

Mary Kingsley: A Different Type of Feminist

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Fall 2008

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Abstract: Victorian women are not necessarily known for their extravagant lifestyles outside the home and wardrobe. There are exceptions to this stereotypical lifestyle, and some women prove in many ways that women are not just created to be housewives. Mary Kingsley is one such woman that was breaking the mold of a Victorian woman. Having an adventurous spirit, not desiring a husband and family, and educating herself are ways in which Kingsley proved to be living by her own means. Although this behavior was discouraged for most young women, in Kingsley's case she was encouraged to travel and live life to her fullest desires. As a result of her ambition Kingsley made two trips to Africa, wrote three books among other small journal articles, and contributed to the British Museum specimens of fish and insects through collaboration with Dr. Günther. After losing her family at a young age Kingsley found a new meaning of family through her travels and this would be her most fulfilling type of life, through the vast studying of science in West and Southern Africa.

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Figure 1: Map of Africa in 1890. Represents key areas of Mary Kingsley’s travels in West and Southern Africa. Key areas of reference are Sierra Leone and Boer.

Introduction: Defining a Victorian Woman

“A professional mode of conceptualizing male middle-class identity thus operates largely by implicit analogy rather than opposition to a domestic ideal that is more typically attributed to women and the home.”¹ Therefore men had an identity that would reflect the family and be made outside the home, whereas women were to remain domesticated at home. A well balanced Victorian woman was composed of many dutiful roles in which she strove to become the most organized, efficient, and obedient. For many women this was an accepted norm and practiced from their youth. Victorian mothers would teach their daughters how to become great cooks, housewives, and mothers. As a way of life women would aspire to find a supporting husband and rear children so that their fulfillment and training could be used to the fullest extent. This in practice was the best place for a woman to consume her energy and time, but in reality was not always pleasing and practical for all women, and many were starting to push the limits, or not accept this as the only way to survive.

The home can be considered the area where the woman was truly in charge and could run the home in her own style as long as her husband approved. In the home a Victorian woman should be well rounded in all aspects of housekeeping. Cooking, cleaning, and penmanship are just a few of the qualities that the housewife should be sufficiently trained and talented in. Efficiency was the main thinking behind a woman’s day to day tasks. Having an organized pattern in the kitchen helped to make more efficiently prepared meals and could free up more time for cleaning. Doing laundry was the activity that took up most hours of the day, so when planning the washing of dishes and laundry had to be a coordinated effort. Finally at the end of the day educating the children and writing letters to family and friends bragging up the family

¹ Lauren M. E. Goodlad. “A Middle Class Cut into Two: Historiography and Victorian National Character.” *The Johns Hopkins University Press*, 67 (2000): 161.

and lifestyle was the final activities to be completed in the day.² This was still of an importance necessary to show to the world that life was as easy and joyous as expected for the entire family, but especially to prove she was a good woman.

In public the Victorian woman should be well groomed, be a happy and well poised acquaintance for her husband or escort and always be on her best behavior. Showing off was unacceptable, unless in the form of new up and coming fashions straight from department stores or Paris.³ Women were also expected to keep their mouths shut, and only socialize with other women of the same social class or higher than themselves. Politics was one issue that was completely off limits to women, and whatever views they held were determined by their husband, including religion. When the New Woman's movement would come into the public arena these women challenged social norms and were practicing new ideals and ground never before experienced by women.

Keeping the private and public separate spheres and knowing where a woman fit in each sector was one of the many struggles that women accepted and practiced. In many cases it would seem that women gave into the demands of the livelihood that was expected for them and became the perfect, understanding, and dutiful women that had no thoughts of their own. These women lived to please their husbands and their children and their own opinions were unwelcomed or ignored. Whatever was expected of them was performed, and in this respect they can be considered property of their husbands. Women that had ideas therefore were troubling to their husbands, and needed to be given more responsibilities in the home to preoccupy their thoughts so that they would remain pure thinkers for the family, and not corrupt their own mind.

² Glenna Matthews, *Just a Housewife: the Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*. Pg. 7.

³ Glenna Matthews, *Just a Housewife: the Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*. Pg. 12.

From the male dominated viewpoint there was no such phenomenon as depression from homestead duties.

There are cases however where young girls were not raised to this effect. Mary Henrietta Kingsley was raised in a situation where her mother was an invalid, and unable to teach the woman's duties. Kingsley was born in London, England, in October of 1862, to an educated and semi-wealthy family. Her father was away from home for work all but two weeks a year so there was not a responsible parent figure in the home. Kingsley also showed resentment and jealousy toward her educated brother Charles who in her opinion had every advantage she did not have. As a result of this family structure Kingsley was left secluded and homebound for most of her youth. Being secluded was surprisingly not troubling for Kingsley and she spent most of her days learning about women's place in the home, public, and learned through her own interpretations what it meant to be a woman. She also spent much of her time pleasing her imagination by reading men's literature such as scientific books, journals, and other stories that emphasized the excitement that comes with travelling. Her uncle Charles was a respected historian and controversial author who wrote: *Glaucus: Or the Wonders of the Shore* in 1855, and *Water Babies* in 1863.⁴ These books along with other tales of her father's journey throughout the world led Kingsley to yearn for the same lifestyle.

George Kingsley was a doctor, explorer, writer, and father to Mary, but played as small of a role as possible when it came to the father figure. He was however excited about Mary's interest in his journals but thought that these were personal and to be used for a book of research of his own West African travels.⁵ Bored and alone most days Mary found herself reading her father's journals and becoming enthralled by the vivid details and accounts that her father had

⁴ Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-Century Women's Travel Narratives and the Scientific Vocation*. Pg. 185.

⁵ Katherine Frank, *A Voyager Out: the Life of Mary Kingsley*. Pg. 212.

experienced. After the death of both mother and father Mary found her day's empty and only reassurance of life in her father's journals.⁶ Being unconnected from Charles, she decided to take what little money was left to her from her parents and travel on the same paths that her father had planned for his own discoveries. With little else to fill her time Kingsley became obsessed with dreaming of the African landscape and people and decided that in order to live her own life for the first time she was going to travel to West Africa.

The life of Mary Kingsley has many surprises and unexpected events that make her sedentary lifestyle extraordinary. Defying the desires of her parent's wishes to become a housewife, and the world in which she lived Mary Kingsley lived out her life passion of gaining an education on her own terms and at any cost to live as an independent person. The main points that the reader should discover through this reading is that Kingsley was an exceptional Victorian woman who defied the world view in which she lived. Examining how her research was collected, shared, and remembered is one aspect to understanding her life. Investigating the reactions of close friends and encounters from natives along with feminist and newspaper reaction also sheds light on the importance of Mary Kingsley's passion in life. Finally looking at an overview of how Kingsley is remembered sheds light as to why and how she is considered a feminist in today's standards.

⁶ Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1895. Pg. 12-19.

Chapter 1: Defying Traditional Roles



Figure 2: Portrait of Mary Kingsley clearly showing the Victorian dress that she was known for wearing while on excursions.⁷

The Victorian woman had the aura of perfection surrounding her every move. Women of this stature were to portray happiness and complacency within their everyday appearance and lifestyles. “An insufficiently expansive model of Victorian middleclass identity continues to impair critical elaborations of national character, what is sometimes called Englishness or Britishness.”⁸ Deviation from the national identity that was established for a woman to follow was to be taken seriously in all actions carried out by women. Since women were to obey men

⁷ *Portrait of Mary Kingsley* [photo]. “Goda Grannar.” <<http://jarlaberg.nu/res/default/MaryKingsleyBig.jpg>> accessed September 29, 2008.

⁸ Lauren M. E. Goodlad. “A Middle Class Cut into Two: Historiography and Victorian National Character.” *The Johns Hopkins University Press*, 67 (2000): 143.

and portray themselves as obedient caregivers, any outside the home job or adventure was considered inappropriate by the English culture. Mary Kingsley had decided upon her parent's death in 1892, that she could either remain living the same lifestyle or do something unpredictable and extraordinary. Battling through the loss of the only lifestyle she was accustomed to, Kingsley was struggling with an inner depression and a void in her life that she felt travel and exploration could fill. While discussing her intentions with her female friends Mary was pushed toward pursuing other, more familiar pursuits. Many of her friends had newspaper and photographs from turmoil filled regions of the areas of Kingsley's interest.⁹ This negative response and lack of confidence from friends would leave most people feeling that their plans were out of reality, but Kingsley now was determined to prove to them that she was a true adventurer, just like her father and uncle.

Mary Kingsley was raised in a family that had anticipated her to become a true Victorian woman. Being a woman she was not to receive much, if any formal education because educational thoughts complicating the mind were not appropriate for woman's involvement or attention. Kingsley received some German lessons in her youth and was allowed to read and write at her own leisure so that she could grow into a woman who was obedient to anyone who saw her fit. Kingsley was hardly given this chance however, and was expected to become a nurse to the family. Mrs. Kingsley had become ill and paranoid so with Mr. Kingsley away much of the year for work and Charles, the only living son, away at school, Mary was the only person to take care of mother and the home. Caring for her mother was not unrealistic or terrible in nature for Kingsley however, and she found it gave her an excuse to stay inside and read her father's library collection.

⁹ Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*. Pg. 63.

There were two types of books that women interested in travel should have read and taken seriously so that they could keep etiquette in line while abroad. These two categories of books were conduct books and books on the beauty system.¹⁰ Kingsley was familiar with these books and took them seriously in conduct material, but not in factual evidence for systematic ways to travel. To Kingsley these books were useful to learn the ways of a woman, but not to teach you how to travel. These books were a type of travel guide for women to learn how to properly behave and look like they belonged to the visiting society. Much of this literature speaks of travelling in Europe instead of abroad, and most certainly not unaccompanied. Traveling in Europe was considered a safer destination to observe because it was civilized and there were not many, if any unlooked aspects to the land. A journey abroad could put the traveler's life in danger, and was therefore threatening enough to keep most adventurers away.

At the time when Kingsley was considering her first journey there was much attention in paper and gossip that stated various reasons as to why it was dangerous for women to travel and discouragement for women to become involved in the future predictions of professional societies and a push back to the domestic realms.¹¹ These editorials condoning the involvement of women adventurers were much harsher in reality and physical evidence than what her friends had presented to her. This discouragement spoke of disease and illness found with native peoples and the frightening reality that becoming lost or killed by native people was a likely outcome.¹² This was not discouraging to Kingsley, which most certainly made critics emerge and indulge of her choices immediately. As a result Kingsley understood that to make her journeys accepted and still remain in her true intentions of travel she would have to set some publicized boundaries. First she decided that through her travels she was going to finish the research that her father had

¹⁰ Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa*. Pg. 67.

¹¹ Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*. Pg. 24

¹² Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender and Imperialism*, Pg. 176.

started and write a book using his research and journals. Second she set up a collaborative colleague in Dr. Günther, a contributor to the British Museum.¹³ By following these goals her trip was finally encouraged by friends and other scientific female researchers who had similar interests as Kingsley's.

The dress code that Kingsley followed while on her journey's also tells the tale of her Victorian woman spirit. Kingsley was able to capitalize on her unacceptable lady like activities by wearing traditional Victorian garb.¹⁴ Evidence is shown above in figure two that clearly shows Kingsley wearing what is considered traditional Victorian lady's dress. The portrait is the most widely used depiction of Kingsley and she wrote often of wardrobe complications while voyaging in the jungles. While asked in an interview if she dressed as a "new woman" with knickers and gaiters, she quickly dismissed this fashion as distasteful to her. "On the contrary, I am very domesticated, and I certainly never adopted any costume other than the ordinary skirt and blouse during my tramps."¹⁵ Although altering her outfit would have most certainly helped ease the difficulty of her journey's, it was not in Kingsley's interest to portray herself as anything other than an appropriate Victorian educated woman.

Although appearing as a new woman was not Kingsley's intention the press was quick to try and make her appear as the face of a new woman. The press wrote of her as an "explorer in petticoats" or as the "New Woman."¹⁶ This was infuriating to Kingsley and she was very upset with London's *The Daily Telegraph* caricature of her.

Yes! Anything seems possible in Africa, yet almost more wonderful than the hidden marvels of that Dark Continent are the qualities of heart and mind which could carry a

¹³ Alison Blunt, *Travel, Gender and Imperialism*, Pg. 53.

¹⁴ Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*. Pg. 136.

¹⁵ Baroness Von Zedlitz, "Chats with Well Known Women: an Interview with Miss Mary Kingsley" *Woman's life* (February 1896): 432.

¹⁶ Katherine Frank, *A Voyager Out: the Life of Mary Kingsley*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986. Pg. 208.

lonely English lady through such experiences as Miss Kingsley has ‘manfully’ borne.¹⁷ It is a curious and novel feature of the modern emancipation of woman—this passion on the part of the sex to emulate the most daring achievements of masculine explorers’.”¹⁸

It was embarrassing and taken extremely out of character interpretation to Kingsley that her home papers were considering her as a man through her travels. Yes she was following in the footsteps of men, but she was not wearing male types of clothes, nor was she behaving in male mannerisms such as drinking, smoking, or changing her mindset.

Mary Kingsley was different from other Victorian era women explorers in that she was very concerned with the image she was conveying and wanted to protect it. Other women explorers were more interested in setting a new norm for women. These women were more likely to embrace new types of clothes and set a new image for women as educated and outgoing.¹⁹ To Kingsley these women were blurring the lines between gender distinctions. Writings from newspapers made friends back home believe that Kingsley had changed through her travels and was going to return home “tomboyish.”²⁰ Women were not expected to take on new roles or shrink gender gaps. As a result masculine discovery by women was not to be taken in stride, but to diminish the efforts and hard work women accomplished.²¹ This was clearly unacceptable to Kingsley and she made it a priority to stop hearsay about her travels and man-like behaviors. In a ploy to contradict the newspapers and set her reputation straight Kingsley stated that “personally I prefer the study of fetish to elephant hunting.”²² With subtle writing gestures such as this

¹⁷ *Daily Telegraph*, December 3, 1895.

¹⁸ Katherine Frank, *A Voyager Out: the Life of Mary Kingsley*. Pg. 208.

¹⁹ Ulrike Brisson, Fish and Fetish: Mary Kingsley’s Studies of Fetish in West Africa.” *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 35.3 (2005): 326.

²⁰ Sara Mills. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism*. New York: Routledge, 1991. Pg. 35.

²¹ Sara Mills. *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism*. New York: Routledge, 1991. Pg. 154-155.

²² Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 430.

Kingsley was able to demonstrate that she was more about educational advancement than adhering to roles that men enjoy on such excursions such as hunting.

Chapter 2: Unaccompanied Travel

Finding herself now freed from family obligations, the acceptance from her friends, and a colleague with which to collaborate, Kingsley was on her way toward her dream. The trip itself was easy to plan: find a ride to West Africa and go exploring. Since there was no one to stay with while in Africa, Kingsley knew that she would be making new friends and learning new languages to communicate her intentions and find guides while traveling. Finding a vessel to board to sail to Africa was another conflict to correct. There was only one time constraint to Kingsley's travels. When the departing boat to England would leave and at what location it would embark was the harder task to plan. This was negotiable Kingsley soon found out as she became a dock hand and befriended the captain.

Kingsley would travel as a tourist on her first journey in 1892, and not venture inland until she was comfortable with the geography and society in which she was visiting. Africa was not considered a tourist destination however, so while explaining herself as a tourist this confused many people in these areas.²³ Initially asked what Kingsley's intentions were she stated that she was to "go puddling about obscure districts in West Africa after raw fetish and freshwater fish"²⁴ This was always stated in a humorous manner to diminish the unique journey that she planned to undergo. In order to correct implications that she was only travelling Kingsley became familiar with trade routes so that she could hear news from England and pass on news of her journey. This not only made it easier for friends at home to understand her intentions and it also cleared up misconceptions of the African continent. According to Dea Birkett "women's concerns neither to challenge accepted gender roles nor to appear ambitious can be read as a tactic for guaranteeing maintenance of their small foothold of power rather than

²³ Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers*. New York: Blackwell, 1989. Pg. 30.

²⁴ Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 8.

a reluctance to take part in public life”²⁵ Although Kingsley would most likely disagree with Birkett’s conclusions it is hard to not accept that Kingsley was practicing this, especially while returning home and lecturing on her research.

Solitary Victorian travelers had to be careful of how they presented themselves as women with other male travelers on board because it could ruin their reputation.²⁶ Men were displeased and overall disgusted in women’s irrational and ill-placed male behaviors. Kingsley had read of the reputations that women could receive by lowering their expectations of their femininity while traveling. Although she remained in true Victorian dress, this was not as reliable as expected to please the opposite sex’s opinions and could make women targets for seduction. Kingsley states in *Travels in West Africa* that she feared she would eternally be seen as out of place by “being such a colossal ass as to come fooling about in mangrove swamps.”²⁷ By keeping composure and remembering the woman’s place of silence, respect and obedience toward men they were relatively left unharmed and to do as they pleased.

As a rule, women travelling alone receive far more consideration and kindness from men of all classes than under any other circumstances whatever, and the greater independence of women, which permits even young girls, in these days, to travel about entirely alone, unattended even by a maid, has very rarely inconvenient consequences.²⁸

The threat of sexual harassment as a result was thus minimized and any harm or falsehood to the woman was considered to be her own fault, as noted by conduct books, but this was not always a reality especially when travelling to areas not recommended in guide books. In Kingsley’s case she was generally among few passengers, and helped the crew with sailing tasks. As a result she soon realized that she was entering into a new world where she could define her own interpretive terms as to how people should respond to her actions and gained respect.

²⁵ Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers*. Pg. 224.

²⁶ Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*. Pg. 169.

²⁷ Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 89.

²⁸ Blunt, Alison. *Travel, Gender, and Imperialism*, Pg. 69.

Kingsley used her knowledge of authors that had already studied cannibalistic fetishes and redefined the term to better fit their world view so that she could better fit her studies into this ethnological field of study.²⁹ This was a critical approach to how Kingsley would define her fascination with fetish and cannibalism. Using her father's journals and her own research among the previous authors that wrote of similar travels in Africa, Kingsley was better suited to understand these tribes and therefore found herself well integrated among them.

As Kingsley mingled and observed the native cultures she soon realized that she was also being watched by them. This led for some awkward meetings and eventual breakdown of barriers such as language, gestures, and social treatments. "The Negro languages are poor, and, moreover, they differ among themselves so gravely that one tribe cannot understand another tribe that lives even next door to it. I know 147 such languages in the region of the Niger Delta alone."³⁰ Once this friendship among Kingsley and the indigenous Africans emerged along with understanding of the purpose of her visits she was able to find a family within the native tribes. This led to borrowing canoes to travel up rivers and head inland where she would eventually run into the cannibal tribes that Kingsley would become mentally consumed with studying. Becoming friends with tribes they eventually learned cultural phenomenons of the British Colonial worldview and why Kingsley wore such clothing that the natives had never seen before.

When asked by Baroness Van Zedlitz in an interview after her first journey if she travelled alone the impression was given that she thought no more of her journey as she did an uneventful bus ride. "Of course I did. I should consider it positively criminal to take out anyone and subject them to the vagaries of the climate in West Africa."³¹ Kingsley's preference to travel

²⁹ Ulrike Brisson, Fish and Fetish: Mary Kingsley's Studies of Fetish in West Africa." *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 35.3 (2005): 330-331.

³⁰ Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, Pg. 360.

³¹ Baroness Von Zedlitz, "Chats with Well Known Women" *Woman's life* (February 1896): 432.

in solitude made it easier for her to be treated as unusual and to be accepted on her own terms by natives, who would in turn help in her desire to go on expeditions.³² Her respect towards the natives helped her obtain and store the specimens that she would submit to Dr. Günther at the British Museum, and lead to further interest in her tales of travel.

³² Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*. Pg. 138.

Chapter 3: Scientific Research

It was not unlikely for families in Victorian society to have defined roles. Men were the bread winners in the public sector and women were homemakers of the private sector. This was based on stigmatized segregation in the Old Testament of the Bible. The men were to make all decisions and women were subordinate to their hierarchy. “Here deviant sexuality or articulating key elements of Jewish culture reshaped British Protestants’ understanding of the Scripture.”³³ Through the European Reformation the English interpretation of religion was forever changed, and the Anglican Church was formed. As a result the family was structured in such ways where roles were never to be crossed. This as history has proven many times was challenged, and the family structure to this extent was never going to remain in such strict roles. Women in some circumstances were left widowed and had to work for the family. Other women were spinsters and in order to provide for themselves and not live with other family members they needed to enter into the male dominated public sphere of work.

Mary Kingsley fits into the category of a spinster woman who needed to provide for herself. Although there were plenty of friends that would have loved for her to reside with them, this was not in her best interest because she believed that they would not enjoy this experience or appreciate the different world view. Kingsley decided that it was time for her to start living for herself. Kingsley had two main goals in her traveling to West Africa. The first was to finish the book that her father had started, and the second was to find her own explanations as to why people found this region to be hostile and unwelcoming to travelers. Upon leaving Kingsley had set up a collaborative partnership with Dr. Günther so that she would have a place to bring her specimens of fishes and classify them with a person of similar interests. In all she only classified

³³ Mary Wilson Carpenter. *Imperial Bibles, Domestic Bodies: Women, Sexuality, and Religion in The Victorian Market*. Pg. 35-44.

one new type of fish, but found many more new species of insects. The fish classification was named after Kingsley and on display at the British Museum for years in the Africa exhibit.

Kingsley's first trip to Africa was short being that she left England in August 1893 and returned to London in December of the same year. She returned with a monkey upon her shoulder among other specimens in her collection after only visiting the coast of the Gulf of Guinea.³⁴ Although the first journey was not intense in abundant research collected it proved to critics that she could travel and survive the unknown. Her second journey in 1899, was more adventurous in that she was more willing to travel to secluded locations. She traveled the Gabon and Ogowé Rivers, tramped through the swamps of the Rembwé River, and finally climbed Mount Cameroon. During her travels into the interior, she relied on the knowledge and trust of local inhabitants such as the Fans or Fangs, the Igalwas, and the M'pongwes.³⁵ This second trip is where the finding of the cannibal tribes and fetish consumption took hold of Kingsley's research.

While in Africa Kingsley documented in her journals everything she saw, smelt, and felt while abroad. She has so many detailed accounts mentioned in her first book *Travels in West Africa*, that she felt that the remaining stories and observations should also be made public so she wrote her second anticipated book *West African Studies*. Kingsley through her writings and interviews had made it clear that while on journeys she was portraying the Victorian woman to natives and informing them about life in England as much as she was learning about tribal aboriginal life.

³⁴ Ulrike Brisson, Fish and Fetish: Mary Kingsley's Studies of Fetish in West Africa." *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 35.3 (2005): 327.

³⁵ Ulrike Brisson, Fish and Fetish: Mary Kingsley's Studies of Fetish in West Africa." *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 35.3 (2005): 328.

Kingsley used her Victorian teachings to observe different social structures within the native civilizations. She often would be invited to stay in the home of the chief, and had skirmishes with his wife in which she was intruding upon. One chief's wife believed that Kingsley was intending to destroy her home through her unorganized mess of paper and specimen drawings upon her floors.³⁶ Although she was welcomed to stay with these native peoples, she was not always favored for structuring the home into a surrogate Victorian family. The natives learned to cope with Kingsley's dominance in the home and her helpful skills regarding how to cook, clean and keep order within the hut. Once strong friendships were made Kingsley was urged by natives to not journey too deep into the jungles because of the dangers beyond and scavenger people that would harm her. Although Kingsley was touched by their compassion she was not hampered by her desire to travel beyond the native lands and see for herself what dangers existed. On many occasions Kingsley mentions in *Travels in West Africa* of instances where danger presented itself to her. Many of these times she says it was by luck of learning enough of native languages and keeping the appearance of a lady that she was able to remove herself of the situation and keep her frame of mind.

While travelling deeper into the unknown Kingsley came across a tribe of natives that would finally fulfill her fascinations. This was a cannibal tribe that at first, it seemed were going to use Kingsley's unusual dressing style as a way to justify a sacrifice. Kingsley was not unnerved by their nature however, and learned much about religion and different lifestyles from this cannibal tribe. "It is often asked whether Christianity or Mohammedanism is to possess Africa as if the choice of Fate lay between these two things alone. I do not think it is so, at least it is not wise for a mere student to ignore the other thing in the affair, Fetish, which is as it were a

³⁶ Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 72.

sea wherein all things suffer a sea change.”³⁷ The religious beliefs of this tribe were not all that different from other tribes found in places like Latin America. This tribe believed that to truly feel God’s presence and get to know another human being you had to eat them. This of course seems absurd to the Western mindset, but was a religion practice that Mary discovered was justified in their beliefs and would later upon returning home in 1895, she give lectures regarding the cannibal mindset.³⁸

Kingsley admitted to a lack of “thorough knowledge of Fetish ideas” because she considered herself merely “on the threshold” of discovery.³⁹ This was an area of interest to Kingsley immediately because it was discovered in an area that she had not read in any scholarly book before and she believed that these were un-colonized peoples. Scholar William Pietz believes that the definition of fetish could originate and change over time-place. “Only together with the birth of commodity forms in relation to social values and religious ideologies of two different types of societies could fetish be understood.”⁴⁰ As a result Kingsley’s definition of fetish and its concepts underwent many changes. Portuguese traders first called the objects worship and oath giving *feitiço* in the late fifteenth century.⁴¹

There was more to discover regarding her fascination with cannibalism. Keeping mind different world religions Kingsley started to compares the funeral rites between the Bantu and the Negro and said “I never yet found among the Bantu those unpleasant death-charms which are in vogue in the Niger Delta,” such as her canoe paddlers displayed when they drank from the water around a corpse in a river crossing a Bantu region⁴² As a result of this observation she

³⁷ Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, Pg. 107.

³⁸ Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers*, Pg. 312.

³⁹ Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 430.

⁴⁰ William Pietz, “The Problem of the Fetish I.” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 9 (1985): 5–24. Pg. 7.

⁴¹ William Pietz, “The Problem of the Fetish I.” Pg. 24.

⁴² Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 478.

concluded that such behavior could only occur in a Bantu region because her “companions were not pure Bantu”⁴³ This theory of course would not be true in regards to other religious studies, especially in Latin America where this type of human sacrificial practice was also being performed.

Kingsley noted that the human soul would always remain as such. This was an important aspect to the religious beliefs to the Bantu as it was to any Negro according to Kingsley, and as described by ancestry.⁴⁴ This was somewhat of a piece of mind for her and provided some comfort in the thought that a soul continued and was seen as separate from the body rather than directly connected. Upon further discovery Kingsley learned that the Bantu also had another religious view regarding the wealth and soul of a human victim. “On the Gold Coast, for example, you can substitute wealth for the actual human victim, because with wealth the dead soul could, after all, make itself comfortable in Srahmandazi, but not so in the Rivers.”⁴⁵ According to the Bantu the river was the closest natural flowing body in the environment that was as close to the soul. Since a wealthy person would take this for granted, their soul would not flow like, or with the river. Through these distinctions of how the soul is treated during and after death Kingsley was able to make solid differences between Christianity and Fetishism. “Herein you see lies one difference between the Christian and the Fetish view a fundamental one, that must be borne in mind.”⁴⁶ Through this mindset and believe over a differing world view Kingsley was better prepared to present a new world religion to scholars.

Once returning to England she was now ready and wanted to present these materials in lectures and newspaper interviews so that people could see what she accomplished in her travels.

⁴³ Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 478.

⁴⁴ Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, Pg. 111.

⁴⁵ Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, Pg. 123.

⁴⁶ Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, Pg. 135.

She also wanted to prove that there was no harm done to her physically or emotionally from the journey, especially once people found out she was mingling around the cannibals. After returning home Kingsley stated to the monthly magazine *Our Sisters* that “twice in the forests she was stalked by cannibal Fans for game, and ran eminent risk of being shot in mistake for a gorilla.”⁴⁷ These kinds of stories, although most certainly accurate, gave readers interest to almost demand her go on a second journey. Although there was instant success and interest in her stories Kingsley soon yearned to travel back to Africa. After the completion of her first book and having her fish specimens named after her, Kingsley desired to back for a second trip to West Africa to dive deeper into cannibal tribe. Kingsley after the completion of her first book felt that she had done her father’s journals justice and incorporated them into her studies. The second trip to Africa was going to be exclusively for her own benefit and interest.

⁴⁷ Anonymous. “Miss Mary Kingsley” *Our sisters: a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of women of every class, clime, & creed* (March, 1897): 100.

Chapter 4: Defining a Feminist

The feminist movement in England was the beginning of showing intellectual change and desires for women. The main topic at hand was the right to vote for women, but also to break stereotypical roles that women were expected to perform in both public and in the home. This was soon becoming a dull reality as women were entering the workforce against attempts to keep them banished from it. As a result many petitions and demonstrations were held in public and political venues to gain more supporters and inform women of their defined rights as women. “Politics are subtly undermined by the imperatives of women’s emancipation and working-class self-improvement—producing inevitable conflict between a radically individualist conception of the subject, and the professional means required to mobilize it fully.”⁴⁸ The practice and ideology of politics and the framework of government was too complex for women to contain their thoughts. Women cannot participate in the domesticated center, where they belong, and the public sphere where they desire to work. Participation in both world spheres causes too much conflict. Politics was not an accepted, nor a welcoming arena for women’s participation. Feminists were challenging this norm for their own betterment and equaling the playing field for equality. Women in England were now deep into a power struggle to prove that they were as concerned with politics and the history that was being created as men.

Feminist scholars, in particular, have demonstrated the profundity with which constructions of gender and sexuality are implicated within histories of the political, resulting in a far-reaching transformation of what the political and its history are understood to include. Since the advent of post-colonial theory and criticism, studies of racial, national, and ethnic ideologies have also been increasingly integrated within and alongside models of subjectivity based on class, gender, and sexuality.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Lauren M. E. Goodlad. “A Middle Class Cut into Two: Historiography and Victorian National Character.” *The Johns Hopkins University Press*, 67 (2000): 156.

⁴⁹ Lauren M. E. Goodlad. “A Middle Class Cut into Two: Historiography and Victorian National Character.” *The Johns Hopkins University Press*, 67 (2000): 143.

Although Kingsley was adamant that she was not a supporter of the feminist movement she does mention that it is out of character for a person to judge based of class and race. Sexuality and gender do not seem to be areas of interest for Kingsley, as she dismisses their advancement and is ill mannered toward their achievements.

There were other places where women were able to make advances and demonstrate that they could make as much of a difference as men. Studies reaffirm the importance of the imperial domain in defining and reshaping Victorian understandings of gender. “Missionary organizations that exploited the possibilities provided important opportunities for educated evangelical women. Some of these women entered missionary organizations in large numbers in the late Victorian period, transforming the nature of missionary activity and fashioning significant female networks that connected the mission field to the metropole.”⁵⁰ As a transition these women were starting to play an important role in changing the way that the world interpreted their practical applications toward the working world. “Anthropologically-inflected histories of missionary encounters in Southern Africa and colonialism show the complex religious landscape evangelization was a crucial element of the transformations unleashed by British imperial power.”⁵¹ Women working in this manner were not only bringing religion to the imperial lands, but changing the impressions of what women’s roles could be at home.

Examining Kingsley’s publications into a wider socio-historical context, her writings reflect sympathy with African fetish customs. Kingsley also shows remorse for Africans in general and it seems she was unhappy with Britain’s colonial policies inflicted upon these

⁵⁰ Tony Ballantyne. “Religion, Difference, and the limits of British Imperial History.” *Victorian Studies*, Spring (2005): 446.

⁵¹ Tony Ballantyne. “Religion, Difference, and the limits of British Imperial History.” *Victorian Studies*, Spring (2005): 430.

people.⁵² Her overall agenda was to strengthen British imperial power by supporting trade, minimizing missionary influence, and reducing government rule. Her travel accounts thus serve as key texts for discussing the gendering of scientific discourses and of travel writing along with its effects on the audience and the author at home.⁵³ Thus as a result of her research she was trying to show that these cultures were surviving without the help of women's mission guidance.

It seems clear enough that our present policy in the Crown Colonies, of a rapidly increasing expenditure in the face of a steadily falling trait, must necessarily lead our Government to seek for new sources of revenue beyond customs dues. New sources under our present system can only be found in direct taxation of the native population the result of this is now known.⁵⁴

Kingsley was convinced after her first journey that the British Government was not helping any situation in Africa. There were efforts that were supported by England folk by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and the Colonial Nursing Association to research medicinal disease in the tropics for natives and tourists, but only to combat disease.⁵⁵ This was important steps to help the colonies, but there was more that Kingsley believed needed to be studied to prevent disease so Kingsley had a new desire to research this as well.

Mary Kingsley was not a supporter of feminism, at least not in the defined sense that it was being pushed for in England. She believed that women were women and men were men all over the world so that there should never be gender differences or struggles because each had a defined place.⁵⁶ As a result Kingsley felt more independent and more like a woman while travelling than she had while living dormant in a home. There is much mention in *Travels in West Africa* that she never wore men's clothing although it was believed that she must have to

⁵² Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, Pg. 320.

⁵³ Ulrike Brisson, Fish and Fetish: Mary Kingsley's Studies of Fetish in West Africa." *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 35.3 (2005): 327.

⁵⁴ Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, Pg. 294.

⁵⁵ Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, Pg. 439.

⁵⁶ Blunt, Alison. *Gender, Travel, and Imperialism*. Pg. 81.

tramp through the jungle as she was doing. Contrary to belief she wore Victorian women's clothing on all her excursions including the dress, corset, bustles, and carried an umbrella. Kingsley states that she never really found a need for the umbrella before a hippopotamus was about to capsize her boat so she stroked the back of its ear with the umbrella and they parted on good terms.⁵⁷ Stories regarding the hippopotamus and clothing malfunctions show that through Kingsley's struggles she kept a sense of humor.

From the point of view of "feminist" women the obvious effect of the professional man's claims to domesticity is to reinstate a homologous order of sexual difference in which women's place is self-evidently subordinate to men.⁵⁸ Some feminists have a refusal to constitute nursing as a profession. "Nursing is a secular calling authorized by woman's uniquely maternal nature and for the essentialism of the nurse in every woman in order to establish the authority and remuneration of a specially trained few."⁵⁹ Mary Kingsley believed that it was a woman's duty to nurse when the time-place was appropriate. She had always been a sort of nurse to her mother, and entered the war effort during the Boer War rehabilitating troops. This was not unique in Kingsley's mindset, and this seems to be the one arena where Kingsley and feminists agree.

During the 1890s New Woman movement there was considerable hearsay regarding the true intentions of Kingsley's travels and research. Kingsley had become one of twenty-two women to be initiated into the Royal Geographical Society, and some believed she was half-heartedly collecting research and putting on a façade to justify her travels. Lila Marz Harper concludes in her research of other scientific traveling women that Kingsley became publicly distanced from the feminist movement, but understood she was contradicting her public belief by

⁵⁷ Mary Kingsley. *Travels in West Africa*. Pg. 52.

⁵⁸ Glenna Matthews, *Just a Housewife: the Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America*. Pg. 17.

⁵⁹ Lauren M. E. Goodlad. "A Middle Class Cut into Two: Historiography and Victorian National Character." *The Johns Hopkins University Press*, 67 (2000): 163.

doing such scientific research.⁶⁰ Through reading Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa*, it is unapparent that she was traveling for the advancement of women. Her travels and research was a desire that Kingsley had and worked hard to fulfill. Although her imagination led her to the destination, it was the research and collaboration that led her to push further into the jungles and unknown.

Upon returning home and having an interview with Baroness Von Zedlitz, Kingsley surprised Von Zedlitz by baking her own cakes for snacking on and mentioning that she was woman enough to not have to hire someone to cook for her. Later she explained that she did not consider herself extraordinary in any circumstance. "Please don't look upon me as a 'lady explorer'" she continued, "for I really make no claim whatever to that distinction. My object in visiting the West Coast was merely for the purpose of collecting piscatorial specimens, and studying the 'fetish' customs of the natives."⁶¹ This statement by Kingsley disproves the feminist critiques of her in that she states that she was travelling for research and not for the fun of it. Although in her book she is quick witted and fast to poke fun at things she did not understand this seems to be a way of engaging the reading to use their imagination while learning about the landscape of Africa.

Lila Marz Harper argues for Kingsley's status as a woman scientist based on the traveler's "energy she spent recording, collecting, and shipping" and her recent recognition in publications from "geographical societies"⁶² Although the critics of Kingsley were picking up on small misconceptions of rumors of her real agenda, it was known by those who were informed of her journeys and Dr. Günther what her true intentions were. "The truth is, the study of natural phenomena knocks the bottom out of any man's conceit if it is done honestly and not by

⁶⁰ Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*. Pg. 34.

⁶¹ Baroness Von Zedlitz, "Chats with Well Known Women" *Woman's life* (February 1896): 431.

⁶² Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*, Pg. 186.

selecting only those facts that fit in with his pre-conceived or ingrafted notions”⁶³ When Kingsley writes about the power of charms, for example, she claims that this “ability to obtain power over people” by parts of their bodies, such as finger nails, hair, or blood, “is universally diffused” and that this practice can be found “in Devon” as well as in China.⁶⁴ It is through statements such as this that Kingsley further proves that she did learn much about Africa as well as adding to her knowledge of cultural differences around the world, thus proving her point that she was different than the feminists at the time in that she was becoming educated for her own wellbeing, not to educate others directly or to change the way in which women were viewed.

⁶³ Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 441.

⁶⁴ Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 447.

Chapter 5: Body of Work and Remembrance

Mary Kingsley may not have been the most abundant researcher for fish and insect specimens, but this is only one small aspect of why she became famous and is remembered today. By presenting herself as a student of science and by collecting specimens and making anthropological observations she became involved in colonial policy and had fish named after her. Arguably it is the weird coincidence that Kingsley discovered the fetish cannibal tribe that she is most remembered for because she was following her father's journals to direct her for her journeys. It would appear as though without general provoking from anyone other than herself that Kingsley decided that she wanted to be less conservative than her father had been and travel further away from the coast that he had.

Kingsley had several goals by discussing West African fetishism: her first goal, was to narrate both with and against previous European authors who wrote about West Africa. Second, she used her descriptions of fetishism as a political tool as a kind of mirror used to criticize British colonial policies, to question the missionary presence in West Africa, and, thus, to reify her own ideas on British rule along the West African coast.⁶⁵ Third, in her efforts to make a contribution to science, the study of fetish turns against her and makes its observer a fetish object in British society and, therefore, illustrates the unstable positions between subject and object in relation to fetish as a signifier. Thus when discussing Kingsley's "representations on fetish and fetishism in West Africa, we have to bear in mind her gendered position, her polyphonic voice, and the various discourses that affect the narrative."⁶⁶ Through her different approach to West African culture Kingsley was able to bring new insights into the studies of the region. As a result

⁶⁵ Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, Pg. 439.

⁶⁶ Ulrike Brisson, Fish and Fetish: Mary Kingsley's Studies of Fetish in West Africa." *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 35.3 (2005): Pg. 328.

of her fascination of West Africa and discovering her true calling there she Kingsley became dedicated to living among the lifestyles she was captivated by.

Kingsley's work was well honored and respected by scholars and general audiences. Friends, scholars, and supporters of her were surprised when she announced traveling for a third journey to South Africa, but not to conduct research, but to serve as a nurse during war. This changed people's perceptions of Kingsley, and after her death when word came back of the cause death due to involvement in the Boer War she was once again judged. This resulted in a shift from being remembered in Victorian intellectual society and toward British Imperial propaganda as she was declared a martyr helping prisoners of war in 1900.⁶⁷ This was not Kingsley's intentions as she wanted to serve for the country people that she now felt connected to. Since she had experience watching her mother there was little training needed for nursing, and her biggest concern was dying of illness.

Kingsley adopts a jovial tone that both supports her own ideas with male assertiveness and equally undermines the very same male approach to the subject matter when she writes: that the study of African metaphysics is bad for the brain, when you go and carry it among all the weird, often unaccountable surroundings, and depressing scenery of the Land of the Shadow of Death—a land that stretches from Goree to Loanda.⁶⁸ With this connotation of not wanting others to follow in her footsteps and travel to South Africa with her, this seems to demonstrate that she was warning everyone that this was not a good situation to enter into. When Kingsley arrived in West Africa in 1893, nearly all of Africa was in the process of becoming absorbed by colonial rule. By the year of her death in 1900, almost the entire continent was under colonial

⁶⁷ Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*. Pg. 179.

⁶⁸ Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, Pg. 441.

dominion; only Liberia and Ethiopia remained independent.⁶⁹ It was after her martyr-like death her friends were able to establish a professional scientific society in her honor.⁷⁰ To this extent her friends were honoring her memory and research as a Victorian researcher.

Similar to other British observers, Kingsley relegates certain fetish behavior to an adulteration of belief systems. As late as 1912, twelve years after her death, she was criticized by the American missionary to West Africa, Robert H. Milligan, for this opinion. He claimed that she “disliked any and every change that threatened to improve the native and thus mar the picturesque wildness of his savage state”⁷¹ Therefore Kingsley was unable to truly demonstrate her British behavior and traditions onto the natives. Thus as a result meant that she ultimately did nothing to improve or show these natives a better way of life. Not demonstrating British traditions is contradictory to Kingsley’s reasoning for traveling. She stated in interviews, her books, and to friends that she wanted to observe the other cultures of Africa, not to colonize them with British thought.

One hundred years after Kingsley’s travels, the author Peter Raby still cannot give her full credit for her courage to express radically different ideas to a British audience; he criticizes her for her lack of scientific writing and claims that “she made great many sweeping generalizations—she was not working in a systematic way; but if she did not understand the distinctiveness of the Fan, she made an astonishing attempt”⁷² It is through scholars like Peter Raby that today we are able to consider Kingsley as a feminist, but of a different accord than the women of the same time-place and Victorian background. Raby has discussed that Kingsley was

⁶⁹ Adu, Jacob F Ade Ajayo Boahen and Michael Tidy, *Topics in West African History*. 2nd ed. Burnt Mill, Harlow (England): Longman, 1986. Pg. 122.

⁷⁰ Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*. Pg. 22.

⁷¹ Robert H. Milligan, *the Fetish Folk of West Africa*. 1912. New York: AMS P, 1970. Pg. 306.

⁷² Peter Raby, *Bright Paradise: Victorian Scientific Travelers*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997. Pg. 201.

a woman who was uninterested in the feminist movement for its conventions, but that she ultimately believed that women should have choices and be able to live a life they found suitable for themselves. Considering that she travelled alone, against wishes of friends, and made connections to justify her research this is very forward thinking, and can justify considering her a feminist.

Conclusion

The Victorian woman was groomed to be obedient, time conscious, and caring toward all who came into her life. Parents of young women found it more important to have mothers teach their daughters their duties rather than educate them formally like they would their sons. A woman who is a good cook and cleans daily is more desirable than a woman who knows many languages and theory of business and politics. For most women this was a reality that was not questioned or retaliated. There are many examples where this type of lifestyle was not warranted. In these situations many women became spinsters, were widowed and forced into the public work force, or were too adventurous and self-thinking to live in such constricting of a lifestyle.

Mary Kingsley was raised to become the typical Victorian woman and perform in ways that was appropriate for all women. With a family that had a father absent most of the year, a mother as an invalid, and a brother who was self-centered there was not much reason for her to live such a typical lifestyle. Luckily for Kingsley her father had a vivid imagination as she did and through his journals and library an education and desire for travel was born. Kingsley therefore desired to act upon what her imagination presented her with and decided among the death of her parents and alienation of her brother to defy traditional women's roles and travel and conduct research based on her own justifications.

Mary Kingsley was not a woman pioneer traveler in any sense because she did not go to an untraveled region, and because she was not sent to Africa by any research institution or educational purpose other than her own interest. She was aware of the other British women that were doing the same types of research as her around the world. In this respect Kingsley knew that to be successful she had to write her books for a specific audience. In her case it was for the target audience of spinster Victorian women. Writing in this fashion she knew that her audience

would find excitement and fascination in the adventures and relate to the outfit constraints mentioned.⁷³ Noting that she never deviated from traditional wardrobe helped her audience understand and relate to her untimely situations with the dress. The major difference was that Kingsley was living out what other women only imagined. Her writings became an escape for any woman who wanted to learn more about other societies, but were unable to leave their sedentary lives.

Catherine Barnes Stevenson concludes that Kingsley “tried to entertain and inform her three audiences— the public at large, the scientific community, and her friends on the West Coast of Africa” and by doing so she “developed a complex, schizophrenic narrative persona.”⁷⁴ Kingsley had come under much media speculation that had triggered a negative connotation toward her research, and as a response to these reports she made the conscious decision to write her travels in a way in which it would be entertaining and educational. As a result of the discoveries that were made Kingsley found herself a member of the scientific community. She became a member of the Royal Geographic Society, and was named as a contributor in the British Museum with a species of fish named after her. Having a vast knowledge from other scholars Kingsley was aware of the challenges that were ahead of her while choosing Africa as her expedition site. Having other scholars trying to diminish her discoveries was not something that Kingsley expected, and as a result she went on lecture tours to convey the true meanings and theories of her research.

Kingsley would not be as interesting if it were not for her critics pointing out every possible flaw in her character, and reasons for travelling. Feminists were fast to dismiss her

⁷³ Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers*. Pg. 77.

⁷⁴ Catherine Barnes Stevenson, *Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa*. Boston: Twayne, 1982. Pg. 7.

research as a ploy to travel on England's dollar. Other critics would be scholars that believed she was not contributing in woman-like ways since she was not a member of a mission, did not wear clothing appropriate for jungle journeys, and did not inflict upon the native tribes the traditional colonial thinking and ways of life that she was accustomed to and praised of England. Kingsley would work extremely hard in disproving these misconceptions of her. By consistently discussing clothing malfunctions, clearing up perceptions that people had of her unaccompanied travels, and continuing to cook and tend to her privacy as a lady she was able to overcome these criticisms.

As a result of her careful behaviors and promptly clearing up rumors about her intentions and travels Kingsley was quickly remembered as a woman who contributed to the male dominated scientific field as a lady contributor. This has unfortunately made it difficult to find original manuscript of her contributions to major papers where a male author takes most, if not all royalties to Kingsley's research. This is not what Kingsley is known for however. Through her adamant research and discoveries she is best known as a great Victorian traveler. The other well publicized quality of Kingsley is that of her humane nurturing nature. Kingsley volunteered to nurse her new friends and family in Africa while they were in conflict in the Boer War. This brought negative connotation to her abandoning Britain. Kingsley deeply cared for her new comrades and wanted to help them survive any hardship that came their way. As a result to her dedication she died in 1900, at the age of 27 of typhoid while saving the lives of the tribal people she was so fascinated by. She was laid to rest in the sea of the coast of South Africa and had a professional scientific society created in her honor.

Although Kingsley was against the feminist movement and what it campaign it should be noted that she was active in feminist ideology. A result of challenging societal norm, travelling

unaccompanied, and conducting scientific research this proves that she was engaging in the betterment of women through education. In practice Kingsley was behaving as a traditional lady, but in ideology she was proving that women yearned and could accomplish great discovery through education. It is through these reasons why Mary Kingsley can be considered a feminist.

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Illustrations

Figure 1: *Africa* [map]. 1890. 800 miles. “The University of Texas at Austin.”

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Figure 2: *Portrait of Mary Kingsley* [photo]. “Goda Grannar.”

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