big Game specimens from the outposts of Empire at the turn of the twentieth century. Their ideological inheritance can be seen to have emerged from a complex series of influences that included the hero worship of popular explorers such as Livingstone and Burton, mass publication of popular fiction, an elite education based upon muscular Christianity, exposure to boys’ movements, Great Exhibitions and parental encouragement. Their development was made possible by the expansion of Empire and reimagining of White male identity as physically and ideologically suited to colonising its outposts. Men such as Maurice were encouraged to leave the feminised domestic sphere and take new opportunities to travel, trade and collect in newly established pseudo- British environments. Big Game collections were the ultimate expression of elite prowess as they stalked and conquered the wild beasts of nature. They displayed their conquests in their Western homes both to draw continuity with their ancestral seats of power, and to demonstrate their renewed grip on modern life.

This thesis has shown that Maurice’s career as a collector was encouraged by his unique circumstances at birth, but also grew under specific influence from his childhood experiences and personal inclinations. It has been established that aristocratic collections developed from a traditional expectation that they should construct their status through “extravagant spending” on “lavish homes”⁴. In the early twentieth century the importance of retaining a home layered with objects from across history remained, but it became more acceptable for private collections to branch away into new avenues of personal interest. This has been seen specifically at Tatton Park whereby his uncle Wilbraham the 2nd Baron collected a series of Italian and Flemish paintings to augment that collection begun by his grandfather, but also acquired a personal collection of Indian arms and armour. The rationale of the MEC was dictated according to what was available to Maurice in his own unique socio-historic context. In light of this, the collection is best understood and put to use as a source that reveals the prospects and behaviours of Male Collectors in the late Imperial period. This thesis has suggested that it was part of an inheritance in

⁴ Rothery, Mark and Stobart, Jon (2012), ‘Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House: The Leigh Family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738–1806’, *Continuity and Change* 27, Vol. 3, p80

common that saw objects of nature and the “other” transplanted from abroad to take their place in country estates alongside inherited collections of art and furniture.

This thesis has developed a model first proposed by Clarke to enable the study of the MEC to generate relevant context and demonstrate its tied relationship with its collector⁵. This has been necessary to meet the aim of constructing a socially informed biography whereby the types of objects collected and acquisition and display methods illuminate the character and motivations of the collector. This thesis began by examining social pressure that was crucial in manipulating Maurice’s activity, and when coupled with his own personal impulses enabled the MEC became significant, prolific and diverse. Instruction and example set by his family introduced Maurice to an aristocratic expectation of collecting acceptable material culture and displaying it to uphold status and continuity with the past. Maurice was not a likely candidate to inherit Tatton Park, but this had a significant impact on his moulding as a collector. He maintained close links with his prestigious Egerton relatives at Tatton Park but was afforded a higher degree of freedom and indulgence, as seen through his vocational education. His personal interests in agriculture, science and geography were encouraged by his father, himself a younger son, and Alan’s paternal guidance was essential in introducing Maurice to the exclusive circle of Male Collectors.

Being excluded from a public school and university education initially debarred Maurice from the inner circle of men who had formed a close camaraderie through their shared doctrines of muscular pursuits and Imperial masculine privilege. Percy Selous described how “a bond of brotherhood existed” between white European men in Africa, and Maurice worked hard to be accepted into the Male Collector fraternal tradition⁶. He integrated successfully through the demonstration of his skill and endurance in the field, for which he appeared to have a natural aptitude.

The case study of the Matabele axe has shown that Maurice emulated other Male Collectors in practice and demeanour in his first voyage from home as he came of age. The trip served the purpose planned by his father: to give Maurice first hand experiences of safari life, practices of sportsmanship, Imperial governance and

⁵ Clarke, *Culture as a System*

⁶ Selous, *African Nature Notes*, p326

militaristic hierarchies. Alan could not have foreseen that his safari would be interrupted by war, but Maurice was able to establish his collection of “souvenirs” that spoke of this significant trip.

Economic flexibility heavily shaped the MEC by dictating what was possible to collect. The collection of the elephant, a highly prestigious specimen, has examined how Maurice was drawn to Africa by the lure of safari culture. Maurice was a latecomer to settler life when he arrived in 1921, but the date is significant as he had come into his majority following his ascension to the title of Baron Egerton of Tatton. Corresponding with his inheritance and new found confidence, his collecting increased on a large scale and became more purposeful, ordered and dedicated. Maurice was very much in sympathy with Delamere’s vision to create a haven for aristocrats and dictate a new Imperial rule based on a belief in ideological supremacy. His collecting at this time was heavily reliant upon the friendships and advice of other more established collectors. Despite this, Maurice’s sober and industrious outlook was not in sync with the dissolution and chaos of the Happy Valley set. These men and women had exiled themselves from their British estates through poverty and moral incompatibility with the reduced roles of aristocratic eminence. Maurice’s dedication to the expansion of his collection and maintained links with his Cheshire estate modified his behaviour in line with the heightened ethical awareness of the responsibilities of Male Collectors.

Maurice became assured in his role as a collector and made a statement of his perceived status through the collection of the meteorite. Recording advice was crucial to enabling him to travel and collect successfully, but also to project an important image of competency to earn the respect of others. Having navigated his way through the collection of a range of core specimens for his collection, in particular the big five hunting trophies, Maurice had established himself as a leading figure in the Male Collector network.

Economic sustainability was a crucial factor that threatened the viability of the MEC at the end of Maurice’s life. His failing fortunes, invested to a damaging extent in the MEC, correspond with changing attitudes to hunting and collecting towards the mid twentieth century. Maurice was one of the last of a dying breed of Male Collectors, and struggled to continue to propagate an outmoded ideology. The Prince of Wales

lamented the decline of the “larger than life” characters amongst the Cheshire aristocracy who had “prodigious stamina” on the hunting field⁷. He described how their “unique way of life- one of the last outposts of a truly British culture- came under constant siege”⁸. Maurice’s age and the decline in his collecting reflect the demise of the identity of the Imperial male. The sport of Big Game hunting did not hold the same allure and wildlife had become seriously depleted.

Maurice’s collecting was heavily gendered, and this has been seen through the types of objects he found attractive, the methods used to acquire them, and the philosophy of the group that this thesis has identified as the Male Collectors. Nowhere was the expression of the Imperial male more flagrant than in the manifestation of Big Game hunting. MacKenzie has described hunting as “the most perfect expression of global dominance” that brought together masculine virtues of “courage, endurance, individualism, sportsmanship, resourcefulness... and a mastery of natural history”⁹.

Having conquered wild beasts of nature, Maurice continued to exert dominance over them through his display. In keeping with other collectors who established displays in their ancestral homes, Maurice’s bespoke display in the Tenants Hall set out to display his souvenirs provocatively to his select audience. Maurice planned the design of the space as a vast hall adorned with heraldry and stipulated that his specimens be preserved as trophy heads rather than full body mounts. These were purposeful masculine symbols of power designed to have maximum impact when viewed.

Maurice’s ordered collecting techniques as seen in the acquisition of the hunting dog further adheres to the idea that male collecting is typically focused, precise and dedicated. This case study has seen that the success of Maurice’s safaris was supported by extensive preparations. His safaris were often designed to target specific species for acquisition, suggesting that he sought to acquire a systematic collection. He had clear ideas of gaps to fill as well as current records to beat. Seeing to appear in record books of Big Game implies that he wished to establish a reputation alongside other Male Collectors of the era. The apparent success of this has been explored in the form of gifts made to his collection. An ordered approach to

⁷ Ferguson, *The Green Collars*, pxi

⁸ Ibid

⁹ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, pp.50-51

collecting enabled him to collect large and rare specimens, and his reputation as a skilled collector had become entrenched.

The theme of religion, or of philosophy, has been explored through the exploration of Male Collector activity, particularly in reference to the structured rules of the Shikar Club. Maurice was a founding member of the club, and he made a conscious effort to uphold their beliefs in fair play, ethical constraints and fair sportsmanship. The collection of the leopard sets out how this prestigious specimen was acquired by the demonstration of years of accumulated knowledge and experience of the risks and responsibilities of Big Game hunting.

The collection of the rhino makes known a traditionally invisible history, that of the native servant or “boy”. Their roles were crucial to the establishment of all of the collections brought back from Africa at this time, but their presence is not acknowledged in the registration files of donors. This case study proves that servants could even be responsible for acquisitions, but they were not permitted to become collectors in their own right. Their history is another piece in a puzzle that builds the ethical and intellectual frameworks of the Male Collectors. Their roles were complimentary to the acquisition of specimens as their skills in tracking, sighting and skinning were responsible for the acquisition of the best specimens. Their personal care in serving the personal requirements of their employers, or “masters” was often acknowledged, suggesting that meaningful relationships could be formed based on mutual respect and even friendship. However, a tradition of stereotype and misinformation ensured that boys were subdued, as seen through the language used to refer to them, and ultimately through tangible behaviours that enforced physical barriers between master and servant.

The collection of the tunny fish has presented Maurice’s struggles to adhere to the stringent ethical expectations of the Male Collectors as he desired to collect a specimen quickly and without severe personal hardship. A similar practice has been observed in the collection of the Mrs Gray antelope, whereby Maurice was forced to set aside his usual deliberate selection and acquisition methods to achieve a specimen that did not reflect the best of what he expected to achieve. Both of these studies suggest that specimens acquired through the application of a rigorous appraisal and physical process were highly revered in his collection. However, when

Maurice sought souvenirs that were not forthcoming, the objects assumed a power of their collector whereby his ethical restraints were superseded by a need to collect at any cost. Such objects might be described as fetishes, whereby the collector lost control of his intended rationale and extended his collection according to a psychological need. This thesis has not chosen to conduct psychological analysis of the construction of the collector, but these studies come closest to tipping the balance of power between the control of the collector or collection.

In this course of this thesis, the MEC has frequently been challenged by critics who ask: “But is it any good?” The intentions of that question engender another: “How should we value the collection?” In terms of quantity, the MEC reflects a productive career and a lifetime’s work. In terms of content, it includes large specimens representative of most of the major species of mammal from the continents of Africa and North America, including many rare and endangered species. Consequentially, it has been said to rival any museum collection in terms of quality of specimen selection and presentation¹⁰. Ultimately, its biggest value is not its size or content, but what it represents. Having now given the MEC a voice through this thesis, its lifecycle narrates the participation of Maurice in novel and exciting events at the turn of the twentieth century and brings new information to what is known of elite male status and culture at this time.

This thesis concludes that the rationale of the MEC is a mutable concept, constructed over time according to the changing interests and priorities of its collector. The acquisition of each piece is a snapshot of Maurice’s participation in life at certain points in time, and following the chronological growth of the collection constructs a parallel biography of the development of a collector. The selection of objects and the methods used to acquire them are reflections of Maurice’s social parameters which dictated and controlled the collecting process. Delving deeper into his behaviour reveals his sympathies with a class of Male Collectors, who sought an idealised collection of natural history specimens acquired through an idealised collection process. These men were the successors of an Imperial masculine legacy of superiority, but forged a distinct identity in accordance with a current context of British aristocratic decline and the reimagining of the role of Empire in new colonial

¹⁰ Simon Moore, ‘A Future for the Egerton Collection’, p36

expansion. Therefore, Maurice's collecting was both a product of his times, and an individual reaction against it.

Just as Maurice should not be reduced to a "typical" male, so too should his collection be considered as unusual and with curious idiosyncrasies that contribute to a greater understanding of their times. The unusually full amount of source material associated with the MEC enables its contribution to be heard. The MEC has been an overlooked resource but has provided original stories and historical context to the field of aristocratic collecting in the early twentieth century. In seeking its rationale, it has been discovered that it was a dynamic and resourceful collection, transcending a period of historical change and reflecting a gradual demise in the viability of the Imperial male identity. Most importantly, it was the "collection of a lifetime", representing one man's grasp on the world and his place within it. It is hoped that the aim of this thesis to raise awareness of the collection has been fulfilled, and that its reach will extend to interested parties beyond the walls of Tatton Park.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Cheshire Records Office:

Accounts for Sale of Knutsford Properties, (1954) LEF, CRO

B and C List, LEF, CRO

Big Game Book, CRO

Firearm Certificate (08/06/1951), LEF, CRO

Invoice from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (1937), LEF, CRO

Invoice from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton (1952) LEF, CRO

Invoice from Safariland to Lord Egerton, (13/04/1934), LEF, CRO

Letter from British Museum to Lord Egerton, (04/11/1929), LEF, CRO

Letter from British Museum to Lord Egerton, (02/12/1936), LEF, CRO

*Letter from Charles Brocklehurst of National Trust to Lord Egerton, (17/06/1953),
LEF, CRO*

Letter from Charles Longe to Lord Egerton, (27/01/1926), LEF, CRO

Letter from Charles Longe to Lord Egerton, (13/04/1926), LEF, CRO

Letter from Ellis Piers and Co, London, to Lord Egerton, (unknown date), LEF, CRO

Letter from Henry McLaren to Lord Egerton, (1953), LEF, CRO

*Letter from J Wilfred Jackson, Manchester Museum, to Lord Egerton, (13/12/1939),
LEF, CRO*

Letter from Lord Derby to Lord Egerton, (07/08/1953), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to 2nd Lt Newton, (20/01/1941), LEF, CRO

*Letter from Lord Egerton to Brocklehurst of the National Trust, (05/06/1953), LEF,
CRO*

Letter from Lord Egerton to Liverpool Museum, (10/09/1940), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to Manchester Museum, (19/06/1931) LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to Manchester Museum, (27/03/1937), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (April/May 1922), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (25/06/1931), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (08/10/1933), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (06/04/1934), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (04/10/1939), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to Rowland Ward, (20/01/1940), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to South Kensington Museum, (12/02/25), LEF, CRO

Letter from Lord Egerton to Westminster Bank, (03/08/1953), LEF, CRO

Letter from Manchester Museum to Lord Egerton, (01/04/1921), LEF, CRO

Letter from Manchester Museum to Lord Egerton (28/01/1925), LEF, CRO

Letter from Manchester Museum to Lord Egerton, (04/07/1932), LEF, CRO

Letter from National Trust to Lord Egerton, (17/08/1953), LEF, CRO

Letter from Norman Cowell, Lord Egerton's estate, to Manchester Museum, (06/07/1937), LEF, CRO

Letter from Norman Cowell to Lord Egerton, (07/05/1937), LEF, CRO

Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (13/06/1931), LEF, CRO

Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (06/10/1933), LEF, CRO

Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (23/06/1936), LEF, CRO

Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (1939) LEF, CRO

Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (21/01/1942), LEF, CRO

Letter from Rowland Ward to Lord Egerton, (16/02/1954), LEF, CRO

Letter from the Natural History Department at the British Museum to Maurice Egerton, (10/09/1925), LEF, CRO

Letter from Westminster Bank to Lord Egerton, (28/07/1953), LEF, CRO

List of Heads in the Valet's Room, LEF, CRO

List of Horns in Cellar, (06/11/1940), LEF, CRO

List of Specimens Donated to Manchester Museum, (10/08/1937), LEF, CRO

List of Trophies Held in Store at Stoke Newington, LEF, CRO

*Maurice Egerton's Diaries, Consisting of Small Notebooks and Diaries
DET/3229/60/2 (1902-1918) and Travel Journals DET/3229/60/1 (1920-1956), CRO*

Maurice's List for Tentative Tian Shan Trip, (February 1914), LEF, CRO

Receipts for £3 Subscription to the Museum for the Years 1922-32, LEF, CRO

Record of Visits to Tatton Park of Children from Slum Areas, (22/10/1939), CRO

Shikar Club Annual Dinner Programmes, (1911-1914), LEF, CRO

Shikar Club Small Book, (1909), LEF, CRO

Shikar Club Small Book, (1945), LEF, CRO

Tunny Fish Diagram, (09/09/1934), LEF, CRO

Miscellaneous Primary:

Astle, William (ed.) (1896) 'Cheshire MP Interviewed, June 1896' in *Cheshire Notes and Queries* Vol 1, Swain and Co

Blayney Percival, Arthur (1924) *A Game Ranger's Notebook*, Nisbet and Co

Case, Keith and Osborne, Wayne (eds.) (2014) *Matabele Sharpshooter: The diary of Colonel Alexander Weston Jarvis during the Matabele Rebellion of 1896*, Salient

Dahl, Roald (1986) *Going Solo*, Jonathan Cape

Drummond, the Hon. W.H (1875), *The Large Game and Natural History of South East Africa*, Edmonston and Douglas

Edwards, Clarence E (1893) *Camp-Fires of a Naturalist*, Sampson Low, Marston and Co

England and Wales Census (1871)

England and Wales Census (1881)

England and Wales Census (1891)

England and Wales Census (1901)

England and Wales Death Index, (1837-1915)

Eton College Registers (1820-1859)

Grogan, Ewart Scott (1900) *From the Cape to Cairo*, Hurst and Blackett

Grogan, Ewart Scott (1902) 'Hunting Rhinoceros on the Upper Nile' in *The Idler*

Hemingway, Ernest (1954) *Green Hills of Africa*, Perma Books

Huxley, Elspeth (1962) *The Flame Trees of Thika: Memories of an African Childhood*, Penguin Putnam Inc.

Powell Cotton, Percy (1890) *Army and Navy Scribbling Diary*

Rhys, Ernest (1910) *Sir Richard F Burton's First Footsteps in East Africa*, Everyman's Library

Roosevelt, Theodore (1905) *Pastimes of An American Hunter*, Charles Scribner's Sons

Selous, Percy (1908) *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, MacMillan and Co

Selous, F.C. (1896) *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia*, Books of Rhodesia

Selous, Percy and Bryden, H.A. (1897), *Travel and Big Game*, Bellairs and Co

Seton, Ernest Thompson (1901) *Lives of the Hunted*, Scribner Press

Southern Highlands of Tanganyika, Iringa Province, (1925) Booklet, Colonists Ltd

Ward, Rowland (1899) *Records of Big Game*, 3rd edition, Rowland Ward

Ward, Rowland (1928) *Records of Big Game*, 9th edition, Rowland Ward

Ward, Rowland (1935), *Records of Big Game*, 10th edition, Rowland Ward

Weston Jarvis, Alexander, (1895-1896) *Diary*

Weston Jarvis, Alexander (1928) *Jottings From an Active Life*, Heath Cranton

Newspapers:

'A Man Who Did Derring Do', (31/03/2001) *The Telegraph*

City News, (17/03/1883)

Daily Express, (10/09/1920)

Daily Telegraph, (10/09/1920)

Elliot, Keith (3/10/1993) 'Why They Are No Longer Slaying Our Tuna', *The Observer*

Evening News, (January 1958)

Evening News, (27/02/1985)

Hannam, F.B. 'Wonder Fish in English Waters', in the *Illustrated London News*, (13/12/1930)

Horsfall Turner, Eric (1950), 'Trials by Tunny; *Yorkshire Life Illustrated*

Knutsford Guardian, (06/06/1924)

Knutsford Guardian, (13/06/1924)

Knutsford Guardian, (01/08/1924)

Knutsford Guardian, (29/08/1924)

Knutsford Guardian, (29/05/1931)

Knutsford Guardian, (29/07/1932)

Knutsford Guardian, (02/09/1932)

Knutsford Guardian, (21/10/1932)

Knutsford Guardian, (04/11/1932)

Knutsford Guardian, (09/06/1933)

Knutsford Guardian (06/02/1958)

Knutsford Guardian, (13/02/1958)

Knutsford Guardian, (04/09/1996)

Leach, Joan (30/062004) 'Lordy's Great Gift', *Knutsford Guardian*

'Lion King Edward was First Eco-Royal' (19/05/2013) *The Sunday Times*

Local Express, (25/12/1958)

Manchester Courier (14/06/1910)

New York Tribune (25/12/1910)

The Guardian (10/09/1920)

The Guardian, (20/02/1958)

The Huddersfield Daily Chronicle, (24/06/1896), p4

The Leeds Mercury (18/06/1900)

The Leek Post and Times, (13/08/1938)

The Manchester Guardian, (16/07/1889), p8

The Manchester Guardian, (22/04/1897), p3
The Manchester Guardian, (19/12/1901), p6
The Manchester Guardian, (09/06/1910), p9
The Manchester Guardian, (14/12/1912), p12
The Standard, (14/04/1898), p3

Rhodes House University of Oxford:

Buxton, Clarence (unknown date) *The Affects of Western Civilisation on the Tribal Systems of the Masai and Jalus Tribes*, RH
Letter from Cara Buxton to her nephew Desmond Buxton, (06/11/1913), RH
Letter from Cara Buxton to Desmond Buxton, (06/03/1914), RH
Letter from Cara Buxton to Desmond Buxton, (27/04/1914), RH
Minutes of the Proceedings of the First Session of the Legislative Council, (24/03/1922), Nairobi, Papers of Clarence Victor Buxton, RH
Reminiscences of Dorothy Powys Cobb, RH

Scarborough Museums Archive:

Big Stuffed Fish To Be Restored, (unknown paper and date), news clipping, SMA
British Tunny Club Members Book, (1933-1951), SMA
Daily Express, (29/08/1930), SMA
Daily Express, (29/08/30), SMA
Daily Mail, (08/08/1935), SMA
Eastern Daily Press (30/08/34), SMA
Frisby, Captain C.H. (1938) *Newsclipping*, SMA
Mitchell Henry, *Fishing Gazette*, (11/10/1930), SMA
Morning Post, (26/09/1933), SMA
Northern Echo, (18/02/1930), SMA
Overseas Daily Mail, (02/09/1933), SMA

Oxford Mail, (26/09/1933), SMA

South Wales Echo, (06/09/1934), SMA

Tons of Tunny- Memories of 25 years of Big Game Fishing off the Yorkshire Coast,
Exhibition at Wood End Museum of Natural History (10/09/1995- 30/09/1996), SMA

Tatton Park Archive:

Account given to a Mr Laughton, (August 1933), TPA

Albemarle, Lord (1958), *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Late Maurice, Baron Egerton of Tatton*, TPA

Albemarle Papers (1965-1974), TPA

Balance Sheet (1942), TPA

Balance Sheet (1945), TPA

Balance Sheet (1947), TPA

Brief for Designers and Writer/Researcher for Re-display, (2004), TPA

Burdett, Sara (April 2005) *The Maurice Egerton Collection Re-Display Brief*, TPA

Coco de Mer Nut Object Label, TPA

Condition Survey of MEC (2003) Lancashire Conservation Studios, TPA

Egerton University Conservation and Development Plan, (2004), TPA

Ethnomuseums Job Advert, (06/04/2004), TPA

Fran and Michael Bowers, Visitor Feedback Forms, (2003), TPA

Guardian Yearbook (1912), TPA

Jackie Roome, Visitor Feedback Forms, (2003), TPA

Jan Slater, Visitor Feedback Forms, (2003), TPA

Jean Ferguson, Visitor Feedback Forms, (2003), TPA

Last Will and Testament of Maurice Egerton (1958), TPA

Lease between National Trust and Cheshire County Council, (15/02/1960), TPA

Letter from Charles Cowan, Agent for Maurice Egerton, to Manchester Museum,
(20/09/1920), TPA

Letter from Director of the Manchester Museum to Maurice Egerton, (08/02/1909), TPA

Letter from Keeper of the Museum to Maurice Egerton, (24/05/1921), TPA

Letter from Lord Egerton to the Hospital of Tropical Diseases, (July 1938), TPA

Letter from Lord Egerton to Mr Coward at Manchester Museum, (26/07/1927), TPA

Letter from Maurice Egerton to Manchester Museum, (12/01/1908), TPA

Letter from Maurice Egerton to Manchester Museum, (17/01/1909), TPA

Manchester Guardian, (06/09/1909), TPA

Maurice Egerton's Passport (1923), TPA

Maurice Egerton's Photograph Album, TPA

Maurice Egerton's Swahili Phrase Book, TPA

McKean, Maggie (2004) Tenant's Hall Museum Reinstatement, Curation and Conservation Plan, TPA

Memoir of an Unknown Visitor told to Sarah Wheeler, Education Officer at Tatton Park, (25/03/1990), TPA

Memoir of Brenda Williams (May 2005) TPA

Memoir of Colin Rangeley, (12/02/2015), TPA

Memoir of Esther E Hopcraft of 1012 Simmons Road, Creston, Canada, (10/01/1998), TPA

Memoir of GW Mawson, (17/10/1903), TPA

Memoir of John Turner Davies (1992), TPA

Memoir of Miki Mornington, (1958/1959), TPA

Memoir of Peter Timmis Smith, (11/05/1992), TPA

Memoir of Vivienne Jones, (11/09/1998), TPA

Memoir of William Donnelly, Tatton Park Collections Newsletter No 19 (September 1998), TPA

Memos from Maurice to the RAF (c. 1939-45), TPA

Permit from Manchester Museum, (05/03/1934), TPA

Philipson, Dr (2004) Minutes of meeting held at Tatton Park, TPA

Photographs of Egerton Family, digitised by Peter Spooner and George Littler, TPA
Sotheby's Auction Catalogue, (December 1953), TPA
Sotheby's Auction Catalogue, (February 1954), TPA
Sotheby's Auction Catalogue, (March 1954), TPA
Sotheby's Valuation of Tatton Hall, (May 1958), TPA
Tatton Park Guidebook (1977), TPA
Tatton Park Visitor Book, (1910-1916), TPA
Tatton Park Visitor Book, (1923-1954), TPA

Secondary Sources:

Adams, Kathleen M (2015) 'Back to the Future?: Emergent Visions for Object Based Teaching in and Beyond the Classroom', *Museum Anthropology* 38, Vol. 2, pp.88-95

Addison, Paul (2004) *Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer (1874–1965)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Alberti, Samuel J.M.M (2005) 'Owning and Collecting Natural History Objects in Nineteenth Century Britain', in Beretta, Marco (ed.) *From Public to Private: Natural History Collections and Museums*, Science History Publications, pp.141-154

Ames, Michael (1994) 'Cannibal Tours, Glass Boxes and the Politics of Interpretation' in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp. 98-106

Appadurai, Arjun (1994) 'Commodities and the Politics of Value' in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.76-91

Baekeland, Frederick (1994) 'Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting' in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.205-219

Bann, S (2003) 'The Return to Curiosity: Shifting Paradigms in Contemporary Museum Display' in McClellan, A (ed.) *Art and Its Publics*, Blackwell, pp.116-130

Barczewski, Stephanie (2014) *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700-1930*, Manchester University Press

Bateman, Anthony (2010) 'Performing Imperial Masculinities: The Discourse and Practice of Cricket' in Emig, Rainer and Rowland, Antony (eds.) *Performing Masculinity*, Palgrave MacMillan, pp.78-94

Belk, Russell W (1995) *Collecting in a Consumer Society*, Routledge

- Belk, Russell W and Wallendorf, Melanie (1994) 'Of Mice and Men: Gender Identity in Collecting' in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.240-253
- Bence-Jones, Mark (1984) *The National Trust Ancestral Houses*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson
- Bettany, GT (2004) 'Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey-, Tenth Baronet (1806–1881)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press
- Brendon, Piers (1979) *Eminent Edwardians*, Martin Secker and Warburg
- Bush, M.L (1984) *The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis*, Manchester University Press
- Cannadine, David (2001) *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire*, Penguin
- Cannadine, David (1990) *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, Yale University Press
- Cannon Brookes, Peter (1991) *Tabley House*, Johnsons
- Carreau, Lucie (2012) 'Individual, Collective and Institutional Biographies: The Beasley Collection of Pacific Artefacts' in Hill, Kate (ed.) *Museums and Biographies*, Boydell Press, pp.201-214
- Case, Keith and Osborne, Wayne (eds.) (2014) *Matabele Sharpshooter: The Diary of Colonel Alexander Weston Jarvis During the Matabele Rebellion of 1896*, Salient
- Clarke, David (1994) 'Culture as a System With Subsystems' in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.44-47
- Clayton, Anthony (2007) *Cholmondeley, Hugh, Third Baron Delamere (1870-1931)*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
- Constantine, Stephen (1999) 'Migrants and Settlers' in Brown, Judith M, and Wm. Roger Louis (eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, pp. 163-187
- Coutu, Ashley N (2015) 'The Elephant in the Room: Mapping the Footsteps of Historic Elephants With Big Game Hunting Collections', *World Archaeology* 47, Issue 3, pp.486-503
- Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly (1993) 'Why We Need Things' in Lubar, Steven and Kingery, W David (eds.) *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Smithsonian Institute, pp.20-29
- Danaher, Geoff, Schirato Tony and Webb, Jen (2000) *Understanding Foucault*, Sage

Danet, Brenda and Katriel, Tamar (1994) 'No Two Alike: Play and Aesthetics in Collecting' in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.220-239

Davenport Hines, Richard (2004) *Ewart Scott Grogan*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Davenport-Hines (2011) *The Happy Valley Set*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Dawson, Graham (1994) *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*, Routledge

Duder, CJ (1993) 'Men of the Officer Class: The Participants in the 1919 Soldier Settlement Scheme in Kenya' in *African Affairs* 92, No 366, pp.69-87

Duncan, Carol (1991) 'Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship' in Karp, Ivan and Lavine, Steven D. (eds.) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Smithsonian Institution Press, pp.88-103

Dunham Massey Guidebook (2012), The National Trust

Everest, Sophie (2011) 'Under the Skin: The Biography of a Manchester Mandrill', in Alberti, Samuel J.M.M. (ed.) *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie*, University of Virginia Press, pp.75-91

Ewart Scott Grogan in the Matabele campaign, reproduced from www.travelhistory.org/

Ewin, Timothy A.M and Ewin, Joanne V (2015) 'In Defence of the Curator: Maximising Museum Impact', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 31, Vol. 4, pp.322-330

Ferguson, B (1996) 'Exhibition Rhetorics: Material Speech and Utter Sense' in: Greenberg, R. Ferguson, B.W. and Nairne, S. (eds.) *Thinking About Exhibitions*, Routledge, pp.175-190

Ferguson, Gordon (1993) *The Green Collars: The Tarporley Hunt Club and Cheshire Hunting History*, Quiller Press

Foster, Charles (1982) *Arley Hall*, Martins

Fox, James (1982) *White Mischief*, Random House

Franco, Barbara (1997) 'The Ritualisation of Male Friendship and Virtue in Nineteenth Century Fraternal Organisations' in Martinez, Katharine and Ames, Kenneth L (eds.) *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture*, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Inc., pp.281-299

French, Henry and Rothery, Mark (2012) *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c. 1660-1900*, Oxford University Press

French, Henry and Rothery, Mark (2008) 'Upon Your Entry Into the World': Masculine Values and the Threshold of Adulthood Among Landed Elites in England 1680–1800', *Social History* 33, Issue 4, pp.402-422

Frogget, Lynn and Trustram, Myna (2014) 'Object Relations in the Museum: A Psychosocial Perspective', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 29, Vol. 5, pp.482-497

Gathercole, Peter (1989) 'The Fetishism of Artefacts' in Pearce, Susan (ed.) *Museum Studies in Material Culture*, Leicester University Press, pp.73-81

George, Wilma (1985) 'Alive or Dead: Zoological Collections in the Seventeenth Century' in Impey, Oliver, and MacGregor, Arthur (eds.) *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in 16th and 17th Century Europe*, Clarendon, pp.179-187

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra and Goutsos, Dionysis (1997) *Discourse Analysis: An Introduction*, Edinburgh University Press

Girouard, Mark (1992) *A Country House Companion*, Magna Books

Greenblatt, Stephen (1991) 'Resonance and Wonder' in Karp, Ivan and Lavine, Steven D. (eds.) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Smithsonian Institution Press, pp.42-56

Hall, Stuart (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage

Hamilton, Genesta, (1986) *A Stone's Throw: Travels from Africa in Six Decades*, London: Hutchinson

Hammerle, Christa (2009) 'Diaries' in Dobson, Miriam and Ziemann, Benjamin (eds.) *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History*, Routledge, pp.181-198

Haraway, Donna J (1993) 'Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936' in Kaplan, Amy and Pease, Donald E (ed.) *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, Duke University Press, pp.237-291

Hartcup, Adeline (2000) *Children of the Great Country Houses*, National Trust Enterprises Ltd

Henderson I., Foster, S., James, H. and Jones, S. (2008) *A Fragmented Masterpiece: Recovering the Biography of the Hilton of Cadboll Pictish Cross-Slab*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Herne, Brian (2001), *White Hunters: The Golden Age of Safaris*, Henry Holt and Co

- Hill, Kate (ed.) (2012) *Museums and Biographies*, Boydell Press
- Hodder, Ian (1994) 'Theoretical Archaeology: A Reactionary View' in Pearce, Susan M. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.48-52
- Hudson, Roger (1993) *The Grand Tour 1592-1796*, Folio Society
- Huxley, Elspeth (1962) *The Flame Trees of Thika: Memories of an African Childhood*, Penguin Putnam Inc
- Hyam, Ronald (1999) 'The British Empire in the Edwardian Era' in Brown, Judith M, and Wm. Roger Louis (eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, pp.47-63
- Imperial War Museum Online Catalogue at:*
<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30015898>
- Impey, Oliver, and MacGregor, Arthur (eds.) (1985) *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in 16th and 17th Century Europe*, Clarendon
- Jones, Karen (2016) 'The Rhinoceros and the Chatham Railway: Taxidermy and the Production of Animal Presence in the Great Indoors' *The Journal of the Historical Association*, Vol. 101, Issue 348, pp.710-735
- Jones, Paul and McLeod, Suzanne (2016) 'Museum Architecture Matters', *Museum and Society* 14, Vol. 1, pp.207-219
- Jordan, Christopher (2007) *Steering Taste: Ernest Marsh, A Study of Private Collecting in England in the Early 20th Century*, London University of the Arts
- Jordanova, Ludmilla (1989) 'Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums' in Vergo, Peter (ed.) *The New Museology*, Reaktion, pp.22-40
- Joy, Annamma (1994) 'Beyond the Odyssey: Interpretations of Ethnographic Writing in Consumer Behaviour' in Pearce, Susan M. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.296-316
- Karp, Ivan and Lavine, Steven D (1991) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Smithsonian Institution Press
- Keating, Molly (2016) *The Kenya Connection: An Account of the Historical Links Between Cheshire and Kenya*, Northwich and District Heritage Society
- Knell, Simon J (2004) 'Altered Values: Searching for a New Collecting' in Knell, Simon J. (ed.) *Museums and the Future of Collecting*, Ashgate, pp.1-47
- Kokomoor, Kevin (2010) *In the Land of the Tarpon: The Silver King, Sport and the Development of Southwest Florida, 1885-1915*, Florida State University

Kopytoff, I (1986) 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Appadurai, A. (ed.) *The Social Lives of Things*, Cambridge University Press, pp.64-91

Leach, Joan (2007) *Knutsford: A History*, Phillimore

Lees Milne, James (1974) 'The Country House in Our Heritage' in Strong, Roy, Binney, Marcus, Harris John (eds.) *The Destruction of the Country House*, Thames and Hudson, pp.11-14

'Lion King Edward was First Eco-Royal' (19/05/2013) *The Sunday Times*

Longair, Sarah (2015) 'Cultures of Curating: The Limits of Authority', *Museum History Journal* 8, Vol. 1, pp.1-7

Lubar, Steven and Kingery, W David (1993) *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Smithsonian Institute

Lyons, Claire L (2002) 'Objects and Identities: Claiming and Reclaiming the Past', in Barkan, Elazer and Bush, Ronald (eds.) *Claiming the Stones/Naming the Bones: Cultural Property and the Negotiation of National and Ethnic Identity*, Getty Research Institution, pp.116-137

MacDonald, Sharon (ed.) (1998) *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, Culture*, Routledge

MacGregor, Arthur (2007) *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, Yale University Press

Mack, John, (2003) *The Museum of the Mind*, British Museum

MacKenzie, John M. (1990) 'Introduction' in MacKenzie, John M. (ed.) *Imperialism and the Natural World*, Manchester University Press, pp.1-14

MacKenzie, John M (2009) *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities*, Manchester University Press

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

MacKenzie, John M (1999) 'The Popular Culture of Empire in Britain' in Brown, Judith M, and Wm. Roger Louis (eds.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, pp.212-231

MacKenzie, John M (1987) 'The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in Late Victorian and Edwardian Times' in Mangan J.A and Walvin, James (eds.) *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, Manchester University Press, pp.176-198

- Mandler, Peter (1997) *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, Biddles Ltd
- Mangan, J.A (2012) *'Manufactured' Masculinity: Making Imperial Manliness, Morality and Militarism*, Routledge
- Mangan, J.A (1987) 'Social Darwinism and Upper Class Education in Late Victorian and Edwardian England' in Mangan J.A and Walvin, James (eds.) *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, Manchester University Press, pp.135-159
- Mangan, J.A and McKenzie, C (2008) 'Duty unto Death'- The Sacrificial Warrior: English Middle Class Masculinity and Militarism in the Age of New Imperialism, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, Issue 9, pp.1080-1105
- Mangan, J.A and McKenzie, C (2008) 'Imperial Masculinity Institutionalized: The Shikar Club', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, Issue 9 pp. 1218-1242
- Mangan, J.A and McKenzie, C (2008) 'Martial Masculinity in Transition: The Imperial Officer-Hunter and the rise of a conservation ethic', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, Issue 9, pp.1243-1273
- Mangan, J.A and McKenzie, C (2008) 'Privileged Education, Hunting and the Making of Martial Masculinity', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 25, Issue 9, pp.1106-1131
- Mangan, J.A and McKenzie, C (2000) 'The Other Side of the Coin: Victorian Masculinity, Field Sports and English Elite Education' in Mangan, JA (ed.) *Making European Masculinities: Sport, Europe, Gender*, Routledge, pp.62-85
- Mangione, Gemma (2016) 'Making Sense of Things: Constructing Aesthetic Experience in Museum Gardens and Galleries', *Museum and Society* 14, Vol. 1, pp.33-51
- Marvin, Garry (2011) 'Enlivened Through Memory: Hunters and Hunting Trophies' in Alberti, Samuel J.M.M. (ed.) *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie*, University of Virginia Press, pp.201-217
- Maurice Egerton Top Trump Card* (2013), Modern History
- McEvoy, Anna (2016) 'Following in the Footsteps of 18th Century Tourists' in Stobart, Jon and Hann, Andrew (eds.) *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption*, Swindon: Historic England, pp.187-195
- McDevitt, Patrick F (2004) *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1850-1935*, Palgrave MacMillan

- McKenzie, Callum (2000) 'The British Big Game Hunting Tradition, Masculinity and Fraternalism With Particular Reference to the "Shikar Club"', in *The Sports Historian* 20 Issue 1, pp.70-96
- McNay, Lois (1994) *Foucault: A Critical Introduction*, Blackwell
- Mitchell Henry, Lewis (1998) *A Family Account*, *The Mitchell Henry Family Website*
- Moore, Simon (2002) 'A Future for the Egerton Collection of Mammal Trophies at Tatton Park?' *The National Trust Views* 36
- Morris, Pat (2003) *Rowland Ward Taxidermist to the World*, Lavenham Press
- Nicholls, Robert (1996) *Trafford Park, The First Hundred Years*, Phillimore & Co Ltd
- O'Reilly, Mandy (February 2005) *The Last Lord of Tatton*, Cheshire Life
- Ordsall Hall Guidebook*, (2011), Creative Lynx
- Osborne, Frances (2008) *The Bolter*, Virago
- Oxford English Dictionary Online*, taken from www.oxforddictionaries.com
- Pearce, Susan M (1994) 'Collecting Reconsidered' in in Pearce, Susan M. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.193-204
- Pearce, Susan M (1992) *Museums Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*, Leicester University Press
- Pearce, Susan M (1995) *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, Routledge
- 'Philip Egerton', *The Peerage*, online at <http://thepeerage.com/p32825.htm>
- Pocock, R.I. and Etherington, Norman, (2006) *Selous, Frederick Courteney (1851–1917), Hunter and Explorer*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
- Potten, E (2013) *National Trust Libraries Overview*
- Poulter, Emma (2008) *Connecting Histories: Recontextualising the West African Collections at the Manchester Museum*, Manchester University
- Poulter, Emma (2013) 'Silent Witness: Tracing Narratives of Empire Through Objects and Archives in the West African Collections at the Manchester Museum', *Museum History Journal* 6, Issue 1, pp.6-22
- Powis, Jonathan (1984) *Aristocracy*, Blackwell
- Prown, Jules (1994) 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', in Pearce, Susan M. (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp. 133-138

Prown, Jules (1993) 'The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?' in Lubar, Steven and Kingery, W David (eds.) *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Washington: Smithsonian Institute, pp.1-19

Riley, Peter (2000) *Heaton Hall and the Egerton Family*, Walter Brown Printers

Rilwan, Ali (2004) *The Mystery of Maldive Coconut*, Bluepeace online at:
<http://www.bluepeacemaldives.org/news2004/coconutmaldivica.htm>

Rothery, Mark and Stobart, Jon (2012) 'Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House: The Leigh Family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738–1806', *Continuity and Change* 27, Vol. 3, pp.379-407

Ruffer, Jonathan (1989) *The Big Shots: Edwardian Shooting Parties*, Quiller Press Ltd

Saumarez Smith, Charles (1989) 'Museums, Artefacts and Meanings' in Vergo, Peter *The New Museology*, Reaktion, pp.6-21

Shelton, Anthony Alan (2000) 'Museum Ethnography: An Imperial Science' in Hallam, E. and Street, B (eds.) *Cultural Encounters*, Routledge, pp.155-193

Sledmere (2008) Jarrold Publishing

Spicer, Paul (2010) *The Temptress: Passion and Murder in Kenya's Happy Valley*, Simon and Schuster

Spiers, Edward M (2004) *The Victorian Soldier in Africa*, Manchester University Press

Springhall, John (1987) 'Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working Class Adolescents, 1880-1914' in Mangan J.A and Walvin, James (eds.) *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, Manchester University Press, pp.52-74

St Peter's Church, Little Budworth, online at
<http://www.thornber.net/cheshire/htmlfiles/littlebud.html>

Stangoe, Irene (1997) *Looking Back at the Cariboo-Chilcotin*, Heritage House

Stewart, Susan (1993) *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Duke University Press

Stobart, Jon (2015) 'Status, Gender and Life Cycle in the Consumption Practices of the English Elite. The Case of Mary Leigh, 1736-1806', *Journal of Social History* 40, Issue 1, pp.82-103

- Stobart, Jon 'The Country House and Cultures of Consumption', in Stobart, Jon and Hann, Andrew (eds.) (2016) *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption*, Historic England
- Stobart, Jon and Rothery, Mark (2016) *Consumption and the Country House*, Oxford University Press
- Stobart, Jon, and Rothery, Mark (2014) 'Fashion, Heritage and Family', *Cultural and Social History* 11, Issue 3, pp.385-403
- Strong, Roy, Binney, Marcus, Harris John (eds.) (1974) *The Destruction of the Country House*, Thames and Hudson
- Sykes, C.S. (2005) *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family*, Harper Perennial
- Tatton Park Guidebook* (2010), The Printing House Ltd
- Taylor, Paul Michael (2015) 'William Louis Abbott in Madagascar: Revisiting Archival and Museum Resources of a Smithsonian Naturalist from the 1890s', *Museum Anthropology* 38 Vol. 1, pp.28-45
- The Powell-Cotton Museum Quex House and Gardens Guide Book*, (2014)
- Thiemeyer, Thomas (2015) 'Work, Specimen, Witness: How Different Perspectives on Museum Objects Alter the Way They Are Perceived and the Values Attributed to Them', *Museum and Society* 13, Vol. 3, pp.396-412
- Thomas, Martin and Thompson, Andrew (2014) 'Empire and Globalisation: From "High Imperialism" to Decolonisation' *The International History Review* 36 Issue 1
- Thomas, Nicholas (2016) *The Return of Curiosity: What Museums are Good For in the 21st Century*, Reaktion
- Thompson, Andrew S (2005) *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain From the Mid Nineteenth Century*, London
- Thompson, Andrew S (1997) 'The Language of Imperialism and the Meanings of Empire: Imperial Discourse in British Politics, 1895-1914', *Journal of British Studies* 32 Issue 2, pp.147-177
- Tilley, Christopher (1994) 'Interpreting Material Culture' in Pearce, Susan M (ed.) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, Routledge, pp.67-75
- Tosh, John (1999) *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, Yale University Press

Tosi, Alessandro (2005) 'Wunderkammer vs. Museum? Natural History Collecting During the Renaissance' in Beretta, Marco (ed.) *From Public to Private: Natural History Collections and Museums*, Science History Publications, pp.41-58

Trentmann, Frank (2016) *Empire of Things: How we Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty First*, Penguin Random House

Trzebinski, Errol (1991) *The Life and Death of Lord Erroll*, Fourth Estate

Tythacott, Louise (2012) 'Classifying China: Shifting Interpretations of Buddhist Bronzes in Liverpool Museum, 1867-1997' in Hill, Kate (ed.) *Museums and Biographies*, Boydell Press, pp.173-184

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher, Gaskell, Ivan, Schechner, Sara J and Carter, Sarah Anne (2014) *Tangible Things: Making History Through Objects*, Oxford University Press

Vergo, Peter (1989) 'The Reticent Object' in Vergo, Peter (ed.) *The New Museology*, Reaktion, pp.41-59

Weidner, Ruth Irwin (1997) 'Gifts of Wild Game: Masculine and Feminine in Nineteenth Century Hunting Imagery' in Martinez, Katharine and Ames, Kenneth L (eds.) *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture*, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Inc., pp.337-364

Wythenshawe Hall, Manchester City Council official pages, online at:
http://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/200073/parks_playgrounds_and_open_spaces/2242/wythenshawe_park/6