

# Ornithology on “The Rock”: Territory, Fieldwork, and the Body in the Straits of Gibraltar in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

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Gibraltar—To every European the name suggests a group of ideas, and arouses certain emotions....In England the Gibraltar tradition is less vivid than in Victorian times, but the Rock has a place, and an important place, in the mental hinterland in which our political ideas and prejudices mostly originate. It is bound up in our minds with sea-power, with Trafalgar, with our struggles to prevent, first a French, and then a German hegemony over Europe, with our development of an Empire in the East, and with our route to India. We like to see in its dignified strength the characteristics of our race. Perhaps there is no better proof of its place in English life than that it is habitually known as ‘the Rock,’ without other qualification.<sup>1</sup>

When Lieutenant Colonel L. Howard Irby (1836-1905) of the 74<sup>th</sup> Highlanders published *The Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar* in 1875 and revised it in 1895, he intended the work to assist “officers, who, like the writer, may find themselves quartered at Gibraltar. For it admits of little doubt,” Irby writes, “that the study of Natural History will always help to pass away with pleasure many hours that would otherwise be weary and tedious during the time military men may have to ‘put in’ at dear, scorching old ‘Gib.’” Irby, a military hero of the Crimean War and “Indian Mutiny” with the 90<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot, gained status as an intrepid ornithologist who was “sufficiently undisturbed by war’s alarms to follow his pursuits over the steppes of the Tauric Chersonese, and again, when called not long after to India.” While stationed at Gibraltar in 1868, Irby helped to establish the Strait as an important site for studying migratory birds and established a network of military men interested in field ornithology.<sup>2</sup>

The military and ornithological experiences of British military officers such as Irby illustrate some of the ways in which imperial expansion provided opportunities for imperial agents to pursue natural history in formal and informal parts of empire. Although considered a “non-instru-

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mentalist" science, birds formed part of the imperial archive that attempted to organize and classify knowledge into one great system of comprehensive and universal understanding that constructed the "fantasy of empire."<sup>3</sup> British military officers collected birds as part of ordnance surveys, boundary commissions, and formal expeditions. By the beginning of the twentieth century, British military officers comprised the most numerous members of the British Ornithological Union and assisted in the accumulation of knowledge of birds across the British Empire.<sup>4</sup>

Surprisingly, works on the geographies of science, exploration, and travel-writing have often overlooked the study of birds as part of territorial expansion, military culture, and empire-building. Nor have studies on the history of ornithology investigated the ways in which imperial and gendered positionalities shaped military ornithological practices and ideas across the British Empire. For example, what impact did these scientific and military practices have on maintaining the legitimacy of Britain's strategic possessions in different parts of the empire? As geographers have demonstrated, the representations of avian historical landscapes can highlight the politics of place and identity formation through the construction of gendered, nationalistic, and xenophobic ideas about birds.<sup>5</sup>

This paper critically examines the intersection between British military culture and ideas and practices of ornithology in nineteenth-century Gibraltar to understand the ways in which colonial ornithology facilitated territorial maintenance and British imperial place-making in the Straits of Gibraltar. By the mid-nineteenth century, Gibraltar represented a sentimental and strategic position in the Mediterranean, as it secured important trading routes to Asia. Fostering military fitness among the troops was central to the maintenance of British imperial links to the rest of its territories. According to Major General Joseph Ellison Portlock (1794–1864), a military professor at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, a nation resolved on war cannot reach its full potential unless its "whole vital force" is actualized physically, morally, and intellectually. Activities such as natural history attended to "both the mind and to the body" in order "to obtain a maximum of advantage from the efforts of the body politic, or of the body military."<sup>6</sup>

By focusing on the "body" and in particular the "mobile body" in shaping military and fieldwork practices, I demonstrate how narratives surrounding the British military officer attempted to legitimize Gibraltar as an imperial, noble, and masculine pillar of empire through representations of wild birds of prey and perilous field sites on the Rock.<sup>7</sup> These representations featured predominantly in published works aimed at disseminating knowledge of local avifauna to fellow officers at Gibraltar and naturalists in Britain (Figure 1). However, while officers embodied a muscular approach to these pursuits, a specific masculinity emerged within ornithological and military spheres, one that endorsed restraint, respectability, and moral considerations surrounding the military body, which eventually extended to moral concerns over the destruction of birdlife in Gibraltar.



Figure 1. A Bearded Vulture by A. Thornbury in Irby's *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*.

Furthermore, when engaged in scientific naming, classifying, and plucking specimens from their natural environments, the British often dismissed Spanish and North African vernacular knowledge of birds, which officers viewed as "trivial and unimportant" and "to be accepted *cum grano salis*."<sup>8</sup> As some of their writings reveal, British military officers relied on the participation of young Spanish boys to collect nests and eggs, on merchants who supplied dead and live birds in local markets, and on North African assistants who carted officers' field equipment during expeditions to Tangier. These findings suggest that although British military officers attempted to gain authority in the field, their practices and identities depended on the participation of multiple actors who were often erased in British ornithological representations in late nineteenth-century Gibraltar.

### **Military and moral geographies of the British Empire**

Literature on the "military body" has centered on the moral geographies that attempted to shape British military men in the mid-nineteenth century. Miles Ogborn and Chris Philo have examined the "moral locational discourse" in nineteenth-century Portsmouth, a military and naval town in southern England. Using Michel Foucault's notion of discipline, they recover how the Army and the Navy developed techniques and spatial practices of "discipline" to shape the moral behaviors of their employees. This was done by enforcing discipline in the name of national morality and martial strength, both of which sought to extend control over all aspects of the lives of their officers and recruits. They also developed the arts of logistics and administration that governed the movements of people, money, knowledge, and things.<sup>9</sup>

As Ken Hendrikson has shown, similar reforms occurred at the garrison at Aldershot in Hampshire. By the 1850s, Aldershot resembled many of the urban slums of London and required improvements to ensure military fitness especially among new recruits, often from the lower-classes of Britain. Experiments attempted to shape soldiers' behaviors and build character, civility, and personal improvement by espousing a secular ethic of the "home" and "respectability." Central to these experiments was Royal Artillery Captain Pilkington Jackson, who provided the impetus for such reforms based on his experience in moral discipline in Gibraltar. Jackson sponsored the Soldiers' Institute in Gibraltar to create "a particular emotional environment and a particular physical arrangement of space" that could attempt to combat vice and steer soldiers away from pubs and brothels. This approach moved away from pre-Crimean practices of discipline such as the lash, jail, and gallows, and focused on a nurturing, home model that did not cede authority to women as seen in the missionary home movement. The practices in Gibraltar were subsequently applied to Aldershot as the "home of the British army," which reflected a class-based, domestic, utilitarian morality as a form of discipline.<sup>10</sup>

Likewise, Philip Howell has centered his work on the moral locations of military discourse on the regulation of sexuality within the con-

text of prostitution in British Gibraltar. Gibraltar's strategic position in the Mediterranean and its role in the military and imperial network created pressure on the British government to combat the problem of venereal disease. The establishment of the Contagious Diseases (CD) Acts (1864-9) enabled state control over sexuality by focusing on the maintenance of prostitutes rather than the military men who frequented them. In Gibraltar, the segregating of brothels in urban space and the disciplining of activities of mostly Spanish prostitutes helped state officials survey and manage the venereal disease problem that plagued the military fitness of British troops.<sup>11</sup>

Graham Dawson's influential work on the British soldier hero has demonstrated a movement away from the domestic, moral sphere by the 1870s-1880s. After the Crimean War and "Indian Mutiny," martial masculinity was completed by a vision of domestic femininity, at home with children requiring protection, therefore conceiving the nation and empire as a gendered entity. The "Indian Mutiny" of 1857-58 brought these ideas home with the massacre of British women and children by Indian "rebels." By the end of the nineteenth century, military men often omitted notions of domesticity and home from their adventure narratives in order to emphasize the true man in the desert or wilderness, or a new form of muscular masculinity.<sup>12</sup>

As these studies reveal, mid-Victorian military reforms focused on shaping a male, military body based on a British middle-class "moral masculinity" in relation to a working and urban class masculinity. Yet, these reforms could also be viewed as a reaction to the moral masculinities in other parts of the British Empire where colonial officials feared racial degeneration of the white, imperial male body in tropical colonial environments. For example, the European creation of hill stations in southern Asia reveal the ways Europeans sought refuge, safety, and nostalgia in the cooler climates of higher elevations during the summer months. Hill station construction involved the clearing of jungle, the establishment of bungalows, hunting lodges, and gardens, and the introduction of native species and architectural styles from Britain as a means to create "home" in foreign stations. They also served to separate European communities from colonial society, as official permission was required to visit the hill station for health or leisure. These practices helped to ensure the maintenance of European, racial identities in colonial settings such as Malaysia and India.<sup>13</sup> As E.M. Collingham has demonstrated, the English, imperial male body in mid-nineteenth-century India required separation from the environment rather than an openness to influence and acculturation widespread in the earlier periods of British rule, which would equally apply to soldiers who served in India and then moved to other parts of the British Empire such as Gibraltar.<sup>14</sup> The imperial male military body is thus a "site where social structures are experienced, transmuted and projected back on to society."

Gibraltar provides a unique opportunity to investigate the relationship between moral and muscular masculinities surrounding the British military, and its associations with territoriality and British imperial

place-making. Although situated in Europe, Gibraltar emerged as an important site in the imperial network that connected Britain to its Atlantic and Asian possessions, precluded Spanish claims to the region, and maintained the neutrality of Morocco during a time of competing European interests in North Africa. Once known for its naval prowess in the Mediterranean with the Great Sieges and the Napoleonic Wars, Gibraltar regained its imperial status with the acquisition of the Suez Canal, which increased the mobility of Britain's army across the empire. As G.T. Garratt has remarked: "It is impossible to understand British policy with regard to the Mediterranean without appreciating the absorbing interest in the strategic route to India."<sup>15</sup>

British Gibraltar must therefore be viewed as a trans-imperial site where flows of military bodies, commodities, images, experiences, and ideas circulated to and from Gibraltar to other sites in the British Empire. As early as the 1800s, the Gibraltar garrison was notorious for "drunkenness, insubordination, and brutality," whereby "some regiments, fresh from India, and flush of money, were led to excess by the great number of wine-shops allowed in the place."<sup>16</sup> Concern over racial degeneration in India resonated with many British military officers, even those in Gibraltar. Lieutenant-Colonel Irby expressed his discontent with European men who were "blackened" from their residence in India. Based on his ornithological experiences in India, he wrote: "Owing to the strong habits of deceitfulness of the natives, no reliance can be placed upon them, if sent out to get eggs. They invariably try to deceive; but their European brethren in trade are often nearly as bad; so that the Asiatic must not come in for all of the black paint."<sup>17</sup> Irby's commentary on the untrustworthiness of Bengali assistants and the negative effects of Asian influences on European bodies raises important matters connecting claims of authority and empirical knowledge. In order to provide trustworthy information, one had to maintain a healthy body and clear mind through physical activity to avoid the damaging effects of colonial service in the British military.

Along with human bodies, the bodies of migratory birds hold particular significance in this paper as they intersected with the lives of transient British military officers. Both military and avian bodies were "in perpetual flux....These beings [did] not exist at locations, they occur[red] along paths."<sup>18</sup> An avian life was partially known to humans in a particular point in its movement, as it followed its own trajectory and migratory route. It is in the places where bird lives intersect with humans that birds were given meaning through human ideas and practices of observing, collecting, skinning, admiring, and cataloguing of birds in birdwatching and ornithology. The Straits of Gibraltar has traditionally been described as a "bottleneck area" for soaring birds from Western Europe to Africa.<sup>19</sup> It was at Gibraltar where ideas about bird migration emerged from the collections made at the military garrison. English travelling naturalist Mark Catesby enlisted his military brother to send specimens to George Edwards, a well-known eighteenth-century British naturalist. John White, rector of the garrison, also collected and observed birds for his brother Reverend Gilbert

White, who published the findings in his best seller *Natural History of Selborne* (1788-89) and helped circulate ideas about nature and Gibraltar to a British audience.<sup>20</sup> These ideas highlight the ways avian landscapes connected imperial territories and national identities such as Gibraltar and Britain, respectively.

### Monument to empire: connecting the “body with the brain”

Geographers have maintained an interest in the way homeland images, myths, and symbols have been used to shape nationalist and imperial identities. According to Anssi Paasi, we must pay attention to the practices and discourses through which “the narratives, symbols and institutions of national identity are created and how they become ‘sediments’ of every day life, the ultimate basis on which collective forms of identity and territoriality are reproduced.”<sup>21</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, Gibraltar engendered a sentimental and strategic position in the Mediterranean Sea, overlooking Spain and Africa, and securing important trading routes to India. Descriptions, songs, and visual representations portrayed Gibraltar as a masculine protector of the British Empire. The “Rock” as a significant landscape was in itself a monument to the British Empire that was rigorously maintained to sustain ownership and power in the Mediterranean region.<sup>22</sup> As part of the artery of the British Empire, Gibraltar consisted of one of “four indissoluble links” with Malta, Aden, and Egypt in “the Mediterranean via the Suez Canal,” which bind “the Asian peninsula of three hundred millions [sic] to the small European island of thirty-three millions [sic], much as the spinal cord connects the body with the brain.” Similar analogies emerged from India, which viewed Gibraltar as one in “[t]he five Gates of India.”<sup>23</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, Gibraltar’s anatomical and geopolitical positioning in the Mediterranean sustained Britain’s hold on its eastern empire and its moral duty to protect it.

The long tradition of British military occupation in Gibraltar resulted in thousands of soldiers stationed or passing through as part of their military commissions in the British Empire, and naturalized their presence in the Mediterranean region. Gibraltar garrisoned numerous troops from the empire including “seven thousand men, engineers, artillery, and infantry” from England, Scotland, Ireland, and Canada between 1859 and 1863. One critic exclaimed in *Hogg’s Weekly Instructor*, “[t]he very name of Gibraltar revives in the bosom of every Briton the spark of military ardour.” Geopolitical tensions with Spain required long term military presence which Britain acquired by “British valour” and “preserved” by “statesmanship” with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.<sup>24</sup> Together, the Great Siege of 1783 and Nelson’s use of Gibraltar during the Napoleonic Wars furthered Britain’s image of itself as a superior maritime and military nation.

Many officers viewed the “Rock” as “one of the pleasantest and most interesting quarters a man can have the luck to sojourn in, and service in such a spot” in comparison to the “tropical suns of India or China, the sickly swamps of Demara, or the wild solitudes of Southern Africa.” De-



Figure 2. Gibraltar from the SW by Phillip S.G. Reid. (courtesy of Andrew Reid)

spite the cooler climates of the military station, the Gibraltar summers were particularly toilsome for soldiers' bodies, when true masculinity was tested. Summers were "sweltering," and "not so much by the sun's rays as by their reverberation from the bare rock, which becomes almost scorching, and radiates an oven-like heat which is quite stifling." Mosquitoes also abounded and were viewed as "the plague of one's life."<sup>25</sup>

With continual military presence, British Gibraltar contained numerous material military artifacts embedded on the "Rock" such as cannons, barracks, and martial street names, which showcased its masculine features for visitors while at the same time reinforced martial discipline among the troops. British military officers produced and purchased countless visual representations (sketches, photographs) that filled military scrapbooks, sketchbooks, and journals to emphasize the British military strength in maintaining the territory (Figure 2). Popular images included the "Rock" as viewed from the Mediterranean Sea or from on top of the Signal Station, the highest point of Gibraltar. One of the benefits of military photographs involved disseminating the proper positions of military bodies in drills and parades (Figure 3).<sup>26</sup>

Animals entered into the geographical imagination of Britain's claim to the Iberian region. Monkeys, or Barbary Apes (*Macaca sylvanus*), were often "associated with the Rock of Gibraltar," which continued into the twentieth century when Sir Winston Churchill restocked the "Rock" with monkeys from Morocco and Algeria during World War II. It was believed that as long as Gibraltar Monkeys existed on the colonial possession, the territory would remain under British rule. Edward Napier (1808–1870) of the 46<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot described the "standing orders of the garrison" to protect the apes even though they destroyed the fruit and vegetable gardens of the Genoese "who cultivate the western acclivity of



Figure 3. A Callotype from the Military Sketchbook of Thomas Marshall Harris, R.A. Commander. (courtesy of Museum of Mississauga)

the rock."<sup>27</sup> Avian imaginaries also resonated with the Rock, harkening back to the Great Siege of 1783 when the British observed an eagle perched on the westernmost pole of Signal Station which then flew away to the east. The sighting was viewed as a favorable omen for the garrison and resulted in Britain's victory the following day. This account first appeared in Colonel John Drinkwater's *A History of the Siege of Gibraltar* in 1785, and was reiterated in William Henry Bartlett's *Gleanings on the Overland Route: Pictorial and Antiquarian* (1868). Royal Artillery officer Major Gilbard proclaimed that "[t]he eagle still builds his nest in the crags near the Signal Station," which he included in his booklet on Gibraltar in 1882.<sup>28</sup>

Of course, not all visitors viewed the Rock in the same light. A Canadian soldier of the 100<sup>th</sup> Regiment commented that the Rock of "Gibraltar rises out of the sea like a huge beaver."<sup>29</sup> For American General Ulysses S. Grant, Gibraltar represented the "finest example of 'red tapeism'" in Europe," and the English occupation of fortress on Spanish territory adhered to strict "official formalities." Grant questioned: "What earthly use could both be defending the entrance to the Mediterranean in these days of steam navigation."<sup>30</sup> One American periodical noted in August 1889: "The whole population of Gibraltar, whether civil or military, is subjected to certain stringent rules. For even a day's sojourn the alien must obtain a pass from the town major, and if he wish to remain longer, a consul or householder must become security for his good behavior."<sup>31</sup> Colonial advocates used sentimentalism to avert dissension and opposition to the

maintenance of Gibraltar on behalf of the British people. Robert Montgomery Martin employed it in his *History of the British Possessions: in the Mediterranean* (1837): "May the day be far distant when treachery or dissension at home shall cause this noble fortress, the protector of our flag, honour and trade in the Mediterranean, to be neglected or contemned."<sup>32</sup>

Moreover, the use of Gibraltar's Classical image as one of the "pillars of Hercules" often excluded non-British locals who were prevented from gaining citizenship, and were regularly portrayed as degenerates and "aliens" in Gibraltar's crowded town centre and markets.<sup>33</sup> As early as 1804, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) depicted the Spaniards as a "degraded race that dishonour Christianity," and the Moors as wretches who "dishonour human nature." William Makepeace Thackeray (1811-1863) described the "Main Street" as the place where "the Jews predominate, the Moors abound." The *Illustrated London News* published "Sketches of Gibraltar" in 1876 representing the different residents, such as the Moors at the market, "the Jews and Jewesses," and a "Maltese Milkman." Scottish soldier, John Pindar, marched through town with his regiment and observed the appearance of its inhabitants remarking "the motley group reminded me of the Streets of Calcutta—Jews, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Arabs, French, Spaniards." His comment that all were "arrayed in all the fantastic dresses of their countries," illustrated how ideas of racial difference depended in part on visual cues of traditional dress. To this group were added Hindu merchants who arrived in 1870 after the opening of the Suez Canal.<sup>34</sup>

Absent from the ethnic discourses of Gibraltar was the presence of local Gibraltarians. According to David Lambert, the effacement of local Indigenous peoples in these narratives highlighted the Rock as "a place through which British troops pass and perform heroic deeds, rather than a place of continuing residence."<sup>35</sup> If mentioned, Gibraltarians were described as a "mongrel race" with no claims to British nationality based on their Spanish ways. Writers often called them "Rock Scorpions" who spoke the "most extraordinary 'pigeon English.'" Anthropocentric analogies for the Barbary Apes were sometimes made using the local human inhabitants of Gibraltar. Monier Williams wrote of the apes that "linger on the Rock of Gibraltar like wild aborigines, hopelessly struggling to hold their own against civilized settlers." As M. G. Sanchez has argued, the stereotype of the "'undeserving alien colonials'" helped marginalize Gibraltarians in their own territory.<sup>36</sup>

### *Mens sana in corpore sano: the body military in Gibraltar*

As the British military belonged to the monarch and the government, the British soldier represented a bodily extension of Britain, and an essential link to the maintenance of the British Empire in places such as Gibraltar. Michel Foucault has described the soldier's body as "a fragment of mobile space" that was trained and disciplined to react in a larger sequence of military operations and tactics, and "belonged for the most part

to a bodily rhetoric of honour."<sup>37</sup> In British military culture, this was exemplified through martial display and spectacle that drove the "deadly military machine" in the nineteenth century. As a theatrical institution, great emphasis was placed on uniforms and display at parades, ceremonies, and drills. The body military, therefore, involved territorial presence, surveillance, and imperial place-making as part of the "basic element of English state spectacle."<sup>38</sup> The ability of the body to create place through repeated performances had important implications in the politics of territorial maintenance, boundary making, and commanding presence. The shaping of the "moral geographies" of British military culture was one way to maintain the military male body as a tool of empire, which emphasized national sentiments, heroism, and honor. The practice of preserving the military body through repeated exercises and rational recreation was therefore essential to the maintenance of empire.<sup>39</sup>

Domestic sites designed to improve the soldier's body in Gibraltar included the Soldiers' Institute, the Alameda Botanical Gardens, and the garrison churches. These moral sites helped to divert military attentions from pubs and brothels that damaged military fitness.<sup>40</sup> The Reverend John Coventry at the Scottish Presbyterian Church was of "great interest in the moral and spiritual improvement of the Presbyterian soldiers to whom he officiates as chaplain." Even in a Hindu temple, Pindar described, a "Scottish minister can make us feel the hallowing influences of a Scottish Sabbath home."<sup>41</sup>

Sporting activities at Gibraltar also revolved around British military gentry traditions of home games such as fox hunting, rugby, and cricket. The Royal Calpe Hunt, or foxhunt, which extended into the Spanish countryside, was considered one of the "greatest institutions of Gibraltar" among the British officer-class.<sup>42</sup>

The Gibraltar Garrison Library, established in 1793, provided an exclusive haven for British military officers to read, learn, and exercise the mind on natural history subjects. On a subscription basis, officers paid annual memberships to use the facilities, which physically and socially excluded local Gibraltarians from the learned society. As early as 1829, the *United Service Magazine* claimed Gibraltar's library as the "finest institution of the kind out of Great Britain."<sup>43</sup> Countless natural history books filled the shelves including Gilbert White's *Natural History of Selborne* (1789) and Selby's *Illustrations of British Ornithology* (1821-1834). Sir Edward Sabine (1788-1883), Royal Artillery and President of the Royal Society, was stationed in Gibraltar when the Library was officially completed in 1804.<sup>44</sup>

The field—a place to engage in fieldwork—provided another venue to pursue "zoology and health" and refine the mind.<sup>45</sup> As military Professor Portlock outlined in his treatise on maintaining military fitness, officers should expose themselves to the "peculiar influence which the motion of the hunt, the song of birds, the ripple of the running brook, the sighing of the wind amongst the branches of trees, the varied colours of flowers, or the green tint of a grassy bank, exercises upon the mind, and through it upon the body." In order to free "the mind from corroding care,"

military men needed to engage fully in the sensuous and bodily aspects of fieldwork landscapes.<sup>46</sup> The theme of "total health or wholeness – *mens sana in corpore sano* – was a dominant concept for the Victorians," which was echoed by Portlock's military treatise on the military body. Portlock writes: "The old aphorism, '*mens sana in corpore sano*,' is indeed equally true, whether interpreted as meaning that a healthy body is necessary for the preservation of a healthy mind, or as meaning that a healthy mind, that is to say, a mind active and free from oppressive care, is necessary for the preservation of the body."<sup>47</sup>

According to Scottish military surgeon Andrew Leith Adams (1827-1882), natural history fieldwork such as field ornithology invigorated military discipline and revitalized "the mental powers," and thus supplied "materials for the grandest ultimate truths" or knowledge of God. Adams managed to visit Gibraltar for two weeks prior to his station in New Brunswick in the 1860s, where he "enjoyed a hurried visit to the famous bone caves of the Rock."<sup>48</sup>

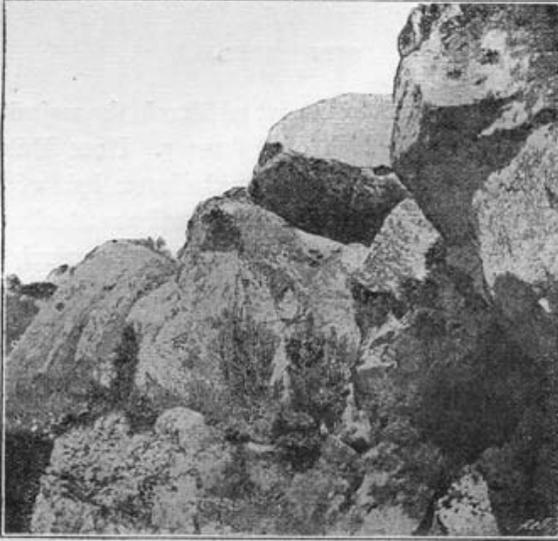
The observation of birds was also understood to make better field soldiers in predicting weather patterns during active service. Sir Garnet Wolseley (1833-1913), a hero of the "Indian Mutiny," stressed the importance of the attendance to both the mind and the body in his *Soldier's Pocket-Book for Field Service* (1871), as "each reacts upon the other." An old "chum" of Lieutenant-Colonel Irby's from India, he believed in the "old farmers' predictions of fine or rough weather" through the observations of birds. "When swallows fly high," he wrote, "expect fine weather" while "sea gulls flying inland or collected there in large numbers are fore-runners of bad stormy weather."<sup>49</sup> Perhaps Wolseley's friendship with Irby influenced his views on observing birds for military campaigning. The following section will investigate the legacy of ornithological fieldwork of military officers in the Straits of Gibraltar in more detail.

### **British ornithological legacies: moral restraint and rational knowledge**

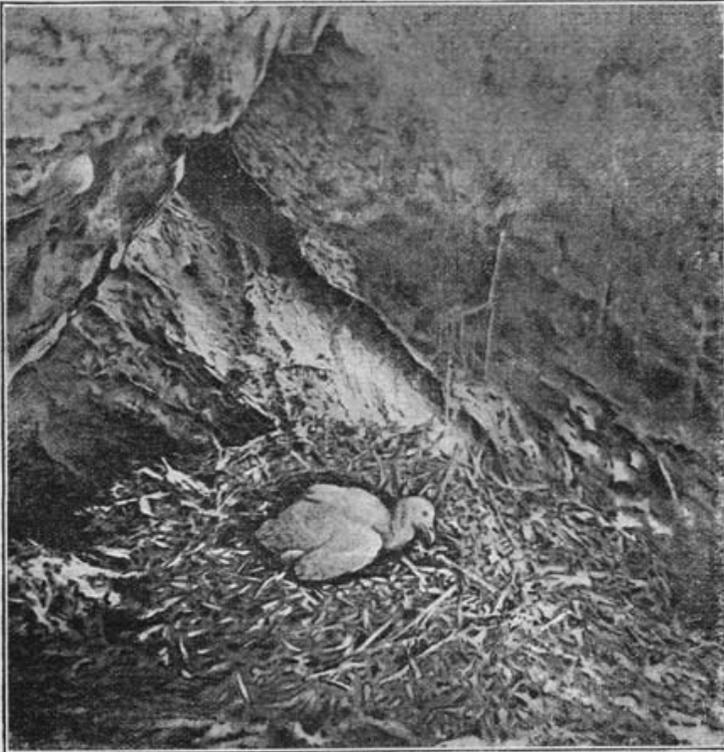
Military bird collectors exemplified the scientific and masculine hero through tales of their dedication, reasoning, and dangerous escapades as they climbed rocks and trees to shoot birds of prey or collect their eggs (Figure 4). Indeed, representations of the military-ornithologist evoked heroic imaginaries on the "Rock" of British Gibraltar. In the popular science periodical *Nature*, a reviewer proclaimed Irby as re-enacting the work of Hercules, the demi-god, by bridging the two continents of Europe and Africa together in his ornithological work "perched upon the rocky heights of 'Old Gib.'" Irby's achievement was described as "the feat of our modern hero" to a British audience dedicated to science.<sup>50</sup> However, while these narratives illustrate an embodied male body shaped by muscular masculinity, they also reveal the ways in which muscular and moral masculinities, prevalent in British military culture, reinforced each other during this time period. For example, Irby espoused a moral ethic of restraint towards bird collecting by not including the "exact location" of certain bird

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VULTURID.E.



CAVE WITH GRIFFONS' NESTS.



YOUNG GRIFFON IN CAVERN.

Figure 4. A photograph of a nesting site by Willoughby Verner in Irby's *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*.

species such as the "White-tailed eagle" for "obvious reasons." His "undistinguished detestation of the race of 'collectors' and wanton destroyers of bird-life" continually pervaded his work despite his own actions in killing birds "to secure the prize."<sup>51</sup> As Graeme Wynn has noted, rational restraint tamed "the urge to savagery in themselves" often "associated with the 'primitive' and the 'exotic.'" This type of moral restraint ensured the ability to narrate trustworthy colonial knowledge.<sup>52</sup>

The privileged and well-trained officer not only mastered cartography, gunnery, and fortification, but also scientific practices of classification, documentation, and travel writing, which all helped to sustain the romance of warfare and imperial culture. This type of embodiment involved primarily a military, upper-middle class, male, white body shaped by ideas of Englishness and military ardor in marked relation to the lower-class, urban recruits filtering through the army, and to local Indigenous peoples in colonial place. As Karen Morin states: "Authority or credibility gained by being an embodied producer of knowledge, 'on the spot' and otherwise, depends on what kind of body is on that spot, and it certainly does not apply to all bodies in the same way."<sup>53</sup> For these gentry officers, according to non-commissioned officer John Troyte, "Gibraltar is a charming station...and chiefly for this sole reason, that it is easy for them to get away from it!"<sup>54</sup>

Ornithology and its sportsman tradition of collecting birds with a gun provided an ideal activity to maintain the muscular masculinities of well-trained officers.<sup>55</sup> As gentlemanly amateurs and men of action, British military officers made important contributions empirically and imaginatively to the colonial knowledge of the British Empire through their on-the-spot position in the colonies.<sup>56</sup> British military officers' approach to ornithology depended on the killing of birds in the wild, and the physical comparison of specimens for accuracy. As Irby wrote, "[t]he only way to avoid such errors is never to include any bird in a list except when actually obtained and identified."<sup>57</sup> The bodies of dead birds presented naturalists with material evidence of their scientific discoveries and trophies of the hunt through taxidermy often displayed in private and public museums. Specimens also helped to retain memories of transient military life across the British Empire. To Edward Napier, these objects recalled "many a feat performed by field and flood, in foreign and far-distant lands," including his collection of stuffed birds from India and Spain, where he collected an eagle in the late 1830s.<sup>58</sup>

As Thomas Richards has claimed, lists of birds collected in the field revealed the practices of military sportsman-naturalists who accumulated specimens in the field and "shoved the data...into a shifting series of classifications." General lists usually began with the birds of prey such as "eagles, hawks, and kites," and often included scientific nomenclature.<sup>59</sup> Officers documented local bird lists from a "distance" and placed "the name in their note-book, to appear in due time in print" in journals such as *The Zoologist* and *The Ibis*. However, birds listed with Linnaean nomenclature also made officers "'at home' in Europe feel part of a planetary proj-

ect; a key instrument...in creating the 'domestic subject' of empire," or the formation of domestic masculinities.<sup>60</sup>

Regular routes in Gibraltar allowed officers to observe and collect birds using telescopes and guns around the Rock. Bird collecting occurred at the Neutral Grounds, "close to the Spanish guard-house on the western side," where an officer could find a plethora of Golden Plover, Redhawks, and Ringed Dotterels. The field therefore emerged as a space for a "moral locational discourse" helping to regulate the military body in Gibraltar.<sup>61</sup> The sentry spot at Signal Station was an ideal location for both non-commissioned and commissioned officers to sight the passage of birds in Gibraltar. Royal Artillery officer E.F. Becher noted the sergeant at the Signal Station who observed a decrease in the number of migrant birds passing over Gibraltar in the year 1882. The higher reaches of Upper Signal Station allowed Royal Engineer officer Captain Phillip Savile Reid to observe a specimen of *Aquila Bonelli*, a type of eagle, which "breed regularly on the eastern side of the rock of Gibraltar."<sup>62</sup> Officers often listed the arrival dates of birds of passage such as the Ring-Ouzel or *Turdus torquatus*, "the earliest dates in each year being the 8th of April 1868, 20th of March 1870, 9th of April 1871, 12th of March 1872, 28th of March 1874."<sup>63</sup> Lists therefore served as both a reflection of the accumulation of specimens and a medium to track the annual migration of birds for officers stationed at Gibraltar.

Photography and sketching helped to narrate an officer's masculine pursuit of birds and their eggs on cliffs and mountains, and often centered around birds of prey such as eagles, buzzards, and ospreys. Lieutenant Colonel Willoughby Verner exemplified the ideal officer-photographer in the field. "Certainly one of the greatest joys of life to the successful birdsnester," Verner exclaimed, "is to obtain a record of the places he has visited and the haunts of the wild birds he has watched." Verner devoted an entire chapter to "Sketching and Photography" in the field, listing the type of camera equipment and the utility of a drawing over a photograph. "My special joy," he wrote, "was to reach some Eagle's nest and endeavour to delineate with pencil and brush 'what the Eagle saw.'"<sup>64</sup> The resulting sketch illustrated his manly achievement of climbing heights to experience the view of one of his favorite birds of prey while the photograph provided material evidence of the nesting site of a particular species (Figure 5).

## Informal imperial and avian crossings: entanglements in the Straits of Gibraltar

Military officers extended the boundaries of fieldwork and masculine feats into Spain through itineraries of specific field sites in these territories. The "wilds" of Andalusia provided a favourite destination for the officer-sportsman-naturalist, where "the shooting has the charm of a varied bag, and the freedom to wander where you like, as a rule."<sup>65</sup> For Irby the best localities for an ornithologist living at Gibraltar "is the country

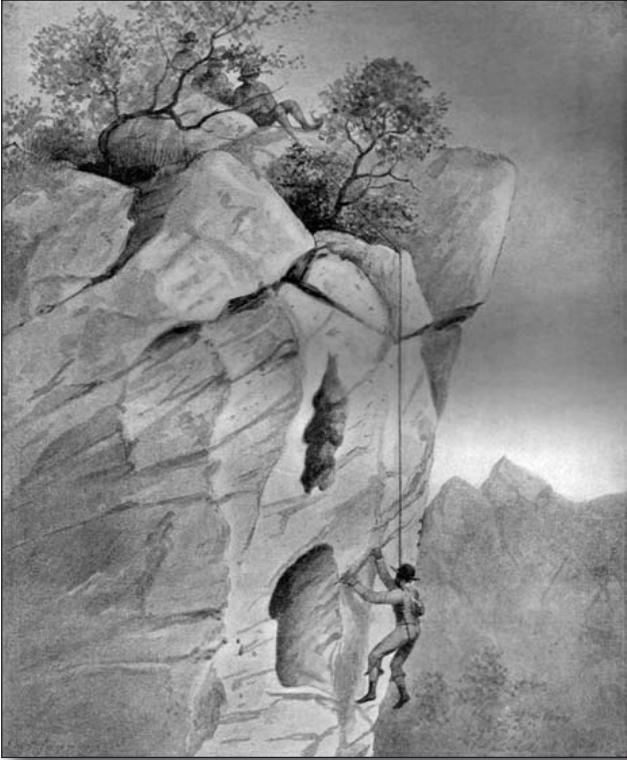


Figure 5. "Descent to Nest of Bonelli's Eagle" by Willoughby Verner in Irby's *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*.

west of an imaginary line drawn due north from Gibraltar as far as the latitude of Seville."<sup>66</sup> Species lists in Spain attempted to erase competing cultures of social natures in the Iberian Peninsula. Irby claimed that the "Spanish lists" of local birds were "meagre and full of errors," especially the work of Baca's "*Aves de Espanã*," which contained some information on Andalusian birds, but should not be trusted.<sup>67</sup>

The British military collector continually made constant remarks about the Spanish "natives" and their pothunting practices. According to Irby, "Spaniards shoot immense numbers" of Starlings "at their roosting places" to make "a very cheap and, it may be fairly said, nasty dish in all the ventrollas in the vicinity."<sup>68</sup> The military officers viewed the scientific approach to shooting and killing birds as more civilized than the pothunting practices of collecting birds for food. Yet, British military-ornithologists relied on the assistance of Spanish boys in the collection of their ornithological specimens, revealing how officers contradicted themselves. Edward Napier paid a young "'muchacho'" for his services in the Spanish countryside. The young assistant helped identify a pair of eagles and was "dispatched to secure the spoils" for "the promise of half-a-dollar in the event of finding the bird."<sup>69</sup> Many officers hired young boys to climb trees and rocks to collect eggs. Captain Reid mentioned the name of a boy "José,"

who brought him “a nest containing nine eggs....I was hardly pleased at such wholesale plunder and directed him to cease his savages among the genus ‘perdix.’” By exclaiming his dissatisfaction with “José,” Reid demonstrates “anti-conquest” by narrating his innocence in the pillaging while at the same time asserting his English superiority by defining moral egg collecting.<sup>70</sup>

Furthermore, some Spaniards perceived these officers as “all mad.” Spaniards nicknamed a particular enthusiastic collector “Stark” as “‘El loco’ – the maniac,” for his fanatical “anger in hunting for such trifles as birds-eggs.”<sup>71</sup> Such contemporary critiques highlight what could also be understood as the “unnatural” British relation to nature exemplified by the culture of muscular adventurism. In such a culture, Willoughby Verner could confidently confide to his readership that “whilst all through my life, whenever I have attained the ‘decisive point’ in a big tree and felt sure of the nest, I have mentally ejaculated with Scud East.” Based on *Tom Brown’s School Days*, Scud East represented the English boyhood hero who found a Kestrel’s nest. As Richard Phillips reiterates, “[t]he geography of adventure is cultural *space* in which identities and geographies are constructed,” a space in which imperial masculinities are shaped.<sup>72</sup>

Morocco was another destination for ornithological expeditions among officers, perhaps to reenact Britain’s imperial possession in Tangier in the late seventeenth century (Figure 6).<sup>73</sup> Here, an individual could hire “one or two Moors...to pitch tents, load and unload packing animals.” Royal Artillery officer E.F. Becher “paid particular attention to the vernal migration of the birds visiting Tangiers,” which he claimed as an excellent place for observation.<sup>74</sup> Here, officer-ornithologists could situate their own moral codes of collecting through the Moroccans’ relationship with birds (Figure 7). According to Cynthia J. Becker, some Amazigh groups in Morocco do not eat tame or wild birds, as they believe them to be the souls of the dead.<sup>75</sup> Irby understood their ideas as “superstition” that sheltered particular birds – swallows, storks – “from molestation by the natives.”<sup>76</sup> This approach therefore differed from the lower-class pothunters of Gibraltar and Spain, and aligned more closely to the moral practices of British field ornithologists.

Furthermore, attempts to narrate a particular adventure, muscular masculinity in the field was minimized by their practice of purchasing specimens from local domestic markets at various locations. Military officers frequented the markets at Gibraltar, Seville, and Tangier to increase their collections, especially when it proved difficult to acquire rare species. Even Willoughby Verner visited the market to find the “*Crysomitris citrinella*” or “Critil Finch” for his collection with little success.<sup>77</sup>

The flow of wild birds provided a tangible link from Britain to its colonies in Africa, Gibraltar, and Asia and, more specifically, the English countryside. According to Robert J.C. Young, this type of attachment was “enforced through a detachment and displacement from the maternal home environment, together with a certain class mobility.”<sup>78</sup> As early as the mid-1700s, Gibraltar was a key site for naturalists as “the rock of Gibralt-



Figure 6. Tangier, Morocco, by Phillip S.G. Reid. (courtesy of Andrew Reid)



Figure 7. Camp, Tzelatza Valley, Morocco, by Phillip S.G. Reid. (courtesy of Andrew Reid)

tar is the great rendezvous, and place of observation, from whence they take their departure each way towards Europe or Africa." The British ornithologist John H. Gurney and B.O.U. member exclaimed that "[t]here are few better places for birds than Gibraltar." Essentialist ideas of birds filled the fieldnotes of amateur-officer-ornithologists with "our British" species, especially as particular species linked Gibraltar to the British countryside.<sup>79</sup> The observation of British migratory birds in Gibraltar served as a link to "home" and the English countryside. In the *Journal of the Northamptonshire*

*Natural History Society and Field Club*, Gurney described his friend Irby's observations of British birds in Gibraltar as well as an officer at the garrison who observed Kingfishers breeding "now pretty freely...during the past summer of 1883." These examples illustrate how Britain's possession of Gibraltar enabled ornithologists to understand the paths of migratory birds to the British Isles and to resituate avian "landscapes of home."<sup>80</sup>

Conversely, ideas concerning ideal moral masculinities can be traced through descriptions of avian species, an interesting example being the European Robin, known as Robin Red-Breast or Redcoats in Britain. In English literature we find Robin Redcoats who were duty bound, who resisted foreigners, and who exerted a proper authority against those who resisted. William Wordsworth memorialized "the little English Robin" as the "pious bird with the scarlet red breast." The "naturalness" and permanence of the Robin's environment was constituted through the private property of the English domestic, garden.<sup>81</sup> In the neighborhood of Gibraltar, however, the European Robin became a different character altogether. When riding home from the Spanish countryside, Reid observed European Robins in the Spanish corkwoods, which he called by its Spanish name "San Antonio." These birds, he goes on to describe, are utterly "unlike their brethren in England...their more civilized relations in the north."<sup>82</sup> Reid's observation of the Robin in the Spanish countryside affirmed his ideas of Englishness and perceptions of imperial superiority in the Straits of Gibraltar, which illustrated another form of imperialism through his attitudes of wild birds and the way climate and environment shaped colonial, white-bodies in warmer regions such as in the Mediterranean.

## Conclusion

This paper demonstrates the complex ways that the "body" (military and avian) can be used to investigate the intersection between British military culture and ideas and practices of ornithology in late nineteenth-century Gibraltar. Gibraltar can be considered a transient place for the circulation of military bodies, experiences, and ideas from different parts of the British Empire but also as a place for the migratory birds that travelled from Europe to Africa and back again. Gibraltar offers examples of the way in which territoriality and identity were expressed in the bodies of dead and live birds as British military officers collected type specimens as a means to demonstrate imperial presence, and to claim British migratory birds as their national possessions in formal and informal parts of empire.

The noble and fortuitous eagle emerged as important symbol of British occupation in the Iberian Peninsula, harkening back to the final Great Siege with Spain and France in the dominance of the territory. As representations of Gibraltar focused on the military strength of the Rock, British military officers pursued ornithological fieldwork in the same vein, seeking out wild birds of prey on rocky field sites to increase their collections and to acquire tangible proof of their domination of the region. Practices centered on a collection of dead stuffed birds, eggs, and nests, lists of

species, and photographs of collecting locations, which all reinforced a masculine imperial male in the colonial environment. This type of military ornithology was produced, consumed, and circulated to fellow officers at Gibraltar, linking the imperial mind to the body of the British Empire.

However, field ornithology also presented military officers with an alternative to the colonial practices of big-game and sportsman-hunting, where hunters bagged animals as trophies. Ornithology enabled participants to extend their scientific knowledge to the naming and collecting of specimens (birds, eggs, nests) and the observation of migratory birds that passed over Gibraltar from Europe to Africa. As Irby stated:

The unfortunate part of ornithology, as at present practised, is that it is chiefly confined to the slaughter of birds, whose skins, when compared and examined by table naturalists, are upon the slightest variation in plumage made into new species, without any knowledge of their habits, notes, &c. Much more can be done by observation than by the gun, and when a bird is destroyed all chance of noticing its habits is destroyed likewise.<sup>83</sup>

Observing birds in their "wild state" provided one means of connecting British officers to the English landscape or "home." Their military position in the Mediterranean fostered an awareness of the connection of places with the seasonal movement of birds, while their encounters with avian bodies provided a site for the reflection of English masculine identities and a space to judge the "moral geographies" of killing birds in the Strait of Gibraltar. These examples therefore reflected a fusion of moral and muscular masculinities that fostered "a potent combination of Anglo-Saxon authority, superiority and martial prowess, with Protestant religious zeal and moral righteous."<sup>84</sup>

Furthermore, British military officers relied on the assistance of Spanish boys to collect bird eggs and nests, local collectors and markets to acquire specimens, and African field-assistants to increase their collections and secure their position as authoritative field ornithologists in British Gibraltar. British military ornithological authority and credibility therefore depended on local labor and networks to build up their collections and knowledge of the avifauna of the region. As this paper reveals, an understanding into the creation of martial masculinities requires a nuanced approach to the shaping of imperial, military embodiments, as well as a sensitivity to the involvement of multiple actors in the production of ornithological knowledge in particular colonial contexts such as Gibraltar.

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## Notes

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37. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, second edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 164, 135. The book was originally published in French in 1975.
  38. Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 8, 9.
  39. Gillian Rose, "Performing Space," in D. Massey, J. Allen, and P. Sarre, eds., *Human Geography Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 245-59; Ogborn and Philo, "Soldiers, Sailors and Moral Locations," 221-231; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*; John M. MacKenzie, eds., *Popular Imperialism and the Military: 1850-1950* (Manchester ; New York : Manchester University Press, 1992).
  40. The popular red light district in Gibraltar was called Serruya's Lane, which is now referred to as New Passage. Sanchez, *The Prostitutes of Serruya's Lane*.
  41. John Pindar, *Autobiography of a Private Soldier* (Cupar Fife: Fife News, 1877), 96.
  42. Major Gilbard, *A Popular History of Gibraltar* (Gibraltar: Gibraltar Garrison Library, 1882), 61.
  43. Anon., *United Service Magazine* (1829): 105.
  44. Edward Sabine's great-grandfather, Joseph Sabine, was a military officer and governor of Gibraltar in the mid-eighteenth century. Gregory A. Good, "Sabine, Sir Edward (1788-1883)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
  45. Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 17-18.
  46. Portlock, "On the Advantage of Cultivating the Natural and Experimental Sciences," 290.
  47. Haley, *Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, 4; Gillian M. Doherty, *The Irish Ordnance Survey: History, Culture and Memory* (Dublin: Four Court Press, 2004), 194; Portlock, "On the Advantage of Cultivating the Natural and Experimental Sciences," 290-291.
  48. Andrew Leith Adams, *Field And Forest Rambles, With Notes and Observations on The Natural History of Eastern Canada* (London, H. S. King & Co, 1873), viii, x. Anthony J. Gaston, "Adams, Andrew Leith (1827-1882)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2004).
  49. Garnet Wolseley, *Soldier's Pocket-Book for Field Service* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1871), 165. Verner, "Obituary," 502, 179.
  50. Anon., "Irby's Birds of Gibraltar," 364.
  51. L. Howard Irby, "Notes on the Birds of the Straits of Gibraltar," *Ibis* 21: 3 (1879): 343; Verner, "Obituary," 504; Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 173.
  52. Graeme Wynn, in his introduction to Greg Gillespie's *Hunting for Empire: Narratives of Sport in Rupert's Land, 1840-70* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), p. xix.
  53. Karen M. Morin, "Embodying Tropicalities: A Commentary on Felix Driver's 'Imagining the Tropics: Views and Visions of the Tropical World'," *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 3:24 (2004): 23-25, 23.
  54. John Edward Acland Troyte, *Through the Ranks to a Commission* (1881), 253-254.
  55. The officers in this study include Lieutenant Colonel Howard Irby and Captain Kelham (74th Highlanders); Lieutenant Colonel Willoughy Verner (Rifle Brigade); officers Harry Denison, Turner, and Aldridge of the 71st Highland Light Infantry; officers Campbell, Blackburn and Ferguson of the 93rd Sutherlands; Captain Phillip Saville Reid and Captain Gould of the Royal Engineers; Edward Arthur Butler of the 83rd Regiment; and Napier of the 46th Regiment.
  56. Douglas M. Peers, "Colonial Edward D. H. E. Knowledge and the Military in India, 1780-1860," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 2:33 (2005): 157-180.

57. Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 5.
58. Napier also made a collection of birds from India, 20. Edward Delaval Hungerford Elers Napier, *Wild Sports in Europe, Asia and Africa* (Philadelphia and New York: E. Ferrett, 1846), 52, 20, 10.
59. Richards, *Imperial Archive*, 3; Martin, *History of the British Possessions*, 86.
60. Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 4; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 3.
61. Philip Savile Reid, *MSS Stray Notes on Ornithology* (Natural History Museum, Tring, 1871-1890), 28; Ogborn and Philo, "Soldiers, Sailors and Moral Locations": 221.
62. E.F. Becher, "Zoological Notes from Gibraltar," *The Zoologist* (1883): 100; Reid, *MSS Stray Notes on Ornithology*, 3. Becher was a Royal Artillery officer who pursued ornithology in other parts of the British Empire. Captain Philip Savile Grey Reid (1845-1915), F.Z.S., M.B.O.U., was born at Welwyn, Hertfordshire. He was educated at Burney's Naval School in Gosport. Reid obtained a commission in the Royal Engineers and served in Gibraltar, Bermuda and Natal. He collected birds and eggs, and obtained birds for the nesting-groups of British birds series in the Museum's galleries. Reid continued the work of E.W. Oates on the *Catalogue of the Birds' Eggs in the British Museum* (1901-1912).
63. Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 36.
64. Willoughby Verner spent many years at Gibraltar with the Rifle Brigade and eventually retired there. He was also professor of topography at Sandhurst Military College and wrote numerous works on his activities in Africa. Willoughby Verner, *My Life Among the Wild Birds of Spain* (London: Whiteby, 1909), 39; Clive Finlayson, "William Willoughby Cole Verner," *Gibraltar Heritage Journal* 3 (1996): 91-99.
65. Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 29, 26.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Ibid.*, 26, 3, 31
68. *Ibid.*, 78.
69. Napier, *Wild Sports in Europe, Asia and Africa*, 52.
70. Reid, *MSS Stray Notes on Ornithology*, 2; Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8-9.
71. Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 68. Reid described this particular collector during his meeting with Howard Irby at Zoological Gardens at Regent Park, London, 22 April 1877 in his *MSS Stray Notes on Ornithology*. B.O.U. is the acronym for the British Ornithologists Union. Captain Arthur Cowell Stark (1846-99) was a British physician and travelling naturalist who co-authored *Fauna of South Africa*. He was killed during the Boer War.
72. Verner, *My Life Among the Wild Birds of Spain*, 58-59; D.W. Allen, "Young England: Muscular Christianity and the Politics of the Body in Tom Brown's Schooldays," in Donald E. Hall, ed., *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 114-32; Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 14.
73. Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002), 23-41.
74. Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 29, 26, 6; Phillip S.G. Reid, "Winter notes from Morocco," *Ibis* 3:11 (1885): 241-255; E.F. Becher, "Zoological notes from Gibraltar," *The Zoologist* (1883): 100. Becher was at Aldershot at the same time as Royal Artillery officer and explorer Henry Wemyss Feilden. Feilden maintained a particular interest in birds, was a member of the B.O.U., and published in *The Ibis*. Anon., *The Monthly Official Directory of the Aldershot Division* (Aldershot: W. Sheldrake, 1879), 7, 15, 21.
75. Cynthia J. Becker, *Amazigh Arts in Morocco: Women Shaping Berber Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 208.
76. Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 208.
77. *Ibid.*, 100, 107, 219, 221, 223, 276; Reid, "Winter notes from Morocco," 245.
78. Robert J.C. Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (London: Blackwell, 2008), 9.

79. Gilbert White, *The Natural History of Selborne* (London: Penguin Books, 1977 [1789]), 82; John Henry Gurney, *Rambles of a Naturalist in Egypt & Other Countries: With an Analysis of the Claims of Certain Foreign Birds to be Considered British, and Other Ornithological Notes* (Jarrold, 1876), 294; Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 61-62.
80. Lord Lilford, "Notes on the Birds of Northamptonshire," *Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society and Field Club* 2 (1882-83): 336, 338; James S. Duncan and David Lambert, "Landscapes of Home," in James S. Duncan, Nuala Christina Johnson, Richard H. Schein, eds., *A Companion to Cultural Geography* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2004), 382-402.
81. Robert Fletcher, "Myths of the Robin Redbreast," *American Anthropologist* 2:2 (April 1889): 97-118, 99; Moira Ferguson, *Animal Advocacy and Englishwomen, 1780-1900: Patriots, Nation, and Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 5, 22.
82. Reid, *MSS Stray Notes on Ornithology*, 22. The European Robins are only partial migrants in Gibraltar, meaning that a species is resident and a proportion of the species migrate. Finlayson, *Birds of the Strait of Gibraltar*, 15.
83. Irby, *Ornithology of the Straits of Gibraltar*, 33.
84. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 83; David Matless, Paul Merchant, and Charles Watkins, "Animal Landscapes: Otters and Wildfowl in England 1945-1970," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30 (2005): 191-205.