

Indigenous Intermediaries in the Exploration of Africa and Australia

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Introduction

Exploration holds a central place in the Western imagination, serving as the harbinger of Europe's dramatic entry onto the world stage. From Christopher Columbus's first voyage across the Atlantic in 1492, the expeditions that Europeans sent to distant seas and remote continents have been seen as laying the lineaments of the Eurocentric world that has only recently declined in influence. Much of the literature on exploration has adopted a triumphalist tone, viewing explorers like Columbus and his countless successors as national heroes whose bravery and resourcefulness brought disparate peoples and cultures together, expanded scientific knowledge of the natural world, and established the preconditions for globalization and modernity. In recent decades, some historians, biographers, and other scholars have advanced a counter discourse, one that portrays explorers as agents of exploitation and destruction. While these two perspectives stand in stark contrasts to one another in most respects, they share one common bond: the crucial conviction that the explorers who served as agents of European expansion controlled their own fate and imposed their will—whether for good or for ill—on the various other peoples and societies they encountered on their journeys.

What often gets overlooked in these accounts is the degree to which explorers were dependent on indigenous intermediaries to achieve their objectives. Insofar as the triumphalist literature on exploration has acknowledged the existence of these intermediaries, it has portrayed them as loyal servants acting on behalf of their masters. The scholars that have been more critical of explorers have tended to view their intermediaries as exploited employees rather than loyal servants. Only occasionally have these individuals been viewed as autonomous agents, acting on their own behalf. The argument I intend to advance in this paper is that the intermediaries who assisted British explorers in Africa and Australia in the nineteenth century were far more important and autonomous agents in the enterprise of exploration than we have realized. Their agency, I will argue, derived from their

distinctive social status: they were deracinated figures, uprooted from their natal communities by slavery, war, and other upheavals, and forced to forge a new identity, one that derived from linguistic and social skills that allowed them to operate as brokers between colliding cultures.

British exploration in the nineteenth century was governed by a rigid set of scientific protocols that derived from the premise that the explorer's unmediated encounter with the natural world—a function of direct observation accompanied by the quantitative measurements made possible by scientific instruments—was the main legitimating source of knowledge about the territory being explored. There was little place in this evidentiary system for the local knowledge possessed by indigenous peoples. Yet explorers invariably found such local knowledge essential to their endeavors and even their survival. They were obliged, in effect, to maintain a dual set of criteria for collecting and evaluating knowledge, one for their own use in the field, the other for the benefit of their metropolitan sponsors and their reputations.

Comparing Africa and Australia

By comparing explorers' experiences in Africa and Australia, we can more readily discern the ways native informants and their systems of knowledge shaped the course and character of British exploration. We should start by highlighting some of the key differences between the two continents. Africa and Australia posed very different challenges to explorers, both in terms of natural habitats and indigenous inhabitants. While we also cannot disregard regional differences *within* the two continents, the most important distinction for our purposes is the one that existed *between* them. This distinction derived from several natural and historical circumstances. Africa's geographical location linked it to the old world ecumene that extended from western Europe to China and Japan, though the further south one went in Africa, the more tenuous that connection to other civilizations tended to be. Australia, on the other hand, was almost entirely isolated from the outside world until the end of the eighteenth century. It also was the driest continent on earth, with poor soils, erratic rainfall, and no large mammals suitable for domestication. This obliged the Aborigines who inhabited this vast land to organize in small bands of semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers, a mode of production that kept population densities quite low (an estimated 300,000 to one million when Captain Cook arrived in 1770). The population of sub-Saharan Africa, by contrast, probably numbered between 60 and 125 million people at this time, sustained by a remarkably rich and varied environment. Although Africa is home to the Sahara, the largest desert

in the world, it also has vast tracts of well-watered territory with productive soils, abundant woodlands, great rivers and lakes, and large herds of wild game, as well as cattle, goats, and other domesticated animals. The continent has long supported densely populated agricultural societies and it has given rise to great cities, powerful states, and extensive trading networks. These differences in the environmental, demographic, and social character of the two continents would profoundly affect how explorers attempted to explore them.

Large portions of Africa were bound together by webs of trade. Explorers often found it convenient, if not essential, to follow well-established caravan trade routes into the interior. The customs and institutions that regulated this trade determined where, when, and under what conditions their expeditions proceeded. Their parties usually relied on pre-established modes of transportation and systems of labor, and they frequently had to obtain food and shelter from indigenous communities. It proved impossible for expeditions to pass through many territories without first obtaining the permission of the regions' rulers. The explorers who made their way into the interior of East Africa quickly learned, for example, that they had to pay a transit tax known as 'hongo' whenever they entered a new principality. Though they often complained that the demands for 'hongo' were extortionate, these payments were in fact evidence of the region's highly regulated economic and political environment.

Nothing remotely similar to such conditions confronted explorers in Australia. Aboriginal communities did not engage in agriculture or trade or wage labor and they rarely possessed sufficient power to impose political or economic demands on expeditions that passed through their territory. Explorers could not rely on Aborigines for food or shelter, as did their counterparts in Africa; they either had to carry everything they needed for their sustenance or rely on their own hunting and gathering skills. Nor could they expect to follow established trade routes or draw on existing modes of transport. As a result, Australian expeditions were self-sustaining in almost every respect. Most Aborigines, in fact, kept their distance from expeditions, knowing from experience that encounters with Europeans could be deadly. When explorers did come across unsuspecting groups of Aborigines, flight was their most frequent response.

Even in Australia, however, explorers could not entirely disregard the Aboriginal peoples who occupied the lands they explored. Or, rather, they only did so at their own peril. Aboriginal tracking skills and knowledge of the terrain could prove enormously helpful to explorers, especially in those vast expanses of territory where water was scarce and the ability to find it was essential to survival. Moreover,

some familiarity with the local populations could reduce the tensions and the threat of violence that inevitably arose when these strangers appeared in their midst. This was as important for the explorers as it was for the indigenes: expeditionary parties usually numbered no more than half a dozen men, making them vulnerable to surprise attacks by hostile bands. For all these reasons, some sort of engagement with local peoples and access to local knowledge was important to the success of Australian expeditions.

Gateways to the Interior

Another important factor that shaped the character of African and Australian expeditions was their points of entry into the continent. Who controlled these gateways had considerable influence on the expeditions that were launched from them. Some of the most successful British probes into West Africa set out from North Africa across the Sahara, with Tripoli serving as the main staging ground. A series of major expeditions into the West African interior—from Hugh Clapperton and Dixon Denham in 1822 to Alexander Laing in 1825 to Heinrich Barth in 1850—started out in Tripoli. Egypt provided the key point of departure for a number of British expeditions up the Nile, culminating with Samuel Baker's expedition to Lake Albert in 1864, as well as various probes by other explorers in the vicinity of the Red Sea and the horn of Africa. The key point of entry to East Central Africa was Zanzibar, which served as the staging ground for Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke in 1857, Speke and James Grant in 1860, Henry Morton Stanley in 1871 and 1874, Verney Lovett Cameron in 1872, and many others. In each of these cases, access to the interior was controlled by a Muslim state that had economic and political interests of its own in the interior. While we know in retrospect that these Muslim states would themselves fall victim to European imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century, this outcome was not apparent to the rulers who permitted British expeditions to set out from their shores. They saw these expeditions as sources of revenue and potential collaborators in their own expansionist enterprise. They supplied them with guides, guards, and letters of introduction and credit that were often invaluable to the expeditions' success. Once explorers entered the interior, they tended to follow established routes operated by Arab traders who were themselves agents of or reliant on the rulers of Tripoli, Egypt, and Zanzibar. The explorers drew on these traders' knowledge, hospitality, and protection during their journeys. Elsewhere in Africa, explorers usually relied on European colonial beachheads, especially along the west coast and in southern Africa, but they still traveled in most instances along preexisting African trading routes and turned

for assistance to indigenous parties who were familiar with the conditions and constraints of those routes.

The main points of entry for the exploration of the Australian interior were the established British settlements along the continent's southeast coast. Sydney was the principal staging ground for expeditions in the early decades of the nineteenth century, but as Melbourne and Adelaide grew in size and importance, they served similar roles. Perth soon assumed a similar role in the southwest corner of the continent. While much of the initiative and financing for expeditions originally came from Britain and its colonial officials, by mid-century it had increasingly shifted to the Australian colonies' settler communities. New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia each sponsored expeditions to expand their own colonial boundaries, to meet the demands of their land-hungry settlers, and to claim bragging rights in their competition with one another. In contrast to Africa, then, not only were there no non-European states or traders controlling access to the interior, but the colonists who did claim that position had powerful incentives of their own to promote the exploration of the interior—even after it became increasingly apparent that the remaining unexplored lands were unlikely to bring any economic or strategic benefits.

Logistics and Local Peoples

The modes of transportation available to explorers did much to determine the degree to which they depended on indigenous intermediaries to assist their efforts. One of the great ambitions of African explorers was to free themselves entirely from any reliance on others by using the great rivers that ran through the continent as their highways, sending well-supplied, well-defended, mainly steam-powered vessels upriver. Most of these efforts led to disaster. The 1816 Tuckey expedition up the Congo River collapsed when most of its members died of yellow fever. Disease also laid waste to the privately financed Laird expedition up the Niger River in the early 1830s, as it did the government funded Niger expedition of 1841. David Livingstone's efforts to steam up the Zambezi River in the 1850s were frustrated by cataracts and shallows. Expeditions that sought to use the Nile River as a highway ran into similar problems, confronting cataracts and the great barrier of water-borne vegetation known as the Sudd.

African explorers found that they often got better results if they turned to the tried and tested system of transportation that already operated in the region they sought to explore. It also made them more vulnerable to local forces, however. Those who crossed the Sahara relied mainly on camels, the so-called 'ships of the

desert', but they traveled in caravans that were controlled by Arab traders and rulers, whose cooperation Europeans had to elicit. In some parts of the West and South African interior, explorers had direct access to oxen, horses, and other pack animals, giving them greater autonomy of movement, though even in these instances they employed a retinue of African assistants to drive and care for the animals. Across large swathes of Africa, however, the prevalence of trypanosomiasis and other stock diseases meant that expeditions had to turn to armies of porters to carry the vast quantities of equipment and trade goods they required to make their way through the interior. In the forested regions of West Africa, for example, parties of 100 or more porters regularly moved trade goods along established routes. As Stephen Rockel has shown for East Africa, porterage was a highly developed labor system with its own rules, wage scales, and work culture.¹ Explorers who thought that porters would unquestioningly follow their orders were quickly disabused of this notion. Accounts of expeditions are replete with tales of porters whose obstreperous behavior and frequent flight caused delays and other complications. Smart explorers came to recognize the value of experienced caravan leaders who had the management skills and familiarity with the concerns of the porters to keep the expedition on track. Some also recruited porters and other assistants from completely different parts of Africa, figuring that they would be easier to manage if they were traveling through territory and among peoples unfamiliar to them. Examples include Speke and Grant, who were accompanied on their expedition to Lake Victoria by so-called Hottentot (Khoikhoi) soldiers from South Africa; Livingstone, who recruited Krumen from West Africa to operate the steamship he sought to take up the Zambezi; and Stanley, who relied on men from Zanzibar to assist him when he was hired by King Leopold to establish a foothold in the Congo basin. These strategies met with varying degrees of success.

Australian explorers, by contrast, rarely relied on Aboriginal peoples for their transportation. Most of the early expeditions were slow, methodical marches that relied heavily on oxen-pulled wagons. The manual labor needed to clear trails and care for stock was supplied by British convicts and soldiers. Here too, however, explorers hoped that rivers would provide easy access to the interior, where a great inland sea was believed to exist. They devoted inordinate effort dragging heavy

¹ Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2006). On West African porterage, see Catherine Coquery-Vidrovich and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *The Workers of African Trade* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984) and Deji Ogunremi, "Human Porterage in Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 8, 1 (December 1975): 37-59.

boats inland on drays and pulling them through the shallows and swamps that marked the course of many rivers. As the arid character of the outback became more apparent, expeditions became smaller and more mobile, relying almost exclusively on horses. And when horses proved to be inadequate to the challenge of that harsh environment, camels were imported from India, initially in the 1860s—along with the Indian trainers who knew how to manage them.

While Australian explorers did not share their African counterparts' dependence on native peoples to assist in their transportation, they did share a need for individuals who could serve as guides, translators, and informants as they entered unfamiliar territory. These cultural brokers, as they can be termed, came from various backgrounds, but most of them were in one way or another deracinated individuals who had been wrenched from their native communities and forced to adapt to an alien society. From Columbus onward, European explorers had occasionally kidnapped local peoples, especially if they had no other way of acquiring the knowledge they needed to achieve their goals. These were acts of desperation, of course, and they rarely worked out well—communication was problematic, local peoples were alienated, and the captives often escaped. Far more often, explorers obtained assistance from individuals who had already experienced the trauma of separation from their native communities and established a niche for themselves at the intersection of two or more cultures, acquiring the linguistic and other skills that made them effective intermediaries. At least in Africa, explorers also relied on traders, soldiers of fortune, and other outsiders who had established a presence in the region and acquired knowledge of its routes and risks.

African Intermediaries

The cultural brokers who accompanied African explorers and guided their passage through unfamiliar territory were mainly men who had been displaced by war and the slave trade. Not all were Arabs or Africans, however. Most of the early nineteenth century explorers who traveled to sub-Saharan Africa via Arab-controlled caravan routes from the north found cultural brokers among their own countrymen, some of whom had been shipwrecked by the tides of war in North Africa. Friedrich Hornemann, who tried to travel from Cairo to the West African interior on behalf of the African Association, hired as his interpreter and advisor Joseph Frendenburgh, who had been capture by the Ottomans, forced to convert to Islam, and made a Mamluk slave soldier. He won his freedom when Napoleon invaded Egypt, which is when and where Hornemann met him. Henry Salt's expedition to Abyssinia was assisted by Nathan Pearce, a British sailor who had been shipwrecked on the Red Sea

and lived for some time with local peoples, learning Arabic, getting circumcised, and presumably converting to Islam. One of the members of Denham and Clapperton's expedition was Adolphus Sympkims, a native of the Caribbean island of St. Vincent who had gone to sea and ended up in Tripoli, where he became fluent in Arabic, entered the service of the sultan, and took the name Columbus. The explorer Johann Ludwig Burckhardt was aided in his travels through Egypt and Arabia by a Scottish soldier who had been captured in the British invasion of Egypt, forced to convert to Islam, and renamed Osman Effendi. As Linda Colley has shown in her book *Captives*, North Africa was in fact teeming with just the sort of deracinated European who was well suited to serve as a cultural broker in the Arab-dominated parts of the continent.²

The expeditions that targeted sub-Saharan Africa had to draw on a different pool of deracinated intermediaries for assistance. These individuals tended to be black Africans who had been uprooted by the slave trade, torn away from their families and communities and thrown into unfamiliar circumstances. Mungo Park had two interpreters and guides when he made his first attempt to trace the course of the Niger River: one was a Mandingo man named Johnson who had been enslaved as a youth, shipped to Jamaica, regained his freedom and returned to Africa; the other was a slave boy named Demba who was promised his freedom upon the conclusion of the expedition.³ Dixon Denham praised several African slaves who were part of his expedition, one of them an 'askari' or soldier, most likely from Darfur, whom he credited with saving his life.⁴ During his lengthy travels through the West African interior, Heinrich Barth acquired the services of two African boys whose freedom had been purchased by his colleague Adolph Overweg. One of them, James Dorugu, has left us with a rare first-hand account of his experiences with Overweg and Barth.⁵ Equally rare is the memoir of Selim Aga, another West African intermediary.

² "The Journals of Friedrich Hornemann's Travels From Cairo to Murzuk in the Years 1797-98," in E. W. Bovill, ed., *Missions to the Niger*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), 56; Robin Hallett, ed., *Records of the African Association 1788-1831* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1964), 225; Jason Thompson, "Osman Effendi: A Scottish Convert to Islam in Early Nineteenth-Century Egypt," *Journal of World History*, 5, 1 (1994): 99-123; Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World 1600-1850* (New York: Pantheon, 2002).

³ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, ed. with introduction by Kate Ferguson Marsters (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), ch. 3.

⁴ Major Dixon Denham and Captain Hugh Clapperton, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa...* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1826), 76-77.

⁵ James Henry Dorugu, "The Life and Travels of Dorugu," in *West African Travels and Adventures: Two Autobiographical Narratives from Northern Nigeria*, translated and annotated by Anthony Kirk-Greene and Paul Newman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971): 29-129.

A Sudanese native who had been enslaved by Arabs and sent to Egypt, Aga was redeemed by the British consul in Alexandria and sent to a Presbyterian school in Scotland. Several years later he went to West Africa to engage in trade, but found employment instead with William Baikie's second expedition up the Niger in 1857, then with Richard Burton, whom he accompanied on journeys to Benin, Dahomey, and the mountains of Cameroon.⁶

Explorers found a deep pool of potential intermediaries in West Africa's trading ports, which were populated by a large number of ex-slaves, many of them so-called 'recaptives' from Sierra Leone. Ships carrying expeditions to the region often stopped at Freetown, Lagos, and other port cities to recruit African translators and other cultural brokers. Some of them assisted multiple expeditions. Perhaps the most ubiquitous was a recaptive named William Pascoe. Born in the Hausa city-state of Gobir (now part of northern Nigeria), he was captured by slavers, sent to the coast, and sold to Portuguese merchants. The British Navy intercepted the slave ship that was transporting him across the Atlantic and he was freed. He evidently worked for a time on British vessels, where he learned to speak English, and subsequently applied his skills as a translator and cultural broker for the following explorers: Giovanni Belzoni in 1824, Hugh Clapperton in 1825-27, Richard and John Lander in 1830-31, and Richard Lander and MacGregor Laird in 1832-34. His "sagacity and experience have proved of infinite value to us," averred the Landers, who referred to him affectionately as "old Pascoe." He succumbed to fever toward the conclusion of the Landers' expedition.⁷

Explorers in East and Central Africa also relied on a remarkable group of deracinated Africans, many of whom had been enslaved in their youth. Perhaps the most famous were David Livingstone's African assistants, notably James Chuma, John Wekotani, Abdullah Susi, and Jacob Wainwright. All of them had been sold into slavery as youths and then rescued—by Livingstone in the cases of Chuma, Wekotani, and Susi, and by a British coastal squadron vessel in the case of Wainwright. Like many Africans whom the British helped escape from the clutches of the East African slave trade, they were relocated to India: Livingstone

⁶ See James McCarthy, *Selim Aga: A Slave's Odyssey* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2006), which includes the text of Aga's memoirs.

⁷ Richard and John Lander, *Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger* (New York, 1832), I, 118, 45. Also see Hugh Clapperton, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa* (Philadelphia, 1829), xvii; MacGregor Laird and R. A. K. Oldfield, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa* (London, 1837), I, 55, 260; Jamie Bruce Lockhart and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Hugh Clapperton into the Interior of Africa* (Leiden, 2005), 27.

placed Chuma and Wekotani in the Church of Scotland Mission School in Bombay and got a job in the Bombay docks for Susi, who was too old to enter the school, while Wainwright was entered in the Church Mission Society Asylum in Bombay. They were known collectively as the ‘Nasik boys’, a reference to the Bombay suburb where many of them had attended mission schools. When they returned to Africa, they did so, in effect, as specially trained cultural brokers, perfectly suited to Livingstone’s needs.⁸

Few intermediaries played as prominent and well-documented a role in the exploration of Africa as Sidi Mubarak ‘Bombay’. Because he took part in expeditions led by Richard Burton, John Hanning Speke, Henry Morton Stanley, Verney Lovett Cameron, and others, we know a good deal about his character, career, and contribution to exploration. ‘Bombay’ was a Yao from modern Malawi or Mozambique who had been seized as a youth by slave traders, shipped to Bombay (hence his nickname), and freed upon his owner’s death. Somewhere along the way, he became a Muslim and returned to Africa, taking up service with the Sultan of Zanzibar’s Baluchi forces, so termed because the principal recruiting ground for this military unit was Baluchistan. He met Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke when they stopped during their ‘seasoning’ foray along the Swahili coast at the Baluchi garrison on the Pangani River, where he was stationed.⁹ He joined their expedition as an assistant to Speke and soon won the confidence and admiration of both men. Burton judged Bombay “the gem of the party,” while Speke confessed to having “become much attached to Bombay,” insisting that “I never saw any black man so thoroughly honest and conscientious as he was.”¹⁰

Speke hired Bombay for his subsequent expedition to search for the source of the Nile, and he was the leading member of ‘Speke’s Faithful’, the dozen or so headmen who accompanied Speke from Zanzibar to Cairo.

⁸ See Donald Simpson, *Dark Companions: The African Contribution to the European Exploration of East Africa* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976), passim; Clare Pettitt, *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), ch. 3;

⁹ Simpson, *Dark Companions*, 10-11.

¹⁰ Richard F. Burton, *Zanzibar* (London, 1872), II, 179; John H. Speke, “My Second Expedition to Eastern Intertropical Africa,” pamphlet (Cape Town, c. 1860), 16-17. Speke reiterated his praise in *What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Edinburgh, 1864), 186, 210.



“Speke’s Faithfuls,” so characterized by John Hanning Speke because these headmen remained with his Nile expedition from its start in Zanzibar to its conclusion in Cairo, where the photograph was taken from which this engraving is derived. Source: J. H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (1864).

Bombay’s services were now sought out by almost everyone who launched an expedition from Zanzibar into the African interior. When Henry Morton Stanley set off in search of David Livingstone in 1871, he hired Bombay to organize and oversee his party. “Bombay is a man of great influence with the natives,” observed James Grant, Speke’s colleague on the Nile expedition, “and I do hope he will carry Stanley through to Livingstone.”¹¹ It was a telling remark, one that reveals Grant’s doubts about Stanley and his confidence in Bombay, making it clear which man he believed really ran the expedition. Two years later Bombay resurfaced as the headman for Verney Lovett Cameron’s transcontinental expedition. At first, Cameron considered Bombay “a good old fellow” who is “as honest as the day.” Over time, however, he grew less enamored with him, referring to Bombay at one point as “a drunken

¹¹ Grant to Sir Henry Rawlinson, December 14, 1871, James Grant Correspondence, CB 6/946, Royal Geographical Society.

old devil” who failed to exert sufficient control over the porters. He complained on another occasion that Bombay was getting “lazier & more useless every day.” Yet the African members of the party almost certainly viewed Bombay as a man of great wealth and power: his private entourage included at least three wives and several boys and he was for all practical purposes in charge of the caravan. It was precisely because he had acquired such standing that he could relax and drink to excess. However much his conduct may have aggravated Cameron, the explorer had enough sense not to provoke a crisis by challenging his leadership or abrogating his privileges.¹²

Sidi Bombay’s career provides an especially rich and revealing example of the complex relationships these deracinated guides and go-betweens established with explorers. Men like Bombay often exerted considerable influence over an expedition’s affairs, but they generally maintained an air of deference toward the white man who controlled the purse strings. Members of Joseph Thomson’s first expedition may have referred to him as “Chuma’s white man,” indicating who was actually in charge, but Chuma himself gave his ostensible boss no cause for concern about his standing.¹³ The two parties engaged in an intimate and delicate dance that obscured as much as it revealed about their respective roles.

Australian Intermediaries

Although in Australia there was no slave trade to deracinate Aborigines, the conditions of colonial conquest were sufficiently violent and coercive to produce the same effect. Almost every Australian expedition until the late nineteenth century included one or more Aborigine who served as guide, informant, and interpreter. By way of example, Thomas Mitchell’s third expedition into the interior of New South Wales included an Aboriginal man and two boys who, according to one historian, “more or less dictated the route.”¹⁴ Little is generally known about such men beyond their names, though it is evident that some of them were as much in demand as members of expeditions as were Africans like Sidi Bombay. John Forrest’s first expedition included two Aboriginal men, Tommy Windich and Jemmy Mungaro,

¹² V. L. Cameron, expedition journals, entry for June 29, 1873, MSS 299(1), microfilm, National Library of Scotland; V. L. Cameron, journal (April 15-September 25, 1875), pp. 17, 21, 48, VLC 4/3, Royal Geographical Society. Also V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (London, 1877), I, 9, 156.

¹³ Quoted in Robert Rotberg, *Joseph Thomson and the Exploration of Africa* (New York, 1971), 102.

¹⁴ Glen McLaren, *Beyond Leichhardt: Bushcraft and the Exploration of Australia* (South Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1996), 110.

who, in Forrest's words, had "already acquired considerable experience under former explorers." They recommended routes, found water, hunted game, and negotiated with Aboriginal bands. Windrich would accompany Forrest on his two subsequent expeditions, and he became so highly valued that the Colonial Secretary, in a public speech celebrating the return of the second expedition, praised him as "the man who had done everything; he was the man who had brought Mr. Forrest to Adelaide, and not Mr. Forrest him."¹⁵

We can acquire a better appreciation of how men like Windrich were made if we turn to an earlier Australian explorer, Edward Eyre. During his days as an Australian stock driver, Eyre 'adopted' two young Aboriginal boys, both about eight years old. He had found them at a station where they been left by a stock driver from another region. "The overseer did not know what to do with them," Eyre writes, "so I at once attached them to my own party," using them to track sheep and cattle that had wandered from the group. During a subsequent drive along the Murray River, Eyre's party encountered a large band of Aborigines that included "the parents of my two boys who were greatly delighted to see their children again.... [and] shewed a great deal of feeling and tenderness." Eyre never mentions how the two boys had been separated from their parents in the first place, but he makes sure they are not reunited. "By being very civil to the parents and making them sundry little presents they were however inclined to acquiesce in the children remaining with us."¹⁶ Later, when Eyre made his famed expedition from Adelaide to King George's Sound, he was accompanied by one of the two boys, Cootachah, as well as two other Aboriginal boys he had acquired on other occasions. What Eyre had sought to do, in effect, was manufacture his own cultural brokers, turning to young boys because they were more adaptable and amenable to his influence than adult Aborigines.

These native intermediaries are usually represented as loyal servants of explorers, dutifully working under their direction and unquestioningly responding to their needs. Two famous examples from the annals of Australian exploration are Eyre's Wylie and Edmund Kennedy's Jackey Jackey. Wylie stayed with Eyre during the most desperate stage of his journey to King George's Sound, while Jackey Jackey cared for Kennedy as he lay dying from a spearing attack by Cape York Aborigines. Yet it should be noted that Wylie's loyalty to Eyre set him apart from Cootachah and

¹⁵ John Forrest, *Explorations in Australia* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969 [1875]), 19, 145.

¹⁶ Edward John Eyre, *Autobiographical Narrative of Residence and Exploration in Australia 1832-1839* (London: Caliban Books, 1984), 105, 124.

another Aboriginal assistant, who killed Eyre's white overseer and abandoned Eyre to his fate. And although Jackey Jackey guided a relief party in search of survivors of Kennedy's expedition, he exhibited a far from obsequious character. When a white member of the search team challenged his directions, he responded testily—"do you think I am stupid [?]"—and soon became the party's acknowledged "head & leading man in every sense of the word."¹⁷

Perhaps the most revealing example of the independence exhibited by Aboriginal intermediaries occurred during Ludwig Leichhardt's first expedition into the interior in 1844-46. His party consisted of half a dozen white men and two Aboriginal guides named Harry Brown and Charley Fisher.



Harry Brown and Charley Fisher, Aboriginal guides for Ludwig Leichhardt's 1844-46 expedition. Source: L. Leichhardt, *Journal of an Overland Expedition in Australia* (1847).

Fisher clashed with several white members of the party, who considered him "insolent". Tensions came to a head when he reportedly "threatened to shoot" a

¹⁷ Testimony of Adouiah Vallack, "Enquiry into the Death of E. B. C. Kennedy...", New South Wales, Governor's Dispatches, Vol. 60, March-April 1849, ML A1249, Mitchel Library, Sydney.

member of the party named Mr. Gilbert. Leichhardt promptly dismissed Fisher, but he returned to camp a day later, apologized for his conduct, and was reinstated. Soon thereafter his value to the expedition was demonstrated in dramatic fashion. Two white members of the party went missing and “would certainly have perished,” Leichhardt wrote, “had not Charley been able to track them: it was indeed a providential circumstance that he had not left us.” As the expedition pushed on, conditions deteriorated, bodies weakened, and nerves frayed. Leichhardt worried that Fisher was exhibiting renewed signs of what he characterized as “discontent, and... a spirit of disobedience.”¹⁸ Determined to show who was in charge, he provoked a confrontation with Fisher that took an unexpected and dramatic turn. John Murphy, one of the lost men saved by Fisher, described what happened. Fisher had spent the day tracking down some horses that had wandered from camp, returning “much fatigued” late in the afternoon. Leichhardt “spoke rather harshly to him” and, when Fisher failed to show proper deference, “very menacingly showed his fist in Charleys [sic] face.” Fisher responded by striking Leichhardt in the jaw, dislodging several of his teeth and leaving him, as Murphy quaintly put it, unable to “masticate his food.”¹⁹

Given the racial structure of power relations in colonial Australia, an act of this kind often carried a terrible penalty: black men who assaulted white bosses could pay for their transgressions with their lives. In this case, however, Leichhardt did little more than again expel Fisher from the expedition, figuring that his prospects of survival were slim in such an unfamiliar region where local peoples were as likely to be hostile to strange Aborigines as to strange Europeans. What Leichhardt failed to anticipate was the decision by Harry Brown to decamp in solidarity with his black brother: “One led the other astray, so that both resisted me.”²⁰ Now the expedition was entirely bereft of a critical source of labor and knowledge of the outback. Within two days, both men had resumed their regular duties as if nothing had happened. A disapproving white member of the party, William Phillips, complained that Leichhardt had permitted Fisher and Brown to engage “in every species of insolence towards the rest of the party,” a remark that reveals just how far race relations among members of the expedition had diverged from the hierarchical pattern that conventionally governed dealings between blacks

¹⁸ Ludwig Leichhardt, *Journal of an Overland Expedition in Australia From Moreton Bay to Port Essington* (London: T. & W. Boone, 1847), 5, 14, 18, 144-5, 158-61.

¹⁹ John Murphy, Journal of the Port Essington Expedition, entry for February 19, 1845, ML MSS 2193, Mitchel Library.

²⁰ Ludwig Leichhardt, *The Letters of F. W. Ludwig Leichhardt*, trans. M. Arousseau (Cambridge, 1968), III, 844.

and whites in Australia.²¹

Similar conflicts occurred between explorers and their intermediaries in Africa. Speke became so furious with Sidi Bombay on one occasion that he hit him and knocked out some of his teeth. Bombay clashed with many of his subsequent European employers as well, though his skills were so prized that they usually put up with his heavy drinking and occasional recalcitrance. Even Livingstone's famed Nasik boys were less loyal and submissive than they have been portrayed. Although the decision by Chuma, Susi, and Wainwright to preserve Livingstone's corpse and carry it to the coast for repatriation made them appear to be the models of faithful, selfless servants, passages suppressed from David Livingstone's journals reveal that his relations with the Nasik boys were in fact far more contentious than subsequent mythology acknowledged. Livingstone's behavior helps explain why. He docked the Nasik boys' pay, flogged several of them, and threatened to shoot others. As a result, six of the original nine Nasik boys who took part in Livingstone's final expedition deserted him before his death.²² Because intermediaries were such key sources of information, they possessed a certain power. And because their interests did not always coincide with those of their ostensible masters, the exercise of that power could create serious conflicts.

Conclusions

While relations between explorers and their intermediaries could be troubled, we need to acknowledge that they also could be quite close. This was the inevitable outcome of the many months and even years that the two parties spent in daily contact with one together, often in highly stressful circumstances. No one who reads Eyre's journals can doubt that he treated his Aboriginal boys with great tenderness, ensuring they received an equal share of food, allowing them ride while he walked, even permitting them sleep in his tent. I realize that this intimacy can be read in sexualized terms, and the remarkable number of explorers who seemed to enjoy the company of young native boys certainly lends credence to that suggestion. But it does nothing to diminish the fact that men like Eyre acquired through their association with those boys, as well as the other guides and go-betweens who

²¹ William Phillips, *Journal of the Port Essington Expedition with Leichhardt*, 87, C 165, Mitchel Library. When Charley and Harry fell out with one another at a later point in the expedition, Leichhardt welcomed the development, noting that he "derived the greatest advantage from their animosity to each other, as each tried to outdo the other in readiness to serve me." Leichhardt, *Journal*, 232.

²² Dorothy O. Helly, *Livingstone's Legacy* (Athens, Ohio, 1987), 163, 165, 169.

assisted them in their endeavors, some genuine appreciation for and insight into indigenous societies and cultures. We may, in fact, go further and suggest that their collaboration brought about some changes in the tastes, interests, and outlook of the explorers themselves. It is striking how many of them slipped into deep depressions, lashed out against real or imagined critics, and otherwise exhibit signs of emotional disorientation when they returned from expeditions to what they often ambivalently referred to as civilization. Though they were socially savvy enough to understand that much of what they had felt and done on the trail had to remain unspoken, they too became in certain respects culturally deracinated figures.

So what can we learn from this examination of British explorers and their intermediaries in Africa and Australia? First, of course, we can learn that the heroic accounts of explorers that biographers like Tim Jeal continue to write should be viewed with a certain measure of skepticism.²³ The myopic emphasis placed on personal character and the special pleading offered to excuse morally questionable behavior fail to do justice to the complex array of forces that influenced the conduct of individual explorers. Second, we can learn that much of the character and course of expeditions was informed by those individuals who served as the agents, informants, and intermediaries between explorers and indigenous societies. While these individuals rarely gave their side of the story, the historical record supplies enough evidence to obtain a fairly good appreciation of who they were and what motivated them to contribute to the efforts of explorers. And, third, we can learn that exploration was a more complex, culturally hybrid enterprise than commonly acknowledged, one that advanced the aims of Britain and other European imperial powers, to be sure, but in a more circuitous and conditional manner than the eventual outcome might suggest.

*I want to thank Professors Yoichi Kibata and Tomiyuki Uesugi for their generous hospitality during my visit to Seijo University, which was co-sponsored by the Center for Glocal Studies and the Japanese Association for the Study of British Imperialism. I am very grateful for all of the comments and questions I received after my presentation. This paper is drawn from my forthcoming book, *The Last Blank Spaces Exploring Africa and Australia* (Harvard University Press, 2013).

²³ Tim Jeal, *Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Jeal, *Explorers of the Nile: The Triumph and Tragedy of a Great Victorian Adventure* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

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The followings are the version delivered at Seijo University
on 15 March 2012.

Indigenous Intermediaries in the Exploration of Africa and Australia

(The version delivered at Seijo University on 15 March 2012)

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Exploration is a subject that hasn't received much attention from professional historians in recent decades. For the most part, it has been ceded to those who write biographies and popular narrative histories, where the emphasis is placed on heroic individuals and epic adventures. Insofar as the subject has attracted the attention of academics, it has come for the most part from literary scholars, who have made a minor industry out of the study of travel literature as a genre over the past decade or so. Recently, some important work on exploration also has come from anthropologists, historical geographers, and historians of science. For mainstream professional historians, however, the subject has become terra incognita.

This reluctance to take on the topic of exploration is traceable in part to the imperial triumphalism that so often colored the earlier historical literature on the subject. Eager to escape any associations with that stance, historians of African and Asian countries that had been the targets of British exploration studiously shunned exploration as a subject. A similar desire to distance themselves from this heritage was apparent among the most recent generations of historians of Britain itself, and it meant that what little attention the subject received focused mainly on the manipulations of public opinion that made explorers into national heroes at home. Only in settler societies like Australia, Canada, and the United States, where imperial triumphalism transitioned into national triumphalism, did exploration retain a place in the historical imagination. But even there it tended to assume a form—the heroic biography—that was increasingly at odds with the practices of professional historians. Although the empire itself has attracted renewed academic attention as a result of the so-called new imperial history's ideological and methodological challenge to the standard historiography on the subject, the role that exploration played in its expansion has remained a decidedly peripheral issue to both sides.

As you may have guessed, I believe that exploration as a subject is ripe for

reappraisal by historians. Or so, at least, is my self-serving rationale for a project I've just completed. That project is a broad study of nineteenth century British land exploration, with a particular focus on Africa and Australia. I am concerned both with the metropolitan forces that provided much of the impetus for exploration and the local conditions that did so much to determine its outcomes. As I see it, explorers and the expeditions they carried out stood in the nexus between the expectations and rewards of metropolitan sponsors, which included learned societies, government agencies, and the popular press, and the challenges and charms of distant lands, where natural forces and indigenous peoples demanded quite different conduct and conceptual orientations. My thinking on the subject has been influenced by literary scholars, historical geographers, and others who have written about exploration in recent years. But I also think there is something to be gained by bringing the discipline of history more directly to bear on the subject, specifically by providing a more contextualized, cross-cultural, integrative understanding of exploration's dynamics. Exploration as the mediating agent of colliding worlds provide an avenue of investigation into some of the key themes in modern history—cultural encounter, scientific inquiry, imperial expansion, a globalizing economy, and more.

What I want to do today is to highlight one important dimension of this story—the interaction between explorers and their intermediaries, most of whom were the deracinated offshoots of indigenous societies. British exploration in the nineteenth century was governed by a rigid set of scientific protocols that derived from the premise that the explorer's unmediated encounter with the natural world, a function of direct observation accompanied by the quantitative measurements made possible by scientific instruments, was the sole legitimating source of knowledge about the territory being explored. There was no place in this evidentiary system for the local knowledge possessed by indigenous peoples. Yet explorers invariably found such knowledge essential to their endeavors and even their survival. They were obliged, in effect, to maintain a dual set of criteria for collecting and evaluating knowledge, one for their own use in the field, the other for the benefit of their metropolitan sponsors and their reputations.

By comparing explorers' experiences in Africa and Australia, we can more readily discern the ways native informants and their systems of knowledge shaped the course and character of British exploration. Let's start by highlighting some of the key differences between the two continents. Africa and Australia posed very different challenges to explorers, both in terms of natural habitats and indigenous inhabitants. While we also can't disregard regional differences *within* the two continents, the most important distinction for our purposes is the one that

existed *between* the two lands. This distinction derived from several natural and historical circumstances. Location connected Africa to the old world ecumene that extended from western Europe to China and Japan, though the further south one went, the more marginal that connection tended to be. Australia, on the other hand, was entirely isolated from the outside world until the end of the 18th century. The physical environment of Africa ensured that much of the continent was able to sustain large populations and complex societies, while Australia's arid climate and poor soils inhibited such developments. Sub-Saharan Africa's population at the start of the nineteenth century is estimated to have been between 60 and 125 million people, and it consisted for the most part of settled agriculturalists organized in polities that were often quite large, powerful, and sophisticated. The population of Australia, by contrast, probably numbered only about a half million, and it consisted entirely of smallish bands of nomadic hunter/gatherers. These differences had important consequences for the character of exploration in the two lands.

Much of Africa was bound together by webs of trade and British explorers often found it convenient, if not essential, to follow well-established caravan routes into the interior. Explorers had to submit to the institutional and customary practices that regulated the caravan trade, governing access to labor and foodstuffs and determining where, when, and under what conditions they could proceed. It was usually necessary for them to obtain the acquiescence or active permission of local rulers to pass through their territories. The explorers who made their way into the interior of East Africa quickly learned that they had to pay a transit tax known as 'hongo' whenever they entered a new principality. Though they often complained that the demands for 'hongo' were extortionate, they were in fact evidence of the region's highly regulated economic and political environment.

Nothing remotely similar to such conditions confronted explorers in Australia. Autonomous aboriginal communities did not engage in agriculture or trade or wage labor and did not possess the power to impose political or economic demands on expeditions that sought passage through their territory. Explorers could not rely on Aborigines for food, as did their counterparts in Africa; they either had to carry everything they needed for their sustenance or rely on their own hunting and gathering skills. As a result, Australian expeditions were self-sustaining in almost every respect. Most Aborigines kept their distance from expeditions, knowing from experience that encounters with Europeans were often deadly. When explorers did come across unsuspecting group of Aborigines, flight was the most frequent response.

Even in Australia, however, explorers could not entirely disregard the

Aboriginal peoples who inhabited the land they explored. Or, rather, they only did so at their own peril. Aboriginal tracking skills and knowledge of the terrain could prove enormously helpful, especially in those vast reaches of land where water was scarce and essential to survival. Moreover, some familiarity with the local populations could reduce sources of tension and violence. This was important to explorers since their parties usually numbered no more than half a dozen men, making them vulnerable to surprise attacks by hostile bands. For all these reasons, some interaction with local peoples and access to local knowledge was important to the success of Australian expeditions.

The particular character of expeditions' interactions with indigenous peoples was determined in important ways by their points of entry into the continent, especially in Africa. Some of the most successful British probes into West Africa were actually launched from the north across the Sahara, with Tripoli serving as the main staging ground. A series of major expeditions into the West African interior—from Clapperton, Denham, and Oudney in 1822 to Laing in 1825 to Barth in 1850—started out in Tripoli. Egypt provided the key point of departure for a number of British expeditions up the Nile, culminating with Baker's arrival at Lake Albert in 1864, as well as various probes by other explorers in the vicinity of the Red Sea and the horn of Africa. The key point of entry to East Central Africa was Zanzibar, which served as the staging ground for Burton and Speke in 1857, Speke and Grant in 1860, Stanley in 1871 and 1874, Cameron in 1872, and many more. In each of these cases, access was controlled by a Muslim state that had its own interests in the interior. While we tend in retrospect to see explorers as agents of European imperial forces that undermined these states, the rulers saw them as sources of revenue and potential collaborators in their own expansionist enterprises, and they provided the travelers with guides, guards, and letters of introduction and credit that were often invaluable to the success of their expeditions. Once they entered the interior, explorers tended to follow established routes operated by Arab traders who were themselves agents of or reliant on these states, and they invariably drew on the traders' knowledge, hospitality, and protection during their journeys. Even in those regions of Africa where other conditions of entry applied, explorers tended to travel along preexisting trading routes and turn for assistance to those who were familiar with their conditions and constraints, which often meant slave traders.

The main points of entry for the exploration of the Australian interior were the established British settlements along the continent's southeast coast. Sydney was the principal staging ground for expeditions in the early decades of the 19th century, but as Melbourne and Adelaide grew in size and importance, they served a similar

role. While much of the initiative and financing for expeditions originally came from Britain, by mid-century it had increasingly shifted to the Australian colonies themselves. New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia each sponsored expeditions to expand their own colonial boundaries, to meet the demands of their land-hungry settlers, and to claim bragging rights in their competition with one another. In contrast to Africa, then, not only were there no non-European intermediaries controlling access to the interior, but the colonists who did claim that position had powerful incentives of their own to promote the exploration of the interior—even after it became increasingly apparent that the remaining unexplored lands were unlikely to bring any economic or strategic benefits.

The modes of transportation available to explorers did much to determine the degree to which they depended on indigenous intermediaries to assist their efforts. One of the great ambitions of African explorers was to free themselves entirely from any reliance on others by using the great rivers that ran through the continent as their highways, but these efforts for the most part foundered until late in the 19th century. Those explorers whose itineraries took them across the Sahara relied on the ships of the desert, camels, but this system of transport was controlled by Arab traders, and so too were the European travelers who sought passage along these routes. In some of the interior portions of West and South Africa explorers were able to draw on oxen, horses, and other pack animals, giving them greater autonomy of movement, though even in these instances they employed a retinue of African assistants to drive and care for the animals. Across large swathes of Africa, however, the prevalence of trypanosomiasis and other stock diseases meant that expeditions had to turn to armies of porters to carry the vast quantities of equipment and trade goods they required to make their way through the interior. As Stephen Rockel has recently shown for East Africa, porterage was a highly developed labor system with its own rules, wage scales, and work culture.¹ Explorers who thought that porters would unquestioningly follow their orders were quickly disabused of this notion. Accounts of expeditions are replete with tales of porters whose obstreperous behavior caused delays and other complications. Smart explorers came to recognize the value of experienced caravan leaders who had the management skills and familiarity with the concerns of the porters to keep the expedition on track. Some also recruited porters and other assistants with specialized skills from completely different regions

¹ Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2006).

of Africa, figuring that they would be less independent if they were moving through territory and among peoples unfamiliar to them. Examples include Speke and Grant, who were accompanied on their expedition to Lake Victoria by so-called Hottentot soldiers from South Africa; Livingstone, who recruited Krumen from West Africa to operate the steamship he sought to take up the Zambezi; and Stanley, who relied on men from Zanzibar to assist him when he was hired by King Leopold to establish a foothold in the Congo basin. These strategies met with varying degrees of success.

Australian explorers, by contrast, rarely relied on Aboriginal peoples for their transportation. Most of the early expeditions were slow, methodical marches that relied heavily on oxen-pulled wagons. The manual labor needed to clear trails was supplied by convicts. Here too, however, explorers hoped that rivers would provide easy access to the interior, where a great inland sea was believed to exist, and they devoted inordinate effort dragging heavy boats inland on drays and pulling them through the shallows and swamps that marked the course of many rivers. As the arid character of the outback became more apparent, expeditions became smaller and more mobile, relying almost exclusively on horses. And when horses proved to be inadequate to the challenge of that harsh environment, camels were imported from India, initially in the 1860s, along with the Indian trainers who knew how to manage them.

While Australian explorers did not share their African counterparts' dependence on native peoples to assist in their transportation, they did share a need for individuals who could serve as guides, translators, and informants as they entered unfamiliar territory. These cultural brokers, as they can be termed, came from various backgrounds, but most of them were in one way or another deracinated figures, wrenched from their native communities and forced to adapt to an alien society. From Columbus onward, European explorers had occasionally kidnapped local peoples, especially if they had no other way of acquiring the knowledge they needed to achieve their goals. These were acts of desperation, of course, and they rarely worked out well—communication was problematic, local peoples were antagonized, and the captives often escaped. Far more often, explorers obtained assistance from individuals who had already experienced the trauma of separation from their native communities and established a niche for themselves at the intersection of two or more cultures, acquiring the linguistic and other skills that made them effective intermediaries. At least in Africa, explorers also relied on traders, soldiers of fortune, and other outsiders who had established a presence in the region and acquired knowledge of its routes and risks.

The cultural brokers who accompanied African explorers and guided their

passage through unfamiliar territory were mainly men who had been displaced by war and the slave trade. Not all were Arabs or Africans, however. Most of the early 19th century explorers who negotiated a passage to sub-Saharan Africa via Arab-controlled caravan routes from the north found cultural brokers among their own countrymen, some of whom had been shipwrecked by the tides of war in North Africa. Friedrich Hornemann, who tried to travel from Cairo to the West African interior on behalf of the African Association, hired as his interpreter and advisor Joseph Frendenburgh, who had been captured by the Ottomans, forced to convert to Islam, and made a Mamluk slave soldier, winning his freedom after Napoleon invaded Egypt (which is where Hornemann met him).² Henry Salt's expedition to Abyssinia was assisted by Nathan Pearce, a British sailor who had been shipwrecked on the Red Sea and lived for some time with local peoples, learning Arabic, getting circumcised, and presumably converting to Islam.³ One of the members of Denham and Clapperton's expedition was Adolphus Sympkims, a native of the Caribbean island of St. Vincent who had gone to sea and ended up in Tripoli, where he became fluent in Arabic, entered the service of the sultan, and took the name Columbus. The explorer Johann Ludwig Burckhardt was aided in his travels through Egypt and Arabia by a Scottish soldier who had been captured in the British invasion of Egypt, forced to convert to Islam, and renamed Osman Effendi. As Linda Colley has shown in her book *Captives*, North Africa was in fact teeming with just the sort of deracinated European who was well suited to serve as a cultural broker in the Arab-dominated parts of the continent.

The expeditions that targeted sub-Saharan Africa had to draw on a very different source for assistance. They usually found what they were seeking in individuals who had been detached from their families and communities by the African slave trade. Mungo Park had two interpreters and guides when he made his first attempt to trace the course of the Niger River: one was a Mandingo man named Johnson who had been enslaved as a youth, shipped to Jamaica, regained his freedom and returned to Africa; the other was a slave boy named Demba who was promised his freedom upon the conclusion of the expedition.⁴ Dixon Denham praised several African slaves who were part of his expedition, one of them an 'askari'

² "The Journals of Friedrich Hornemann's Travels From Cairo to Murzuk in the Years 1797-98," in E. W. Bovill, ed., *Missions to the Niger*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), p. 56.

³ Robin Hallett, ed., *Records of the African Association 1788-1831* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1964), p. 225.

⁴ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, ed. with introduction by Kate Ferguson Marsters (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), ch. 3.

or soldier, most likely from Darfur, whom he credited with saving his life.⁵ During his lengthy travels through the West African interior, Heinrich Barth acquired the services of two African boys whose freedom had been purchased by his colleague Overweg, and one of whom, James Dorugu, has left us a rare first hand account of an expedition by an African.⁶ In West Africa, a large number of ex-slaves, many of them recaptives from Sierra Leone who had dispersed to trading ports along the coast, provided a deep pool of expertise for explorers who sought to enter the interior by means of the Windward or Guinea coasts. Explorers in East and Central Africa also relied on a remarkable group of Africans who had been enslaved in their youth. Perhaps the best known was Sidi Mubarak ‘Bombay’, whose nickname referred to the city where the slave trade had deposited him. He made himself an indispensable man to a series of British explorers, starting with Burton and Speke, then Speke and Grant, Cameron, and Stanley. There were others like him, men such as Mabruki Speke and Said bin Salem, who were fluent in trade languages such as Kiswahili and Arabic, familiar with the customs governing the operations of caravans, and attuned to the often shifting nature of political relations among local rulers. And then there were David Livingstone’s African assistants, notably James Chuma, John Wekotani, Abdullah Susi, and Jacob Wainwright. All of them had been sold into slavery as youths and then rescued—by Livingstone in the cases of Chuma, Wekotani, and Susi, and by a British coastal squadron vessel in the case of Wainwright. Like many Africans rescued from the East African slave trade, they were relocated to India: Livingstone placed Chuma and Wekotani in the Church of Scotland Mission School in Bombay and got a job in the Bombay docks for Susi, who was too old to enter the school, while Wainwright was entered in the Church Mission Society Asylum in Bombay. When they returned to Africa, they did so, in effect, as prefabricated cultural brokers, perfectly suited to Livingstone’s needs.

Although in Australia there was no slave trade to deracinate Aborigines, the conditions of colonial conquest were sufficiently violent and coercive to do the trick. Almost every Australian expedition until the late 19th century included one or more Aborigine who served as guide, informant, and interpreter. By way of example, Thomas Mitchell’s third expedition into the interior of New South Wales included an

⁵ Major Dixon Denham and Captain Hugh Clapperton, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa...* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1826), pp. 76-77.

⁶ James Henry Dorugu, “The Life and Travels of Dorugu,” in *West African Travels and Adventures: Two Autobiographical Narratives from Northern Nigeria*, translated and annotated by Anthony Kirk-Greene and Paul Newman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971): 29-129.

Aboriginal man and two boys who, according to one historian, “more or less dictated the route.”⁷ Little is generally known about such men beyond their names, though it is evident that some of them were as much in demand as members of expeditions as were Africans like Sidi Bombay. John Forrest’s first expedition included two Aboriginal men, Tommy Windich and Jemmy Mungaro, who, in Forrest’s words, had “already acquired considerable experience under former explorers.” They recommended routes, found water, hunted game, and negotiated with Aboriginal bands. Windich would accompany Forrest on his two subsequent expeditions, and he became so highly valued that the Colonial Secretary, in a public speech celebrating the return of the second expedition, praised him as “the man who had done everything; he was the man who had brought Mr. Forrest to Adelaide, and not Mr. Forrest him.”⁸ We can acquire a better appreciation of how men like Windich were made if we turn to an earlier Australian explorer, Edward Eyre. During his days as an Australian stock driver, Eyre ‘adopted’ two young Aboriginal boys, both about eight years old. He had found them at a station where they been left by a stock driver from another region. “The overseer did not know what to do with them,” Eyre writes, “so I at once attached them to my own party,” using them to track sheep and cattle that had wandered from the group. During a subsequent drive along the Murray River, Eyre’s party encountered a large band of Aborigines that included “the parents of my two boys who were greatly delighted to see their children again. . . . [and] shewed a great deal of feeling and tenderness.” Eyre never mentions how the two boys had been separated from their parents in the first place, but he makes sure they are not reunited. “By being very civil to the parents and making them sundry little presents they were however inclined to acquiesce in the children remaining with us.”⁹ Later, when Eyre made his famed expedition from Adelaide to King George’s Sound, he was accompanied by one of the two boys, Cootachah, as well as two other Aboriginal boys he had acquired on other occasions. What Eyre had sought to do, in effect, was manufacture his own cultural brokers, turning to young boys because they were more adaptable and amenable to his influence than adult Aborigines.

These native intermediaries are usually represented as loyal servants of explorers, dutifully working under their direction and unquestioningly responding

⁷ Glen McLaren, *Beyond Leichhardt: Bushcraft and the Exploration of Australia* (South Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1996), p. 110.

⁸ John Forrest, *Explorations in Australia* (New York, Greenwood Press, 1969 [1875]), p. 19, 145.

⁹ Edward John Eyre, *Autobiographical Narrative of Residence and Exploration in Australia 1832-1839* (London: Caliban Books, 1984), pp. 105, 124.

to their needs. Nothing did more to engrave this image in the popular imagination than the decision by Chuma and Susi to preserve Livingstone's corpse and carry it to the coast for repatriation. They became fleeting celebrities in Britain because of their seemingly selfless loyalty to Livingstone. What is less often recalled is that at one point in his final expedition Livingstone accused both men of stealing supplies, and their relations with him became so strained that they ran away from a brief period. Explorers often had far more contested and conflict-ridden dealings with their native brokers than was publicly acknowledged. This was due at least in part to the fact that brokers were key conduits of information, which gave them considerable influence over the affairs of the expedition. Explorers often rained blows on their native assistants. On one occasion, Speke became so furious with Sidi Bombay for working against his wishes that he knocked out his front teeth with a blow to the face. Subordinates like Sidi were far less likely to behave in kind, in part because the likely repercussions were so much more serious for themselves and in part because it was so much easier for them to simply slip out of camp. But occasionally their own fears or resentments would boil over, as they did when two of Eyre's Aboriginal guides, including Cootachah, killed the other European member of his party and abandoned him to what seemed like almost certain death.

While relations between explorers and their cultural brokers could be troubled, we need to acknowledge that they also could be quite close. Both emotional states were the inevitable outcome of the many months and even years that the two parties spent in daily contact with one another, often in highly stressful circumstances. No one who reads Eyre's journals can doubt that he treated his Aboriginal boys with great tenderness, ensuring they received an equal share of food, allowing them ride while he walked, even permitting them sleep in his tent. I realize that this intimacy can be read in sexualized terms, and the remarkable number of explorers who seemed to enjoy the company of young native boys certainly lends credence to that suggestion. But it does nothing to diminish the fact that men like Eyre acquired through their association with those boys, as well as the other individuals who aided them in their endeavors, some genuine appreciation for and insight into indigenous societies and cultures. We may, in fact, go further and suggest that their collaboration brought about some changes in the tastes, interests, and outlook of the explorers themselves. It is striking how many of them slipped into deep depressions, lashed out against real or imagined critics, and otherwise exhibit signs of emotional disorientation when they returned from expeditions to what they often ambivalently referred to as civilization. Though they were socially savvy enough to understand that much of what they had felt and done on the trail

had to remain unspoken, they too became in certain respects culturally deracinated figures.

So what can we learn from this examination of British explorers and their intermediaries in Africa and Australia? First, of course, we can learn that the heroic accounts of explorers that biographers like Jeal continue to write should be viewed with a certain measure of skepticism. The myopic emphasis placed on personal character and the special pleading offered to excuse morally questionable behavior fail to do justice to the complex array of forces that influenced the conduct of individual explorers. Second, we can learn that much of the character and course of expeditions was informed by those individuals who served as the agents, informants, and intermediaries between explorers and indigenous societies. While these individuals rarely gave their side of the story, the historical record supplies enough evidence to obtain a fairly good appreciation of who they were and what motivated them to contribute to the efforts of explorers. And, third, we can learn that exploration was a more complex, culturally hybrid enterprise than we might suppose, one that advanced the aims of Britain and other European imperial powers, to be sure, but in a more circuitous and conditional manner than the eventual outcome might suggest.

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アフリカ・オーストラリア探検における現地仲介者たち*

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探検は歴史の専門家からここ数十年の間ほとんど注目を受けていないテーマである。たいいていの場合、探検というテーマは伝記、または受けの良い物語的な歴史を書く人のものとなつてしまい、そこでは英雄的人物や華々しい探検が強調されることになる。探検というテーマが学問研究者の注目を集めているという場合、その大部分は文学研究者である。彼らはここ十年ほどの間に、旅行文学研究を自分たちの小さな専門領域としてきた。探検に関する近年の重要な研究はまた、人類学者、歴史地理学者、科学史家から生み出されている。しかし、歴史の専門家にとっては、探検というテーマは未知の分野となっている。

このテーマが扱われなくなってきたのには、かつて探検に関して書かれた歴史物が帝国の勝利を称えるような色合いを帯びることが多かった点に一部原因がある。イギリスの探検の標的になっていたアフリカ、アジアの国々を研究する歴史家は、帝国勝利主義の立場からなんとか逃れたくて、探検というテーマを避けたがった。この伝統的傾向から距離を置こうとする同様の強い姿勢は、イギリス本国を対象とする歴史家にも近年ほとんどの場合はっきりみることが出来る。少ないながらも探検というテーマが注目を浴びることがあるが、その場合には、世論操作によって探検家が国家の英雄になるということに注目が集まってしまう。帝国の賞揚が自国の賞揚に転位するオーストラリア、カナダ、アメリカという入植者社会の中でのみ、探検という言葉は、歴史的想像力の中で位置を占めている。ただしそうした所でも、探検といえはいわゆる英雄の伝記物という形式を想定してしまいがちであり、それは歴史の専門家の研究とはますます乖離してしまう。帝国という問題自身は、それについて標準的な歴史学に思想的、方法的挑戦を行ういわゆる新しい帝国史があらわれた結果、新たな学問的関心を引きつけるようになってきたが、帝国拡大において探検が演じた役割は、標準的な歴史学、新しい帝国史のいずれにおいても、完全に周縁的な要因にとどまっている。

すでにお分かりのように、私は、探検というテーマは歴史家によって再評価される時期にきていると考えている。少なくともそれが、探検について自分で完成させた研究を自分なりに正当化する理由となっている。その私の研究は19世紀イギリスの土地開拓、特にアフリカ、オーストラリアに焦点を絞った研究である。私は、探検への勢いを生み出すイギリス本国の力と多くの探検の結果を決定づける現地の状況の両方に関心がある。探検家や、探検家が実行する探検というものは、本国の後援者(教育機関、政府機関、大衆紙も含む)が提供する金銭的

* 本稿は2012年3月15日に成城大学で行われた報告(CGS Reports 23頁～34頁)の翻訳である。

な報酬や期待と、遠隔地（そこでは自然の力と先住民が全く異なる行為や観念的態度を求める）にある課題や魅力に結びつきがある。探検についての私の考えは、近年探検について書いた文学者、歴史地理学者などから影響を受けている。しかし私はまた、探検の持つ力に対して歴史学の方法を直接に応用し、特に歴史的文脈に即して、文化横断的、統合的に理解することによって、さらに得られるものがあると考えている。探検は衝突する世界を仲裁するものとして、現代の歴史の主要テーマ—文化的出会い、科学研究、帝国の拡大、グローバル化する経済など—の探求の手段を提供してくれるのである。

本日、私はこのテーマの重要な側面を強調したい。つまり探検家と現地社会から孤立させられてしまった多くの仲介者たちの間の相互関係についてである。19世紀イギリスの探検は厳格な科学的な枠組みの下で行われた。その科学的手順は探検家と自然界が何らの仲立ちもなしに接触するという前提に基づいていた。その際、科学機器によって可能になった定量的測定を伴った直接的観察という機能が、探検している地域についての唯一合理的な情報源であるとされていた。現地にいる探検家には重要な意味があるはずの現地人が持つ現地の知識は、この証拠に基づいたシステムに入り込む余地がなかったのである。それでも探検家には、いつも変わらず自分たちの計画を進めるために、または現地で生き残るために、こうした人々の知識が不可欠であった。結果として、彼らは知識を集め、その知識を評価するために、二重の基準を維持しなければならなかった。一つの基準は自分たちが現地で使うためであり、もう一つは本国の後援者と名誉のためのものであった。

アフリカとオーストラリアでの探検家の経験を比較してみれば、現地の情報提供者とその情報提供者の知識体系から、イギリスが行う探検の方向性と性格がどのように生み出されてきたかということをより容易に判別することができる。二つの大陸の間にあるいくつかの主要な相違点を取り上げてみたい。アフリカとオーストラリアは自然環境と居住者双方の点で、探検家に全く異なる課題をつきつけた。それぞれの大陸内での地域的な差を無視することもできないが、私たちの目的のもっとも重要な差異は二つの大陸の間に存在するのである。いくつかの自然環境、歴史環境によってこの差異は生み出された。地理的条件をとってみれば、アフリカは西ヨーロッパから中国、日本へと広がる旧世界の諸地域と結びついていたが、その結びつきは南に行けばいくほど薄くなっていく。一方オーストラリアは18世紀末まで外の世界からは全く孤立していた。アフリカはその自然環境によってその大陸の大部分で多くの人口と複雑な社会を維持していたが、オーストラリアは乾燥した気候と不毛な土壌のためにアフリカのような豊かな環境にはならなかった。19世紀初めのサハラ以南のアフリカ大陸の人口は6000万人から1億2500万人であったと考えられている。そこでは強大で、権力のある、洗練された政体に組織された人々が多くの地域で農業に従事していた。これに反し、オーストラリアの人口は50万人程度であったと想定され、ほとんどが小さな遊牧の狩猟採集民の集団を形成していた。これらの相違点が二つの大陸への探検の性質に重大な結果をもたらした。

アフリカの多くの地域は商業網によって結び付けられ、イギリスの探検家は内陸部に向かう立派に組織されたキャラバンのルートに従っていくことが、不可欠とは言わないまでも好都合だと分かった。探検家たちはキャラバン交易を管理した制度的、慣習的な営み—それによ

て労働力や食糧が手に入れられるかどうかが決まり、いつ、どこで、どのような状況で彼らが出発できるかも決められた一に従わなければならなかった。探検家たちが現地の支配者がいる領地を通るときには、金銭を支払い、黙認してもらるか通行を許可してもらう必要があった。東アフリカの内陸部へ進んでいった探検家たちは、新しい国に入る時はいつでも「ホンゴ」という名の通行料を払わなければならないことを知った。探検家は「ホンゴ」の要求が法外であるとよく不満を言ったが、その要求は実際当該地域が経済的、政治的に統制がとれた環境下にあることをよく示していた。



アフリカ探検のキャラバン

(Henry Morton Stanley, D.M. Kelsey(arr.), *Stanley and the White Heroes in Africa*, H.B. Scammel, 1890.)

オーストラリアでは、アフリカで見られるような環境に探検家が出会うことは全くなかった。自立したアボリジニの共同体は農業、商業、賃金労働に携わっておらず、領地に侵入する経路を探し求めて来た探検家に政治的、経済的要求も課さなかった。現地人からの食糧支援もアフリカでは可能だったが、それをアボリジニに頼ることは出来なかった。探検家は生活に必要な物資すべてを運ばなければならず、探検家自身の狩猟採集能力に頼るしかなかった。結果としてオーストラリアでの探検はほとんどの点で自活するしかなかったのである。多くのアボリジニは、ヨーロッパ人との遭遇には死に関わる危険が頻繁にあることを知っていて、探検からは距離を置くようにしていた。探検家がアボリジニの集団と出会うと、多くの場合争いが起こること

になった。

しかしオーストラリアでも、探検家は探検した土地に住んでいるアボリジニの人々を完全に軽視することはできなかった。もし軽視したりすれば、それは自らに危険を招くことになった。アボリジニたちの進路判断力と地理的な知識は、特に水が不足している広大な土地において大変役に立ち、生き残るためには不可欠だった。さらに、アボリジニはある程度、現地に住む集団に詳しく、無駄な緊張状態と争いを防ぐことができた。探検隊は通常1ダースにも満たない人数から成り、敵集団の突然の襲撃に対して脆弱であったので、アボリジニの助けは大変重要なことであった。このような理由でその土地の人々との相互交流や彼らの知識を取り入れることは、オーストラリアでも探検の成功には重要であった。



ウルル（エアーズ・ロック）とアボリジニ
(<http://www.environment.gov.au/parks/uluru/index.html>)

アフリカでは特に、探検隊と地元の人々との相互作用の独自の特徴は、大陸に入りこむ地点において大きく決められていった。イギリスが成功した西アフリカへの調査は実際のところ、北部から入ってサハラに抜けていったのであり、その主要な基点となったのは[リビアの]トリポリであった。1822年のクラッパートン、デナム、オードネーから、1825年のレイン、そして1850年のバルトと、西アフリカ内部への一連の主な探検は、トリポリから出発したのである。1864年にベイカーのチームがアルバート湖に到達したことを頂点として、エジプトはイギリスがナイルでの多くの探検をする重要な出発点となった。紅海やアフリカの角周辺で様々な調査をした他の探検家たちも同様にエジプトを出発点とした。東アフリカ中部に入るポイントになったのはザンジバルで、そこは1857年のバートンとスピーク、1860年のスピークとグラント、1871年と1872年のスタンレー、さらにその他多くの探検の基点になった。どの場合においても、内陸部で独自の利害を持つイスラム国家によって経路は支配された。今になって思えば探検家たちを、イスラム国家を弱体化させたヨーロッパの帝国の強さの象徴として見てしまいがちだが、イスラムの統治者たちは探検家たちを収入源であり自らの土地拡大事業の協力者であると考えていた。彼らは案内役、警備、そして遠征の成功に計り知れない利益をもたらす紹介状と信用状を旅行者に提供した。探検家は一度内陸部に入ると、その国家の仲介者でありその国家に

依存しているアラブの商人たちが運営し設置した経路に従っていくことになった。また、探検家は旅行中常に商人の知識、待遇、保護を利用した。入っていくためには異なった条件が必要であった他のアフリカの地域でも、探検家は既存の商業用の経路を旅する傾向にあり、そこでの条件や制約に詳しい人物に援助を仰いだり、そうした人物はしばしば奴隷商人であった。

オーストラリア内陸部への探検の起点となったのは、大陸南東部の海岸沿いにあるイギリス人入植地であった。シドニーは19世紀に入ってから数十年の間、探検の重要な足場となった。メルボルンやアデレードも、その土地の広さや重要性の意味合いで成長すると、南東部の海岸沿いで同様の役割を果たした。探検家への戦略と資金のほとんどは元々イギリス本国からもたらされていたが、19世紀中頃までにはオーストラリアの植民地からの援助へと徐々に移行していった。ニュー・サウス・ウェールズ、ヴィクトリア、サウスオーストラリアの各州は、植民地の境界を拡大し、土地に飢えた植民者の要求を満たし、相互の競争の中で自慢できるような権利を主張するために、探検に出資した。アフリカと違い、内陸部への経路を支配しているヨーロッパ人以外の仲介者はいなかったし、そのような支配力をもっていると主張する入植者自身が、内陸部への探検を進めようとする強い動機を持っていたのである。そのことは、未開のまま残された土地が経済的、戦略的利益も全くもたらさないと明らかになった後でさえも変わらなかった。

探検家たちが、自分たちの努力を支援してくれる地元の仲介者たちにどの程度頼るかは、利用できる輸送手段の形態によって決定づけられた。アフリカに行く探検家にとって重大な目的の一つは、幹線路として大陸を流れる大きな川を利用することによって他人に依存しなくて済むようにすることであった。しかし19世紀後半までこの地域でのこうした努力は失敗におわった。サハラを通過していく探検家は砂漠の船と言われるラクダに頼ったが、この交通手段はアラブの商人によって支配されていて、この道を進むヨーロッパ人旅行者も彼らの支配下におかれた。西アフリカ、南アフリカの内陸部のいくつかの場所では、探検家は牛、馬、その他の家畜を最大限利用することによってはるかに大きな行動の自由を得たが、このような場合でも探検家は、動物を操り世話をするアフリカ人の同伴者を雇った。広大なアフリカを渡るときトリパノソーマ症その他の病気の流行があったため、探検家が内陸部へ進むためには大量の備品と商品が必要になり、それらを運ぶ多くのポーターに頼らなければならなかった。東アフリカについてステファン・ロッケルが最近示したように、運搬は独自の規則、賃金表、労働文化などを備えたとてもよく発達した労働システムとなっていた¹。ポーターは何の疑問も抱かずに命令に従うものと思っていた探検家はすぐにその考えを捨て去ることになった。探検の報告は手に負えないポーターの行動によって起こる探検の遅延や困難な事態の話であふれている。賢い探検家は自分の探検が順調に進むには、運営管理能力やポーターの問題に精通した経験あるキャラバンのリーダーが重要な意味をもっていると気づくようになった。中には、専門的な能力を持つアシスタントやポーターをアフリカの別地域から採用すれば、自分たちがそれほど詳しくない土地や民族のいる場所を通るために、彼らの独立性が弱まるものとする探検家もいた。

¹ Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2006).

いわゆる南アフリカのホッテントットの兵士にヴィクトリア湖の探検についてきてもらったスピークやグラントがその例である。リヴィングストンは西アフリカのクルメン族を採用してザンベジ河を遡ろうとした蒸気船を運転させた。スタンレーはコンゴ流域に足場を築くためにベルギーのレオポルド王に雇われたとき、ザンジバル出身の男たちを頼り、力を貸してもらった。こうした戦略の成功の度合いには様々な違いがあった。

一方オーストラリアに行った探検家たちは移動に関してはほとんどアボリジニの人々を当てにできなかった。初期の探検の多くは主に牛の引く貨車を利用し、時間をかけて整然として進んでいった。道を切り開くのに必要な肉体労働は囚人によって賄われた。しかしここでも、探検家は、大きな湖が存在すると考え内陸部へ進む簡単な手段は川であると信じていた。彼らは重いボートを荷馬車で引っ張り、多くの川の流域を示す浅瀬や沼地を引きずるという途方もない努力を強いられた。奥地が乾燥した地域であることがはっきりしてくると探検の範囲は狭く流動的になり、ほとんどの場合馬に頼るようになっていった。さらに馬がこの荒々しい環境にうまく適応できないときには、初めは1860年代に、インドからラクダを取り寄せ、ラクダを扱えるインド人の調教師にも来てもらった。

探検家がアフリカで地元の人間に支援してもらったようなことはオーストラリアではなかったが、オーストラリアでも探検家たちは未知の地域に進むとき、案内役、通訳、情報提供者を務める人物の必要性を感じていた。このような人物を文化的ブローカーとよぶことができるが、彼らは様々なバックグラウンドを持っていた。彼らの多くは自分たちの共同体から引き離され、よそ者の社会に強制的に適應させられた孤立した人たちであった。コロンブス以降、ヨーロッパ

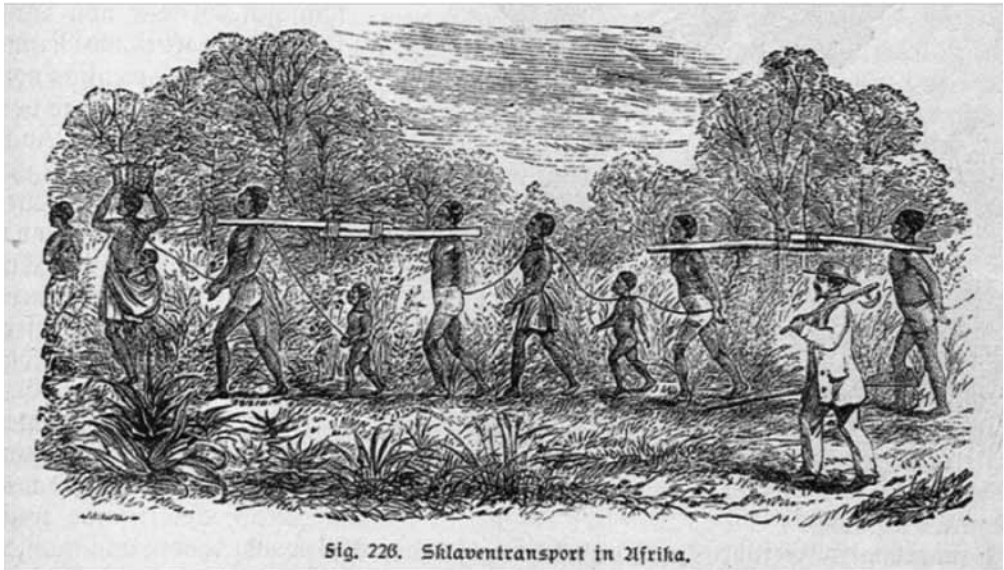


Fig. 226. Sklaventransport in Afrika.

奴隷の輸送

(Wilhelm Redenbacher, *Lesebuch der Weltgeschichte oder Die Geschichte der Menschheit*, 1890.)

の探検家たちは目的達成に必要な現地の知識を得る方法がなくなると、地元の子供たちをさらった。当然、この行為は自暴自棄なもので、うまくいくはずもなかった。意思の疎通もうまくできず、現地の人を敵に回し、捕まった子供もよく逃げてしまった。より多くの場合、探検家は、現地の共同体から既に切り離されたトラウマを経験し、言語を初めとする技術を身に付け、二つ以上の文化にまたがるところに自らの居場所を見出した人物を役に立つ仲介者として、彼らに支援してもらった。少なくともアフリカでは、探検家は商人、金銭目当ての兵士や、その地域で立場を築き交通路とそのリスクについての知識を備えた他のよそ者に頼ったのである。

アフリカで探検家に同行し、探検家がよく知らない土地を案内した文化的ブローカーは戦争や奴隷売買で居場所をなくした男たちがほとんどだった。しかしすべての人がアラブやアフリカの人というわけではなかった。19世紀初めに、アラブ人が統制しているキャラバンのルートに北部から入ってサハラ以南への経路をうまく乗り越えた探検家の多くは、北アフリカで戦いの流れに巻き込まれて難破したといえる自分と同国人の中から文化的ブローカーを見いだした。アフリカ協会を代表してカイロから西アフリカ内部へ旅行しようとしたフレデリック・ホーンマンはジョセフ・フレンデンバークを通訳兼アドバイザーとして同行させた。フレンデンバークはオスマン帝国人に囚われ、イスラム教への改宗を強制され、マムルーク奴隷兵士にされ、ナポレオンのエジプト(そこでホーンマンは彼と会った)侵攻後に解放された人物であった²。ヘンリー・ソルトのアビシニアへの探検はナサン・ピアースが援助した。ピアースは紅海で難破しその後生き残って現地人とともに生活して、アラビア語を学習し、割礼の儀式を受け、おそらくイスラム教に改宗した³。デナムとクラッパートンのグループの一人にカリブ海のセント・ヴィンセント島の間人であるアドルフ・アシムズがいたが、彼は航海に出てトリポリに行き着き、そこでアラビア語を流暢に話すようになり、オスマン帝国のスルタンに仕えて、コロンブスという名前になった。探検家ヨハン・ルートヴィック・ブルクハルトはエジプトとアラブの旅行に際して、イギリスのエジプト侵攻時に捕えられてイスラムに改宗させられ、オスマン・エフェンディと改名していたスコットランド人の一兵士に援護してもらった。リンダ・コリーが彼女の本、『捕らわれ人たち』で示しているように、実際北アフリカは、アラブが支配する地域で文化的ブローカーとして働くのに適したこのような根なし草のヨーロッパ人であふれかえっていたのである。

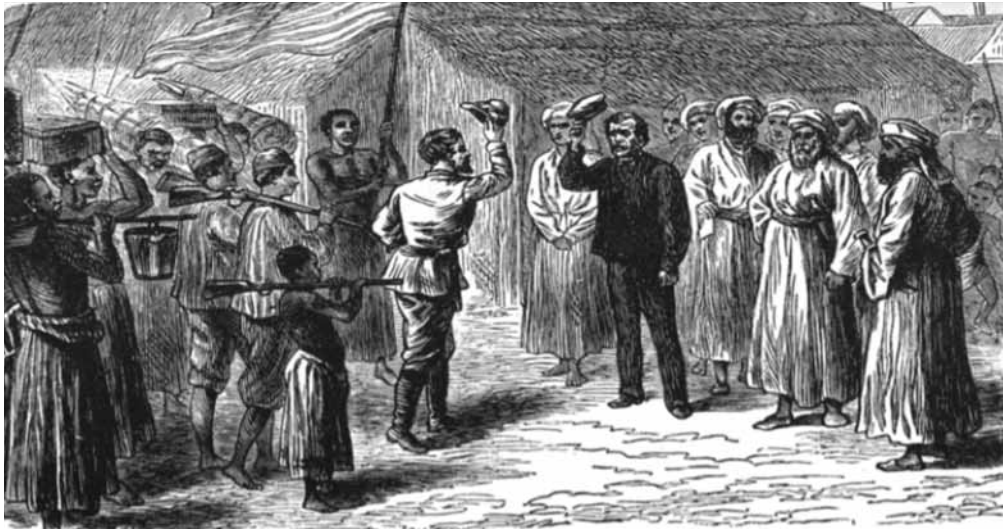
サハラ以南を標的にしている探検は様々な援助を当てにしなければならなかった。探検が求めているものは大抵、アフリカの奴隷売買によって自らの家族や共同体から切り離された個人の中に見つけることが出来た。マンゴー・パークは二人の通訳と案内役とともにニジェール川をたどる最初の計画を実行した。二人のうち一人はマンデイングゴのジョンソンという名の男で、若いころ奴隷にされ、ジャマイカに送り出され、自由を取り戻しアフリカに戻った。もう一人はデンバという奴隷の少年で探検の終わりには自由になれることを約束されていた⁴。ディクソン・

² “The Journals of Friedrich Hornemann’s Travels From Cairo to Murzuk in the Years 1797-98,” in E. W. Bovill, ed., *Missions to the Niger*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), p. 56.

³ Robin Hallett, ed., *Records of the African Association 1788-1831* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1964), p. 225.

⁴ Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, ed. with introduction by Kate Ferguson Marsters (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), ch. 3.

デナムは彼の探検に加わった数人のアフリカ人奴隷を褒めていて、そのうちの一人は「アスカリ」、すなわち兵士で、おそらくダルフル出身だった⁵。デナムは彼を命の恩人だと評価していた。西アフリカの内陸部を渡る長期の旅の間、ハインリッヒ・バーンは同僚のオーバーウェッグが買い取って自由の身としたアフリカ人の少年二人を採用した。そのうちの一人ジェイムズ・ドルグは探検についてのアフリカ人自身による貴重な報告を残してくれている⁶。西アフリカには奴隷だった人間が多かったが、その多くはシエラレオネで再び捕らわれの身となり、海岸沿いの貿易港に散らばっていた人々で、ウィンドワードやギニアの海岸を利用して内陸部へ進入しようとする探検家のために、それまでに吸収した大量の専門的知識を提供した。西アフリカ、中央アフリカでも探検家が頼ったのは若いときに奴隷にされた優れたアフリカ人たちだった。その中で最もよく知られているのはシディ・ムバラク・ボンベイだろう。彼のニックネームは奴隷商人が彼を置いていった都市にちなんでいる。彼は、バートンとスピークのペア、スピークとグラントのペア、キャメロン、スタンレーという一連のイギリスの探検家にとって欠くことのできない人物になった。他にもマブルキ・スピークやサイド・ビン・サーレムという、彼に匹敵する人物はいた。彼らはスワヒリ語やアラビア語の通商語にたけていて、キャラバンの行動を統制する習慣に詳しく、その土地の指導者たちの中で頻繁に変遷する政治的関係の在り方にうまく適応した。さ



リヴィングストンとスタンレー

(Henry Morton Stanley, *Comment j'ai retrouvé Livingstone*, Paris : Hachette, 1876.)

⁵ Major Dixon Denham and Captain Hugh Clapperton, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa...* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1826), pp. 76-77.

⁶ James Henry Dorugu, "The Life and Travels of Dorugu," in *West African Travels and Adventures: Two Autobiographical Narratives from Northern Nigeria*, translated and annotated by Anthony Kirk-Greene and Paul Newman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 29-129.

らに、デイビッド・リヴィングストンのアフリカ人アシスタント、とりわけジェイムズ・チュマ、ジョン・ウェコタニ、アブラダ・スシ、ジェイコブ・ウェインライトもあげることができる。彼らは全員が若いとき奴隷として売られ、チュマ、ウェコタニ、スシはリヴィングストンに救われ、ウェインライトはイギリスの沿岸部隊の船に救われた。東アフリカの奴隷売買から救われた多くのアフリカ人のように、彼らはインドに連れて行かれた。チュマとウェコタニはリヴィングストンによってボンベイにあるスコットランド教会のミッションスクールに連れて行かれ、スシは学校に入れるほど若くなかったため、ボンベイの埠頭で仕事を見つけてもらった。一方ウェインライトはボンベイのキリスト教協会の保護施設に入れられた。彼らがアフリカに戻った時には、リヴィングストンの要求を完全に満たすだけの力をもった完成した文化的ブローカーになっていた。

オーストラリアではアボリジニを孤立させるような奴隷売買は一切なかったが、植民地支配の状況は目的達成のために十分暴力的で威圧的であった。19世紀後半のオーストラリア探検のほとんどで、最低でも一人のアボリジニが案内役、情報提供者、通訳として働いていた。たとえば、ニュー・サウス・ウェールズ州の内陸部に進む三回目の探検に、トマス・ミッチェルは一人の成人と二人の少年のアボリジニを同行させた。ある歴史家によると、彼らが「探検の進むべき道を多かれ少なかれ決めていった」のである⁷。そのような人物について名前以外にはわかっていることはほとんどない。ただ、シディ・ボンベイのようなアフリカ人の場合と同じく、彼らを探検隊に入れたいとする要求が強かったことははっきりしている。ジョン・フォレストの最初の探検にはトミー・ウィンドリッチとジェミー・ムンガロの二人が同行した。フォレストによると、二人は「すでに先に来ていた探検家のもとでかなりの探検の経験を積んでいた」。彼らは進路を示し、水を発見し、獲物を捕らえ、アボリジニの集団と交渉をしてくれた。ウィンドリッチはこの探検に続いて、フォレストの探検にさらに二回同行した。植民地担当大臣が、フォレストが二度目の探検から戻ってきたのを祝したスピーチ⁸の中で、ウィンドリッチを「すべてを遂行する男、フォレストをアデレードに導いた男」と褒めたたえたほど、ウィンドリッチは高く評価されるようになった。ウィンドリッチのような人間がどのようにして生み出されたかについてもっとよく分かろうと思えば、それ以前の探検家エドワード・エアーに眼を向けてみればよい。彼は荷物運びの運転手をしている中で、八歳くらいのアボリジニの少年二人を「採用した」。エアーは二人がほかの地域から荷物運びの運転手に連れてこられ、降ろされた場所に取り残されているのに気付いた。「仕事監督は二人をどうすべきかわからなかったため、私はすぐに二人を自分のグループに参加させた」とエアーは書いている。そして彼らには仕事として群れから離れた羊や牛を追いかけしてもらった。その後、マレー川に沿って車を走らせていた時、エアーのグループはアボリジニの大集団に出会った。そこには「二人の少年の両親がいて、子供と再会できたことを大変喜び、深い思いやりと優しさを示した」。エアーはそもそも二人の少年がどのように両親から引き離されたか全く述べていないが、彼らが再び一緒にな

⁷ Glen McLaren, *Beyond Leichhardt: Bushcraft and the Exploration of Australia* (South Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 1996), p. 110.

⁸ John Forrest, *Explorations in Australia* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969 [1875]), p. 19, 145.

ることはない点については確信している。「両親に対して礼儀正しくし、様々なささやかなプレゼントをするが、子供たちが私たちのところに残ることは容認する方向だった」のである⁹。のちに、エアーがアデレードからキング・ジョージズ・サウンドまでの有名な探検をしたとき、彼は二人のうち一人のクータッチャを同行させた。そのとき別の機会に知り合った二人のアボリジニの少年もいた。事実上エアーがしようとしていたことは自分自身のための文化的ブローカーを作り上げることであった。だから大人のアボリジニより、適応力と従順さを持ち、影響を受けやすい若い少年らに目を向けたのであった。

このような現地人の仲介者は、困難な仕事を探検家の指示のもとにこなし、疑いを持たずに要求に応える探検家の忠実な使用人として、普通描かれている。チュマとスシガリヴィングストンの遺体を保存し、本国に戻したという話ほど、このようなイメージを人々の心に刻み込んだものはない。リヴィングストンに対する一見私心のない忠実さを示したことによって、彼らはイギリスで東の間ではあったが有名人となった。ただ、彼らについてあまり語られていないことがある。リヴィングストンの最後の探検で二人は補給品を盗み、リヴィングストンに責任を問われている。そのためリヴィングストンとの関係が悪くなり、しばらくの間二人は彼のもとを離れてしまっていたのである。現地のブローカーとのもめ事と紛争は一般に知られている以上に探検家に頻繁に起こった。この点は少なくとも、ブローカーが重要な情報源で、その情報が探検の業務に相当の影響を与えていたことが原因の一部であった。探検家はよく現地人アシスタントを殴っていたのである。あるときには、スピークはシディ・ボンベイが自分の意に反した行動をとったため頭にきて、顔に打撃を加え、シディの前歯を折ってしまったことがあった。シディのような使用人の側が同様の行動に出ることはほとんどなかった。というのも、自分たちがそうすることによって生じる影響は彼ら自身にとっても深刻なものになる可能性が高かったし、逃げなければ彼らはキャンプからいとも簡単に抜け出せたからだ。しかし、彼らが恐れや怒りを抑えきれなくなることも時として生じた。たとえば、エアーの探検について行ったクータッチャを含む二人のアボリジニの案内人は、探検隊にいたほかのヨーロッパ人を襲い、ほぼ確実に死に至るような状況で彼を放置したのである。

探検家と文化的ブローカーとの関係がもつれることがある一方で、彼らがとても密接な関係になることがあった点も認める必要がある。二つのグループがお互い長い年月の間、時には非常にストレスの多い状況で毎日のように会うことで、その両方の感情が現れることは避けられなかった。エアーがアボリジニの少年を大変よく面倒を見ていたことは、彼らに食事と同じものを食べさせ、自分が歩いて彼らを馬に乗せたり、テントの中で寝かせたりするなど、彼の記録を読めば誰もがわかるはずである。この親密さは性的解釈も出来るだろう。現地の若い少年たちと仲間になって楽しんで探検家の数が目立つこともこの解釈に信頼性を与える。しかし、エアーのような男たちが、そのような少年たちや探検の援助をしてくれる他の人々と交わることで、その土地の社会や文化に対する本物の評価や洞察を手に入れたという事実に変わりはな

⁹ Edward John Eyre, *Autobiographical Narrative of Residence and Exploration in Australia 1832-1839* (London: Caliban Books, 1984), pp. 105, 124.

い。実際さらに一歩進んで、こうした共同作業をすることによって、探検家自らの体験、興味、見解に変化がもたらされたと言っても良いだろう。著しく多くの探検家が、彼らがさまざまな意味をこめて文明と呼んだものへ探検から戻ってきた時、落ち込んで、実在するもしくは想像上の批判者たちに立ち向かい、あるいはそうでない場合は感情的に方向喪失状態となった徴をみせたことは、注目すべきことである。彼らは社会的常識を持っていたので、探検で感じたこと、実行したことの多くについて口にしてはいけないということは当然わかっていたが、ある点では彼らも文化的に孤立した人間になってしまったのである。

イギリスの探検家たちとアフリカとオーストラリアにおける現地仲介者たちの例から私たちは何を学ぶことができるだろうか。まず、当然ジュールのような伝記作家たちが書き続ける探検家の英雄物語はある程度懐疑的に読まれるべきであるということである。人柄を重視した短絡的な強調や、道義的に問題のある行動を弁護するような勝手な議論は、個々の探検家の行動に影響を及ぼす複雑で入り組んだ要素を正當に評価できていない。第二に、探検の多くの特徴と経過は、探検家と現地の社会の間に入る代理人、情報提供者、仲介者として仕える人々によって形作られていることがわかる。そのような人びとは滅多に自分たち自身の物語を語ることはないが、歴史的記録はそのような人たちがどのような人たちで、何のために探検家の努力に貢献したのかということについて、かなり良い見解を得るのに十分な証拠をもたらしてくれている。そして第三に、探検はとても複雑で、我々が思っている以上に文化的に入り組んだ活動だということである。探検はイギリスその他のヨーロッパ帝国列強の目的を確かに前進させる要因ではあったが、その仕方は最終的な結果が示す以上に遠回りで条件に縛られていたのである。

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