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**Scoping in on Lions: An Investigation of the Role of the
Lion and the Hunter in African Hunting Narratives, 1802-
1930**

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Introduction

‘Of all the multifarious forms of life with which the Great African Continent has been so bountifully stocked, none, not even the “half-reasoning elephant” or the “armed rhinoceros” has been responsible for such a wealth of anecdote and story, or has stirred the heart and imagination of mankind to such a degree, as the lion – the great and terrible meat-eating cat, the monarch of the African wilderness, by night at least, whose life means constant death to all his fellow-brutes, from the ponderous buffalo to the light-footed gazelle, and fear, and often destruction too, to the human inhabitants of the countries through which he roams.’¹

The first trace of a wild lion that I ever encountered was on a walking safari in Hluhluwe-Imfolozi National Park in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, 2007.² We came across the impressively large, fresh tracks of a male lion which filled me with awe and apprehension; all the stories and facts I had heard about lions (primarily through Willard Price’s *Adventure* series, Walt Disney or David Attenborough) combined to fill this mere paw print in the sand with meaning and allowed me to imagine the picture of the lion that I had built in my head since early childhood. In contrast, my first encounter with an actual lion later that year in the Serengeti Plains National Park, Tanzania, seemed relatively mundane; seeing a pride of lions by a grass track surrounded by carloads full of tourists with their cameras stripped away the mystique and seemed to highlight the dependence of the lions on human tolerance. The experiences of encountering my ‘imagined’ lion and my ‘actual’ lion differed markedly. For those hunters who travelled to Africa from 1802 to 1930, the experience of encountering the lion and the subsequent representation of that lion in literature involved a similar distinction: ‘African animals clearly had just as powerful a hold on the British imagination then as now – but in a somewhat different way.’³ I aim to explore the ‘common set of assumptions about the power and shape of overlapping cultural and natural histories and semiotic systems’ that the lion mustered in the hunters’ ‘collective imaginary encounters with them’⁴ by researching a particular set of primary sources – the hunting narratives published by a large number of these hunters. While a traditional and historic representation of the lion already permeated European culture, the written accounts of the hunters’ experiences discuss an authentic and practical interaction and the ‘construction of identity through killing’ reveals insight into how

¹ Frederick C. Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences* (London, 1908), 44.

² The term safari has a complex background. The Swahili word *safari*, meaning ‘long journey,’ entered the English language in the late nineteenth century and soon referred to a hunter’s party or expedition. Today the word is more closely associated with the tourist or photographic safari.

³ William Beinart, ‘Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern Central Africa,’ *Past and Present*, 128 (Aug., 1990), 162.

⁴ Eric Banks, ‘Animals Reconsidered: A Series Ponders Humans’ Encounters with Other Kings of Flesh and Blood.’ <<http://chronicle.com/Animals-Reconsidered/48803/>> Retrieved 5 February 2010.

the authors imagined themselves and their role within the world.⁵ Recently, animal historians having been aiming to go beyond merely treating the object of their research as ‘blank pages onto which humans wrote meaning’ but look at how much agency the material animal displayed; I also intend to investigate the role that the ‘flesh-and-blood’ lion played in defining its own relationship with the humans who tried to kill it.⁶

This dissertation is based on research into sixty African hunting narratives which form a reasonably distinct genre with a conventionalised form.⁷ The authors of these narratives certainly viewed themselves as part of a distinct literary genre and made reference to their predecessors’ and other hunters’ exploits. Hunters went to Africa inspired by the literary tradition established by their forebears: ‘the one book that definitely sent [Frederick C. Selous] to Africa and made him a pioneer, and a hunter of Big Game was Baldwin’s “African Hunting from Natal to the Zambesi.”’⁸ The hunting narrative had forerunners (e.g. Sir Thomas Roe’s journal 1615-19) but emerged from travel literature in the early nineteenth century as a distinct genre (but not one that was endemic to Africa).⁹ The earliest hunting narrative is Sir John Barrow’s *An Account of Travels into the Interior of South Africa, in the Years 1797 and 1798* (1802) and the latest is Frederick Jackson’s *Early Days in East Africa* (1930). These dates provide my time period and the bulk of the sources mainly fall between 1890 and 1920. Initially these sources aimed at an elitist audience but hunting sold well in print; there was both massive demand and production – authors quickly aimed at a wider audience.¹⁰ The authors of these narratives were exclusively white, predominantly English and male, and mostly from the upper classes or gentry. There are wide exceptions to this profile; sources were written by a number of Scottish men, some Europeans (although all were published in English), one woman and the sons of men from lower social orders.¹¹ A wide range of social functions are represented by these authors. The hunting narrative has received some analysis from historians as a literary genre and this dissertation will provide an

⁵ Jody Emel, ‘Are You Man Enough, Big and Bad Enough?’, *Environmental and Planning D: Society and Space*, 13/6 (1995), 726.

⁶ Erica Fudge, ‘The History of Animals.’

<http://www.h-net.org/~animal/ruminations_fudge.html> Retrieved 10 February 2010.

⁷ Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (London, 1990), 257.

⁸ J.G. Millais, *Life of Frederick Courteney Selous, D.S.O.* (London 1918), 65.

⁹ Pramod Nayar, *English Writing and India, 1600-1920: Colonising Aesthetics* (Hyderabad, 2008), 132; Beinart, ‘Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change’, 164.

¹⁰ Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 256-7; William Beinart and Peter Coates, *Environment and History: the Taming of Nature in the USA and South Africa* (London, 1995), 25.

¹¹ See Appendix B for biographical information on the authors and a short summary of the representation of the lion in each source.

in-depth study of the ‘transformative’ nature of the text. Pramod K. Nayar’s comprehensive study of hunting narratives (or the ‘Sporting Luxuriant’ as he calls it) by the English colonists in India details the creation of a ‘trophy’ landscape dominated by the hunting imperialist.¹² Nayar describes similar literary devices to those I have noticed in these African narratives and a number of his conclusions can be transferred although he is not the sole intellectual reference point. A number of similar conclusions are drawn by American historian Harriet Ritvo who describes a number of the literary features of the texts; written in the first person and based on journals from the time of the expedition, the narrative takes the chronological form of a picaresque novel (roughly 300-400 hundred pages long) in which the hunter faces and eventually overcomes a series of obstacles.¹³

A number of methodological problems exist for an historian using the hunting narrative as a source. It is not possible to treat these sources as completely representative of British or imperial society although the ‘coincidence of hunting and empire-building was extraordinary.’¹⁴ They are not even necessarily representative of all lion hunters as a number chose not to publish written accounts but these writers are likely to be the more self-conscious exemplars of their type.¹⁵ There is also often an extensive time lag between the publication date of the narrative and the occurrence of the events that it details – for example John J. Bisset’s *Sport and War; Or, Recollections of Fighting and Hunting in South Africa* (1875) refers to events that happened as early as 1834. The hunting narratives do not fit easily into a wider tradition; they contain features of both diaries and autobiographies. Both of these have been identified by historians as non-essentialist literary forms that involve a construction of the ‘self’ by the author and Michel Foucault has demonstrated that the ‘selves’ which appear in these literary forms are traceable to various discursive contexts.¹⁶ This dissertation investigates the hunters’ use of the lion in their construction of the ‘self’ and isolates the main discourses which aid this construction. The nature of the primary literature and scope of the dissertation preclude certain themes. For instance, despite the potential value

¹² See ‘Chapter 5: The Sporting Luxuriant, 1850-1920’ in Nayar, *English Writing and India*, 132-68.

¹³ Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 527-8.

¹⁴ Edward I. Steinhart, ‘The Imperial Hunt in Colonial Kenya c. 1880-1905’ in Mary J. Henninger-Voss (ed), *Animals in Human Histories: The Mirror of Nature and Culture* (Woodbridge, 2002), 144.

¹⁵ Denis D. Lyell, *Hunting Trips in Northern Rhodesia. With Accounts of Sport and Travel in Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa, and Also Notes on the Game Animals and Their Distribution* (London, 1910), 3.

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, (trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon) *In Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, (New York, 1977), 124. See also David Carlson, ‘Autobiography’ and Christina Hämmerle in Miriam Dobson and Benjamin Ziemann, *Reading Primary Sources: the Interpretation of Texts From the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London, 2009), 147, 182.

of a gendered investigation of European hunters in Africa the almost complete lack of references to women make this impossible; even women who do hunt successfully are treated either as exceptional or only succeeding where the male chose to hold back.¹⁷ While the extent of the woman's role in hunting is unclear (but likely to be significant in some cases), these narratives paint an almost completely masculine picture. Even restricted in this way, the 'lion hunting discourse' presented by this collection of sources is far reaching and diverse and allows an historian considerable scope.

The representation of the lion in the sources is not uniform. Partly this is due to the lion itself. The symbol offered by an animal as powerful and intelligent as the lion invited humans to manipulate its image and behavior; the 'gaps' between the actual and the imagined lion are the greatest for any animal in this set of sources. This dissertation is structured into three chapters, each of which discusses a key representation of the lion – how it was constructed, how it acted and how it contributed to the hunters' notions of themselves. The discursive context of the representation and the lion's own role will be included. Chapter One will focus on 'the dangerous lion.' Chronologically this was the dominant representation initially and used the lion as an axis of power and domination.¹⁸ The 'dangerous lion' was constructed and defeated by the 'masterful' white hunters. Chapter Two will look at 'the evil lion' which became the dominant representation in the middle of the period. The 'evil lion' was an immoral animal and fully deserved to be totally annihilated. A morally incorrigible and civilizing imperial 'mission' countenanced huge persecution and the decimation of lion numbers bears witness to the destructive capacity of humanity.¹⁹ The discrimination against the 'evil lion' is connected to the wider hierarchical and racial undertones of empire. Chapter Three will look at the representation of the 'admirable lion' which became dominant by the end of the period. The lion was highly valued by hunters for his sporting qualities and 'noble' character and ultimately calls were made for the preservation of the lion both as a worthy

¹⁷ Edward I. Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Oxford, 2006), 5; Carl Akeley, *In Brightest Africa* (New York, 1920), 81. See the key works on gender and hunting for the white hunters in Africa: Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 102-5, Bartle Bull, *Safari: A Chronicle of Adventure* (New York, 1988).

¹⁸ See Appendix A for a graph that shows the change over time of the frequency of the representations.

¹⁹ See the key works on the destructive nature of human society: Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York, 1979); William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991); William J. Lines, *Taming the Great South Land: A History of the Conquest of Nature in Australia* (Berkeley, 1991); Mark Kurlansky, *Cod: A Biography of the Fish that Changed the World* (London, 1998); Andrew Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History* (Cambridge, 2000).

animal and an ecologically valuable predator. The conclusion will look at the different ways these lions were hunted and also at the lion's own role in these hunts.

There has been, however, little use of these sources by environmental historians. One premise of environmental history is that the dialogue over time between humans and nature is worthy of historical investigation and can be 'reconceptualised as a sophisticated tool for telling better social, political, economic or any other histories.'²⁰ In this case, the specific focus on lion hunting provides a coherent focus for an investigation into the hunting narratives. While the United States is a fertile ground for environmental historians, its relevance to the environmental history of Africa has provoked considerable debate.²¹ A comparison between (non-native) hunters in North America and Africa is precluded by the material although it is clear that visiting hunters from the US saw themselves as similar but the experienced English settler hunters looked down on them.²² The exodus of hunters to Africa occurred contemporaneously with, and often overlapped, imperialism but a number of hunters travelled beyond the 'colonial frontier.' These narratives generally refer to expeditions in southern Africa initially but moved to central Africa and, more commonly, east Africa as game populations were displaced by colonialism and hunters were forced to go further into the interior. Historical interest in the hunter was sparked by John M. MacKenzie's *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (1988) which demonstrated that the provision of a 'meat subsidy' was central to the expansion of the imperial project.²³ Historians have since spilt a lot of ink writing about the hunter who 'has figured variously as heroic provider, as protector of threatened outposts, as sensitive intermediary between the human and divine prey, as gallant sportsman, as brutal butcher, and as agent of extinction.'²⁴ As the hunter has attracted more attention so has his prey – animals in some regards are the latest beneficiaries of the democratising trend in historical writing and '[no] longer is the mention of an animal-based research topic likely to provoke surprise and

²⁰ Jane Carruthers, 'Africa: Histories, Ecologies and Societies,' *Environment and History*, 10/4 (Nov., 2004), 812-3.

²¹ For a comparative study of the environmental histories of South Africa and the US, see Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History*.

²² The only sportsmen that the English settlers viewed as equals were Austrian army officers, Bertram F.G Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making: Or, Sport and Profit in British East Africa* (London, 1912), 234-5.

²³ John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester, 1988), 89, 126, 15.

²⁴ H. Ritvo, 'Animal Planet,' *Environment History*, 9, (Apr., 2004), 207. See also Bull, *Safari*; Steinhart, 'The Imperial Hunt in Colonial Kenya'; Beinart, 'Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change.'

amusement.²⁵ While the study of animals by historians is not entirely new (economic historians, for instance, have focused closely on livestock in the past and the fur trade), individual historiographies of both wild and domestic animals are an increasing popular research topic and help provide a theoretical framework for this dissertation.²⁶ Reaktion Books is currently publishing its 'Animal' series 'to explore the historical significance and impact on humans of a wide range of animals' – *Lion*, by Deirdre Jackson, is scheduled for publication in May, 2010.²⁷ Given that 'there is no African animal that has inspired writers on sport in that continent, or the interest of those who have never been to Africa, to the same extent as the lion' it is surprising that it should have been neglected so far.²⁸

²⁵ Ritvo, 'Animal Planet', 205.

²⁶ These include William Beinart, 'The Night of the Jackal: Sheep, Pastures and Predators in the Cape,' *Past and Present*, 158, (1998), 172-206; Peter Coates, "'Unusually Cunning, Vicious and Treacherous": the Extermination of the Wolf in United States History,' in M. Levene and P. Roberts (eds), *The Massacre in History*, (Oxford, 1999); Andrew Isenberg, 'The Returns of the Bison: Nostalgia, Profit and Preservation', *Environmental History*, 2/2 (Apr., 1997), 176-96; Lance von Sittert, "'Keeping the Enemy at Bay:" the Extermination of Wild Carnivora in the Cape Colony,' *Environmental History*, 3/3 (July, 1998), 333-356; Robert J. Gordon, 'Fido: Dog Tales of Colonialism in Namibia' in William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor (eds), *Social History and African Environments* (Athens, Ohio, 2003), 240-54; Malcolm Draper, 'Going Native? Trout and Settling Identity in a Rainbow Nation', *Historia*, 48 (2003), 55-94.

²⁷ Jonathon Burt, 'Animal'

<<http://www.reaktionbooks.co.uk/series.html?id=1>>

Retrieved 12 December 2009.

²⁸ Denis D. Lyell, *Wild Life in Central Africa* (London, 1913), 193.

Chapter One: The ‘Dangerous Lion’²⁹



The representation of the ‘dangerous lion’ is the most obvious and the closest to ecological fact. The lion is a meat-eating carnivore that is capable of preying on large numbers of both domestic and wild animals, and humans. It therefore comes as no surprise that the lion has been represented as dangerous but it is the nature rather than the mere existence of this representation that is of value to an historian. For a hunter, an intimate encounter with a lion allowed the opportunity to show himself in a certain light and to construct his own heroic identity. In the narratives, it becomes clear that a lion hunt is heavily loaded with symbolism and I would argue that the construction of the ‘dangerous lion’ reveals the author’s view of himself on a fundamental and primordial level. The first way in which the ‘dangerous lion’ is constructed is as a danger to other wild animals. Lions are an apex predator in Africa; they have no predators of their own and reside at the top of the food chain. Every hunting narrative

²⁹ The hunting narratives generally involve a number of illustrations. While this dissertation does not allow scope for a full investigation of the effects of these illustrations, the drawings and photographs of lions do tend to fit squarely into the three representations. This photograph depicts the ex-president of the US, Theodore Roosevelt. Here the ‘dangerous lion’ has been finally defeated and the effect, when taken in connection with the text of his book, is to display Roosevelt at his most dominant and manly. Taken from the frontispiece of Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails: an Account of the African Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist* (London, 1910)

that mentions the lion in any detail includes a discussion of the lion as a top predator: when, how and what he hunts; his method of preparing his food; his very real threat to the wild animals around him. All predators were subject to discrimination on account of their predation and lions suffered correspondingly.³⁰ Killing predators to protect herbivore numbers (which were much more highly valued for reasons that will be discussed later) became a big part of early animal preservationist ideology.³¹ Two authors explicitly justify their own hunting by arguing that killing lions was ‘a net advantage to the harmless game.’³² This was a standard contemporary position until the realisation of the importance of habitat protection to animal numbers – Aldo Leopold’s essay ‘Thinking Like a Mountain’ is usually held to be the seminal work.³³ Efforts to protect herbivore numbers led to huge depredations of lions; one estimate is that at least 1,272 lions were killed by Kruger National Park staff from 1903-26.³⁴ The Game Warden, James Stevenson-Hamilton, should not be condemned out of hand though; like Leopold, he later went through a change of heart and banned the culling of lions in 1926.³⁵ A more cynical view is that some hunters only sought to protect herbivore numbers to ensure sufficient numbers of game animals for themselves.³⁶ Either way, the killing of lions was seen as a good and acceptable way of boosting the numbers of other ‘better’ wild animals.

It was not only native wild animals but native humans for whom lions caused trouble. Tales of man-eaters attacking native villages or carrying off weakened women or children litter the pages of the narrative (often as part of the preamble to a lion hunt).³⁷ These attacks on natives

³⁰ Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: a Social and Political History* (Pietermaritzburg, 1995), 111.

³¹ By preservation I am referring to early attempts to protect wild animals from extinction. This was gradually replaced by a conservationist ethic that focused on protecting the habitat and actively managing animal populations. For key works on animal preservation and conservation in Africa, see David Anderson and Richard Grove (eds), *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice* (Cambridge, 1987); William Beinart (ed), ‘The Politics of Conservation in Africa,’ *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 15/2 (1989), 143-392; Jonathon Adams and Thomas McShane, *The Myth of Wild Africa: Conservation Without Illusion* (New York, 1992); Roderick P. Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles Over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (Berkeley, 1998); William Beinart, *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment 1770-1950* (Oxford, 2003); Carruthers, *Kruger National Park*.

³² These arguments are made simultaneously, Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, 197; Agnes Herbert, *Two Dianas in Somaliland: The Record of a Shooting Trip* (London, 1908), 97.

³³ Aldo Leopold, ‘Thinking Like A Mountain’ in his book *A Sand County Almanac; And Sketches Here and There* (New York, 1945), 129-32.

³⁴ Gareth Patterson, *Making a Killing: South Africa’s Canned Lion Scandal* (Manchester, 2000), 82.

³⁵ Carruthers, *Kruger National Park*, 112

³⁶ Harriet Ritvo, ‘Destroyers & Preservers: Big Game in the Victorian Empire,’ *History Today*, 52 (Jan., 2002), 39.

³⁷ For a few examples, see Lyell, *Wild Life* 95; Charles Andersson, *The Lion and the Elephant* (London, 1873), 24; William C. Harris, *The Wild Sports of South Africa: Being the Narrative of an Expedition from the Cape of*

fit more widely into the imperial narrative of protection and the ‘dangerous lion’ presented an obstacle to the imperialists (and their domestic animals).³⁸ The idea presented that the Africans were dependent on the imperialists for their survival blindly ignored the fact that natives had inhabited African and managed to survive the lion threat through history before the advent of the Europeans. The construction of the ‘dangerous lion’ portrayed the lion as an antagonist to imperialism right from the start: ‘[t]he difficulties that for a long time impeded the extension of the settlement, were principally occasioned by the numbers of wild beasts of various kinds that swarmed in every part of the country.’³⁹ The difficulties presented by the lion gave rise to the initial assumption that ‘in the interests of humanity, [the lions] had better be thinned off.’⁴⁰ It was assumed that the lion would have to make way before the spread of civilization and the prospect of the complete extermination of the lion was viewed with equanimity. As late as 1920, Carl Akeley, an American taxidermist noted for his contributions to the American Museum of Natural History, wrote that lions should be killed ‘if civilization is to replace primitive life.’⁴¹

The lion plays a dual role in the narratives. The lion was treated as both a part of the harsh environment that the hunters constructed as the background for their activities and then as an active opponent pushed to the forefront by those activities. As part of the landscape the threat posed by the lion at night is paramount (particularly for the earlier accounts) and tales of the ‘usual lion alarm’ punctuate the pages.⁴² The lions also composed the soundtrack: ‘[t]he deep though distant roar of the lion made the effect all the grander as we pictured him at his feast.’⁴³ In the hands of some of the earlier authors, the lion also allows the environment to become alive and present an active threat to intruders by ‘actively prowling over the country.’⁴⁴ In the literature the lion and the land it inhabited and dominated become inextricably linked: ‘Africa would hardly be Africa without this animal.’⁴⁵ The sense that these hunters were in a lion-dominated wilderness was an important part of their self-

Good Hope (London, 1839), 66; James Sutherland, *The Adventures of An Elephant-Hunter* (London, 1912), 70-82; Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, 14.

³⁸ For accounts of the depredations made by lions on the livestock of settlers see Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, 67; Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making*, 237.

³⁹ John Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of South Africa, in the Years 1797 and 1798* (1802), 6.

⁴⁰ Thomas Baines, *Shifts and Expedients of Camp Life, Travel and Exploration* (London, 1871), 641.

⁴¹ Carl Akeley, *Lion Spearing* (Chicago, 1920), 3.

⁴² Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big Game Hunting in British East Africa, with Studies in Bird-life* (London, 1908), 135.

⁴³ Joseph Thompson, *To the Central African Lakes and Back: the Narrative of the Royal Geographical Society’s East Central African Expedition, 1878-80* (London, 1881), vol. I, 61.

⁴⁴ William J. Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1822), 67, 303.

⁴⁵ Lyell, *Hunting Trips*, 17-18.

definition; many authors were not attracted to the wilderness in order to spread civilization but for two other important reasons.⁴⁶ First, it allowed the hunter to be ‘free of the irksome conventionalities of civilized life, and [to] find a freedom that is impossible in more settled countries.’⁴⁷ Second, there was ‘an intense yearning for a nearer, clearer insight into the mysteries of nature’ and gaining an authentic experience of nature had to happen outside civilization.⁴⁸ The hunters that wrote these accounts enthusiastically sought to be part of nature: ‘[t]o an eager audience steeped in romanticism, and to the generations that followed, the tales of the explorers created an Africa that was both paradise and wilderness, a place of spectacular but savage beauty.’⁴⁹ I would argue that the ‘dangerous lion’ became an embedded and potent symbol of this ‘invented wilderness’ and helped fulfill the hunters’ hopes for exoticism, freedom and savagery. In these struggles ‘[i]t was as though the virile imperialists and the lion ... were locked in deadly combat for control of the natural world.’⁵⁰ A dead lion skin therefore demonstrated the hunter’s allegorical subjugation of Africa and assumption of that control.

The second and more important literary role carried out by the ‘dangerous lion’ was as an active quarry and adversary. Although the ‘dangerous lion’ became less common through the period, the danger it poses to its hunters remains strong right up to the end of the period and becomes a valued quality. Many hunters compiled a kind of ‘league table’ of the most dangerous animal and, although differences of opinion occur, the ‘consensus of opinion and the casualty list gives the verdict to the lion as being the most dangerous.’⁵¹ The hunters tended to glorify their own exploits with the gory tales of other hunters – lion injuries and deaths above all.⁵² Lion hunting is often portrayed as more dangerous even than hunting tigers – the pinnacle of imperial sport in India – as lions were more likely to be encountered

⁴⁶ I use the term wilderness to refer the human-constructed notion of a region of the natural world unaffected by human activity.

⁴⁷ Lyell, *Wild Life*, vii. A similar line of argument runs in Baines, *Shifts and Expedients*, 702; Dermot R.W. Bourke, *Sport in Abyssinia; Or, The Mareb and the Tackazzee* (London, 1876), 143; Sutherland, *Adventures of An Elephant-Hunter*, xi.

⁴⁸ F. Vaughn Kirby, *In Haunts of Wild Game; A Hunter-Naturalist’s Wanderings from Kahlamba to Libombo* (London, 1896), 115; Herbert, *Two Dianas*, 169.

⁴⁹ Adams and McShane, *Myth of Wild Africa*, xii-xiii.

⁵⁰ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 47.

⁵¹ Chauncey H. Stigand, *Game of British East Africa* (London, 1913), 81, 177. These ‘league tables’ actually provide the basis for the term ‘Big Five’ now popular with tourist safaris which refers to the lion, leopard, elephant, rhino and buffalo. For other examples, see Sutherland, *Adventures of An Elephant-Hunter*, 163; Alfred Pease, *The Book of the Lion* (London, 1913), 46-7; Charles Eliot, *The East Africa Protectorate* (London, 1905), 71; Denis D. Lyell, *The African Elephant and Its Hunters* (London, 1924), 200; Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, 63-8.

⁵² Anderson and Grove (eds), *Conservation in Africa*, 52.

in groups, more aggressive when wounded and tigers were shot from secure positions (i.e. elephant-back or *machans*).⁵³ The lion hunt in these narratives is a form in which the lions and humans become intimately close and the behaviour of the lion itself in providing a credible opponent in the actual combat was essential. As sociologist Adrian Franklin points out, hunting is ‘a staged, mimetic form of combat in which only worthy opponents can be counted.’⁵⁴ This is borne out by Chauncey H. Stigand who claimed that an easily-shot lion leads to a ‘revulsion of feeling, and the respect felt before gives place to a feeling something like contempt.’⁵⁵ Authors tend to waste little space or emotion on simple hunts in the narratives but often the ‘dangerous lion’ provided an ideal, credible opponent for the hunter to engage voluntarily and defeat (it also possessed other ‘desirable’ characteristics that will be discussed in Chapter 3). The intimate dangers presented by a lion hunt are emphasized: ‘in another moment the lion would have been upon us,’ ‘my life would have probably paid the forfeit,’ ‘a lion within eight yards of me in full chase,’ ‘death was but an instant away.’⁵⁶ After 1881, a number of the narratives explicitly treat the danger itself as central to the experience. The ‘excitement of a visit from a lion’ allows the ‘absolute bliss of that moment’ and ‘a curious shrinking from death in an unknown and probably cruel form’ and, actually, there was ‘really no reason for the killing of [lion] except that the sport is exhilarating’ – ‘the real sport begins when there is the excuse to feel afraid.’⁵⁷ Defeating the lion in actual combat was better than merely surviving the African environment: ‘[t]he dramatic possibilities of conquering a fierce beast equaled or surpassed those of a battle with the elements alone.’⁵⁸

But the ‘dangerous lion’ was hunted not just for excitement but also to demonstrate the virtues of the individual hunter. The lion has been used before these hunters to demonstrate strength; Samson’s exploits included bare-handedly slaying a lion and slaying the Nemean lion was one of Hercules’ twelve labours. First and foremost the lion hunter was brave; Roualeyn G. Cumming (an early Scottish hunter particularly criticized for his levels of

⁵³ Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 46-9.

⁵⁴ Adrian Franklin, *Animals and Modern Cultures: A Sociology of Human-Animal Relations in Modernity* (London, 1999), 121.

⁵⁵ Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 82.

⁵⁶ Andrew A. Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years in a Waggon; Sport and Travel in South Africa* (London, 1888), 111; F. Vaughn Kirby, *Sport in East Central Africa: Being an Account of Hunting Trips in Portuguese and Other Districts of East Central Africa* (London, 1899), 79; William E. Oswell, *William Cotton Oswell, Hunter and Explorer; the Story of His Life* (New York, 1900), vol. I, 206; Akeley, *In Brightest Africa*, 75-6.

⁵⁷ Thompson, *To the Central African Lakes* vol. II, 44; C.J. Melliss, *Lion-Hunting in Somaliland: also an Account of “Pigsticking” the African Wart-Hog* (New York, 1991), 25; Frederick Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire; Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda* (London, 1893), vol. I, 37; Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 131; Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 20.

⁵⁸ Emel, ‘Are You Man Enough’, 723.

butchery who explicitly called himself ‘the Lion-Hunter’) stated that the lion hunter needed a ‘recklessness of death, perfect coolness and self-possession, an acquaintance with the disposition and habits of lions and a certain dexterity in the use of the rifle.’⁵⁹ Humour and ‘whimsical understatement’ are also present; loud roars are described as ‘not altogether reassuring’ and a close shave with lions as a ‘not very enviable situation.’⁶⁰ Other hunters emphasize the importance of ‘knowledge of the animal’s habits.’⁶¹ Independence is particularly important and groups were formed deliberately to make the prospect of an individual encounter possible; Theodore Roosevelt was especially proud of two of his lions as ‘as we had performed the feat alone.’⁶² Increasingly the hunter was viewed as the ideal empire builder, both for his qualities and as a harbinger of civilization.⁶³ Due to the ‘pervasive value’ of sport hunting in imperial society, success as a hunter meant professional and personal advancement – the bush was an extension of both the office and the parade ground.⁶⁴ Hunting exploits also acted as a demonstration of national superiority. Occasionally a hunter would brag of his ‘Englishness’ at the expense of other Europeans: native chants about C.J. Melliss (after his successful killing of a lion) complimented him at the expense of French and Italian hunters.⁶⁵ More common was the criticism of the Boer hunters who were portrayed as afraid of hunting lions purely for sport (as opposed to protecting their livestock) in direct contrast to the ‘staunch Englishmen.’⁶⁶

But this demonstration of power and prestige went beyond the individual and national level. A dominant theme that runs through this entire genre and its literary cousins in India and North America is mastery over the dominated landscape and its inhabitants. Sir Alfred Pease (the ‘historian’ of the lion) defined good sport as ‘fair competition with man or beast for the mastery.’⁶⁷ But more than this, the hunters were struggling to control the humans in that world. This is an argument that was first identified by MacKenzie: ‘hunting offered the elite...a symbolic dominance of the environment, a means of asserting boundaries of

⁵⁹ Roualeyn G. Cumming, *Five Years of Adventures in the Far Interior of South Africa* (London, 1856), i, 120.

⁶⁰ Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 259; Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, 89; Andersson, *The Lion*, 156.

⁶¹ Kirby, *Haunts of Wild Game*, 393.

⁶² Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, 74.

⁶³ Ritvo, ‘Destroyers & Preservers’ 35.

⁶⁴ Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 270-1; Steinhart, ‘The Imperial Hunt in Colonial Kenya’, 162.

⁶⁵ Melliss, *Lion-Hunting in Somaliland*, 33.

⁶⁶ Andersson, *The Lion*, 118; Randolph Churchill, *Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa* (London, 1897), 161-2; John J. Bisset, *Sport and War; Or, Recollections of Fighting and Hunting in South Africa* (London, 1875), 219.

⁶⁷ Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 70.

territory, action and behaviour.’⁶⁸ The hunt first became a medieval symbol of elite dominance after the emergence of a food surplus in the 10th century.⁶⁹ The lion hunt and its literary appearance in the hunting narratives was an exercise that both demonstrated and extended imperial power. Many of the longer lion hunts that are described are introduced by the image of natives ‘begging’ for protection from a man-eating lion.⁷⁰ William K. Storey argues that the ‘[u]nderlying structure of the lion hunt was to symbolize the triumph of culture over nature and the colonist over the colonized’ at that during the period 1905-11, hunting expeditions became extremely popular as ‘pageants of colonial power.’⁷¹ The ‘dangerous lion’ results in the ironic and unconscious portrayal of the natives as less comfortable in their environment than the hunters; they are denied agency and treated as passive and childlike.⁷² This is, of course, misleading; not only did natives pre-exist the hunters but they were also only made dependent by various gun laws that prevented them from killing the lions themselves. However, in the narratives, the hunter is the protector and gallant defender of the natives by virtue of his superiority in terms of skill, knowledge, courage and firepower.⁷³

The protective hunting of the lion was a tradition for societies even as early as the Mycenae and the Assyrians.⁷⁴ Pre-colonial African societies also recognized that tradition; the importance of lion-killing in the Masai progression from boy to manhood is well-known but other groups valued the lion highly too. The Kimbu people (of central Tanzania), for instance, saw the lion as royal game ‘to be killed as part of the chief’s prerogative of protection.’⁷⁵ The proliferation of self-conscious protective hunting was accompanied by the denial and marginalisation of African hunting, the imagination of a preferred mythical and vulnerable African peasant and the progressive legislation against African native hunting.⁷⁶ The assumption by hunters (and imperialism) of this protective role emasculated native

⁶⁸ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 80.

⁶⁹ Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 61.

⁷⁰ William H. Drummond, *The Large Game and Natural History of South Africa and South-East Africa, from the journals of the Hon W.H. Drummond* (Edinburgh, 1875), 255-66; Frederick C. Selous, *Travel and Adventure in South-East Africa; Being the Narrative of the Last Eleven Years Spent by the Author on the Zambesi and its Tributaries; With an Account of the Colonisation of Mashunaland and the Progress of the Gold Industry in that Country* (London, 1893), 141.

⁷¹ William K. Storey, ‘Big Cats and Imperialism: Lion and Tiger Hunting in Kenya and Northern India, 1898-1930,’ *Journal of World History*, 2/2 (Aug., 1991), 149, 165.

⁷² Vigdis Broch-Due & Richard A. Schroeder, *Producing Nature and Poverty in Africa* (Stockholm, 2000), 25.

⁷³ Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 259.

⁷⁴ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 17.

⁷⁵ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 77.

⁷⁶ Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 207.

societies and cultures and underlined their inferiority. The hunts are not described as an enjoyable pastime or holiday but as a series of obstacles that are gradually overcome by the mastery of the hunter and thus emphasize his superiority. An encounter with a lion is a perfect example of such an obstacle and the ability to hunt and kill lions and the corresponding assumption that the natives lacked that ability helped the hunters to identify themselves as paternal benefactors of the natives and simultaneously deepened the dependence of the natives on them. Ritvo says that '[t]rophies sometimes functioned as synecdochic proof that the hunter had vanquished a given adversary.' I would go further and argue that representing and hunting the 'dangerous lion' was both a powerful visible symbol of imperial power and a potent instrument for the exercise of cultural mastery.

Chapter Two: the ‘Evil Lion’⁷⁷



The ‘dangerous lion’ was relatively easy to represent but the ‘evil lion’ required more imagination and opened a much wider gap between the flesh-and-blood lion and its literary counterpart. The ‘evil lion’ was not merely dangerous but an immoral and depraved murderer. Where the ‘dangerous lion’ came to symbolize wilderness and wildness for some authors and provided them with opportunities which excited them, the ‘evil lion’ symbolized a blot on the landscape which provoked huge discrimination and mistreatment from an imperial movement that hoped for its complete eradication. This representation was at its most popular and, briefly, the most important of the three in the middle of the period, around the early 1870s and had a second peak towards the end of the period for reasons that will be

⁷⁷ The ‘evil lion’ depicted here is shown while mauling Dr. Livingstone who is about to be saved by the white hunter. Note the savagery of the lion and the terrified backwardness of the natives.

discussed later in this chapter. A basic way in which this representation was constructed was in the lion's treatment of other wild animals. In a number of these narratives the lion is described as a 'terrible' antagonist to other animals while the hunter's (ecologically similar) role is ignored: 'in these wilds the game dreaded the lion and the other flesh-eating beasts rather than man.'⁷⁸ Worse than the treatment of other wild animals, however, was its treatment of its own kind; the 'evil lion' was a cannibal, alleged to eat other cats, lions and even its own mate.⁷⁹ The lion's traditional nobility of character and association with monarchy was well-known but caused no problems and made the behavior of the 'evil lion' even more abhorrent; 'a king, however, who preys on his own subjects.'⁸⁰ The lion, allegedly, ruled the native human inhabitants of the regions he controlled in a similar way. The superstitions of the natives regarding the lion are detailed by a number of authors and one author even estimates that 'not hundreds but thousands of natives are annually killed by these monsters.'⁸¹ Stevenson-Hamilton sees the lion as a 'terrible meat-eating cat, whose name in whatever dialect spoken is uttered with bated breath by the dusky inhabitants of the country wherein he dwell, and whose lonely voice, echoing at night from the depths of the lonely forest, instantly stills the chatter round every camp fire.'⁸² The narratives thrust the 'evil lion' – the same animal that had given its head to the Chimera and its body to the Manticore and Sphinx in the classic human-animal hybrids – into a Manichaean struggle between the 'good' forces of imperialism and the dark primevality of Africa.⁸³ Roosevelt summed up the terror caused by the lion and the execution that it richly merited by his own saintly hand succinctly: 'his life had been one unbroken career of rapine and violence; and now the maned master of the wilderness, the terror that stalked by night, the grim lord of slaughter, was to meet his doom.'⁸⁴

The alleged noble appearance of the lion did not damage the representation of the 'evil lion;' in the discourses of both early natural history and Christian theology 'the unseen "spiritual"

⁷⁸ Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, 197.

⁷⁹ Andersson, *The Lion*, 23; James Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life in Africa* (London, 1917), vol. I, 26, 28.

⁸⁰ The connection between the lion and the British monarchy is long-standing. The three Plantagenet lions of the arms of England were first adopted under Richard the Lionheart (1157-99), personal communication from Deirdre Jackson, 12 January 2010; Burchell, *Travels in the Interior* 289.

⁸¹ Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years in a Waggon*, 70, 75; Andersson, *The Lion*, 161; Sutherland, *Adventures of An Elephant-Hunter*, 69; Chauncey H. Stigand, *Hunting the Elephant in Africa and Other Recollections of Thirteen Years' Wanderings* (New York, 1913), 127.

⁸² Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life*, vol. I, 10.

⁸³ Laurence Simmons, 'Shame Levinas's Dog, Derrida's Cat (and Some Fish)', in Laurence Simmons and Philip Armstrong (eds), *Knowing Animals* (Leiden, Netherlands, 2007), 21,22.

⁸⁴ Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, 349.

reality counts as more real than the merely material.’⁸⁵ The character of the lion was denigrated by some of the authors in a way that is strikingly similar to the construction of the *bête noir* identity of the wolf in North America from 1870-1930. A noteworthy historical phenomenon is the ‘othering’ of human groups by association with animals to pave the way for their mistreatment. For the ‘evil lion,’ the process was reversed and it was ascribed pejorative human qualities and associated with hated humans. In the vanguard of this anthropomorphic attack (as with the attack on the wolf) was the allegation of cowardice.⁸⁶ The basis for this association was the fact that the ‘evil lion’ ‘rarely goes out of its way to attack people, and will in point of fact shun a conflict.’⁸⁷ Similarly, it was ‘treacherous’ and often described as ‘slinking.’⁸⁸ This part of the representation has its roots in the lion’s biological status; the lion is an ambush predator and is forced to use cover and stealth to enable it to make its final charge from within thirty metres.⁸⁹ The ‘evil lion’ was vindictive and deliberately sought vengeance for mates that had been killed – man-eaters would kill every human they came across even when not hungry.⁹⁰ This wantonness was not only perceived in man-eaters but also in the lion depredations on both domestic and wild animals.⁹¹ The lion was also criticized for not always killing his own food and occasionally scavenging for carrion (ironically simultaneously standing accused of killing too much and too little).⁹² Notorious and difficult to find ‘bandit’ wolves played an important part in the construction of the ‘evil wolf’ and again this process is similar for the lion.⁹³ Man-eaters are given a more ‘evil status’ by being known locally by the natives and the most notorious are well-known by the imperialists: for instance, the man-eaters of Tsavo (discussed below) or the ‘dread man-eater of the Majili’ (finally killed by Henry Wall and Black Jantjie).⁹⁴ The authors that represented the ‘evil lion’ consciously contradicted the more traditional treatment of lions. They argued that other wild animals possessed the traditional qualities of the lion in far greater quantities; the leopard was more dangerous when wounded, the elephant was

⁸⁵ Jennifer Mason, *Civilised Creatures: Urban Animals, Sentimental Culture, and American Literature, 1850-1900* (Baltimore, 2005), 10.

⁸⁶ Coates, ‘Unusually Cunning, Vicious and Treacherous’, 167; Winston Churchill, *My African Journey* (Toronto, 1909), 27, 44; Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years in a Waggon*, 15; Drummond, *The Large Game*, 263.

⁸⁷ Drummond, *The Large Game*, 239.

⁸⁸ Drummond, *The Large Game*, 254; Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years in a Waggon*, 328.

⁸⁹ George B. Schaller, *The Serengeti Lion: A Study of Predator-Prey Relations* (Chicago, 1972), 237, 247-8.

⁹⁰ Drummond, *The Large Game*, 232, 251, 253; Kirby, *Sport in East Central Africa*, 87.

⁹¹ Chauncey H. Stigand and Denis D. Lyell, *Central Africa Game and its Spoor* (London, 1906), 17; William C. Oswell, ‘Second Expedition to South Africa, 1844-49’, in Clive Phillipps-Wolley (ed), *Big Game Shooting* (London, 1894), vol. I, 127.

⁹² Bourke, *Sport in Abyssinia*, 90; Cumming, *Five Years of Adventures*, 116; Andersson, *The Lion*, 32.

⁹³ Coates, ‘“Unusually Cunning, Vicious and Treacherous”’, 176; Emel, ‘Are You Man Enough?’, 719.

⁹⁴ Kirby, *Haunts of Wild Game*, 427, 429; Stigand, *Hunting the Elephant*, 133; Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, 56-9.

wiser and bigger, the buffalo was pluckier, the rhinoceros was more dangerous.⁹⁵ In some cases, the 'evil lion' takes a paradoxical position – he is so weakened by the discrimination against him that he seems incapable of causing any harm to man or beast. Authors actually noted the gap between the imagined and actual lions and argued that only preconceived notions made the lion scary at all; the actual lion and the actual animal had 'nothing of the majestic' and was 'anything but plucky or savage.'⁹⁶ The 'evil lion' was not only less formidable than the tiger but did not even deserve its title as 'king of the beasts.'⁹⁷

The successful hunt of the 'dangerous lion' was one thing but the killing of the 'evil lion' was another and invested the imperial mission with a moral dimension that goes beyond a demonstration of superiority. It did not seek just to protect the natives from danger but had a far more wide-reaching and radical aim to engineer a more 'civilised' Africa. Imperialism (represented by a number of the hunters) thus liberated those who have previously been held in thrall to the 'evil lion' and replaced it with a benevolent leader. The antagonistic relationship between imperialism and the 'evil lion' was strongly symbolized by its association with that bulwark of Victorian imperialism, the railway. Alarming stories of lions stalking platforms or even entering train compartments through open windows were increasingly common and represented a direct attack on the imperial enterprise.⁹⁸ In the narratives, the connection of the 'evil lion' and imperialism reached its peak in 1908 with the publication of J.H. Patterson's, *Man-Eaters of Tsavo* about events that had threatened the building of the Uganda railway ten years earlier. The narrative of the hunt takes the same literary form as, and shares similar details with, most of the other descriptions of individual hunts but it is much longer and more gruesome in detail – it is the perfect propaganda against the lion. One contemporary article stated that '[i]f the whole body of lion anecdote, from the days of the Assyrian kings to the last year of the nineteenth century, were collated and brought together, it would not equal in tragedy or in atrocity, in savageness or in sheer insolent contempt for man, armed or unarmed, white or black, the story of these two beasts.'⁹⁹ In the narrative (in which two lions are alleged to have killed over 100 workers) the

⁹⁵ David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa: Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa* (New York, 1858), 150; Frederick Jackson, 'Hints on East African Stalking, Driving etc. in Phillipps-Wolley (ed), *Big Game Shooting*, 216, 236; Anderson, *Twenty-Five Years in a Waggon*, 191; Drummond, *The Large Game*, 277.

⁹⁶ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 151; Jackson, 'Hints on East African Stalking', 237, 243.

⁹⁷ Oswell, 'Second Expedition to South Africa', 94.

⁹⁸ Chapman, *On Safari*, 238-41; Eliot, *East Africa Protectorate*, 269; Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making*, 196.

⁹⁹ Extract from a review in the *Spectator*, J.H. Patterson, *The Man-Eating Lions of Tsavo and Other East African Adventures* (London, 1908), 105.

lions are cast not merely as horrible and man-eating but as cunning; they miraculously avoid the traps left by Patterson and always seem to attack a different camp to the one that he is protecting. The lions eventually cause a halt to the building of the railways (and the implied halt of the entire imperial project) which is only saved when the heroic Patterson finally gets his quarry. This narrative acted as a microcosm of empire itself and showed that the nature of imperialism is everything that the 'evil lion' was not. The representation of the 'evil lion' became much more frequent in hunting narratives following these events (as evidenced by the peak in the graph) which shows that the representation of the 'evil lion' did correlate, in some respects, to the record of its transgressions.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, a truly 'environmental' reading of the events shows that humans were significantly, if accidentally, responsible. The lions had been prevented from feeding on their normal game by a combination of rinderpest and the proliferation of dense thorny undergrowth (occasioned by the decimation of elephant populations by the ivory trade) which decreased populations further and because of this turned to alternative forms of food.¹⁰¹

It is worth noting that the 'evil lion' corresponds strongly to a religious influence. Patterson uses this language in his narratives but elsewhere the association is also striking: 'infernal,' 'demons,' 'devils,' 'diabolical', 'sinister.' Where the language is not explicitly religious, it is often at least spiritual and mystically terrifying: 'dread', 'phantom', 'ghost.' Jules Gérard described his 'joy in thinking that this all-powerful Seigneur, the terror of the country, might bite the dust under the ball of a Christian dog.'¹⁰² Two of the hunting narratives were written by missionaries (Dr. David Livingstone of the London Missionary Society and François Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society) and both represent the 'evil lion.' Coillard dislikes the existence of any animal that might prey on another ('[b]easts and birds of prey, lions, leopards, hyaenas, crocodiles, etc., are, unfortunately, still as common as ever) and Livingstone criticizes the character of the lion: '[n]othing that I ever learned of the lion would lead me to attribute to it either the ferocious or noble character ascribed to it

¹⁰⁰ These events were not solely retold in Patterson's book. The narrative was, for example, published in a series of articles by *The Field* magazine soon after the event. See F.C. Selous's foreword which refers to reading these articles, Patterson, *The Man-Eating Lions of Tsavo*, 3-4.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Gnoske and Julian K. Peterhans, 'Field Museum Uncovers Evidence Behind Man-Eating; Revises Legend of its Infamous Man-Eating Lions', *Journal of East African Natural History* (2003). Rinderpest is an infective viral disease that affects cattle and some species of wildlife. An epidemic outbreak in the 1890s killed between eighty and ninety percent of all cattle in southern Africa.

¹⁰² Jules Gérard, *The Adventures of Gérard, the Lion-Hunter, Comprising a History of his Ten Years' Campaign among the Wild Animals of Northern Africa* (New York, 1856), 200.

elsewhere.¹⁰³ The association of Christianity with animal exploitation and abuse has been noted elsewhere and, from the evidence in the narratives, this association is accurate.¹⁰⁴ This association is historically long-standing; in the late Roman Empire hunting became an allegory of Christian virtue and this remained an active narrative for the hunters of the ‘evil lion.’¹⁰⁵ The image of St. George and the Dragon was hugely popular amongst hunters and explicitly mentioned by a number of the authors:

By analogy, big-game hunting represented the striving and victory of civilized man over the darker primeval and untamed forces still at work in the world. The lion was the second icon [after the dragon] in that struggle. It lies at the centre of hunting books, the most fearsome foe, a dragon substitute, a source of awe and fascination to most African hunters.¹⁰⁶

For those who looked at wild animals through the filter of the Garden of Eden (where all animals had been vegetarian and co-existed peaceably with humans), ‘the degree to which an animal was wild, fierce or implacable to human desires indicated the degree to which that animal had degenerated from an original and ideal state.’¹⁰⁷ The lion, ‘whose intelligence has a very sinister bent,’ seemingly refused to submit to the divinely-ordained dominance of humans and became a hated species.¹⁰⁸

This representation has a lot to answer for, according to Jody Emel. She argued that, in the case of the North American wolf, abuse of animals and the domination of nature are phenomena that are congruent with class hierarchy, sexism and racism ‘[a]nd it is this human capacity to distance, background, deny, stereotype, and denounce the other that has led to the great atrocities of history.’¹⁰⁹ This connection is more explicit for the bison in North America and illustrated by Colonel Richard Irving Dodge’s comment in 1873 that ‘[e]very bison dead is an Indian gone.’¹¹⁰ Hunters in Africa certainly reinforced notions of hierarchy – in fact the formal safari, despite the crucial importance of black natives to the safari, consciously and deliberately adopted a form in which the black-white divide was obvious and emphasized the class subordination of the black helpers; ‘the real role of the [Professional White Hunter] was

¹⁰³ François Coillard, *On the Threshold of Central Africa; a Record of Twenty Years’ Pioneering among the Barotsi of the Upper Zambesi* (London, 1897), 638; Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 153.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas R. Dunlap, *Saving America’s Wildlife: Ecology and the American Mind, 1850- 1988* (Princeton, 1988), x.

¹⁰⁵ J.K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley, 1985), 130.

¹⁰⁶ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 47.

¹⁰⁷ Mason, *Civilised Creatures*, 8.

¹⁰⁸ Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, 340; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 25.

¹⁰⁹ Emel, ‘Are You Man Enough?’, 707-8.

¹¹⁰ Mary J. Henninger Voss, ‘Introduction’ in Henninger-Voss (ed), *Animals in Human Histories*, xiv.

in creating and maintaining the image of white racial and class superiority.’¹¹¹ While it is extremely difficult for an historian to prove that the representation of the ‘evil lion’ directly caused the excesses and jingoism of imperialism, it would be naïve to disagree with the statement that ‘[t]he treatment of animals is often a road to a story about the treatment of people within a society’ and to assume that this representation was irrelevant to the subjugation of African natives. In his study of attitudes to the jackal in South Africa, 1889-1910, Lance von Sittert demonstrated that ‘vermin extermination was a more brutal apprenticeship in the realities of colonial settlement with its attendant fantasies of conquest and genocide.’¹¹² The hunting of lions in the narratives is significantly more bloodthirsty than for any other species and implicitly presumed to be justified; Roosevelt advocated shooting every lion encountered on principle and regrets that his son, having killed a lioness, did not shoot its cubs. He shows the same attitude to other ‘primeval’ features of the Africa; for instance, native religions ‘grow into malign creeds of unspeakable cruelty and immorality, with a bestial and revolting ritual and ceremonial.’¹¹³

The association of hunting and military activity is long-understood and is discussed in detail in the narratives: hunting was a form of leisure for military officers, it occurred in the same male-dominated environment and required the same degree of preparation, organization and obedience.¹¹⁴ Many of the authors saw hunting as an ideal training for a nation’s youth on this basis; it encouraged manliness, ability to endure discomfort, field skills, rifle skills and physicality. It is also possible that hunting helped harden the hearts of the hunters; despite Roosevelt’s high-flown claim that he ‘hate[s] to let any wounded thing suffer’, he approved of his son taking pictures of a fatally wounded lioness before administering the *coup de grâce*.¹¹⁵ Although the authors seem to have a patronising affection for their servants and a professional regard for the field skills of their trackers, their essentialist view of the generic African native is more derogatory. In some of the accounts, hunting and accounts of military expeditions against native Africans sit uncomfortably closely. In his, significantly titled, chapter ‘Stalking the African,’ Stigand warns the reader that ‘[t]he Native is so innocuous

¹¹¹ Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 133, 210-11.

¹¹² Lance von Sittert, “Keeping the Enemy at Bay,” 352.

¹¹³ Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, 280, 368.

¹¹⁴ Nayar, *English Writing and India*, 137-9.

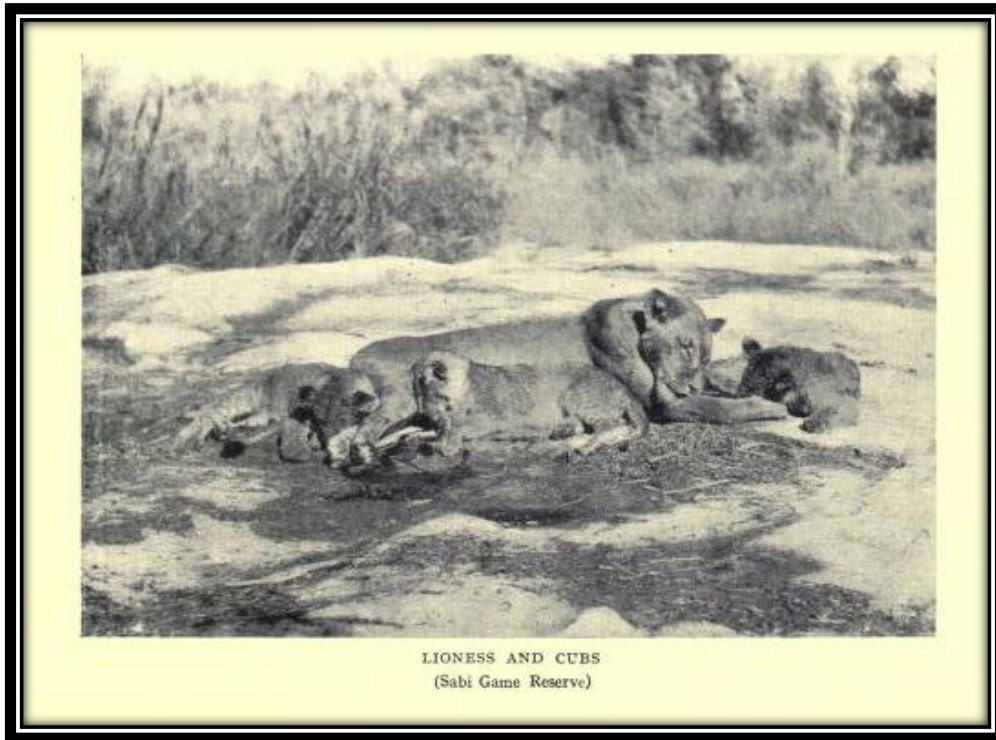
¹¹⁵ Roosevelt, *African Game Trails*, 25, 187.

and appears so brainless that one is apt to grow careless with him.¹¹⁶ Even more distasteful to today's reader will be Robert S.S. Baden-Powell's statement (in his narrative of a punitive expedition) that '[t]he longest march seems short when one is hunting game ... lion or leopard, boar or buck, nigger or nothing.'¹¹⁷ The representation of the 'evil lion' was not a cause of these racist and patronizing attitudes but the two did march hand-in-hand into Africa together.

¹¹⁶ Stigand, *Hunting the Elephant*, 315. See also, Adams and McShane, *Myth of Wild Africa*, 28; Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 76; Steinhart, 'The Imperial Hunt in Colonial Kenya', 159, MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 134.

¹¹⁷ Robert S.S. Baden-Powell, *The Matabeleland Campaign: Being a Narrative of the Campaign in Suppressing the Native Rising in Matabeleland and Mashonaland, 1896* (London, 1901), 417.

Chapter Three: the ‘Admirable Lion’,¹¹⁸



Although none of these representations was ever hegemonic, the ‘admirable lion’ became dominant by the end of the period. Arguably, it is the representation that most accurately parallels the view of the lion in British society today. The argument that historians who have criticized hunting continue to find unpalatable is that hunters had an enduring regard (and in some cases love) for their quarry. They prefer to view hunting as an antagonistic relationship between nature and culture.¹¹⁹ While this is perhaps appropriate to the hunting of the ‘evil lion’ (and maybe the ‘dangerous lion’), the authors that represented the ‘admirable lion’ were actually genuine nature lovers and, by the end of the period, were making specific calls for the protection of lions. The construction of the ‘admirable lion’ begins with its impressive size, strength and appearance. Discussions of the strength of the lion’s blow from his paw, or the length of his bound or the power of his jaws are commonplace and often the lion was

¹¹⁸ Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life*, 41. This photograph shows the calm and peaceful ‘admirable lion’ (or in this case lioness) with familial values. Significantly this lioness was only ‘shot’ by camera and not rifle. This has a completely different emphasis to the photograph that preceded chapter one.

¹¹⁹ Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 288; Matt Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature through History* (Boston, 1993), 238.

compared favourably, in terms of size and strength, to the tiger.¹²⁰ He is equally admired for his capacity to take punishment and his tenacity of life.¹²¹ The traditional description of the lion as king of the beasts is well-known and this is the usual introduction of the ‘admirable lion;’ if it wasn’t the ‘king of the beasts’ it was ‘lord or lady of the manor’ or ‘monarch of the forest.’¹²² His mastery of his environment is further underlined by a celebration of his other qualities. He is ‘exquisitely formed’ and kills his prey ‘artistically’ and is ‘wonderfully dexterous’ in feeding.¹²³ Even stealth (a negative component of the identity of the ‘evil lion’) is admirable; he is described, on occasion, as a ‘phantom’ and Agnes Herbert refers to that ‘marvelous manner of disappearing which lions know the secret of.’¹²⁴ The roar of the ‘admirable’ was more than part of the soundtrack; it was a form of ‘magnificent music’ that causes the air to ‘reverberate’ and ‘vibrate’ and roll ‘like a breaker along the earth’ and had a useful role in hunting.¹²⁵ The intelligence of the lion was increasingly noted towards the end of this period; predators and cats were generally seen as the most intelligent and the hunting and communication between lions showed a ‘remarkable capacity for combination’ and a ‘high standard of intelligence.’¹²⁶ None of the narratives reference Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution, but many of the ways in which they admired the lion were Darwinian in nature.

This representation, to some extent, contradicts the ‘dangerous lion;’ the ‘admirable lion’ did not present a true threat to herbivore numbers. By 1908, the claim was being made that lions were incapable of disturbing the ‘balance of nature’ and Stigand even speculated, from the seeming ability of game to distinguish a lion that is hunting from one that is not hungry, that ‘the lion is a chivalrous gentleman and never hunts without first giving warning.’¹²⁷ Similarly, the ‘admirable lion’ presents no real threat to humans until hunted by them until he

¹²⁰ Andersson, *The Lion*, 17-19; Samuel W. Baker, *Wild Beasts and their Ways, Reminiscences of Europe, Asia, Africa and America* (London, 1890), 308-15; Melliss, *Lion-Hunting in Somaliland*, 54; Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 22; Herbert, *Two Dianas*, 60.

¹²¹ Andersson, *The Lion*, 218; Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 42-3, 107.

¹²² Kirby, *Sport in East Central Africa*, 125; Baines, *Shifts and Expedients*, 643; Andersson, *The Lion*, 35; Chapman, *On Safari*, 40; Cumming, *Five Years of Adventures*, v, 120; Melliss, *Lion-Hunting in Somaliland*, 7; Thomas Pringle, *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa* (London, 1835), 38, 131; Oswell, *William Cotton Oswell*, 125; Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life*, vol. I, 95.

¹²³ Frederick C. Selous, ‘The Lion in South Africa’, in Wolley (ed), *Big Game Shooting*, vol. I, 321-2, 325; Cumming, *Five Years of Adventures*, 116..

¹²⁴ Selous, ‘The Lion in South Africa’, vol. I, 340; Charles V.A. Peel, *Somaliland: Being an Account of Two Expeditions Into the Far Interior, Together With a Complete List of Every Animal and Bird Known to Inhabit that Country, and a List of the Reptiles Collected by the Author* (London, 1900), 35; Herbert, *Two Dianas*, 74.

¹²⁵ Selous, ‘The Lion in South Africa’, vol. I, 314, 331; Chapman, *On Safari*, 41; Agnes Herbert, *Two Dianas*, 58; Lyell, *Wild Life*, 196; Pringle, *Narrative of a Residence*, 39; Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 275.

¹²⁶ Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 33; Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 89; Stigand and Lyell, *Central Africa Game*, 128; Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, 64; Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life*, vol. I, 6-7

¹²⁷ Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, 89; Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 97.

is hunted (and aggression was valued by hunters).¹²⁸ Man-eating is supposedly much less common than for tigers and only occurs when the lion becomes too aged and pitiful to hunt animals.¹²⁹ Lord Cranworth (a very influential pioneer and farmer in British East Africa) asserted that there had been only 12 authentic cases of man-eating in the Protectorate.¹³⁰ Two authors even point out that some natives saw the lion as a benefactor for the meat he provided them with; the same has been noted in relation to the tiger and the native inhabitants of India.¹³¹ The ‘admirable lion’ is generally defended from charges of being vindictive and wanton and is presented as magnanimous.¹³² By representing the ‘admirable lion’ the authors are aware that they are in disagreement with earlier sources and contemporary opinion. It is possible to infer from the sources that the lion was generally widely criticized; Winston Churchill wrote that the lion is ‘often described in terms of contempt.’¹³³ The particularly famed hunter, Frederick C. Selous bemoaned the ‘fashion to depreciate the courage of the lion, the power of his voice and everything else concerning him’ and F. Vaughn Kirby asserted the ubiquity of ‘ignorant, depreciative remarks till first Mr. Selous, and then the present writer, took up the cudgels on his behalf.’¹³⁴ The proponents of the ‘admirable lion’ actively seek to answer this character defamation.

The charge that was most strenuously defended on behalf of the ‘admirable lion’ was that of cowardice. Generally the authors who construct this representation criticized authors who wrote about the lion with only a limited experience.¹³⁵ Those with real experience (assert a number of authors) know that when encountered in the ‘right’ situation (with cubs, when hungry, at night, when wounded), the lion ‘frequently exhibits a degree of courage and audacity that almost exceeds belief’ and that ‘[no] man has a right to say that lions are cowardly beasts.’¹³⁶ The construction involved the usual comparison with the tiger – the

¹²⁸ Baker, *Wild Beasts*, 332; Lyell, *Wild Life*, 49; Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life*, vol. I, 22.

¹²⁹ Selous, ‘The Lion in South Africa’, vol. I, 320, Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, 60.

¹³⁰ Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making*, 316-7.

¹³¹ William C. Baldwin, *African Hunting: from Natal to the Zambesi including Lake Ngami, the Kalahari Desert, etc. from 1852 to 1860* (New York, 1863), 79-80; Andersson, *The Lion*, 230; Susie Green, *Tiger* (London, 2006), 82-3.

¹³² Akeley, *In Brightest Africa*, 60-1; Gérard, *The Adventures of Gérard*, 22; Andersson, *The Lion*, 230; Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 270; Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 22, 23.

¹³³ W. Churchill, *My African Journey*, 24.

¹³⁴ Selous, *Travel and Adventure*, 155; Kirby, *Sport in East Central Africa*, 11.

¹³⁵ Baker, *Wild Beasts*, 335; Andersson, *The Lion*, 226.

¹³⁶ Andersson, *The Lion*, 51; Selous, *Travel and Adventure*, 276; Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 270; Selous, ‘The Lion in South Africa’, vol. I, 318-19, 332; Stigand, *Hunting the Elephant*, 128; Akeley, *In Brightest Africa*, 62-3.

‘admirable lion’ came out on top as it ‘courts no concealment, shirks no encounter, and scorns to run.’¹³⁷ In fact many lions, once their fate seems sealed, are described as facing their hunters with ‘no sort of cowardice in him’ and ultimately dying ‘covered in wounds and glory.’¹³⁸ A particularly emotive passage describes the following scene:

The scene was terrific! There stood the lion with his foot upon his prostrate foe, looking round in conscious power and pride upon the bands of his assailants, – and with a port the most noble and imposing that can be conceived. It was the most magnificent thing I ever witnessed.¹³⁹

The bravery and nobility of character (e.g. calmness, dignity, impressiveness, and disdain for danger) thus demonstrated were extremely admirable qualities for the hunters and there is a very real sense in which the hunters looked to emulate their quarry and as such the ‘admirable lion’ is a useful reflection of the way that hunters saw themselves.¹⁴⁰ Cumming described a lion as ‘free and undaunted’ and with ‘dignified self-possession;’ it would be hard to contend that he saw himself differently.¹⁴¹ Very occasionally this is replicated on a national level: ‘I shall always admire the calm dignity of appearance, the massive strength, the *noli me tangere* decision, that represent the character of the nation which has selected this noble animal for its emblem.’¹⁴²

Anthropomorphism also contributed to the construction of the ‘admirable lion.’ Unlike the association of the ‘evil lion’ with criminal human elements, the ‘admirable lion’ is associated with more admired and sympathetic figures. An important first step was for the hunters to recognize that different lions behave in a different way and that they should be seen as individuals.¹⁴³ Partly this was grounded in ecological fact; lions have complex methods of defending their pride and each has a different role within the pride which explains why lions may act in different ways if discovered in similar situations.¹⁴⁴ Lions are also unusually

¹³⁷ Frederick Lugard quoted in Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 35, 37.

¹³⁸ Herbert, *Two Dianas*, 76; Andersson, *The Lion*, 124.

¹³⁹ Pringle, *Narrative of a Residence*, 135.

¹⁴⁰ Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life*, vol. I, 20; Herbert, *Two Dianas*, 237; Gérard, *The Adventures of Gérard*, 17, 18; Melliss, *Lion-Hunting in Somaliland*, 120; Baker, *Wild Beasts*, 307-8; Baden-Powell, *The Matabeleland Campaign*, 336; Cumming, *Five Years of Adventures*, 115-6;

¹⁴¹ Cumming, *Five Years of Adventures*, 116.

¹⁴² Baker, *Wild Beasts*, 339.

¹⁴³ Selous, ‘The Lion in South Africa’, vol. I, 315

¹⁴⁴ Heinshon, R., & C. Parker, ‘Complex Cooperative Strategies in Group-Territorial African Lions’, *Science*, 269 (1995), 1260-2.

social, for felines, and this too is reflected; the ‘admirable lion’ is gregarious and affected by such emotions as ‘love and jealousy’ and not only live and hunt with others ‘in a happy state of friendship’ but are monogamous and faithful – although the female is the more fickle of the two.¹⁴⁵ Lions could be ‘enterprising’ or ‘irascible’ but more revealingly they were credited with a sense of humour.¹⁴⁶ One lion that was hard to find was assumed to be ‘having a game of hide-and-seek’ and another was ‘probably laughing to herself at our discomfiture.’¹⁴⁷ Stigand even suggests that the ‘admirable lion’ can be bashful or feel uncomfortable when he relates a story about two lions near a herd of kongoni:

I think I have never seen anything funnier than two belated lions I met ...with their stomachs dragging on the ground ... I never saw anything look so sheepish and ashamed as those two lion. Both were much too full to be comfortable, and were subject to the stare of a whole inquisitive herd in broad daylight. They looked intensely deprecating and self-conscious, as if they wished to say, “It wasn’t us at all that killed one of you last night; we are just taking a walk and wouldn’t do any harm to anyone. I wish you wouldn’t stare so, it makes us feel uncomfortable.”¹⁴⁸

The most surprising anthropomorphism of the ‘admirable lion’ (particularly from a hunter’s perspective), however, is that it can ‘very real sorrow at the death of a comrade’ and often whine or paw at the dead body.¹⁴⁹ This leads to genuine pity and sorrow on the part of some of the hunters; Stigand, for example wrote ‘I have felt very brutal after shooting a lion when I have seen the anxious way in which the others came back to look at it and touched it with their paws to induce it to go away.’¹⁵⁰

Despite this pity however, the hunting of the lion continued; it may not have been absolutely the best sport in the world but the lion was certainly the most sporting animal.¹⁵¹ The lion was not hunted because it was admired but it was admired because of the opportunities that its death afforded the sport hunter. Chapter One demonstrated how the lion helped construct the perfect background for the hunt and the centrality of the danger to the lion hunt but, as Cranworth pointed out, danger was not the only important factor for good sport.¹⁵² The ‘admirable lion’ possessed the ideal qualities to satisfy contemporary notions of good sport.

¹⁴⁵ Selous, *African Nature Notes and Reminiscences*, 76-7; Cumming, *Five Years of Adventures*, 116; Andersson, *The Lion*, 41; Baker, *Wild Beasts*, 326; Gérard, *The Adventures of Gérard*, 14-15.

¹⁴⁶ Selous, *Travel and Adventure*, 31, 148, 444.

¹⁴⁷ Peel, *Somaliland*, 195; Kirby, *Haunts of Wild Game*, 432.

¹⁴⁸ Stigand, *Hunting the Elephant*, 140.

¹⁴⁹ Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 99; Stigand, *Hunting the Elephant*, 135.

¹⁵⁰ Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 100.

¹⁵¹ Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 69.

¹⁵² Cranworth, *A Colony in the Making*, 239.

‘The lion’s mien, his eye, his voice proclaim him a royal antagonist; his teeth, his claws, his mighty arms, his strength, his size all vouch for his being a formidable one.’¹⁵³ Not just dangerous, the lion was also ‘the most difficult to encounter.’¹⁵⁴ The differing appearances of lions also offered the hunter the opportunity to demonstrate his connoisseurship of the African bush. Almost every lion in the narratives is summed up according to how fine a trophy it would make. The trophy that was provided at the end of a hunt provided a permanent, tangible testament to the hunter’s prowess and the better the trophy, the better the hunter was assumed to be. Size and gender – the lion showed the most obvious sexual dimorphism on any quarry – were important considerations but the mane offered a unique standard; a lion ‘skin is the trophy most coveted by sportsmen ... [o]ccasionally, however, one sees a wild lion with a fine full dark mane, and then he is a magnificent animal, and one of the noblest prizes that can fall to the sportsman’s rifle.’¹⁵⁵ Curiously, female lions seem to value the same qualities in a mate.¹⁵⁶ The prospect of a charge from a lion was vital and the ‘admirable lion’ was brave enough to make this likely; the fight put up by the ‘admirable lion’ was fundamentally different to picking a jackal or wild dog (which was more target practice); engaging with an active adversary helped construct and confirm the identity of the hunter. From a sporting perspective, the lion was very nearly the perfect quarry: it was sufficiently dangerous to kill a proportion of its prospective hunters and make a successful hunt noteworthy, it was sufficiently aggressive to make the prospect of a charge and an exciting experience likely. Most importantly it was hard enough to kill that a dead lion acted as proof of a hunter’s credentials as a sportsman. That was why ‘every sportsman – settler, official, or visitor – must have a soft spot in his heart for the lion, if only for his magnificent sporting qualities.’¹⁵⁷

However, the alarm at the imminent extermination of wild animal species that developed in the late nineteenth century did not initially extend to predators. Predators in general and lions in particular were seen as vermin and there was little pressure for their protection. The first

¹⁵³ Pease, *Book of the Lion*, 75.

¹⁵⁴ Chapman, *On Safari*, vi. This is not particularly true. The real prize for the most elusive animal goes to the bongo, a large but extremely shy forest antelope. According to Cranworth, no European shot one until Stigand successfully managed the feat and even by 1912 fewer than six had secured one. Cranworth, *Colony in the Making*, 286.

¹⁵⁵ Selous, ‘The Lion in South Africa’, vol. I, 315, 327.

¹⁵⁶ Bijal P. Trivedi, ‘Female Lions Prefer Dark-Maned Males, Study Finds,’ *National Geographic News*, 22 August 2002.

<http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2002/08/0822_020822_TVlion.html> Retrieved 2 April 2010.

¹⁵⁷ Cranworth, *Colony in the Making*, 254.

wildlife preservation convention, held in London, 1900, officially designated the lion vermin and permitted any amount of killing.¹⁵⁸ However, the narratives started differentiating between the lion and vermin earlier than this and made the case that lions should be protected for the benefit of sport hunters (and we should bear in mind that hunting was the quintessential activity of empire) and that ‘few sportsmen worthy of the name...would not consider a game country destitute of its lions and leopards a rather poor place.’¹⁵⁹ The fundamentally new shift in the narratives is the increasing argument that lions were worthy of protection as valuable themselves. This concern develops in two regions. The earliest call to protect lions was made in the ‘Sportsman’s Paradise’ that had evolved in British East Africa in the early twentieth century. Pease stated in his preface, ‘[i]ncidentally I desire that what is here set down may encourage the British public to insist that one little corner of our vast Empire remains a sanctuary for that royal creature which with our national modesty we have selected as the emblem of our own valour and magnanimity.’¹⁶⁰ The term ‘sanctuary’ is an important one which indicates that the lion should be completely protected from human interference. Cranworth made the radical suggestion that any necessary culling should not be done by ‘privileged persons’ but by poison to prevent abuse.¹⁶¹ The representation of the ‘admirable lion’ reduced the gap between the flesh-and-blood and the literary lion and involved a close examination of its ecological role. In South Africa, the driving force for the protection of lions was Stevenson-Hamilton – the ‘father’ of the Kruger National Park. His statement, in 1917, that ‘under natural conditions, the existence of a certain number of predatory animals is beneficial to the conditions of the game within any given area, strange though it may sound,’ was a truly progressive notion in the field of animal conservation and preceded Aldo Leopold’s observation of the same phenomenon.¹⁶² It is now widely accepted that the lion plays the role of keystone predator, providing stability and playing a crucial role in maintain the health of an ecosystem. While it is not possible for this dissertation to discuss the causation and emergence of lion conservation fully, it is clear that the representation of the ‘admirable lion’ in the hunting narratives preceded many other calls for preservation.

These fundamentally new arguments that were provoked by the representation of the ‘admirable lion’ were accompanied by progressive thinking. Some of the authors began to put

¹⁵⁸ Adams and McShane, *Myth of Wild Africa*, 45.

¹⁵⁹ Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, 541; Ritvo, ‘Destroyers and Preservers’, 34; Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life*, vol. I, 9.

¹⁶⁰ Pease, *Book of the Lion*, ix-x. The little corner that he refers to was the Southern Game Reserve of the B.E.A.

¹⁶¹ Cranworth, *Colony in the Making*, 316-7.

¹⁶² Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life*, vol. I, 5.

themselves in the place of the lion and justify its actions. Stigand, for instance, pointed out that calling a lion cowardly was unfair as it behaved no differently to a famous duellist who picks the times and places of his duels and any hunter that refers to a lion that retaliates when wounded as ferocious, savage or vindictive is self-evidently hypocritical.¹⁶³ Selous noted that where cannibalism had happened, a sailor would have done the same thing.¹⁶⁴ Authors also began replacing the rifle with the camera and today's tourist safari derives from this process. The camera had forged a working alliance with the rifle from c. 1890 to 1920 but the important paradigmatic shift occurred when hunters photographed the animal alive (rather than after in the traditional pose of the hunter with his boot on the dead animal's shoulder).¹⁶⁵ This shift occurred earlier for other species but the hunting narratives do, by the end of the period, contain photographs of live lions.¹⁶⁶ Akeley noted this shift at the time and identified a new 'breed' of hunter that sought to photograph the lion rather than kill it.¹⁶⁷ In many ways, this medium (still or moving photography) replaced the hunting narrative as the primary non-fiction form of representation of the lion that reached the British public for the rest of the twentieth century. It is possible to see the seismic shift which has taken place in the hunters' minds; whereas earlier the extinction of the lion was viewed as inevitable (albeit with regret in some cases), by the end of the period, hunters have presented the argument that in certain areas, nature and culture should be separated to allow the continued existence of the wild lion. It was not believed that the civilization and the 'dangerous lion' were completely incompatible, nor that imperialism was duty-bound to eradicate the 'evil lion,' but instead that the 'admirable lion' was worth protecting in its own right. This marked a very new (albeit initially far from universal) strand of thinking in the milieu of imperial relations with wild animals and more widely it marked a very new trend in attitudes to predators more generally.

¹⁶³ Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 82-3, 177.

¹⁶⁴ Selous, 'The Lion in South Africa', vol. I, 323.

¹⁶⁵ For a fuller discussion of the role of photography in safari hunting see Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 138-42; P.S. Landau, 'With Gun and Camera in Southern Africa: Inventing the Image of the Bushman, c.1880-to 1935,' in *Miscast: Negotiating the Presence of the Bushmen*, ed. P. Skotnes (Cape Town, 1995); J.R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire* (Chicago, 1997), 99-139.

¹⁶⁶ See the illustrations of lions in Stevenson-Hamilton, *Animal Life*.

¹⁶⁷ Akeley, *In Brightest Africa*, 156-8. Akeley describes the activities of Radclyffe Dugmore, Mr. Lyford, Lady Grace McKenzie, Barton and Cherry Kerton and H.A. Snow.

Conclusion

Although pressure for the protection of lions was developing at the end of this period, massive inroads had already been made on lion numbers by the hunters. Human interaction with the lion was accompanied by huge cultural and historical baggage and the methods of hunting were dictated by the particular view of the lion that the individual hunter subscribed to. Broadly these can be seen on a spectrum from the hunting of the ‘evil lion’ to the ‘admirable lion’ – the differences in method strongly reflect the attitude with which they were killed. The killing of the ‘evil lion’ (and in some regards the ‘dangerous lion’) occurred primarily by three methods that Cranworth identified as appropriate to vermin control in 1912.¹⁶⁸ Looking at these methods, it becomes clear that the intended end (the death of the lion and protection of humans) fully justified any means – in fact they were often hunted by proxy. Poisoning was the method that required least interaction and was highly successful; by 1886, Parker Gillmore reports that most of the lions in South Africa had been killed by strychnine (also the poison of choice for ranchers killing wolves in the US).¹⁶⁹ Traps and particularly set-guns (triggered to fire by a trip-wire) also were commonly used by some hunters. This method is recorded as early as 1802 and the art had been perfected by the end of the century; Arthur H. Neumann (a professional ivory hunter) is able to instruct his reader in the exact modifications a set-gun requires for lions specifically.¹⁷⁰ These methods are not dwelt upon at any real length – this is hardly the perfect subject matter for hunting narratives. They do however hint at a far wider culture of state-led lion-control; John G. Millais (biographer of Selous and in some sense the ‘chronicler’ of the hunters) records Pease saying ‘[p]ersonally, I enjoyed most the [British East Africa] work.’¹⁷¹

Where the hunter does actively participate in the narratives, the clear aim is to minimize the danger. Dogs, for instance, could both locate a hidden lion – thus preventing a wounded lion from getting close to a hunter – and distract a lion while the hunter shot it and made a charge unlikely. Dogs were used from the earliest incursions and many hunters continued to use

¹⁶⁸ Cranworth, *Colony in the Making*, 249, 251.

¹⁶⁹ Gillmore, *Hunter’s Arcadia*, 5.

¹⁷⁰ Barrow, *Account of Travels*, 122. Neumann, 406-7.

¹⁷¹ Millais, *Life of Frederick Courteney Selous*, 192.

them (often in a curious alliance with ‘Hottentots’ and ‘Bushmen’) throughout the period.¹⁷² One South African hunter, Petrus Jacobs, killed over one hundred lions ‘chiefly with the assistance of dogs’ but the most sophisticated exponent of this technique was American playboy Paul Rainey. Hunting with a specially bred pack of hounds, Rainey reportedly caused a ‘holocaust’ of over two hundred lions – he was a professional vermin hunter, paid, for instance, to reduce the lion population of Saysambu in 1912.¹⁷³ Other methods designated ‘unsporting’ were to wait for the lion over kills, waterholes or even specially laid ‘baits.’ This, for example, was the method adopted by Patterson in his protection of the railway workers but many hunters used similar methods both in the earlier incursions into the interior of Africa and in the early days of professional safari.¹⁷⁴ In Somaliland, hunters tended to take a live donkey to stand as bait for them; if a lion did not materialize the bait could be used again later.

At the other end of the spectrum was the sport hunting of the ‘admirable lion.’ Implicit in this is the knowledge that lions can be killed easily but that they deserve better. The development of much better weapons had forced hunters who hoped for an authentic hunting experience to hunt in a more dangerous way and with fewer safeguards.¹⁷⁵ A strict adherence to the sporting ‘code’ that developed in the first decade of the twentieth century was so intimately associated with aristocratic activity that it became of form of class ‘othering.’¹⁷⁶ Those who saw themselves as ‘pure’ sport hunters looked down on anyone who killed lions in a different manner; a set-gun ‘seems a mean way to kill lions,’ poison was lazy and riding down or driving with natives was unsporting.¹⁷⁷ Sport hunters placed great importance on observing and ‘knowing’ the animal that they sought to kill.¹⁷⁸ Hunting alone was valued (although this generally only meant with no other white person). James Sutherland (a man content with the morals of killing young, female or sleeping elephants to fund his way of life) when confronted with the spectacle of multiple white hunters after one lion was ‘disgusted to think

¹⁷² For a few examples of dogs used in hunting, see Pringle, *Narrative of a Residence*, 134, Cumming, *Five Years of Adventures*, 348; R. Churchill, *Men, Mines and Animals*, 164.

¹⁷³ Lyell, *Wild Life*, 49; Millais, *Life of Frederick Courteney Selous*, 192; Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 96.

¹⁷⁴ Andersson, *The Lion*, 156; Chapman, *On Safari*, 41

¹⁷⁵ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 303-5. While in the 1850s hunters had to use smooth bore, muzzle-loading muskets the next three decades witnessed dramatic improvements. By the end of the 1860s, the Express rifle had been developed, by the end of the 1870s, breech loaders were in general use and by the end of the 1880s magazine rifles had been perfected.

¹⁷⁶ Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*, 209.

¹⁷⁷ Selous, *Travel and Adventure*, 416-25; Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 6, 7.

¹⁷⁸ Some extremely accurate observations did come out of this. The three chapters on the lion in Selous, *African Nature Notes*, are good examples of the close observation that sport hunters were capable of.

that such a wretched farce should masquerade under the name of sport.’¹⁷⁹ The total number of lions killed was not the most important number as they had to have been killed in the right way – for instance Selous refers to Lord Delamere as the ‘Prince of lion-hunters’ as he had killed ‘close on seventy’ (his eventual tally was seventy-nine) but, more importantly, had achieved this singlehandedly – and better still he killed his first forty-nine without losing one.¹⁸⁰ For many commentators, the tally of lions was not the real measure of a sportsman but the ability not to shoot when they had the opportunity. Pease, despite being ‘both an admirable shot and a superb horseman,’ only killed fourteen being of ‘an unselfish disposition’ and is quoted as saying ‘I loved galloping and rounding them up for others.’¹⁸¹ Likewise, Selous ‘never wished to pose as a lion-hunter like Jules Gerard’ and had only gained a modest bag by his death (thirty-four).¹⁸²

A vital element of the experience that pure sport hunters sought was a fair contest.¹⁸³ Being hunted in a certain way, the lion stood a chance of escaping with his life and this appealed to many hunters; Akeley claimed that killing anything else felt like murder.¹⁸⁴ Stigand calculated that from seven or eight encounters only one lion would be secured (if hunted in the ‘right’ way) and therefore that lion hunting was ‘beyond the criticism of a race whose boast it is that they like to see fair play.’¹⁸⁵ A number of *cognoscenti* actually claimed the most sporting method was the native method of spearing which involved multiple warriors stabbing the lion to death and which normally resulted in at least a mauling – though notably the authors only advocated watching.¹⁸⁶ The effect of the sporting methods of hunting was to allow the lion the greatest role possible before his death. The formalized safaris offered a very marketable method of the lion hunt from 1909. The safari guides had developed a technique that was likely to secure a lion, built in the excitement of a ‘neck or nothing’ chase and allowed the paying hunter to shoot at a lion even if incompetent. Winston Churchill reported, in a cynical tone, that the lion, once located, is ridden down by three or four professionals until ‘bayed’ when ‘the sportsman from London is introduced.’¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁹ Bull, *Safari*, 149; Sutherland, *Adventures of An Elephant-Hunter*, 163.

¹⁸⁰ Cranworth, *Colony in the Making*, 251.

¹⁸¹ Millais, *Life of Frederick Courteney Selous*, 190-1.

¹⁸² Millais, *Life of Frederick Courteney Selous*, 190.

¹⁸³ Baker, *Wild Beasts*, 339.

¹⁸⁴ Akeley, *In Brightest Africa*, 114

¹⁸⁵ Stigand, *Game of British East Africa*, 5-6.

¹⁸⁶ Akeley, *Lion Spearing*, 3; Cranworth, *Colony in the Making*, 251.

¹⁸⁷ W. Churchill, *My African Journey*, 25-7.

There was a deep schism between the representations of and the interactions with the ‘evil’ and the ‘admirable’ lion. The role that the lion was supposed to play is important; to couch a question in the language of an extremely current debate; how much agency did the lion possess? What is clear is that the lion’s actual actions did, to a significant degree, colour their treatment at the hands of humans (notably the effects of the aftermath of the Tsavo man-eaters). Scholars in the field of animal studies (a remarkably interdisciplinary topic) have debated this question for a number of animals but mainly those encountered in an everyday existence.¹⁸⁸ An animal as exotic as the lion (not an everyday experience for many people) takes us onto new ground. One conclusion that is shared by scholars of animal agency is that the subjectivity (i.e. an awareness of the role the animal is playing) is not relevant.¹⁸⁹ Historical consensus shows that animal agency is expressed in authentic interactions with humans.¹⁹⁰ In this case the sporting method is deliberately contrived to allow the lion as much of a role as possible before its death (much like bullfighting) while the hunting of the ‘evil lion’ is supposed to be far more efficient and kill the lion without ritual or ceremony.¹⁹¹ By unconsciously submitting to the sport hunting ethos and ticking the required boxes, the lion actually took great steps in ensuring its own protection. This highlights the incompleteness of the picture drawn by some scholars that characterizes hunting as ‘an armed confrontation between the human world and the untamed wilderness, between nature and culture’ or ‘the most atavistic and antagonistic relationship between humans and animals.’¹⁹² This may be an accurate portrayal of hunting in the earliest part of the this period or in the hunting of the ‘evil lion’ but it does not explain the sport hunting ethos at all and fails to give credit to the hunters (albeit a minority) that helped achieve protection for the lions. Representing and hunting the ‘admirable lion’ helped construct the identity of the sport hunter in a different way. The identity that resulted was one that valued observing and experiencing the natural world and showed a far greater understanding of the lion than other groups in society; the scientific lobby, for instance, viewed increases of game numbers and the establishment of reserves with

¹⁸⁸ For the key works on animals and agency, see Banks, ‘Animals Reconsidered’; Laura Nash, ‘The Agency of Nature or the Nature of Agency,’ *Environment History*, 10/1 (Jan., 2005), 67-9; Fudge, ‘The History of Animals’; Jason Hribal, ‘Animals, Agency and Class: Writing the History of Animals from Below,’ *Human Ecology Review*, 14/1 (2007), 101-12; Helen Steward, ‘Animal Agency,’ *Inquiry*, 52/3 (Jun., 2009), 217-31; Sarah E. McFarland and Ryan Heidiger, *Animals and Agency: An Interdisciplinary Investigation* (Leiden, Netherlands, 2009).

¹⁸⁹ Fudge, ‘The History of Animals’; Steward, ‘Animal Agency’, 219.

¹⁹⁰ Hribal, ‘Animals, Agency and Class’, 103.

¹⁹¹ A caveat should be added that in certain circumstances vermin extermination (e.g. fox-hunting in Britain) was accompanied by a remarkable degree of ceremony and ritual but that is not the case here.

¹⁹² Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning*, 238; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 288.

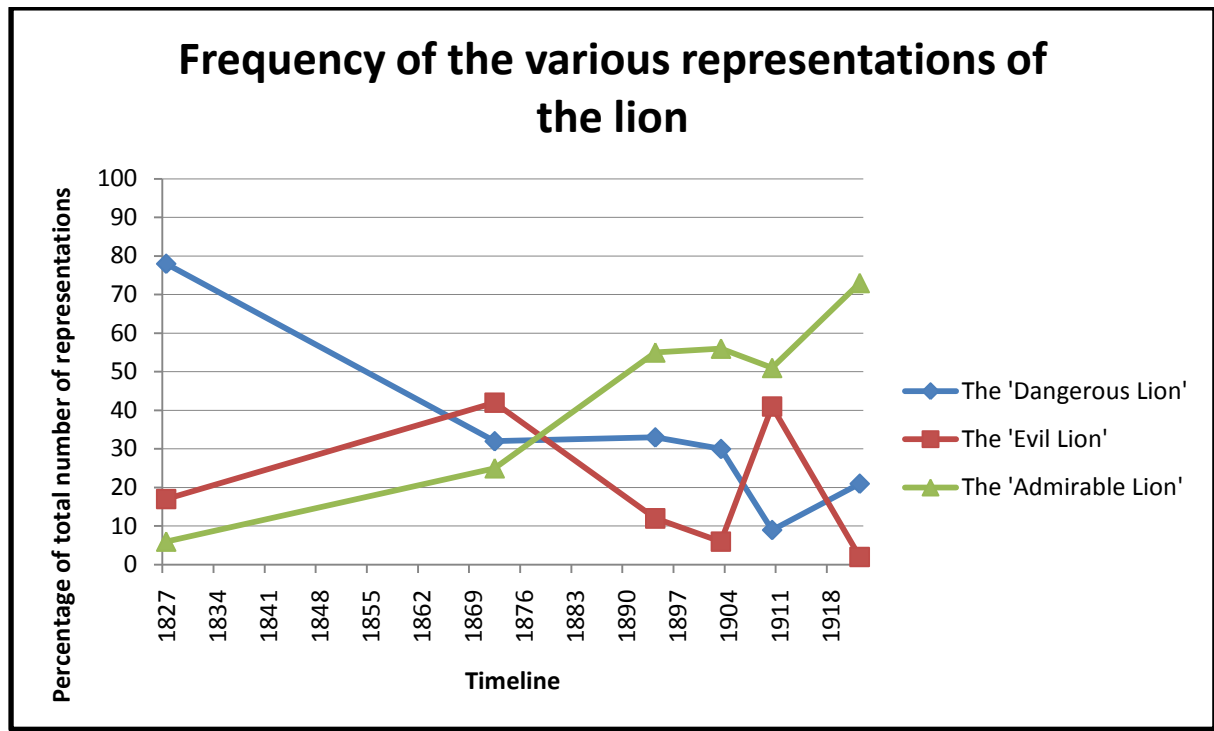
alarm as a reservoir for disease.¹⁹³ The Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset eloquently argues that ‘Man is a Fugitive from Nature’ and hunting alone gives the ‘ability to enjoy a vacation from the human condition through an authentic “immersion in Nature.”’¹⁹⁴ Hunting, in Ortega’s opinion, is the only real and true interaction with wild animals that humans can have.

Telling stories about animals (and other non-humans – aliens, robots, deities – for that matter) has been a compelling need for humans for thousands of years. The three different lions represented in the hunting narratives tell three very different stories about the nature of the imperial expansion into Africa from 1802 to 1930 and played vital roles in construction of the identities of its many assailants. The ‘dangerous lion’ acts in a story in which brave and capable Europeans encounter and subdue a wild and savage continent and usurp the lion as ruler of the natural world (the Europeans considered the native humans to be part of that world). As an adversary, it was sufficiently dangerous and exotic that its death came to symbolize the conquering of Africa by its intrepid vanquisher and create a ‘trophy landscape’ dominated by the hunter. The ‘evil lion’ plays a different role and is persecuted due to the moral imperative of the imperialists to ‘civilize’ Africa and eradicate all features of the continent that they judged to be immoral or primeval. With very long roots in Christian theology, the ‘evil lion’ acted as a terror before a merciful and moral imperialism arrived to ‘civilize’ Africa. The story of the ‘admirable lion’ is in many ways less anthropocentric and its hunters sought more to interact with than fight against the lion and ultimately ended up aiding the protection of an animal that they believed embodied a number of characteristics present in themselves. This is the story that remains most dominant today and when it emerged it was a genuinely new part of the wider story about the relations between humans and wild animals. While the first two representations have historic roots that are extremely long in some cases, the third showed a distinct break with attitudes to predators in general and a radically new understanding of the lion’s role in nature manifested itself. It is not surprising that the hunters were fascinated and obsessed by the lion. The hunting narrative provided a literary blueprint for the packaging of diverse experiences in Africa and these texts reveal an identity which the lion had played an extraordinary role in constructing.

¹⁹³ MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 230, 243, 249, 281.

¹⁹⁴ José Ortega y Gasset (trans. Howard B. Wescott), *Meditations on Hunting* (Belgrade, 1995), 129-30.

Appendix A) Graph of Frequency of Representations



The data for this graph is provided by my interpretation of the representation and relevance of the sources.

Appendix B) Authors and Sources

Title of Source and Date of Publication	Author of Source and Dates	Mini-biography of author	Date and Place of Expedition	(Strength of the Representation of the Lion
Account of Travels (1802)	John Barrow (1764-1848)	English, son of a tanner, administrator.	Cape of Good Hope, 1797-8.	A dangerous enemy in war-like conditions. (Weak)
Travels in the Interior (1822)	William J. Burchell (1781-1863)	English, son of a botanist, explorer and naturalist	Southern Africa, 1810-15.	Mostly dangerous, occasionally evil. (Weak)
Narrative of a Residence (1835)	Thomas Pringle (1789-1834)	Scottish, son of a farmer, settler.	Southern Africa.	A calm, proud enemy in war-like conditions. (Weak)
Wild Sports (1839)	William C. Harris (bapt. 1807- d. 1848)	English, son of gentry, officer then sportsman.	Southern African, 1836-7.	Dangerous. (Weak)
Narrative of an Expedition (1839)	William C. Harris (bapt. 1807- d. 1848)	English, son of gentry, officer then sportsman.	Southern African, 1836-7.	Slinking enemies in war-like conditions. (Medium)
Illustrations of Zoology (1844)	Andrew Smith (1797-1872)	Scottish, son of a shepherd, army medical officer and naturalist.	Southern Africa, 1820-36.	Curiously very little mention of lion. Not an interesting or worthy animal. (Weak).
Five Years (1856)	Roualeyn G. Cumming (1820-66)	Scottish, son of a baronet, soldier then traveler and sportsman.	Southern Africa, 1843-8.	Admirable, noble and great sport. Regal behaviour and trophy. (Strong)
Adventures of Gérard (1856)	Jules Gérard (1817-64)	French soldier and settler	Algeria.	Noble lion although sometimes extremely savage. Details on habits of lion. (Strong)
Missionary Travels (1858)	David Livingstone (1813-73)	Scottish, grandson of a tenant farmer, explorer and missionary.	Southern Africa, 1841-52.	The lion is not dangerous unless hunted and is cowardly. Natives very superstitious. (Medium)
African Hunting (1863)	William C. Baldwin (?)	An 'old African hand', trader and explorer.	Natal to the Zambesi, 1852-60	Dangerous vermin. Night attacks very scary. (Medium)
Shifts and Expedients	Thomas Baines	English, son of a master	Southern and East	Dangerous but savage or ferocious. (Weak).

(1871)	(1820-1875)	mariner, artist.	Africa, 1842-53, 1858-62.	
The Lion and the Elephant (1873)	Charles H. Andersson (?)	Swedish explorer.	Before 1867	Admirable and cunning. 'History' of opinions regarding the lion. (Strong)
Large Game (1875)	William H. Drummond (1845-79)	English sportsman.	Southern and Eastern Africa, 1867-72.	Only noble appearance. Otherwise cowardly, vindictive and savage. (Strong)
Sport and War (1875)	John J. Bisset (?)	(?)	South Africa, 1834-67	Majestic and noble. Pity for a lioness with dead cubs. (Weak)
Sport in Abyssinia (1876)	Dermot R.W. Bourke	Sort hunter, an Earl.	Abyssinia, 1874-5.	A cowardly carrion feeder. Little actual contact. (Weak)
Central African Lakes (1881)	Joseph Thompson (1858-1895)	Scottish explorer, son of a stone-mason, botanist.	Central Africa, 1879-81.	Lion mainly in the background and very exciting. Dangerous (Medium)
Hunter's Arcadia (1886)	Parker Gillmore	Scottish (?), soldier.	Southern Africa, from 1875.	Most lions dead due to poisoning. (Weak)
Twenty-Five Years in a Waggon (1888)	Andrew A. Anderson (?)	A 'colonial'	Southern and central Africa, 1860- 1885	Mainly evil but dangerous too and anti- progress. Night attacks feared. (Medium)
Wild Beasts (1890)	Samuel W. Baker (1821-93)	English, son of sugar magnate, explorer and administrator	Nile Basin, 1861-5, 1869-83	Dangerous when hunter or wounded. Very strong and admirable. (Medium)
Gun and Camera (1893)	H. Anderson Bryden (?)	Traveller.	Southern Africa	Very little contact but does want to encounter them. (Weak)
East African Empire (1893)	Frederick Lugard (1858-1945)	English, son of a chaplain, officer then administrator.	Central and East Africa, 1888-93.	Very fine animal, not vermin. Dangerous. (Medium)
Travel and Adventure (1893)	Frederick C. Selous (1851-1917)	English, son of Chairman of the Stock Exchange.	South-east Africa, 1882-93.	Positive anthropomorphism. Desirable trophy. (Strong)
Big Game Shooting (1894)	Clive Phillipps- Wolley (ed)	?	?	Edited volume containing the mixed opinions of W.C. Oswell, F. Jackson and F.C. Selous. (Strong)
Lion Hunting (1895)	C.J. Melliss (?)	Officer on leave from British India.	Somaliland.	A dangerous raider. Admirable strengths and behaviour. (Strong)

Haunts of Wild Game (1896)	F. Vaughn Kirby (?)	English writer and sportsman.	Central Africa, from 1894.	Brave and majestic. Also dangerous. (Strong)
Nature and Sport (1897)	H. Anderson Bryden (?)	Traveller.	South Africa	Disappearing from Cape. Cannot co-exist with man, unworthy of preservation. (Weak)
Men, Mines, Animals (1897)	Randolph Churchill (1849-95)	English, son of a duke, politician.	Southern Africa, From 1891.	Dangerous and composed. (Weak)
Threshold of Central Africa (1897)	Francois Coillard (1834-1904)	French, son of a yeoman, missionary.	Central Africa, 1857-197.	Views lions as enemies and competitors. (Weak)
Elephant-Hunting (1898)	Arthur H. Neumann (?)	English ivory hunter.	East Africa, 1893-98.	Sees them as dangerous raiders but with no 'evil' side. (Medium)
After Big Game (1899)	Eduardo Foà (1863?-1901)	French diplomat.	East Africa, 1894-97.	Meets and kills a number of lions but does not construct them in any particular way.
Sport in East Central Africa (1899)	F. Vaughn Kirby (?)	English writer and sportsman.	East and central Africa, from 1894.	Lions a fine trophy and worthy animal. Very 'pure' narratives of hunts. (Strong)
William Cotton Oswell (1900)	William E. Oswell (?)	English, son of a famous 'old Africa hand.'	Central Africa.	Biography of author's father. W.C. Oswell (1818-93)
Somaliland (1900)	Charles V.A. Peel (?)	English naturalist, son of gentry.	Somaliland.	A 'phantom.' Primary aim and finally kills one. (Strong)
Matabeleland Campaigns (1901)	R.S.S. Baden-Powell (1857-1941)	English, son of a Reverend, army officer.	Southern and East Africa, 1896.	Praises aesthetics and behaviour of the lion. Dignified. (Weak)
East African Protectorate (1905)	Charles Eliot (1862-1931)	English son of a curate, diplomat and commissioner.	East Africa, 1901-5.	Lions were dangerous and a threat to the imperial project. (Weak)
Central African Game (1906)	C.H. Stigand and D.D. Lyell.	Dates and biographies elsewhere.	Central Africa.	Dangerous. Can be wanton. Intelligent. (Medium)
Sport and Travel (1906)	Charles A. Hindlip (1877-1931)	English baron and sportsman.	Abyssinia and East Africa	Dangerous to hunt and a worthy trophy. Primary aim. (Medium)
Wanderings (1907)	Frederick C. Selous (1851-1917)	English, son of Chairman of the Stock Exchange.	Southern Africa, 1871-81.	Dangerous to hunt. Man-eater when old. Brave and furtive. Good trophy. (Strong)
On Safari	Abel	English, son of	East Africa,	Very dangerous for

(1908)	Chapman (1851-1929)	a wine merchant, hunter and naturalist.	from 1899.	humans in general and for hunters. (Medium)
Man-eating Lions of Tsavo (1908)	John H. Patterson (1867-1947)	Anglo-Irish soldier and colonial administrator.	Uganda, 1898.	The lions he hunted evil, intelligent, infernal and hostile to imperialism. (Strong)
African Nature Notes (1908)	Frederick C. Selous (1851-1917)	English, son of Chairman of the Stock Exchange.	Southern and eastern Africa, from 1870	Extremely accurate three chapters on behaviour and habits of lion. Admirable character. (Strong)
Two Dianas in Somaliland (1908)	Agnes Herbert (?)	English lady.	Somilaland, 1907.	A beautiful, brave and well-hidden animal. (Medium)
Big Game Shooting (1908)	Francis A. Dickinson (1874-?)	English, diplomat.	East Africa.	Lions well-known from 'nursery days.' (Weak)
My African Journey (1909)	Winston Churchill (1874-1965)	English, son of a Lord, soldier and politician.	East Africa, 1907-8.	Contempt for the cowardly, evil lion. Block to civilization, fine hunting prize. (Medium)
African Game Trails (1910)	Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919)	American, ex- President. Hunter and conservationist.	East Africa, 1909.	A dangerous and morally cruel animal. Vermin. (Strong)
Hunting Trips (1910)	Denis D. Lyell (?)	Scottish hunter.	East Africa.	Fantastic trophy but not majestic in the wild. Bold when hungry. (Weak)
Lake Victoria to Khartoum (1910)	Francis A. Dickinson (1874-?)	English, diplomat.	East Africa, 1907-8.	The lion is hated. (Weak)
Sport and Profit (1912)	Bertram F.G. Cranworth (1877-1964)	English, (?), pioneer and settler.	East Africa, 1906-11.	Lion the 'grandest beast in Africa.' Fantastic sport and worthy of protection. (Strong)
Adventures of an Elephant- Hunter (1912)	James Sutherland (?)	English ivory trader.	East and central Africa, 1902-12.	A huge terror to natives but good sport if tackled alone.
Book of the Lion (1913)	Alfred Pease (1857-1939)	British, son of baronet, settler.	East Africa, from 1906.	Worthy of sanctuary in designated areas although an enemy of livestock farmers. (Strong)
Wild Life (1913)	Denis D. Lyell (?)	Scottish hunter.	Central Africa, 1903-13.	Admirable animal and not dangerous unless disturbed. Very dangerous to hunt. (Medium)

Game of British East Africa (1913)	Chauncey H. Stigand (1877-1919)	English, son of a diplomat, soldier and surveyor.	East Africa	Not a terror to animals and capable of feeling grief. Dangerous to hunt. (Medium)
Hunting the Elephant (1913)	Chauncey H. Stigand (1877-1919)	English, son of a diplomat, soldier and surveyor.	East Africa	No negative description. Dangerous but positive anthropomorphism. (Weak)
Animal Life (1917)	James Stevenson-Hamilton (1857-1967)	Irish, son of gentry, warden of Sabi Game Reserve and founder of KNP	South Africa, 1888-1914.	Lion is intelligent predator whose presence can be healthy for game populations. Worthy of protection. Good sport. (Strong)
Life of Selous (1918)	J.G. Millais (1865-1931)	English artist, naturalist and travel writer.	A biography of F.C. Selous.	Dangerous and admirable. Used to compare feats of various hunters. (Medium)
Wandering and Memories (1919)	J.G. Millais (1865-1931)	English artist, naturalist and travel writer.	East Africa.	Trying very hard to find a lion. (Weak)
In Brightest Africa (1920)	Carl E. Akeley (1864-1926)	American taxidermist.	East and Central Africa, 1909-11.	Behaviour was brave and dangerous but understandable. Also hunts with camera. (Medium)
Lion Spearing (1920)	Carl E. Akeley (1864-1926)	American taxidermist.	Uganda, 1910.	Story of native lion hunt – the most ‘humane’ ‘sporting’ method. Lion a worthy protagonist. (Medium)
Backbone of Africa (1921)	Alfred Sharpe (1853-1935)	English, son of architect, colonial governor.	1914-18.	Written about Africa during war. Distant threat. (Weak)
The African Elephant (1924)	Denis D. Lyell (?)	Scottish hunter.	The whole range of elephant	A scavenger that is dangerous to hunt. (Weak)
Early Days (1930)	Frederick Jackson (1860-1929)	English colonial governor.	East Africa, 1884-1917.	Nostalgia for the lost lion. (Weak)

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