

Colonial Wildlife Conservation and National Parks in Sub-Saharan Africa

Paul Munro, University of New South Wales

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277734.013.195>

Published online: 29 November 2021

Summary

Colonial wildlife conservation initiatives in Africa emerged during the late 19th century, with the creation of different laws to restrict hunting as well as with the setting up of game reserves by colonial governments. Key influential figures behind this emergence were aristocratic European hunters who had a desire to preserve African game populations—ostensibly protecting them from settler and African populations—so that elite sports hunting could persevere on the continent. These wildlife conservation measures became more consolidated at the turn of the 20th century, notably due to the 1900 Convention for the Preservation of Animals, Birds and Fish in Africa—an agreement between European imperial powers and their colonial possessions in Africa to improve wildlife preservation measures—and with the establishment of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire in 1903. This Society, made up of aristocrats, hunter-naturalists, and former government officials, used the influence of its members to advocate for greater wildlife conservation measures in Africa. The wildlife preservation agenda of the Society was largely geared around restricting hunting praxis (and land access) for African populations, while elite European hunting was defended and promoted as an imperial privilege compatible with environmental outcomes. Starting in the 1920s, members from the Society played a key role in setting up Africa's early national parks, establishing a key conservation praxis that would continue into the late colonial and postcolonial periods. After World War II, colonial wildlife conservation influence reached its zenith. African populations were displaced as national parks were established across the continent.

Keywords: wildlife, national parks, hunting, game reserves, preservation, conservation, the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire

Subjects: Colonial Conquest and Rule

Penitent Butchers: The Emergence of the Hunter Preservationist

We are . . . thought to be men who, having in earlier days taken their fill of big-game slaughter and the delights of the chase in the wild, outlying parts of the earth now, being smitten with remorse, and having reached a less strenuous term of life, think to condone our earlier bloodthirstiness by advocating for the preservation of what we have formerly killed. As a matter of fact, nothing can be more misleading as to our real feeling and intentions, no greater perversion of the real truth be presented than such a statement. Your true sportsman is always a real lover of nature. He kills, it is true, but only in sweet reasonableness and moderation, for food if necessary, but mainly for trophies. Wholesale and unnecessary slight is abhorrent to him . . . I am confident that British sportsmen as a class, have done nothing in any wild country to reduce or wipe out any kind of wild bit game.

Henry Seton-Karr (1908)¹

In the quote above, Henry Seton-Karr—an English explorer, hunter, author, and former Conservative politician—provided an ardent defense for the recently established Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire. The Society, which was founded in 1903, had the objective of halting “the destruction of wild animals throughout the British Empire . . . especially in Africa.”² Seton-Karr was defending the Society’s members against the moniker of “penitent butchers”—which had been ascribed to the Society by some members of the public—as many were active and former big-game hunters (“sportsmen” in Seton-Karr’s terminology) who had been engaged in killing many of the species of animals the Society was now actively trying to protect.³ As his quote implies, Seton-Karr did not see this situation as contradictory or problematic. In fact, he went on to claim that the “real depredators” in “all wild countries have been natives and settlers” who have “diminished” and “destroyed” the “natural wealth of wild animal life.”⁴ It was contestations such as these around the political economy of colonial hunting in Africa during the 19th century that laid the foundation for a colonial wildlife conservation movement.

African populations have engaged in hunting for millennia with heterogeneous hunting practices across the continent, usually as a means to secure subsistence (e.g., food) and to a lesser extent for resources (e.g., hides).⁵ There also were (and still are) countless wildlife and environment conservation initiatives being implemented by different African inhabitants.⁶ These activities, however, would come into conflict with forms of European hunting during the 19th century. An interest in African wildlife as an economic resource shaped much of the early-19th-century political economy of European hunting in Africa: animal hides, skins, and especially ivory were sought after as economic commodities. The trade in ivory boomed after the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), when Britain wrested control of the southern cape of Africa from the Dutch. Between 1815 and 1825, ivory exports from the region grew by more than 28,000 percent, with commercial hunting praxis becoming established across southern

Africa.⁷ The focus of this trade would later shift to the east African region during the late 1800s.⁸ European demand for ivory cutlery handles, billiard balls, piano keys, buttons, and other ornamental items was shaping the lives of African elephants.⁹

In addition to international trade, Europeans who came to Africa in their capacities as explorers, missionaries, administrators, soldiers, or settlers also hunted regularly, usually as an auxiliary activity to their respective ventures.¹⁰ As John MacKenzie has observed, "Game constituted a vital expansionist resource, a ready source of meat, a means of paying labour and an item of trade to supplement other forms of economic activity."¹¹ This was particularly the case from the 1890s onward with the European scramble for Africa. The expansion of railways into the continent's interior had a notable impact on African wildlife populations: On the one hand, with their construction, game meat was used for feeding railway workers.¹² On the other, it offered access to new regions in Africa's interior and thus new hunting opportunities.

A final group of European hunters in Africa, and one that would play a disproportionate role in shaping pan-African wildlife conservation praxis, was the elite who engaged in hunting as a "sporting" activity. Angela Thompsett, in her historical monograph *Hunting Africa*, traces the popular fascination with European sport hunting in Africa to 1848, when the eccentric big-game hunter Roualeyn Gordon-Cumming returned to Britain after spending five years hunting in southern Africa. He brought with him 30 tons of curios and animal trophies, wrote books on his adventures, toured Britain, and opened his collection to the general public, generating extensive interest.¹³ Subsequently, white, wealthy Europeans—usually with aristocratic backgrounds—increasingly traveled to Africa for the sole purpose of big-game hunting. Initially this occurred in southern Africa, but by the 1870s and 1880s east Africa was also experiencing a flood of big-game hunting visitors.¹⁴ Augmenting this activity was the rapid European colonization of Africa, which facilitated new means of travel to different parts of the continent. By the early 1890s, experienced hunters and hotels were advertising their ability to arrange hunting expeditions in Africa.¹⁵ These wealthy hunting ventures carried with them the cultural baggage of aristocratic and upper-class Britain, which included the framing of Africa as an Edenic untamed wilderness and the hunting of African wildlife as a symbol of Britain's imperial and manly prowess.¹⁶ While previous hunting praxis forms might be described as practical hunting with relatively straightforward sustenance or economic objectives, these aristocratic hunters, self-described sportsmen, engaged in "the Hunt" as an imperial pastime. To them, African animals were an "imperial inheritance"—game that they had the right to hunt and the duty to protect from others.¹⁷

Indeed, during the late 19th century, concerns emerged among this hunting elite about the health of game populations in Africa. The African Eden was under threat due to excessive hunting. The framing of the problem was filtered through elitist and racist lenses: the "true sportsmanship" of the elite hunt was not the cause of wildlife decline, but rather the "reckless shooting" done by others.¹⁸ As Jan Bender-Shelter explains, "Evoking a racist orientation, European hunters viewed themselves as uniquely able to protect the animals against what they saw as the cruel and indiscriminate slaughter carried out by Africans."¹⁹ Increasing European settlement on the continent, facilitated by railway expansion, and African

populations gaining access to “modern” hunting weapons (i.e., guns) were framed as an existential threat for African game populations. The figure of the hunter preservationist—the penitent butcher—emerged during this period to promote a specific form of wildlife conservation in Africa.

The 1900 Convention for the Preservation of Animals, Birds, and Fish in Africa

These discourses of the European hunting elite had influence. Aristocratic hunters came from powerful families and had sway with both colonial governments in Europe and colonial governors across Africa. Indeed, both German and British colonial officers in Africa often came from an aristocratic, sometimes military, class that enjoyed hunting as an elite privilege.²⁰ Thus, unsurprisingly, during the late 19th century, different strategies were adopted by colonial governments to help preserve animal populations.²¹ Game protection policies took two main forms during this period. First, a range of hunting laws, including restrictions on hunting seasons, hunting license fees, and restrictions on hunting certain species, were implemented across different African colonies. These game laws helped to make hunting technologically and financially out of reach for many Africans.²² The second type of game protection policy was the establishment of game reserves, which became relatively widespread in the 1890s. In 1896, a decree was passed in German East Africa to establish game reserves and a licensing system.²³ Likewise, in the British territories, the 1890s saw game reserves set aside in Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, British Central Africa (present-day Malawi) and Somaliland (present-day Somalia).²⁴ In parts of South Africa, game reserves were established from 1895 onward.²⁵ The creation of these reserves represented a form of “internal territorialization,” the creation—physically, legally, and philosophically—of spaces that were designed to separate animals (nature) from humans (society).²⁶ This idea of creating spaces that excluded (most) humans as a means to protect game would prove to be a critical foundation for both future colonial endeavors and the contemporary wildlife conservation movement.

These early game preservation efforts led to the organization of the first international conference on African wildlife, organized by the British and German Governments. The conference, which took place in London, issued the following resolution:

Being desirous of saving from indiscriminate slaughter, and of insuring the preservation throughout their possession in Africa of the various forms of animal life existing in a wild state which are either useful to man or are harmless, have resolved, on the invitation addressed to them by the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, in accord with the Government of the German Emperor, King of Prussia, to assemble with this object at a Conference of London.²⁷

The conference sought to strengthen and standardize game laws across colonial Africa. Although the conference was attended by all European powers with colonial possessions in Africa—including France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and the Belgian Congo Free State—it was the British and German governments who dominated the proceedings.²⁸ The main outcome of the conference was the signing of the 1900 Convention for the Preservation of Animals, Birds, and Fish in Africa, which encouraged the establishment of game reserves across Africa. The convention called for the

establishment, as far as it is possible, of, reserves within which it shall be unlawful to hunt, capture, or kill any bird or other wild animal except those which shall be specially exempted from protection by the local authorities. By the term “reserves” are to be understood sufficiently large tracts of land which have all the qualifications necessary as regards food, water, and, if possible, salt, for preserving birds or other wild animals, and for affording them necessary quiet during the breeding time.²⁹

The convention also had a list of schedules, placing animals in different categories of protection. Animals with the highest level of protection (Schedule 1) were those deemed “useful” or “rare.” Those on the lowest level (Schedule 5) were described as “vermin,” or “harmful animals desirable to be reduced in number.” Schedule 5 included lions and leopards, which were viewed as harmful to humans at the time. Since the convention was about protecting *game* for hunting, fewer competing animal predators was considered a desirable outcome. Drafted around an elite, utilitarian, hunting ethic, the convention did not assign any intrinsic value to animals until they became rare.

The convention was never ratified and thus did not formally become a treaty. Nevertheless, its influence was evident. Most French and British colonies enacted legislation in accordance with its provisions. Colonial governors were given greater rights to proclaim game reserves, while new colonial offices (such as game warden and ranger) were created and given wide administrative powers to oversee not only game reserves, but also the African populace who lived within or near their borders.³⁰ Exorbitant hunting license fees were also introduced in many colonies after the convention, which brought large-scale commercial hunting to an end. Regulated elite sport hunting became the dominant form of big-game shooting in Africa.³¹ Thus, under the laws enacted after 1900, widespread forms of colonial game preservation in Africa emerged.

The Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire

In 1903, with the founding of the Society for the Preservation of Wild Fauna of the Empire (hereafter “the Society”), lobbying for wildlife preservation became more formalized and strategic. The catalyst for the Society’s formation was an announcement in 1903 that the British colony of Sudan would degazette (i.e., remove the protected status of) the recently created White Nile game reserve (located between the White and Blue Nile Rivers) that had

been set up to protect the colony's wildlife (see Figure 1). The Governor General of Sudan, Lord Cromer, had proposed to replace it with a less suitable area further south. Led by Edward Buxton—a former politician, avid hunter, and leading figure within the Commons Preservation Society in England—a collection of British hunters, aristocrats, and former politicians drafted a letter to Lord Cromer, requesting that he abandon the planned degazettement.³² As Prendergast and Adams note, “this letter of opposition was given weight by the signatures of a remarkable range of aristocratic or political figures,” and they were ultimately successful with their request.³³ The signatories of the letter also decided that they should “form themselves into a society to encourage the protection of the large game animals within the Empire, and invited others interested in the subject to become members.”³⁴ Hence, the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire was established.

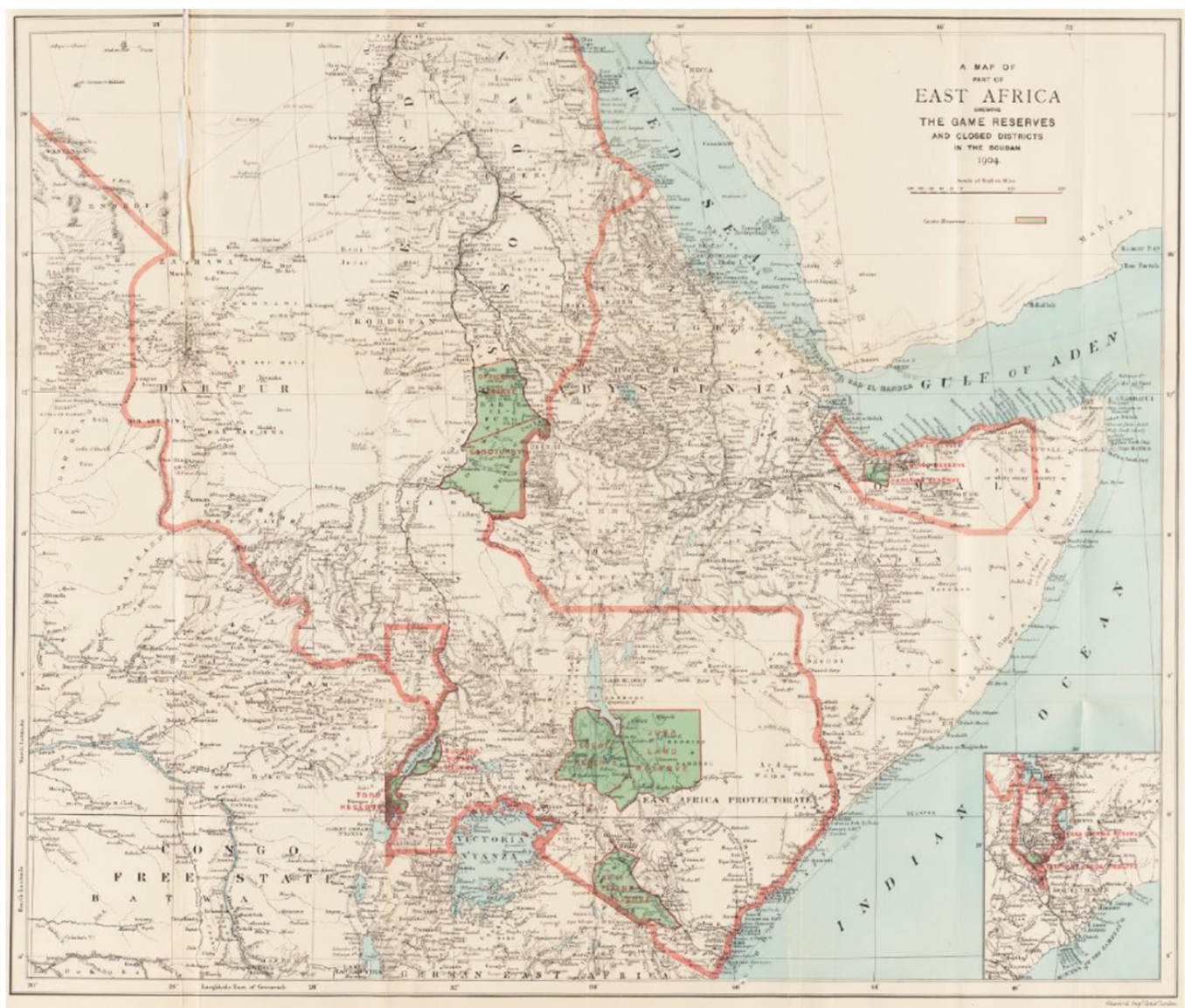


Figure 1. Map of game reserves in east Africa in 1904.

Map published in *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* 1 (1904): 75.

The Society's aristocratic core membership carried patrician notions of hunting and private parks from England into Africa. In England, hunting privilege was divided along class lines: landowners were "hunters," while the remaining classes were lambasted as "poachers." In Africa, as Roderick Neumann observes, an additional racist dimension was added: "laws and their incumbent ideology were structured along racial lines—whites were 'sportsmen', Africans were 'poachers'."³⁵ These renderings of "the poacher," as Elizabeth Lunstrum observes, have helped to normalize violence against those suspected of "illegal hunting" and to justify their eviction from national parks.³⁶ Thus, the wildlife preservation agenda of the Society was largely geared toward restricting hunting livelihood praxis (and land access) for African populations, while the Hunt was defended and promoted as an elite imperial privilege compatible with environmental protection.³⁷

At one point, the Society's membership even included the United States President Theodore Roosevelt (see Figure 2). In an ardent defense of big-game hunting and wildlife preservation initiatives, he made it clear that US elites shared similar values with their English counterparts:

It is perfectly evident to any intelligent man that the people who are protesting against what they call "the curse of the big game" do not know what they are talking about. We have just such people in abundance here in America, and I have for twenty-five years waged war upon them in connection with game protection. I was particularly pleased to receive the journal [of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire]. It is most interesting. I congratulate you upon the admirable work you are doing, and I wish you would extend to your colleagues my hearty sympathy with all that is being accomplished by the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire.

Thus, although it was small in size, the Society was able to wield considerable influence, and effectively operated as a lobbying group. Its members, who were "a combination of aristocrats, hunter-naturalists and officials" used their networks to gain access to, and influence, leading government officials, including houses of Parliament, the Foreign Office, and Colonial Governors in Africa.³⁸ The Society ultimately positioned itself as an expert and independent organization with specialist wildlife knowledge that was necessary for influencing colonial policy in Africa. Thus, on one level it operated as a pseudo-scientific body.³⁹ From 1904 onward, it regularly published a journal, *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire*, which, along with updates of the Society's activities, shared information on wildlife populations and preservation activities across the empire. It also held regular meetings with the Secretaries of State for the British Colonies, where its members would present a list of ideas about wildlife improvements in Africa that the Society desired, including requests for adequate "well guarded reserves and high ranking game officers in all territories, [and] reasonable expenditure of public funds for game preservation."⁴⁰

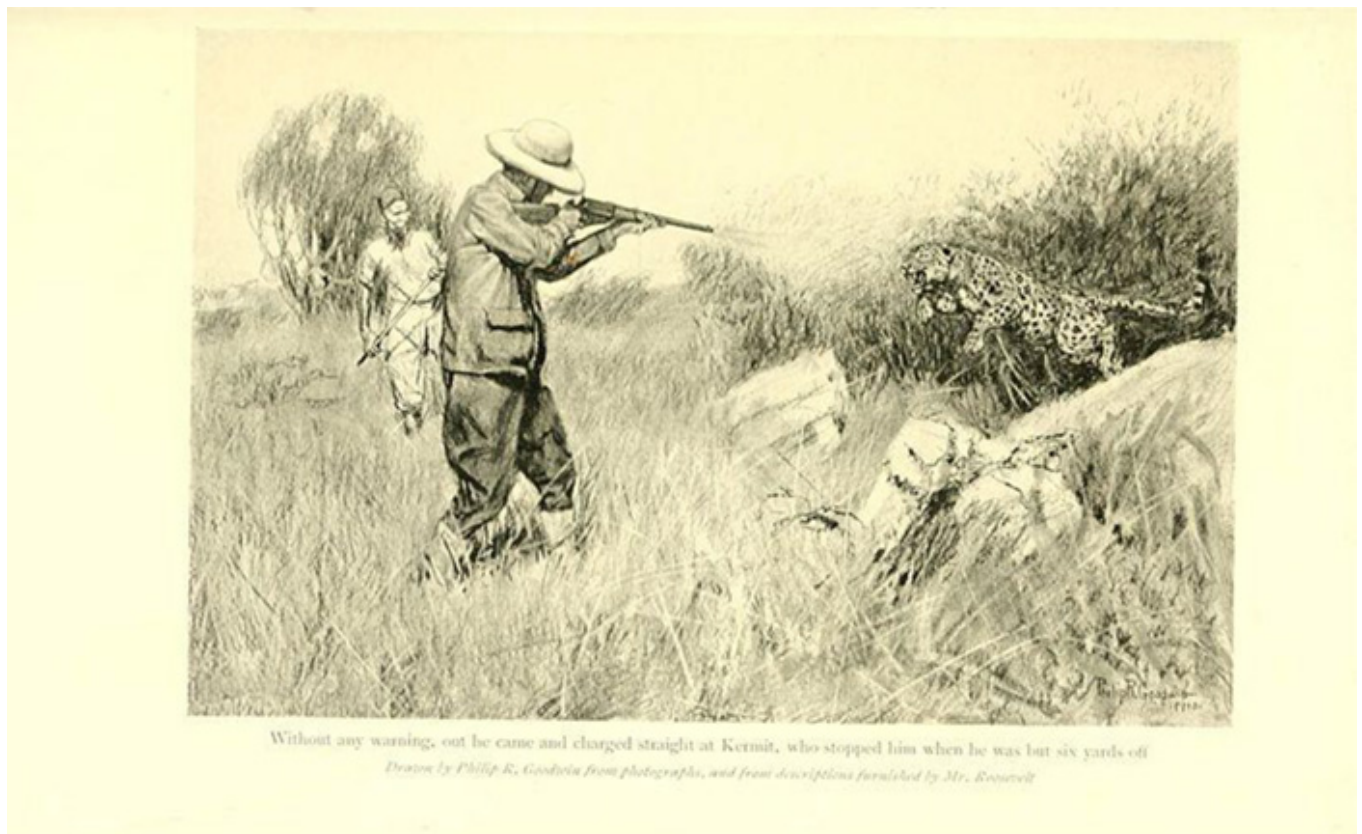


Figure 2. Image of US President Theodore Roosevelt's son hunting in Africa.

Published in Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails: An Account of the African Wanderings of an American Hunter-Naturalist* (New York: Syndicate Publishing Co, 1910), 89.

The Society's influence, while substantial, was not monolithic. It had limitations.⁴¹ As Neumann observes, "although relations were often congenial between Secretaries of State and Society members, these high-level personal ties camouflaged important ideological rifts within the institutions of imperial rule."⁴² While colonial offices might be compelled to listen to the Society's requests, they often resisted implementing their proposals for a range of ideological and practical reasons. The colonial project in Africa was, for the most part, about establishing control over valuable extractable commodities (e.g., minerals, agriculture, timber) for the benefit of the imperial core. Wildlife preservation generated some revenue through hunting fees, but it certainly had less pertinence to the core objectives of colonial extraction.⁴³

A further challenge the Society faced during the early 20th century were outbreaks of *African trypanosomiasis* (African Sleeping Sickness), spread across the colonies by the tsetse fly. Many believed that African game was the main food supply for the tsetse fly, including missionaries and medical officers, and thus there was pressure on Colonial Governments to exterminate wild fauna in the areas worst affected by the disease. Indeed, many animal eradication programs took place across southern Africa.⁴⁴ The Society used a variety of means to argue that more scientific proof was needed before any extermination programs take place.

In particular, articles offering alternative perspectives on the Tsetse Fly and its spread (i.e., articles that did not lay blame on African game) were a common feature in many editions of the Society's journal.⁴⁵

World War I proved to be an even bigger challenge to the Society than the tsetse fly. When war broke out in 1914, most of the Society's activities ended for a prolonged period.⁴⁶

Early National Parks

Conservation activities, along with the Society's influence, returned after World War I, although with some ideological shifts. The Society dropped the word "wild" from its title (and from its eponymous journal publication) and focused less on advocating and protecting elite hunting rights. There was less of a utilitarian preservation approach to protecting "game" and more framing of Africa's wildlife-rich landscapes as some kind of lost Eden in need of protection and preservation.⁴⁷ Socio-technological changes influenced this shift, as improved cameras offered an alternative to rifles as a means of "capturing" animals.⁴⁸ The idea of "hunting with a camera" became a popular activity.⁴⁹ The development of the internal combustion engine likewise made African wildlife accessible in new ways, especially in the savanna landscapes of eastern and southern Africa.⁵⁰ Animals were becoming less of a hunting resource and more of a tourism resource. As a part of this shift, there was a move away from promoting "game reserves" toward the idea of establishing "national parks" as a means of wildlife preservation. This was both a philosophical and legal shift. The name "*game* reserve" evinces the colonial elite hunter idiom: animals being framed as "game"—and ultimately as an object for the "sporting" of hunting.⁵¹ The notion of "*game reserves*" was a derivative of forest reserves, which had been long established in the British Empire (first in India, then across Africa) as a largely utilitarian space to preserve timber for the empire's needs.⁵² Game reserves were about maintaining animal population numbers, so they could be hunted without remorse. The creation of national parks implied a broader conservation rhetoric, concerned with preserving not only animals but also the landscape, the African Eden.⁵³ The national park ideal was underpinned by a Western notion of wilderness, that humans should be seen as being separate from "nature," and therefore that their exclusion created a purer environment.⁵⁴ As Elizabeth Lunstrum observes, this idea has ultimately resulted in the forceful eviction of resident communities, with "wilderness" created through violent dispossession:

this dispossession has routinely been justified by discourses of both nature under threat and resident populations as the root cause . . . Such violence, moreover, is often racialized, routinely directed against indigenous peoples with the goal of creating and maintaining 'wild' spaces for the benefit of typically white visitors and to enable experiences of exclusionary belonging to nature and nation.⁵⁵

National Parks in Africa were not created from unoccupied space; rather, they were imposed upon, and ultimately displaced, local populations.⁵⁶ The Western concept of wilderness thus has negative material implications for the continent.⁵⁷ It has led to what Dan Brockington describes as “Fortress Conservation,” a militarized and exclusionary approach to wildlife conservation.⁵⁸

Africa’s first major national park was the Albert National Park (later renamed the Virunga National Park) in the Belgian Congo, which was founded in 1925 by “a very small network consisting of only a few dozen internationally well-connected naturalists, diplomats, and royals.”⁵⁹ Members of the Society, along with representatives from the New York Zoological Society and King Albert of Belgium, were the key figures behind the park. A key moment in the national park’s establishment was a trip by King Albert to the United States in 1919. Visits to Yosemite and the Grand Canyon left the King “impressed . . . with ideals of preserving landscapes and protecting endangered species.”⁶⁰ The Albert National Park, however, did not follow the blueprints of what later became known as the Yellowstone (or Yosemite) model—which was based on the ideology of creating exclusive protected areas for tourist consumption. Rather the Belgian model aimed to create an “integrated nature reserve” that was to be set aside for scientific research, a “natural laboratory” to serve scientists from across the globe.⁶¹ This approach to wildlife conservation was also common in Francophone Africa. (The creation of the Mount Nimba Strict Forest Reserve in Côte d’Ivoire is a notable example.)⁶² As Thomas Lekan explains,

the Belgian [delegation] stressed that their reserves were neither hunting reserves nor national parks dedicated to tourists on the American Yellowstone model. Instead, like their French counterparts, they saw their imperial parks as scientific reserves. Similar to the Nimba Reserve in the Ivory Coast, the French and Belgians considered their national parks to be extensions of natural history museums in the metropole, as “integrated nature reserves” (*réserves naturelles intégrales*) whose primary purpose was research and study, not recreation.⁶³

Thus, the Albert National Park, aside from providing protection to mountain gorillas in the region, was presented in its early years as space for scientific research and international collaboration.

The conservation approaches of colonial governments were determined as much by physical location as they were by national ideology. Central and western Africa, where Belgian and French colonial territories were located, tended to have landscapes of dense tropical forest. In contrast, southern and eastern Africa, where many of Britain’s colonies were located (e.g., Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa), were dominated by tree and grassland savanna—which is characterized by open grassland with small or dispersed trees. The savanna landscapes were more conducive to mass forms of tourism. They were easier to make accessible to cars, and, critically, it is easier to spot wildlife in open grasslands than it is in dense tropical forests.⁶⁴

In 1926, the year after Albert National Park was founded, another major national park was set up in Africa: the Kruger National Park in South Africa (see Figure 3). A key figure behind its establishment was James Stevenson-Hamilton, a Scottish landowner and one-time Secretary of the Society, who also served as the park's first warden. Its creation was the result of a regazettement (i.e., re-establishment) of the Transvaal Game Reserve into a national park. The national park emerged from the political circumstances of the time, driven by a White South African government that saw the project as an effective way to bolster white nationalist unity.⁶⁵ Unlike the Albert National Park, the Kruger National Park drew on the Yellowstone model. It was meant to be a tourism resource. As Jane Carruthers notes, "in 1926, a reversion to conservationist principles occurred: wildlife was once more to be utilised for human ends and was again recognised as being a profitable resource to exploit, this time for recreational game viewing." The national park was named after Paul Kruger, a Boer nationalist who was President of South Africa at the time. Thus, in an apt illustration of the colonial thinking behind early wildlife conservation, both of Africa's first major national parks were named after white men.

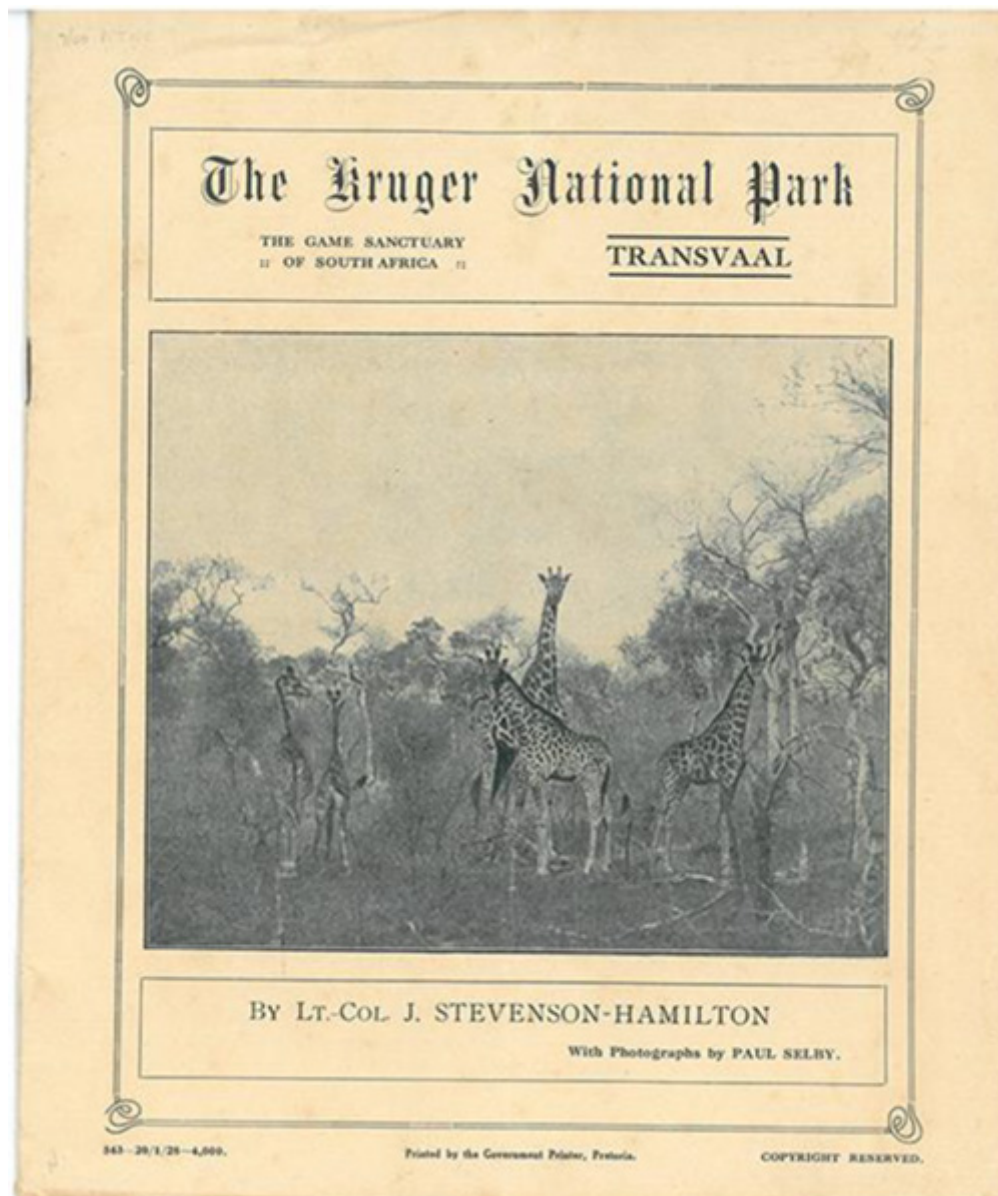


Figure 3. Cover of a pamphlet on the Kruger National Park, written by James Stevenson-Hamilton in 1928, the park's first warden.

Source: Africa Geographic Editorial and Noelle Oosthuizen, "The Kruger, an Evolving Conservation Success Story <<https://africageographic.com/stories/history-and-future-of-the-kruger/>>," *African Geographic Stories* 213 (July 2018).

Building on these early examples, a major focus on the Society during the 1920s and 1930s was promoting the creation of national parks across the African colonies. In 1930 and 1931, Society delegations were sent to British colonies across the continent, where they directly lobbied colonial governors to establish national parks and improve wildlife conservation activities. This movement gained further traction with the second Convention for the Protection of the Flora and Fauna of Africa, which was held in London in 1933, thirty-three

years after the inaugural convention. The second convention advocated for even more restrictive laws on the African population's hunting rights and obligated all signatories to "explore forthwith the possibility of establishing in their territories national parks":

The expression "national park" shall denote an area (a) placed under public control, the boundaries of which shall not be altered or any portion be capable of alienation except by the competent legislative authority, (b) set aside for the propagation, protection and preservation of wild animal life and wild vegetation, and for the preservation of objects of aesthetic, geological prehistoric, historical, archaeological, or other scientific interest for the benefit, advantage, and enjoyment of the general public, (c) in which the hunting, killing or capturing of fauna and the destruction or collection of flora is prohibited except by or under the direction or control of the park authorities.⁶⁶

While the first convention can be viewed as a primarily preservationist document, John MacKenzie notes that the second was more conservationist.⁶⁷ There was a shift from game preservation to a broader environmental conservation ethos—a focus on protecting the natural environment, rather than just game. The influence of the second convention, however, proved to be limited. While some wildlife conservation activities occurred in the colonies, the establishment of national parks and advancement of wildlife conservation policies was a slow process in subsequent years. This was because many colony governments resisted the implementation of these measures. In part, this resistance was enabled by the non-binding language of the London Convention, which "allowed them to hold conservationists at arm's length when they felt that an embrace would be financially costly or politically inexpedient."⁶⁸ By the time World War II broke out in 1939, there were still no national parks in Africa beyond the territories of the Belgian Congo and South Africa.

Post-World War II Wildlife: The Second Scramble for Africa

While colonial wildlife conservation praxis was relatively stagnant prior to, and during, World War II, in the two decades afterward, there was a "veritable conservation boom" across southern and eastern Africa. Dozens of new National Parks were established in this period and wildlife conservation activities received increased financing and support. As Roderick Neumann details, several interrelated political economy trends facilitated this rapid change.⁶⁹ For one, this was a period when formal colonial rule began to give way to African independence, with the British Colonial Office shifting its focus toward "development" and "modernization" as key strategies for its engagement with African colonies. The Society, early on at least, still played an influential role in lobbying the government. Notably, it succeeded in publishing a series of letters critical of wildlife slaughter in eastern and central Africa in the *London Times*. The articles fostered a problematic—but, at the time, uncontested—discourse of mass wildlife destruction by African populations. Subsequently, the centralized control of wildlife populations (and land) became a higher priority in the British project of African

modernization.⁷⁰ This move was reinforced by a shift toward international scientific wildlife management and the increase in international tourism, which made African wildlife watching into a lucrative attraction.⁷¹

The rapid proliferation of international conservation organizations in the postwar period aided these projects.⁷² The International Union for the Protection of Nature, later renamed the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), was founded in 1948 and worked closely with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which was founded in 1945, in promoting international conservation initiatives.⁷³ These organizations were later joined by the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), later known as the World Wide Fund for Nature. Both were founded in 1961. WWF's early fundraising efforts were specifically directed toward Africa.⁷⁴ The expansion of these new international environmental conservation organizations not only diminished the influence of the Society, which had been the most significant international conservation organization for nearly five decades, but also diminished the Colonial Office's powers.⁷⁵ Where the agenda for wildlife conservation and national parks in Africa was once set by the colonial state apparatus, now it was increasingly shaped by scientists and resource managers from international organizations.

The postwar proliferation of international organizations and the decline of empires did not, however, result in a major change to the philosophy of wildlife conservation in Africa. Undercurrents of colonialist perspectives and deeply rooted narratives about African people continued to shape practices of wildlife protection.⁷⁶ The notion of separating nature and society arguably became even more engrained with the creation (or imposition) of national parks requiring the mass displacement of African populations. Neumann summarizes:

From the late 1950s, most existing and all subsequent national parks in East and Central Africa banned human settlement altogether. Evictions from Matopo National Park were implemented in 1950 and completed in 1962 when all remaining residents were removed. The regulations for Kenya's first [national] park, Nairobi (1946), initially allowed Somali residents to remain, but mandated sharp reductions in their livestock populations. All were finally evicted in 1966. The most widely publicized dispute over African occupation of park lands occurred in Tanganyika's first national park, Serengeti (1948). Evictions were begun in the early 1950s, with only Masaai pastoralists allowed to remain under highly restrictive conditions for land use.⁷⁷

National parks, in short, displaced African populations and permanently affected their livelihoods.⁷⁸ In a "second scramble for Africa," the internal territory of the African colonies was reshaped by governance and legal regimes that excluded populations from large tracts of land.⁷⁹ African communities affected by these changes did not accept (and have not accepted) these land rights changes passively. Ongoing resistance to the implementation of national parks is a key political endeavor for many displaced populations.⁸⁰

Along similar lines, national parks in Africa are often sites of conflict over issues of environmental justice. As Michael Walker has shown with his research on the Gorongosa National Park in Mozambique—which was initially created as a space for Portuguese colonial settlers to enjoy aesthetic and leisure activities in the 1920s—“conservation distributes fortunes and misfortunes” in an unequal and racist manner.⁸¹ Local communities in the Gorongosa region were displaced with the creation of a National Park in order to create a recreation space for wealthy colonial settlers. There is thus a critical question of National Parks for whom, in terms of their creation?

While the changes were most acute in southern and eastern Africa, the colonial wildlife conservation surge would occur in West Africa as well. Overall, colonial wildlife policy in West Africa has been a mere echo of policies in eastern and southern Africa. The region tended to be peripheral to the colonial wildlife conservation project. Due to climatic and environmental factors (i.e., dense tropical forests), the region never attracted large numbers of big-game hunters. While wildlife ordinances were implemented in the region as early as 1900, they were carbon copies of east African wildlife ordinances and included schedules for animals that do not even exist in west Africa. They had limited relevance and few means of enforcement. Although a handful of game reserves were established during the colonial period, it was not until independence from Europe that national parks were established in the region: Ghana in 1971 (Digya National Park), Nigeria in 1976 (Kainji National Park), the Gambia in 1978 (River Gambia National Park), and Sierra Leone in 1995 (Outamba-Kilimi National Park).⁸² Much of the conservation work in west Africa has included a focus on converting old colonial forests reserves into national parks, usually with funding support from organizations like the IUCN and WWF.⁸³

Colonial Wildlife Legacies

The legacy of colonial wildlife conservation praxis remains prominent in Africa. The creation and management of national parks is still the cornerstone of wildlife conservation policies across the continent. It is an uneasy legacy and, as Dan Brockington notes, it is one that has attracted some critical reflection in the conservation movement:

The wisdom of alienating land and defending the resultant conservation ‘fortresses’ has been queried as part of a large-scale reappraisal of conservation ethics practices that has been gathering strength since the early 1980s. Current writing of African conservation questions the appropriateness of its values (because of their western origins and wholesale imposition on different societies and ecologies) and the possibility of sustaining previous practices (because they entail setting up parks and reserves from which local people are kept out by force).⁸⁴

In response to this line of criticism, a new generation of ideas to secure wildlife conservation based on community involvement has emerged since the 1980s, variously called community conservation, community wildlife management, and community based natural resource

management.⁸⁵ The premise of these approaches is to explore new means for communities to participate in wildlife conservation projects. Projects adopting these approaches across the continent vary greatly. In practice, however, community participation is often limited to forms of information provision and passive participation that legitimize top-down forms of conservation more than fostering genuine community involvement.⁸⁶ Community-oriented approaches, moreover, have not radically displaced colonial forms of conservation praxis.⁸⁷ Indeed, research indicates that there has been a shift away from community-based programs back to more centralized forms of state control.⁸⁸ Lunstrum describes this as a pattern of “green militarization,” with rangers in African national parks being given more “rigorous militarized training, more lethal weapons, and permission to use more deadly force.”⁸⁹ Such militarized approaches alienate “communities from conservation and reproduce colonial-era dynamics of distrust and exclusion.”⁹⁰ The early idea of the “penitent butcher” from the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire looms large in most African conservation policy discourse today, and the material legacy of national parks still marks the African landscape.

The Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire still exists. After several name (and ideological) changes, it is known today as the Flora and Fauna International (FFI). While protecting elite hunting interests is nowhere in its contemporary mission, it is still “dedicated to protecting our planet’s threatened wildlife and habitats.” Recently, in 2017 FFI released a book, *With Honourable Intent*, detailing its contribution to conservation history.⁹¹ Her Majesty, the Queen of the United Kingdom, is the association’s royal patron.

Discussion of the Literature

As Neumann has noted, early works on conservation history in Africa tended to be authored by conservation advocates, adopting narratives that framed the establishment of national parks in Africa during the colonial era as a moral imperative rather than a political struggle.⁹² Since the 1990s, however, scholarship has tended to draw on the critical fields of environmental history and political ecology to inform analyses, paying greater attention to the colonial and political structures underpinning Africa’s conservation history.⁹³ Still, scholarship in the field has been, and still is, dominated by Anglo-scholars, most of whom are not based in Africa (the author of this piece included). More support is needed to elevate and support African historical scholars, who would undoubtedly offer additional critical perspectives on the history of colonial wildlife conservation, as well as its intersections with and impacts on existing wildlife conservation praxis in Africa.⁹⁴

John Mackenzie’s monograph, *The Empire of Nature*, arguably provides the broadest overview of the emergence of the international wildlife movement in Africa, with an analysis stretching from the early hunting activities of European elites to the creation of national parks across Africa (and Asia). Angela Thompsett and Edward Steinhart have also authored key works exploring the history of hunting in Africa, and its enduring legacy for wildlife conservation.⁹⁵

The Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (under the guise of its more contemporary names) has authored two history books of its activities, one in 1978 to celebrate its 75th anniversary, and a more recent one in 2017.⁹⁶ A more critical history of the Society can be found in John Mackenzie's monograph. David Prendergast and William Adams have written an article on the Society's activities during its first decade and Roderick Neumann has detailed some of its work between 1926 -1945.⁹⁷ Beyond this excellent scholarship, there is surprisingly little in the way of work explicitly focused on the Society's activities and impact. This is a notable lacuna, given the Society's disproportionate influence on colonial wildlife conservation praxis.

South Africa's wildlife conservation histories have been documented in some outstanding environmental history scholarship. William Beinart's monograph *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa* traces the emergence of conservationist ideas and activities in South Africa.⁹⁸ Jane Carruthers has likewise made prolific contributions in documenting South Africa's environmental history, including her book, *The Kruger National Park*, which explores how the Park's creation was entangled with wider political and socio-economic concerns in South Africa.⁹⁹

For east Africa, the work of political ecologist Roderick Neumann has arguably been most influential. His monograph, *Imposing Wilderness*, along with his various articles, provide a critical analysis of the politics of colonial conservation in east Africa, with a case study focus on Tanzania.¹⁰⁰ More recently, Reuben Matheka has built upon Neumann's work with a similar political ecology framework to examine wildlife conservation in Kenya at the cusp of independence.¹⁰¹ Dan Brockington's book, *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania*, provides a powerful case study and critique of colonial conservation history in Africa.

Jan Bender-Shetler's work, notably her book, *Imagining Serengeti: A History of Landscape Memory in Tanzania from Earliest Times to the Present*, provides a rich history of the Serengeti in Tanzania, and draws on her ethnographic research. Thomas Lekan has also conducted some excellent research on the history of the Serengeti. His book, *Our Gigantic Zoo: A German Quest to Save the Serengeti*, focuses on the life and influence of the great German wildlife conservationist, the former Frankfurt Zoo director and Oscar-winning documentarian, Bernhard Grzimek. Bernhard Gissibl's recent book, *The Nature of German Colonialism*, is another welcome contribution addressing the under-researched area of colonial wildlife conservation activities (and hunting history) in German East Africa.

West Africa's wildlife conservation history has been less well-documented. Pauline von Hellerman, in the postscript of her monograph, *Things Fall Apart?*, provides a history of the Okuma National Park in Nigeria, while Paul Munro has a chapter in his book, *Colonial Seeds in African Soil*, that details Sierra Leone's wildlife conservation history.¹⁰² Both books look at how wildlife conservation measures in West Africa intersected with and built on colonial forestry activities. Both works also draw on a political ecology framework to inform their analyses.

There are some notable gaps in Africa's colonial wildlife history. There have been no comprehensive works focused on colonial wildlife conservation history in francophone Africa, for example. This is an unfortunate omission, particularly given the vast territory that the French empire colonized. Lusophone Africa has also received limited attention. There is one article, published by Brian Huntley in 1974, that offers an outline of Angola's wildlife conservation history.¹⁰³ Clapperton Mavhunga and Marja Spierenburg have also published an article examining attempts that were made to establish a transboundary national park between Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe), and South Africa between 1925 and 1940.¹⁰⁴ Geographer Elizabeth Lunstrum has a series of excellent articles that critically engage with national park conservation in Mozambique and South Africa, with a particular focus on the rise of green militarization based on earlier colonial praxis, as well as on the creation of the Limpopo National Park in Mozambique.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, Michael Walker has published an article that examined the Gorongosa National Park (GNP) in Mozambique in some detail.¹⁰⁶ Beyond these works, there is little on wildlife conservation histories in the former Portuguese colonies in Africa. Research on wildlife conservation in the Belgian Congo has also been relatively limited. A notable exception is the work of Raf De Bont, who has published a couple of recent articles detailing the history of the Virunga National Park (formerly the Albert National Park).¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, overall, colonial wildlife history scholarship on Africa has been decidedly Anglocentric.

Primary Sources

Given that colonial wildlife conservation is a pan-African topic, the potential for primary source materials is immense, and a comprehensive overview is beyond the scope of this article. Nevertheless, this section provides a broad overview.

Archives of colonial communications are a key primary source. These can be found at the National Archives <<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>> in the United Kingdom, the Archives Nationales <<http://www.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/en/faire-une-recherche>> in France, and the State Archives of Belgium <<http://arch.arch.be/index.php%3Fl=en>>. Most African countries also have formal archival collections containing colonial material that are accessible to the public. Beyond these formal collections, it is worth contacting or visiting Government Wildlife Offices, both central and regional, in Africa. Often, these offices have filing cabinets filled with old colonial records and maps.

European colonial aristocratic hunters were often prolific writers, detailing their hunting exploits and African expeditions in authored books. There are too many to list here, but the reference lists in books by John MacKenzie, Edward Steinhart and Angela Thompsett (see "Discussion of the Literature") offer a comprehensive index of these works. The journal *The Field*—also known as *The Field, The Farm, The Garden, the Country Gentleman's Newspaper*—was a popular magazine dedicated to sports hunting during the colonial era, and includes many stories of African hunting expeditions.

Edward Buxton, the key figure behind the establishment of Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire, authored the book, *Two African Trips: With Notes and Suggestions on Big Game Preservation*, in 1902, which provides some direct insights into his wildlife preservation philosophy.¹⁰⁸ This book,

in PDF form, among many other early colonial works can be found at the Internet Archive [<https://archive.org/>](https://archive.org/). The Rhino Resource Center [<http://www.rhinoresourcecenter.com/>](http://www.rhinoresourcecenter.com/) also contains an excellent digital database of colonial wildlife primary sources (obviously with a focus on rhinoceroses).

The Society's journal, *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire*, which began publication in 1904, is an excellent primary source. The journal was renamed the *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire* in 1921, and then renamed again as *Oryx* in 1950. The latter is still publishing academic articles on wildlife conservation to this day.

Further Reading

Beinhart, William. *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and the Environment, 1770–1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Brockington, Dan. *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.

Carruthers, Jane. *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History*. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 1995.

Carruthers, Jane. *Wildlife and Warfare: The Life of James Stevenson-Hamilton*. Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Natal University Press, 2001.

Fitter, Richard, and Sir Peter Scott. *The Penitent Butchers: The Fauna Preservation Society, 1903–1978*. London: Fauna Preservation Society, 1978.

Gissibl, Bernhard. *The Nature of German Colonialism: Conservation and the Politics of Wildlife in Colonial East Africa*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016.

Knight, Tim, and Mark Rose. *With Honourable Intent: A Natural History of Flora and Fauna International*. London: Harper Collins, 2017.

Lekan, Thomas N. *Our Gigantic Zoo: A German Quest to Save the Serengeti*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

MacKenzie, John M. *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1997.

Matheka, Reuben. "The Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation in Kenya, 1895–1975." PhD diss., Rhodes University, 2001.

Munro, Paul G. *Colonial Seeds in African Soil: A Critical History of Forest Conservation in Sierra Leone*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2020.

Neumann, Roderick. *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Schauer, Jeff. *Wildlife between Empire and Nation in Twentieth-Century Africa*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018.

Shelter, Jan B. *Imagining Serengeti: A History of Landscape Memory in Tanzania from Earliest Times to the Present*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007.

Steinhart, Edward I. *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006.

Thompson, Angela. *Hunting Africa: British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire*. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014.

Notes

1. Henry Seton-Karr, "The Preservation of Big Game," *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* 4 (1908): 26–28.
2. "The Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire: Origins and Objects of the Society," *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* 2 (1905): 1.
3. Richard Fitter and Peter Scott, *The Penitent Butchers: 75 Years of Wildlife Conservation* (London: The Fauna Preservation Society, 1978).
4. Seton-Karr, "The Preservation of Big Game," 27.
5. Munyaradzi Manyanga and George Pangeti, "Pre-colonial Hunting in Southern Africa: A Changing Paradigm," in *Archives, Objects, Places and Landscapes: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Decolonised Zimbabwean Pasts*, ed. Munyaradzi Manyanga and Shadreck Chirikure (Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, 2017), 277–294; Daniel Stiles, "A History of the Hunting Peoples of the Northern East Africa Coast: Ecological and Socio-Economic Considerations," *Paideuma: Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde* 28 (1982): 165–174.
6. Kwame Osei Kwarteng, "A History of Pre-colonial and Colonial Wildlife Conservation in Ghana," in *Between Rhetoric and Reality: The State and Use of Indigenous Knowledge in Post-colonial Africa*, ed. Munyaradzi Mawere and Samue Awuah-Nyamekye (Bamenda, Cameroon: Langaa RPCIG, 2015), 131–166; Liveson Tatira, "The Role of Indigenous Shona Cultural Beliefs and Practices in the Conservation of the Environment," in Munyaradzi and Awuah-Nyamekye, *Between Rhetoric and Reality*, 229–240; Yaa Ntiamoa-Baidu, "Indigenous Beliefs and Biodiversity Conservation: The Effectiveness of Sacred Groves, Taboos and Totems in Ghana for Habitat and Species Conservation," *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture* 2, no. 3 (January 2008); Francis Diawuo and Abdul Karim Issifu, "Exploring the African Traditional Belief Systems in Natural Resource Conservation and Management in Ghana," *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 8, no. 9 (December 2015): 115–131; K. L. Lucy Mandillah and Georges-Ivo Ekosse, "African Totems: Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Environmental Conservation," *Conservation Science in Cultural Heritage* 18, no. 1 (2018): 201–218; Benjamin I. Dagba, Leoskali N. Sambe, and Simon A. Shomkegh, "Totemic Beliefs and Biodiversity Conservation among the Tiv People of Benue State, Nigeria," *Journal of Natural Sciences Research* 3, no. 8 (2013): 145–149; Denis Ndeloh Etiendem, Luc Hens, and Zjef Pereboom, "Traditional Knowledge Systems and the Conservation of Cross River Gorillas: A Case Study of Bechati, Fossimondi, Besali, Cameroon," *Ecology and Society* 16, no. 3 (2011): 22; A. Rim-Rukeh, G. Irerhievwie, and I. E. Agbozu, "Traditional Beliefs and Conservation of Natural Resources: Evidences from Selected

- Communities in Delta State, Nigeria,” *International Journal of Biodiversity and Conservation* 5, no. 7 (July 2013): 426–432. Makamure Clemence and D. Vengesai Chimininge, “Totem, Taboos and Sacred Places: An Analysis of Karanga People’s Environmental Conservation and Management Practices,” *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention* 14, no. 11 (2015): 7–12; Paul Andre DeGeorges and Brian Kevin Reilly, “The Realities of Community Based Natural Resource Management and Biodiversity Conservation in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *Sustainability* 1, no. 3 (2009): 734–788.
7. Angela Thompsell, *Hunting Africa: British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 18; John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1997).
8. Thomas N. Håkansson, “Trade, Trinkets, and Environmental Change at the Edge of World Systems: Political Ecology and the East African Ivory Trade,” in *Rethinking Environmental History: World-System History and Global Environmental Change*, ed. Alf Hornborg, John Robert McNeill, and Juan Martínez Alier (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2007), 143–162.
9. Martha Chaiklin, “Ivory in World History—Early Modern Trade in Context,” *History Compass* 8, no. 6 (June 2010): 530–542.
10. Edward I. Steinhart, “Hunters, Poachers and Gamekeepers: Towards a Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya,” *Journal of African History* 30, no. 2 (July 1989): 247–264.
11. MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 86.
12. David K. Prendergast and William M. Adams, “Colonial Wildlife Conservation and the Origins of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (1903–1914),” *Oryx* 37, no. 2 (April 2003): 251–260.
13. Thompsell, *Hunting Africa*, 20.
14. Edward I. Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006); MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*.
15. Thompsell, *Hunting Africa*, 22.
16. Steinhart, *Black Poachers*; MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*.
17. Roderick P. Neumann, “Dukes, Earls and Ersatz Edens: Aristocratic Nature Preservationists in Colonial Africa,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14, no. 1 (February 1996): 80.
18. Neumann, “Dukes,” 20.
19. Jan Bender-Shetler, *Imagining Serengeti: A History of Landscape Memory in Tanzania from Earliest Times to the Present* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007), 179.
20. Bender-Shetler, *Imagining Serengeti*, 135–168.
21. William Beinart, “Empire, Hunting and Ecological Change in Southern and Central Africa,” *Past & Present* 128 (August 1990): 162–186.
22. Thompsell, *Hunting Africa*, 12–41.
23. Bernhard Gissibl, *The Nature of German Colonialism: Conservation and the Politics of Wildlife in Colonial East Africa* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), Chapter 2; MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 205.

24. Reuben M. Matheka, "Decolonisation and Wildlife Conservation in Kenya, 1958–68," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 36, no. 4 (2008): 615–639; MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*.
25. Jane Carruthers, "Creating a National Park, 1910 to 1926," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15, no. 2 (January 1989): 191.
26. Peter Vandergeest, "Mapping Nature: Territorialization of Forest Rights in Thailand," *Society and Natural Resources* 9 (1996): 159–175; Peter Vandergeest and Nancy Lee Peluso, "Territorialization and State Power in Thailand," *Theory and Society* 24 (June 1995): 385–426; Paul G. Munro, *Colonial Seeds in African Soil: A Critical History of Forest Conservation in Sierra Leone* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2020), Chapter 2.
27. "Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds, and Fish in Africa: Signed at London, May 19, 1900," *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* 1 (1904): 29.
28. Thomas M. Lekan, *Our Gigantic Zoo: A German Quest to Save the Serengeti* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020); MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, Chapter 8.
29. "Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals," 31.
30. MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, Chapter 5.
31. Thompsell, *Hunting Africa*, Chapter 1.
32. Prendergast and Adams, "Colonial wildlife conservation," 253.
33. Prendergast and Adams, "Colonial wildlife conservation," 254.
34. "Memorial to the Right Hon. Earl Cromer, K. C. B. and The Governor-General of The Sudan," *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* 1 (1904): 4.
35. Neumann, "Dukes," 87.
36. Elizabeth Lunstrum, "Feed Them to the Lions: Conservation Violence Goes Online," *Geoforum* 79 (February 2017): 136.
37. MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*.
38. Prendergast and Adams, "Colonial Wildlife Conservation"; Neumann, "Dukes"; MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 212.
39. MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 213.
40. Prendergast and Adams, "Colonial wildlife conservation," 356.
41. Jeff Schauer, *Wildlife between Empire and Nation in Twentieth Century Africa* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018), Chapter 2.
42. Neumann, "Dukes," 93.
43. Munro, *Colonial Seeds*, Chapter 5.
44. Roben Mutwira, "Southern Rhodesian Wildlife Policy (1890–1953): A Question of Condoning Game Slaughter?" *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15, no. 2 (January 1989): 250–262.
45. For example, see E. A. Minchin, "The Tsetse Fly and Sleeping Sickness," *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* 3 (1907): 47–59; Ernest E. Austen and Charles M. D. Steward, "The Tsetse Fly as a Disease-Carrier, British Central Africa, the Big Game Question," *Journal of the Society for*

the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire 3 (1907): 43–44; James Stevenson-Hamilton, “Opposition to Game Reserves,” *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* 3 (1907): 53–59; Ernest E. Auston, “The Dependence or Non-dependence of Tsetse-Flies upon Big Game, with Special Reference to the Species of Tsetse known as *Glossina palpalis* and Sleeping Sickness,” *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire* 4 (1908): 11–25.

46. Prendergast and Adams, “Colonial Wildlife Conservation,” 252.

47. Roderick P. Neumann, “Ways of Seeing Africa: Colonial Recasting of African Society and Landscape in Serengeti National Park,” *Ecumene* 2, no. 2 (April 1995): 149–169.

48. William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, “Empire and the Visual Representation of Nature, 1860–1960,” *History Compass* 6, no. 5 (September 2008): 1177–1193.

49. James R. Ryan, “‘Hunting with a Camera’: Photography, Wildlife and Colonialism in Africa,” in *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*, ed. Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (London: Routledge, 2000), 205–222.

50. MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 201.

51. Jane Carruthers, “Changing Perspectives on Wildlife in Southern Africa, c. 1840 to c. 1914,” *Society & Animals* 13, no. 3 (2005): 183–200.

52. Gregory A. Barton, *Empire Forestry and the Origins of Environmentalism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), Chapter 5.

53. David Anderson and Richard H. Grove, eds., *Conservation in Africa: Peoples, Policies and Practice* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Chapter 1.

54. Roderick P. Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

55. Lunstrum, “Feed Them to the Lions,” 136.

56. Mark Dowie, *Conservation Refugees: The Hundred-Year Conflict between Global Conservation and Native Peoples* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

57. See Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness*.

58. Dan Brockington, *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002).

59. It is frequently referred to as Africa’s oldest national park; however, as Jane Carruthers notes, the lesser known (and often overlooked) Royal Natal National Park in South Africa can also lay claim to this title as it was gazetted in 1916. See Jane Carruthers, “The Royal Natal National Park, Kwazulu-Natal: Mountaineering, Tourism and Nature Conservation in South Africa’s First National Park c. 1896 to c. 1947,” *Environment and History* 19, no. 4 (November 2013): 459–485; Raf De Bont, “A World Laboratory: Framing the Albert National Park,” *Environmental History* 22 (July 2017): 404–432.

60. De Bont, “World Laboratory,” 407.

61. Lekan, *Our Gigantic Zoo*; Raf De Bont, “Internationalism in the Heart of Africa? The Albert National Park / Virunga National Park,” *Arcadia* 16 (Summer 2018); and De Bont, “World Laboratory,” 411–412.

62. See Lekan, *Our Gigantic Zoo*.

63. Lekan, *Our Gigantic Zoo*, 56.
64. Gordon Pirie, "Automobile Organizations Driving Tourism in Pre-independence Africa," *Journal of Tourism History* 5, no. 1 (2013): 73–91.
65. Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 1995); Carruthers, "Creating a National Park."
66. Cited in "Protection of the Fauna and Flora of Africa," *Nature* 132, no. 886 (1933): 491.
67. MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 202.
68. Roderick P. Neumann, "The Postwar Conservation Boom in British Colonial Africa," *Environmental History* 7, no. 1 (January 2002): 27.
69. Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom," 22–41.
70. Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom," 28–30.
71. Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom," 34.
72. Reuben M. Matheka, "The International Dimension of the Politics of Wildlife Conservation in Kenya, 1958–1968," *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 1 (2008): 112–133.
73. Matheka, "Decolonisation and Wildlife Conservation."
74. Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom," 33, 39.
75. Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom," 37.
76. See Schauer, *Wildlife*.
77. Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom," 34.
78. See Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness*.
79. Neumann, "Postwar Conservation Boom," 37.
80. See George Holmes, "Protection, Politics and Protest: Understanding Resistance to Conservation," *Conservation and Society* 5 no. 2 (2007): 184–201; Marina Padrão Temudo, "'The White Men Bought the Forests': Conservation and Contestation in Guinea-Bissau, Western Africa," *Conservation and Society* 10, no. 4 (2012): 354–366.
81. Michael M. Walker, "Producing Gorongosa: Space and the Environmental Politics of Degradation in Mozambique," *Conservation and Society* 13, no. 2 (2015): 130.
82. Paul G. Munro, "Geza Teleki and the Emergence of Sierra Leone's Wildlife Conservation Movement," *Primate Conservation* 29 (December 2015): 115–122.
83. Munro, *Colonial Seeds*, Chapter 5.
84. Brockington, *Fortress Conservation*, 8.
85. Samantha Jones, "A Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation in Africa," *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 109 (September 2006): 483–495.
86. Jones, *A Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation in Africa*, 486.

87. See Jacklyn Cock and David Fig, "From Colonial to Community-Based Conservation: Environmental Justice and the National Parks of South Africa," *Society in Transition* 31, no. 1 (2000): 22–35; James Murombedzi, "Devolving the Expropriation of Nature: The 'Devolution' of Wildlife Management in Southern Africa," in *Decolonizing Nature: Strategies for Conservation in a Post-colonial Era*, ed. William Mark Adams and Martin Mulligan (London: Earthscan, 2003), 125–151; Mara Goldman, "Partitioned Nature, Privileged Knowledge: Community-Based Conservation in Tanzania," *Development and Change* 34, no. 5 (November 2003): 833–862; DeGeorges Paul Andre and Kevin Reilly, "The Realities of Community Based Natural Resource Management and biodiversity conservation in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Sustainability* 1, no. 3 (2009): 734–788.
88. Tor A. Benjaminsen, Mara J. Goldman, Maya Y. Minwary, and Faustin P. Maganga, "Wildlife Management in Tanzania: State Control, Rent Seeking and Community Resistance," *Development and Change* 44, no. 5 (September 2013): 1087–1109.
89. Elizabeth Lunstrum, "Green Militarization: Anti-poaching Efforts and the Spatial Contours of Kruger National Park," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104, no. 4 (2014): 819.
90. Elizabeth Lunstrum, "Capitalism, Wealth, and Conservation in the Age of Security: The Vitalization of the State," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 108, no. 4 (2018): 1035.
91. Tim Knight and Mark Rose, *With Honourable Intent: A Natural History of Flora & Fauna International* (London: Harper Collins, 2017).
92. Roderick P. Neumann, "Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation in the Mt. Meru Area of Northeast Tanzania," *Land Degradation & Development* 3, no. 2 (July 1992): 85–98.
93. See e.g., Munro, *Colonial Seeds*.
94. Clapperton Mavhunga has done some excellent research in this area. See Clapperton Mavhunga, "Firearms Diffusion, Exotic and Indigenous Knowledge Systems in the Lowveld Frontier, South Eastern Zimbabwe, 1870-1920," *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society* 1, no. 2 (August 2003): 201–231.
95. Thompsell, *Hunting Africa*; Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters*.
96. Fitter and Scott, *The Penitent Butchers*; Knight and Rose, *With Honourable Intent*.
97. Prendergast and Adams, "Colonial Wildlife Conservation"; Neumann, "Dukes."
98. William Beinhardt, *The Rise of Conservation in South Africa: Settlers, Livestock, and The Environment, 1770-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
99. Carruthers, "Creating a National Park"; Carruthers, "Royal Natal"; Carruthers, "Changing Perspectives"; Jane Carruthers, *Wildlife and Warfare: The Life of James Stevenson-Hamilton* (Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Natal University Press, 2001); Jane Carruthers, "Conservation and Wildlife Management in South African National Parks, 1930s-1960s," *Journal of the History of Biology* 41, no. 2 (2008): 203–236; Jane Carruthers, "Influences on Wildlife Management and Conservation Biology in South Africa c. 1900 to c. 1940," *South African Historical Journal* 58, no. 1 (January 2007): 65–90; Jane Carruthers, "Dissecting the Myth: Paul Kruger and the Kruger National Park," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, no. 2 (1994): 263–283.
100. Neumann, "Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation"; Roderick P. Neumann, "Primitive Ideas: Protected Area Buffer Zones and the Politics of Land in Africa," *Development and Change* 28 (July 1997): 559–582; Roderick P. Neumann, "Africa's 'Last Wilderness': Reordering Space for Political and Economic Control in Colonial Tanzania," *Africa* 71, no. 4 (November 2001): 641–665; Neumann, "Dukes"; Neumann, "Ways of Seeing Africa."

101. Matheka, "Decolonisation and Wildlife Conservation"; Matheka. "International Dimension"; Reuben Matheka, "The Political Ecology of Wildlife Conservation in Kenya, 1895–1975," PhD diss., Rhodes University, 2001.
102. Pauline Von Hellermann, *Things Fall Apart?: The Political Ecology of Forest Governance in Southern Nigeria* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), Chapter 6; Munro, *Colonial Seeds*, Chapter 5.
103. Brian J. Huntley, "Outlines of Wildlife Conservation in Angola," *South African Journal of Wildlife Research* 4, no. 3 (January 1974): 157–166.
104. Clapperton Mavhunga and Marja Spierenburg, "Transfrontier Talk, Cordon Politics: The Early History of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park in Southern Africa, 1925–1940," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, no. 3 (2009): 715–735. See also Clapperton Mavhunga and Marja Spierenburg, "A Finger on the Pulse of the Fly: Hidden Voices of Colonial Anti-Tsetse Science on the Rhodesian and Mozambican Borderlands, 1945–1956," *South African Historical Journal* 58, no. 1 (2007): 117–141.
105. Lunstrum, "Green Militarization"; Lunstrum, "Capitalism"; Lunstrum, "Feed Them to the Lions"; Elizabeth Lunstrum, "Reconstructing History, Grounding Claims to Space: History, Memory, and Displacement in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park," *South African Geographical Journal* 92, no. 2 (January 2010): 129–143; Elizabeth Lunstrum, "Mozambique, Neoliberal Land Reform, and the Limpopo National Park," *Geographical Review* 98, no. 3 (2008): 339–355; Elizabeth Lunstrum, "Conservation Meets Militarisation in Kruger National Park: Historical Encounters and Complex Legacies," *Conservation and Society* 13, no. 4 (2015): 356–369. Elizabeth Lunstrum, "Green Grabs, Land Grabs and the Spatiality of Displacement: Eviction from Mozambique's Limpopo National Park," *Area* 48, no. 2 (June 2016): 142–152.
106. Walker, "Producing Gorongosa."
107. De Bont, "World Laboratory"; De Bont, "Internationalism."
108. Edward N. Buxton, *Two African Trips: With Notes and Suggestions on Big Game Preservation* (London: Stanford, 1902).

Related Articles

[Environmental History](#)

[Animals in African History](#)