Introduction

Cruelty, Thy Name Is Wolf!

I caught dozens of those things back in the old days.
—Bushman Bob Wainwright speaking of thylacines,
cited in Col Bailey, *Lure of the Thylacine*

Beginnings

In 1830, in Lutruwita/Tasmania, the Van Diemen's Land Company (VDLC) introduced a bounty scheme aimed at wiping out all dogs (*Canis lupus familiaris*), Tasmanian devils (*Sarcophilus harrisii*) and thylacines (*Thylacinus cynocephalus*) in the vicinity of its landholdings.[1] This was the first of several private bounty schemes established on the island that included or were exclusively directed at the eradication of thylacines or Tasmanian tigers (as they are otherwise known), a species of marsupial carnivore that formed the island's largest predator.[2] The same year the VDLC bounty was established, a bounty on captured palawa (First Nations Tasmanians) was also instigated, which offered £5 for an adult and £2 for a child.[3] In 1842, the VDLC paid £50 for the capture of a palawa family of seven who were believed to be the last free Indigenous people on the island.[4] After much debate, a government bounty for the killing of thylacines was also agreed in 1886 and financing for the scheme began in 1888.[5] The first payment was made in April of that year and the last in June 1909 (the bounty was discontinued in 1908). In addition to the bounties, money was offered by

menageries and zoos for live thylacines and by museums for dead ones. Animal dealers would advertise for live or dead tigers. These financial incentives continued to be offered after the bounties were discontinued.

Numerous live thylacines were exported from Lutruwita to zoos in mainland Australia, the United States and various countries in Europe. Abroad, the thylacine was rendered an exotic spectacle. As Nigel Rothfels explains of London Zoo, it 'was a place designed by the bourgeoisie for its own education and amusement'.[6] Dead thylacines were also a valuable commodity. In 1874, for example, the London-based animal dealer William Jamrach was offering varied sums of money for Lutruwita's fauna including devils and tigers. He advertised that he was willing to pay £4 each for up to a total of twelve dead 'striped wolves', which he instructed should be pickled in 'strong brine of salt' and then forwarded to him.[7] Jamrach was also offering £6 per pair for live wombats (family *Vombatidae*). The newspaper that reported his offer, *The Mercury*, did so in an article titled 'Pickled Devils'. It used the opportunity to call upon shepherds to kill and pickle tigers and devils rather than engaging in the wholesale slaughter of kangaroos, which were 'disappearing' and formed 'valuable game'.

The last known living thylacine died in 1936 yet zoo demands for replacement animals continued after that date.[8] The naturalist David Fleay reported briefly catching a thylacine in the 1940s but the animal escaped.[9] The marsupial was almost certainly still extant in the early 1950s in the north-east of Lutruwita but searches were being conducted elsewhere in habitat often less suited to the animal. Some argue the thylacine disappeared late in the 1950s.[10] In 1980, the animal was declared extinct although there was a credible sighting by ranger Hans Naarding in 1982 near Togari in the north-west of Lutruwita. Andrew Baker and Chris Dickman note that although sightings continue to this day, 'the thylacine is considered by all authorities to be extinct'.[11] This is not entirely accurate as some recent computer modelling has indicated possible survival to the present.[12]

If thylacines do survive today, a possibility I believe is extremely unlikely, they are critically endangered. Given their iconic status, the conservation of any relict population would be a clear priority. Recognition of the rarity of the species, if not of the need for their conservation, is long-standing, with John Gould writing in 1863 that '[a] price is already put upon the head of the Native tiger'.[13] He foresaw that once Lutruwita was more densely populated 'the numbers of this singular animal will speedily diminish, extermination will have its full sway, and it will then, like the Wolf in England and Scotland, be recorded as an animal of the past'.[14] Despite such warnings, the bounty and other reward schemes remained in place until the early twentieth century.

In Newfoundland (known as Ktaqmkuk in Mi'kmaw), Canada's easternmost province, a government-funded bounty scheme intended to eradicate the island's wolves was first initiated in 1839.[15] The scheme, which was created because of fears that the wolf was killing livestock, ran intermittently for over a century. The last recorded payment was made in 1896 but the bounty remained on the statute books until 1954.[16] The Newfoundland wolf (*Canis lupus beothucus*) probably became extinct in the 1920s, but fears about their extinction were articulated at least a decade earlier.[17] Unlike the thylacine, the wolf, considered a subspecies of *Canis lupus*, was not of strong scientific interest nor sought after by zoos. The causes of both the wolf's and the thylacine's extinction are much debated with various factors used to explain their disappearance. Whether they caused their extinction or not, the bounty schemes were instigated with the intention of eliminating both carnivores. The schemes incorporated no restrictions designed to prevent 'over-harvesting', no measures to safeguard the long-term survival of either targeted animal.

For Donna Haraway, as she explains in *The Companion Species Manifesto*, humans and some nonhuman species such as the domestic dog (her chosen example) exist in relationships that are co-constitutive and continuous, emergent and changeable.[18] Reciprocity is a key element of these interactions.[19] Relationships with companion species involve communication, albeit communication across 'irreducible difference'.[20] In the case of the thylacine and wolf, however, there were not even relations of domination with humans (relations of the kind that exist, for instance, between a farmer and their flock of sheep). Relations were refused and recognition was foreclosed. To most, the thylacine and the Newfoundland wolf were not companion species in Haraway's sense of the term, they were not animal bodies that mattered, bodies to which human animals related, but were abject bodies that required removal from colonised territories, from domesticated land.[21] An easy way to remove them was to destroy them. The bounty schemes can therefore be viewed as encouraging animal genocide. Animal genocide and its aftermath, the ways in which it has been represented or its representation suppressed, form the subject of this book.

Animal genocide as it is defined here refers to the targeted destruction of a specific group of animals such as a species or subspecies. I explore the history and meaning of the term at length in Chapter 1. This includes considering the dangers that accompany unreflectively making comparisons between conceptions of animal genocide and dimensions of the Holocaust (as some thinkers, including Jacques Derrida, have done). The chapter foregrounds that, crucially, the destruction of the group does not have to be total for a genocide to exist, only the presence of the intent for such encompassing destruction. In this sense, whether genocidal

intent was a major contributing factor in the extinction of the thylacine and the Newfoundland wolf is unimportant when it comes to establishing the occurrence of genocide. Recently, efforts to link the extinction of the thylacine to disease have been used to argue for the exoneration of traders who trafficked tigers (removing them from the potential breeding population) despite knowing their rarity.[22] Such people would still be responsible, culpable for genocide (as they were wilfully contributing to the destruction of the species) as I understand it.

I focus on two charismatic animals in the thylacine and the Newfoundland wolf, the first very well known and symbolically important, the second much less noted, yet there are many other examples of animal genocide through history and I discuss some of these, including the kea (*Nestor notabilis*) and the Falkland Islands wolf (*Dusicyon australis*), in this book.[23] My decision to focus on the thylacine and the Newfoundland wolf is motivated, in part, by illuminating parallels between their histories. Analysing their histories in tandem enables patterns regarding the justifications offered for the genocidal campaigns perpetrated against them to be identified. My hope is also that by discussing the Newfoundland wolf alongside the thylacine, I can accord the former and their tragic history greater visibility than they currently possess, contributing in a small way to the preservation of their memory. The archives and the scholarship devoted to the thylacine is considerably more substantial than that dedicated to the wolf and this disparity is reflected in the book. Although the Newfoundland wolf is referenced in most chapters and Chapter 6 is entirely dedicated to them, the majority of chapters, of necessity, centre on the thylacine.

The fate of the Newfoundland wolf and the thylacine, which were vilified by European settler colonists and scapegoated by them for livestock losses, is inextricably linked to imperialist expansion. They both coexisted with the Indigenous human populations of their habitats for centuries, if not millennia, before Europeans invaded and began their genocidal campaigns. These campaigns were directed at those Indigenous human populations as well as at native nonhuman animals.[24] There was crossover in terms of the perception and treatment of both and my investigation of animal genocide therefore sometimes involves also acknowledging human genocide.

Human Genocide in Newfoundland and Lutruwita

Patrick Brantlinger affirms that in the 1830s, the fates of Lutruwita's and Newfoundland's Indigenous peoples along with that of the Xhosas were perceived as clear and troubling cases of extermination in British terri-

tory.[25] In testimony to the 1837 Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes, Bishop Broughton of Sydney was quoted in a discussion of First Nations Australians (with Australia referred to as New Holland) as stating that 'within a very limited period, a few years . . . those who are in most contact with Europeans will be utterly extinct – I do not say exterminated – but they will be extinct.'[26] The conclusion to the same committee's discussion of Newfoundland was that in 'the colony . . . it may . . . be stated that we have exterminated the natives'.[27] Here, the intentional destruction of the Beothuk (a First Nations people of Newfoundland) is admitted, although the committee resists doing so in an Australian context. Parallels between the treatment of the Indigenous populations of Newfoundland and Lutruwita have subsequently been examined by scholars including Terry Goldie and Fiona Polack.[28]

Later, Indigenous peoples in Australia and Turtle Island (North America) were recognised as victims of genocide. In a book manuscript he was preparing at the time of his death, the lawyer Raphael Lemkin listed the palawa along with other First Nations Australian groups and also Native American Indians as historical victims of genocide.[29] In *Genocide*, Leo Kuper also includes the 'systematic annihilation of Aborigines in Tasmania' as one of his examples.[30] The extermination of the palawa was openly discussed in newspapers of the 1820s. The anonymous author of one article debates the need for their extermination or, their favoured solution, removal, to prevent bloodshed against settler colonists. They ask of relocating the palawa to an outlying island: 'Would it not save scores upon scores of them from being shot? – which they are now, with as little remorse, as if they were so many crows!'[31] The author rejects the idea of extermination because the palawa are 'human creatures' rather than 'brute beasts'.[32] His remark about crows, however, demonstrates that he perceived parallels between the treatment of nonhuman animal pest species and Indigenous peoples who were viewed as troublesome. Often, Indigenous peoples were seen by European settler colonists as akin to nonhuman animals such as corvids and wolves (animals that, non-coincidentally, were subject in some colonies to bounty schemes aimed at their destruction).

In the context of the Beothuk, the ambiguous feelings of settler colonists towards the Indigenous population are strongly brought out in the writings of the explorer and entrepreneur William Eppes (also Epps) Cormack. He struggles to work through his distress at the violence inflicted upon them by Europeans, writing:

> a defenceless and once independent proud tribe of men have been mostly extirpated from the Earth without hardly and [*sic*] enquiring How or Why. Here still remains Man in all his primitive [illegible] with his bow

> and arrow and cloathed in skins. There on the opposite approximating point is Man improved and powerful. Barbarity and Civilization should shake hands.[33]

The rhetoric of the 'noble savage' informs Cormack's description of the Beothuk. The binary he is operating with, one in which the apex of civilisation is the European and the nadir is the Beothuk, is clearly breaking down. He goes on to state:

> Sometimes these unsullied people of the chase have been destroyed wantonly, because they have been thought more fleet and more evasive than how men ought to be. At other times, at the sight of them, the terror of the ignorant European has goaded him to murder the innocent. Civilization might weep.[34]

Here, civilisation is found wanting, seen to be uncivil, barbarous in its actions. Something of this barbarity seems linked with perceiving the Beothuk as more animal than human. Cormack identifies them as hunters (people of the chase) yet frames them as hunted, viewed as remarkably nimble and elusive prey. In another fragment, he argues 'they ought not to have been destroyed like Wild Beasts'.[35] In his earlier 'An Account of the Red Indians of Newfoundland', John Cartwright describes how settlers attacked and killed Beothuk, stating that whomever 'has shot one indian [*sic*] values himself more upon this feat than had he overcome a bear or wolf'.[36] Cartwright goes on to note:

> A Red Indian in the summer season, may with too much propriety be compared to a beast of chase such as the wolf or fox, that preys on the smaller game and in his turn is liable to fall himself prey to hunters more destructive.[37]

The Beothuk are framed as a superior kind of wolf, a lesser kind of human. Both Cartwright and Cormack signal how notions of human proximity to nonhuman animals inform the attitudes and actions of settler colonists.

Nonhuman animals were also points of comparison when the palawa were discussed in the colonial press. An 1830 newspaper article, for example, describes the palawa as watching 'like cats for days, and even weeks for their prey, and when they have struck their victim, they will murder him with more savage rage than the hyena or the ravenous wolf'.[38] Historically, human genocide has therefore often accompanied animal genocide, with the 'animality' of a human group part of the logic employed to justify violence against them. This complex relation between the two forms of genocide is examined in Chapter 1. The links between animal and human

genocide also features in other chapters, including, most notably, Chapter 4, in which I analyse how Erle Wilson uses the figure of the thylacine in his novel *Coorinna* to express and seek to work through the genocide against the palawa.

Cultural representations of Indigenous people like the Beothuk and the palawa as like nonhuman animals has historically often helped to create conditions conducive to genocide against them. Representations have also significantly contributed to encouraging genocide against the thylacine and the Newfoundland wolf. I therefore explore the nature of these representations at length in the following chapters and also how those genocides they facilitated have been portrayed (or ignored) retrospectively. The role of images in the enabling of genocide was recognised by Lemkin. Using Nazi-occupied Poland as an example, he linked popular cultural images (specifically films and pornography) with the suppression of moral feelings: the 'desire for cheap individual pleasure' substituting for the 'desire for collective feelings'.[39] Lemkin focussed on how the easy pleasures of mass cultural forms distracted from the negative political situation and the suffering of others. For him, images diverted and dulled feelings of community. In this, they made genocide possible through stifling resistance to it. Here, however, I am interested in how the content of images shaped the perceptions held by perpetrators of the victims of genocide (specifically, the thylacine and the Newfoundland wolf) thereby fostering conditions conducive to their annihilation.

Ervin Staub has suggested that the cultural characteristics that contribute to group violence can be deduced from sources such as art and literature.[40] Art, literature and folklore can help to articulate and perpetuate negative images of groups.[41] Staub affirms that bystanders often fail to challenge genocidal actions because of fear but also because they accept the definitions of reality that are dominant in their culture.[42] In such circumstances, the importance of the dissemination of divergent views is clear. In the case studies discussed here, divergent views were always extant but never dominant. Belatedly, the genocide-enabling perceptions of the thylacine and the Newfoundland wolf have been largely challenged and displaced. Now, efforts are being made to process the aftermath of these animal genocides in contexts such as museums (see Chapter 3), film (see Chapter 5) and literature (see Chapter 4). In the remainder of this chapter, I want to outline the historical circumstances within which animal genocide against thylacines and wolves was enacted. This involves engaging with some of the negative perceptions and myths that circulated regarding both. Animal genocide in the context of my case studies is bound up with the creation of bounty schemes and I will therefore also give a summary of their employment in Lutruwita and Newfoundland.

Of Marsupial Wolves

The thylacine is generally accepted to have disappeared from the Australian mainland around 3,500 years ago with a relict population persisting in Lutruwita.[43] The likely population of adult female tigers living on the island at European invasion was approximately 4,500.[44] The thylacine was identified as a new species, named *Didelphis cyncocephala* in a paper by George Prideaux Robert Harris delivered on 21 April 1807 and published in the *Transactions of the Linnean Society* the following year.[45] One of the vulgar names Harris gave for the thylacine was the 'zebra wolf' (the other being the 'zebra opossum'). The Newfoundland wolf was proposed as a distinct subspecies of wolf by Glover Allen and Thomas Barbour in 1937, given the Latin trinomial *Canis lupus beothucus*.[46] The binomial *Canis lupus* was given to wolves in general by Linnaeus in 1758.

Both thylacines and wolves are large predators. The thylacine was the apex predator in Lutruwita. Apex predators are at the top of the food pyramid and are therefore relatively rare proportionate to the broader community of animals and in terms of numbers of individuals in a given area.[47] Their paucity of numbers, however, is inverse to their influence on ecosystems, which is frequently great and plays a key role in structuring faunal communities.[48] In Turtle Island, for example, wolves are crucial to regulating the health and population size of ungulates such as moose and caribou. The destruction of large predators therefore has considerable detrimental effects for associated fauna. Thylacines and wolves have been seen as 'a classic example of convergent evolution', but as Samuel Turvey and Joanne Cooper point out, the two species possess 'fundamentally different morphological adaptations for locomotion and carnivory'.[49] Marsupials and placentals last shared a common ancestor around 160 million years ago.[50]

The first unambiguous reference by a settler colonist to a thylacine in Lutruwita is from 1805. Lieutenant Governor William Paterson, who was then in charge of the settlement Yorkton (also York Town), located at Port Dalrymple, describes a hitherto unknown animal that was attacked and killed by dogs on nearby Mount Albany on 30 March.[51] In his undated report, he states of the 'brute' that it is 'very evident this species is destructive, and lives entirely on animal food'.[52] Paterson concludes that 'the form of the animal is that of a hyaena at the same time strongly reminding the observer of the appearance of a low wolf dog'. A truncated transcription of the report was published in the 21 April 1805 issue of the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, adjacent to the section 'Ship News', which mentions the ship *Sydney* landing 622 head of horned cattle in Port Dalrymple, a 'valuable flock' for the 'infant settlement'.[53] These cattle (the survivors of an original cargo of 910 animals sent from India) supplemented

the two horses, eight cattle horses and one hundred sheep delivered by *HMS Buffalo* at the end of March and, possibly, earlier livestock.[54] Pastoral farming would subsequently come to negatively impact the thylacine because of false concerns that the carnivore was a routine sheep killer, which led to the bounty campaigns, and also because of the habitat destruction that accompanied making land suitable for grazing.

After unloading its animal cargo, the *Sydney* left Port Dalrymple on 9 April (arriving in Gadigal/Sydney on 18 April), transporting Paterson's report and also the thylacine's pickled reproductive organs ('the parts of generation') to the mainland.[55] Paterson's handwritten account provides extensive measurements of both male and female thylacines, suggesting that two tigers had in fact been killed.[56] The newspaper only gives the measurements of the male. Paterson's mention of the palawa (he suggests they are distinct from any other peoples) at the beginning of his report is also omitted. The newspaper does, however, include an account of a 'series of barbarities' perpetrated by 'natives' in the vicinity of Deerubbin (referred to as Hawkesbury by the paper) in New South Wales.[57] The Darug (also Dharug) had been resisting the invasion of their lands since Europeans first arrived in 1794.[58] The 1805 article refers to attacks on farms and acknowledges that some interpret the actions of the Darug as '*acts of retaliation* for injuries received'.[59] This reading is rejected by the anonymous author, who claims that First Nations Australians are well protected by the law with crimes against them severely punished. The writer also expounds upon the generosity of the settlers and suggests the First Nations Australians should 'lay claim to every grateful return, which can extend no further than to passive forbearance from rapacity'. They are condemned for stealing crops 'they are themselves too indolent to cultivate'.[60] The situation in Deerubbin reported in the *Sydney Gazette* prefigures the guerilla war that the palawa would come to fight against European oppression in Lutruwita.

Land usurpation of the kind occurring in Deerubbin was replicated in Lutruwita, with early settler colonists well aware of the detrimental effects of the practice. Edward Curr, for instance, noted that the land being seized was depriving the palawa of their hunting grounds.[61] In a letter to his wife in 1830, George Augustus Robinson condemned the European usurpation of palawa land, bemoaning the military action that had been sanctioned against the Indigenous population.[62] In his discussion of settler colonialism and genocide, Patrick Wolfe suggests that the primary motive for the elimination of Indigenous peoples is 'access to territory'.[63] Wolfe's insights are open to extension to instances of animal genocide. The need for land can be motivated by agriculture (crop cultivation, pastoralism) and also forestry, fishing, trapping and mining. In Lutruwita, farming was the primary cause of land theft.

The situation was different in Newfoundland, where settler colonists were initially interested in fishing and trapping with mining growing in importance in the nineteenth century and logging in the twentieth.[64] Commercial agriculture was (and remains) limited on the island although in the mid-nineteenth century farming developed rapidly in the environs of St. John's, with roughly four hundred farms to be found there.[65] This expansion coincided with the introduction of the bounty on wolves and the two are clearly linked. Livestock losses were a motivation for the introduction of the act that encouraged their killing. Loss of land, of suitable habitat, however, was minimal and therefore not the primary factor in the wolf's demise.[66] The impact of European expansion on the landscape is nonetheless recognised by Moses Harvey who discusses the displacement of the wolf by human industry, writing of the region near Grand Lake that: '[a] thriving town, it may be anticipated, will spring up here and the solitudes, hitherto the domains of the deer, the fox and the wolf, will be resounding with the din of human labour.'[67]

In contrast to Newfoundland, habitat deprivation was a significant factor in the extinction of the thylacine in Lutruwita. There, loss and degradation of territory impacted not just the palawa but also native fauna, such that Wolfe's observation that '[t]hrough its ceaseless expansion, agriculture . . . progressively eats into Indigenous territory, a primitive accumulation that turns native flora and fauna into a dwindling resource and curtails the production of Indigenous modes of production' is highly pertinent.[68] Habitat fragmentation has been identified as potentially the most important conservation issue for all surviving carnivorous marsupial species.[69]

As well as destroying the thylacine's habitat, the pastoral industry in Lutruwita blamed stock losses on the tiger.[70] The cause of these losses was multiple, linked primarily to poor animal husbandry, theft and predation by wild dogs.[71] The thylacine, however, provided a convenient scapegoat for failures recorded by ventures such as a massive wool-growing scheme that received a royal charter in 1825, granting the VDLC 250,000 acres of land. Much of the land the company was ultimately allocated was not well suited to sheep husbandry and some of the employees lacked suitable expertise.[72] The company's early surveyors knew little about farming and sometimes, as in the case of Henry Hellyer, based their assessment of the suitability of a milieu on the picturesque appearance of a location rather than its suitability for pastoral use.[73] A sense of Hellyer's privileging of aesthetics over utility is given by his choice of name for some of the geographical features he encountered, such as Mount Van Dyke and, most tellingly, Mount Claude (after the celebrated landscape painter Claude Lorrain).[74] As Kenneth Dallas has noted the VDLC's pastoral vision for Lutruwita 'was foredoomed in the sense that the growing of fine wool on a large scale

was impossible in the regions to which it was confined'.[75] The poor climate caused heavy stock losses early on.[76] Elsewhere, duffers or sheep-stealers clearly sought to explain the disappearance of livestock by blaming tigers, but their efforts at deception were unsuccessful.[77]

To shift the balance for management failings, the VDLC grossly exaggerated predation of sheep by thylacines. Wild dogs were actually the sheep's main predator, which was why the 1830 bounty scheme included canines. Through the 1880s bounties were still being paid for killing dogs.[78] In 1833, George Augustus Robinson briefly encouraged some palawa to engage in dog catching on behalf of the government because packs of dogs were said to be killing many sheep.[79] Robinson witnessed dog skins lining the fences of a property near Campbell Town.[80] Writing in 1834, William Henry Breton calls the tiger a destroyer of lambs and remarks on its cunning yet also observes:

> Some of the dogs introduced by the Colonists have become wild (in all probability through the culpable neglect of their owners), and have destroyed a great number of sheep: once fairly established in the Colony, it would be in vain to attempt their destruction, as there are tracts of 'scrubby' country from which it would be impossible to expel them.[81]

Dogs continued to be a major threat to flocks throughout the nineteenth century. Writing on zoology in John West's *The History of Tasmania* published in 1852, Ronald Campbell Gunn acknowledged that the thylacine was not a significant sheep killer, noting that the tiger 'usually confines its attack to one at a time, and is therefore by no means so destructive to the flock as the domestic dog become wild, or as the Dingo of Australia, which both commit vast havoc in a single night'.[82] He also sought to indirectly blame the problem of feral dogs on the palawa, writing that: '[o]n the destruction of the aboriginal tribes [their dogs] escaped, hunted in large numbers, and committed great havoc, among the flocks: farmers lost five hundred sheep in a season.'[83] Of the dogs, he noted that '[b]y a single gripe these wild marauders destroyed a sheep, and a few minutes was sufficient to strew the downs with dead'.[84]

Despite petitioning vigorously for a government-funded thylacine bounty, the politician John Lyne was clearly aware that dogs caused far greater damage to livestock. While arguing for the use of poison on farms, he stated that '[t]he sheep destroying propensities of tame dogs are worse even than tigers, and poison was the only way by which they could [be reached]'.[85] In mainland Australia, dogs continue to pose a major threat to livestock. Writing in *The Land* in 2019, Stephen Burns explores the impact of wild dogs (specifically dingoes) on merino sheep flocks in New South Wales.[86] He uses the merino stud of Robert Bartlett as a case study.

Bartlett has engaged in an intensive programme of trapping, shooting and baiting to prevent 'the dogs tearing our sheep to pieces'.[87] Another merino breeder, Brian Bambrick, reports buying five hundred sheep in 2007 and within twelve months having none because of dog attacks. Dogs often hunt in packs of eight to ten animals, with multiple packs operating in the same area.

Lyne successfully argued for the introduction of a bounty in 1886, when he urged in committee at the House of Assembly that the Governor be petitioned for £500 for the destruction of tigers 'otherwise known as the Tasmanian dingoes'.[88] Earlier efforts to garner support for a bounty had been unsuccessful. In 1884 on Tuesday 28 October a petition for legislative action was made by Mr Gray on behalf of twenty-six people from Spring Bay for losses sustained by the 'Ravages of [the] Native Tiger'.[89] In 1885 another petition was made for the 'Destruction of Eagles and Native Tigers'. In 1886, Lyne used outlandish claims such as that '100 sheep were destroyed per dingo' and that '30,000 or 40,000 sheep were killed annually by dingoes'. During the debate, the Minister of Lands observed that the tigers 'had not one redeeming quality, as they were absolutely useless, and simply killed sheep for mischief'. Lyne is reported as stating that the scientific name for the 'dingo' was *lagunta*. This is, in fact, a palawa name for the animal and is therefore noteworthy as it obliquely acknowledges the palawa and their precontact relationship with the animal.[90] The thylacine is a part of Country for the palawa, part of the land, of culture and of the environment.[91] Other palawa names for the tiger include *corrinna*, *kannenner* and *laoonana*. The presence of the thylacine in palawa culture is also indirectly referenced in a newspaper article summarising a lecture given by the animal trafficker James Harrison on 15 July 1919. At a lecture given to the Methodist Guild in Wynyard, Harrison 'exhibited the jawbone of [a thylacine] which he estimated had been dead 150 years'. The jawbone 'was found among the remains of a blackfellows camping place in Sisters Hills'.[92]

During the 1886 debate, Edward Braddon suggested '[h]e would be very willing to assist [Lyne] to quell this *leghunter*', reducing the palawa name to a crude pun.[93] The deliberations also included a reference by Samuel Sutton to the need to 'exterminate' another peril, the 'yellow agony', which was interpreted by Peter Barrett to mean Chinese labour. In the 1870s there had been a significant increase in the Chinese workforce in northeast Lutruwita where they helped to mine tin.[94] The remarks show that, like the palawa before them, Lutruwita's Chinese minority were viewed as on a par with nonhuman animals, specifically the thylacine: 'one of the greatest pests the colony had' to use Lyne's description.[95] Sutton 'sticks it' to Chinese migrant labourers through linking them to a rampant predator,

tainting them by association.[96] He makes negative feelings about the tigers adhere to the Chinese diaspora. In *Picture Theory*, W. J. T. Mitchell has examined the workings of animal metaphor, of the *figure* of the animal, as a mode of domination. Mitchell notes that: 'Animals stand for all forms of social otherness: race, class, and gender are frequently figured in images of subhuman brutishness, bestial appetite, and mechanical servility.'[97] Here, the *figure* of the thylacine is employed by Sutton in the service of racism. One of the examples used by Sara Ahmed to explore the cultural politics of emotion is political speeches. Through such speeches, negative (or positive) emotions may be transferred to an object. In the speeches given by settler colonist politicians in 1886, 'fear' is the emotion that is transferred to the tiger and the Chinese worker. They are identified as threatening European interests and therefore as requiring 'extermination' (although in the case of the Chinese, 'extermination' should be understood to mean 'restriction' or 'prohibition' rather than annihilation).

Lyne's continual references to the thylacine as a 'dingo' are revealing. This name was very seldom used for the tiger. The politician seems to be deliberately exploiting the negative emotions associated with the dingo (*Canis dingo*), which was viewed as a pest on the mainland. Bounties on dingoes were first introduced in Australia in 1830.[98] There are no dingoes in Lutruwita but Lyne figuratively 'introduces' them when using their name to refer to the thylacine. Amanda Stuart explores the way imagery of the dingo constructed the animal as debauched and menacing.[99] She also notes how European ideas about wolves framed how the dingo was perceived, with the latter receiving all the 'baggage' and the 'negative loadings of the European wolf'.[100] The dingo was, in fact, occasionally referred to as the New South Wales wolf.[101] In his *A General History of Quadrupeds*, Thomas Bewick uses this name for the dingo and positions his chapter about them immediately after the one devoted to the wolf. He writes of the dingo: 'its wild and savage nature seems strongly to point out its affinity to the Wolf.'[102] Lyne exploited the negative perceptions of the dingo, hoping they would 'stick' to the thylacine thereby aiding his argument for their extermination. His efforts were seemingly successful as the vote on his proposal, while initially tied (ten for, ten against), was carried by the Speaker. In 1887, £500 for the destruction of native tigers was agreed.[103] In 1888, Lyne wrote to Braddon (by then the Minister for Lands and Works), seeking advice on what he considered 'a sufficient reward to offer for each skin'.[104]

Through efforts such as Lyne's the thylacine gained a bad reputation and was viewed by many as highly aggressive and dangerous. This extended to scientists. In *Mammals of Australia*, the zoologist Gerard Krefft wrote that the Tasmanian tiger was 'a most ferocious and formidable animal, which

will overpower even a Cow or Horse if driven by hunger to attack them'.[105] There is no historical evidence of thylacines attacking cattle or equines. The vision of the thylacine as highly aggressive also carries into more recent popular literature. Hesba Brinsmead's 1972 novel *Echo in the Wilderness*, for example, implies that a thylacine attacked a man, leaving his body 'torn, mangled, savaged'.[106] While there are historical instances of tigers biting humans (see my Conclusion), a fatal attack of the kind described by Brinsmead is unheard of.[107]

Both the dingo and the thylacine were frequently attributed lupine characteristics, the negative emotions directed at wolves thereby transferred to them. The thylacine was also sometimes referred to as a marsupial wolf, reinforcing the connection. Writing in 1888, Carl Lumholtz noted that Australian marsupial carnivores were usually named 'after animals of the old world'.[108] He discusses the 'marsupial wolf', which he states does 'great damage among the sheep' but is 'well-nigh exterminated'.[109] An 1882 newspaper article suggests that the 'native tiger' is a species that 'hunts animals with the pertinacity of a pack of wolves on the steppes of frozen Russia'.[110] In *Paper Tiger*, Carol Freeman discusses how wolflike images of the thylacine influenced how they were perceived, constructing them as a 'dangerous predator'.[111] She traces how the portrayal of the thylacine frequently contributed to their demonisation. They were rendered lupine, dethylacinised, their singularity as a species suppressed, the creature overwritten with the familiar trope of the wolf.

In *The Platypus and the Mermaid*, Harriet Ritvo also notes how imagery of marsupial carnivores produced by nineteenth-century European naturalists often made the animals similar in appearance to carnivores in Europe. She reproduces engravings of a Tasmanian devil and a doglike thylacine.[112] Figuring the thylacine as a wolf, in particular, did tangible damage to them as it helped foster a climate of hate. Words and images that emphasised lupine characteristics therefore contributed to fostering the social conditions that made animal genocide possible.

As well as being labelled a dingo and a wolf, the thylacine was also given other names. These multiple designations register the difficulty Europeans had making 'sense' of native fauna.[113] The term 'hyena' was common in the early years of invasion. Sometimes, Freeman notes, textual descriptions, while not directly referring to the thylacine as a hyena, imagined the marsupial's lair as dark, dirty and confined, implying 'distasteful habits' and placing them 'in the same perceptual zone as the hyena and jackal'.[114] During the 1820s and 1830s local newspapers commonly directly referred to the thylacine as a 'hyena' or, more rarely, a 'hyena tiger'.[115] In 1834, William Swainson described the thylacine using the common name the dog-faced opossum and stated that the animal 'suggests the idea of the union

of the dog and the panther', granting the animal both canine and feline characteristics.[116] Earlier, in 1820, the *Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter* referred to the thylacine as a 'hyena opossum'.[117] Breton found this name for the thylacine absurd but discovered nothing amiss with calling the 'dog-faced dasyuris' a tiger.[118]

It is the name 'tiger' when used for the thylacine that Mark Halsey employs as an example of 'lexical violence', of how words can negatively impact the things they refer to.[119] For Halsey, words have the capacity to 'alter the course of events'.[120] Drawing on a text from September 1886 that was published in the *Tasmanian Mail* in which the rectitude and utility of using the name 'tiger' is questioned, Halsey argues that referring to the thylacine as a tiger 'brought with it nothing less than the urge toward the decimation of [the] species'.[121] His recognition that 'names levy effects' and that the name 'tiger' had dire consequences for the thylacine has some parallels with Freeman's exploration of how the influence of lupine iconography on depictions of the thylacine shaped behaviours towards them.[122] Halsey focusses primarily on 'words', with images seemingly viewed as secondary effects to primary acts of naming, yet, to me, images are equally capable of violence towards their referent.[123]

As the thylacine is not his major object of investigation, Halsey does not consider how competing names for the animal historically complexify any straightforward reading of their designation as a tiger being to blame for their destruction. Clearly Lyne's decision to give the 'native tiger' the alias the 'Tasmanian dingo' was motivated by a desire to augment lexical violence against the species, with 'tiger' perceived as not emotive enough as a designation.[124] Tigers possess a certain mystique and nobility in the European imagination that dingoes lack.[125] Referring to the thylacine as a dingo, however, accords the animal a nominal subjectivity. Sometimes those who sought their destruction refused even this; they did not hunt 'dingoes' or 'hyenas' or 'tigers' or 'wolves' but 'things'. Eric Guiler, for instance, cites the smallholder H. Pearce (possibly Herbert Eugene Pearce of Ouse) as referring to thylacines as 'them bloody useless things'.[126] Pearce, who lived in the Black Bobs-Strickland-Derwent Bridge District, stated to Guiler that he had claimed numerous tiger bounties. The bushman Bob Wainwright, son of George Wainwright who was hired by the VDLC to kill thylacines, similarly declared to Col Bailey of tigers: 'I caught dozens of those things back in the old days.'[127] The reduction to thingness formed the ne plus ultra of lexical violence and acted as license for extermination. Conceiving tigers as 'things' rendered them as unessential, inconsequential objects. In this sense, as I discuss in Chapter 1, language such as Pearce's also sustains the genocidal gaze, a way of looking that reduced the thylacine to vermin, a purposeless irritant in need of destruction.

Of Wolves

Many regions of the world have viewed wolves ambiguously. In Japan, for example, the wolf was historically revered, featuring prominently in art and literature. They were viewed as a 'good' animal.[128] In a historical novel of the life of Chinzei Hachirō (also Minamoto no) Tametomo, a renowned archer, a wolf bravely aids his master in battles against a monstrous snake (Figure 0.1).[129] Only with the introduction of rabies to Japan in the late seventeenth century and changing in farming practices in the early nineteenth century did the wolf begin to be viewed negatively, and even then not overarchingly so.[130] By the early twentieth century, however, both species of Japanese wolf, the Honshū wolf (*Canis lupus hodophilax*) and Hokkaido wolf (*Canis lupus hattai*), had been hunted to extinction.[131] The Hokkaido wolf fell victim to mass poisonings instigated by Edwin Dun, an Ohioan rancher invited to Japan as an agricultural advisor and tasked with transforming Hokkaido's agrarian system, and to bounty hunting.[132] With the hiring of men such as Dun, Japan imported not just their expertise but also their attitudes to animals such as the wolf. In the case of Dun, he brought his hate of all things lupine with him from the United States.

Wolves have often been perceived negatively in the European and European settler colonial imaginary, associated with 'ideas of wickedness, rapaciousness and danger'.[133] In *The Order of Wolves*, Richard Fiennes emphasises their symbolic potency; they are associated with 'savagery, ferocity and courage'.[134] As the reference to 'courage' demonstrates, they have historically provoked mixed emotions but predominant attitudes have, until recently, been adverse. Theodore Roosevelt begins his chapter on wolves and wolfhounds in *The Wilderness Hunter* with the observation that '[t]he wolf is the archetype of ravin, the beast of waste and desolation'. He adds that in the United States the wolf 'has everywhere retreated from the advance of civilization', constructing the species as antithetical to progress.[135] The 'brutish' nature of wolves is reiterated by Benjamin Corbin in his guide to wolf-killing where he writes: 'The wolf is the enemy of civilization and I want to exterminate him.'[136]

The wolf howl is often cited in unfavourable terms, with Harriet Ritvo referring to its 'eerie menace'.[137] Stanley Young quotes an anonymous stockman describing the howl as 'perhaps the most dismal sound ever heard by human ear'.[138] In 'The Wolf Chase', an anonymous New Brunswick author styles the howl as if 'a fiend from hell had blown a blast from an infernal trumpet'.[139] The wolf is also linked to hell through imagery. This occurs, for example, in the calendar included in the 1885 *Almanach de la France illustrée* (Figure 0.2). The image that accompanies January–March (winter) is of a pack of wolves racing along a forest path in a snow-

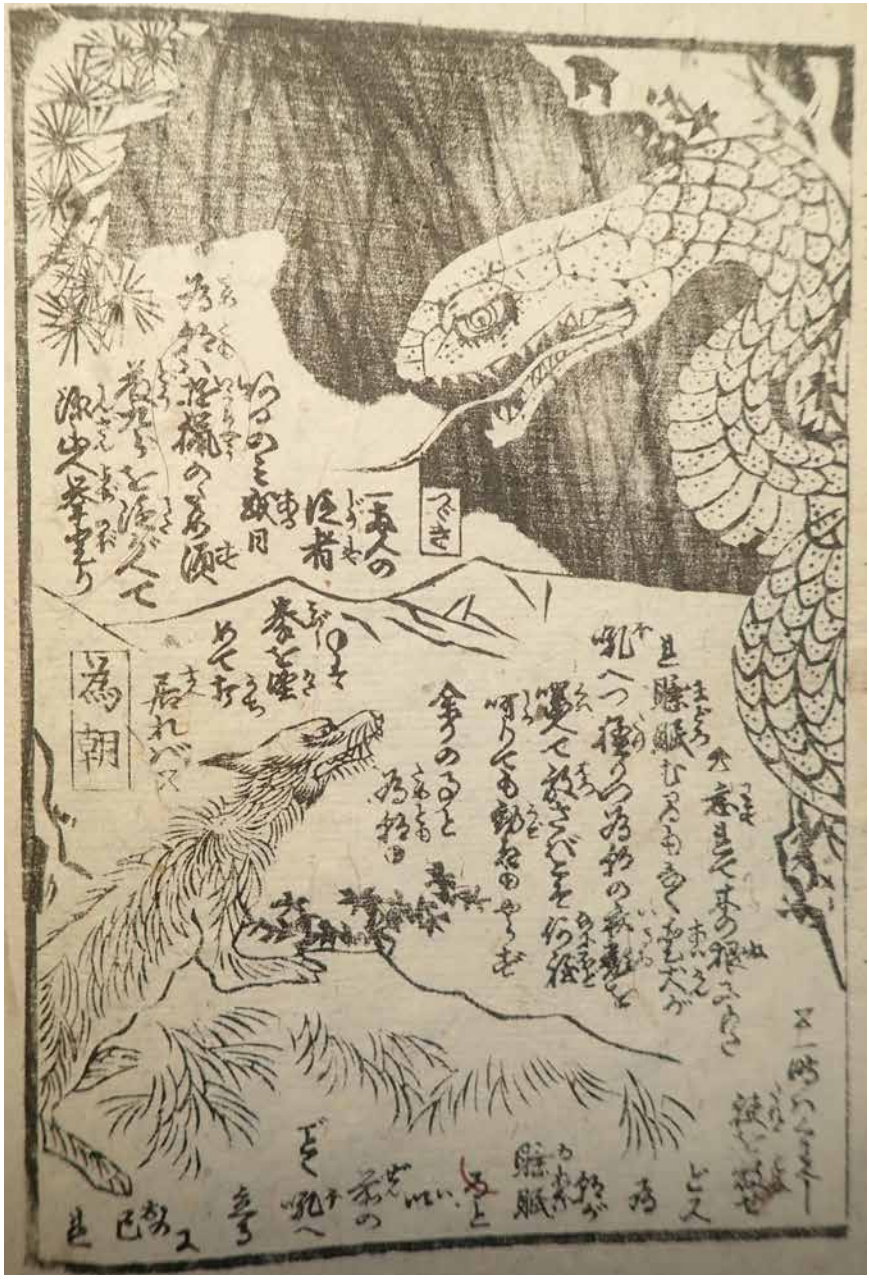

Figure 0.1 Wolf, Chinzei Hachiro Tametomo's *Chronicles*: *Volume 1*, Utagawa school woodcut on Japan paper, 1880. Collection of the author.

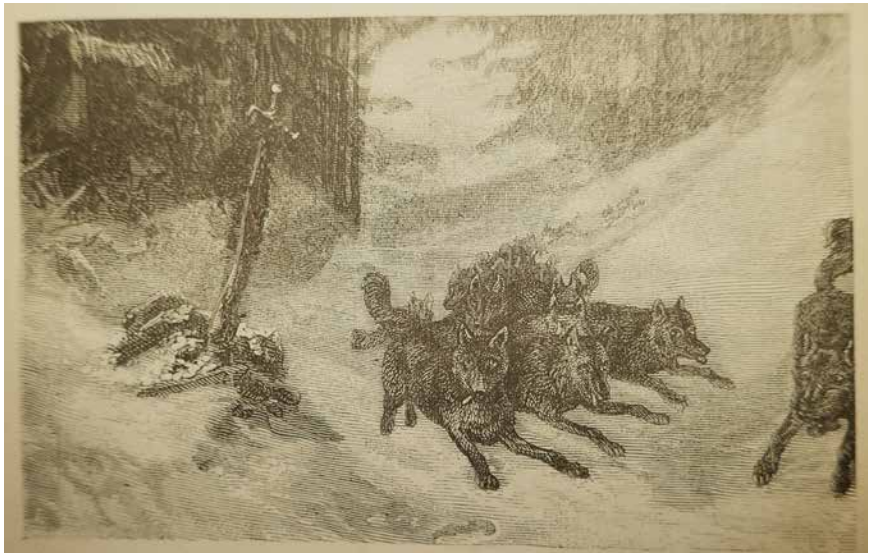

Figure 0.2. Wolves and a wayside crucifix. *Almanach de la France illustrée*. 1885. Collection of the author.

covered landscape, their tongues lolling and their incisors exposed. They head straight towards the reader, yet succour is close at hand. To their left there is a wayside crucifix. It looms over the pack, its verticality contrasting with their horizontality. The crucifix that overlooks the pack encourages reading the wolves as devilish in aspect.

The negative connotations that Eurasian wolves (*Canis lupus lupus*) possessed stuck to the 'marsupial wolf' and, as David Hunt has noted, were carried to Turtle Island by settler colonists and thus also shaped how the Newfoundland wolf was perceived. Hunt suggests that a possible result of the negative view of wolves may manifest in 'the attempt to exterminate the wolf in the USA by descendants of European immigrants'.[140] Andrea Smalley links the Turtle Island campaign of extermination to British 'wolf-hating traditions' and discusses the successful efforts to eradicate wolves from England and then Scotland.[141] This understanding of the conditions that made wolf extermination acceptable (with past actions used to solve similar 'obstacles' shaping current behaviour) echoes Ervin Staub's recognition that 'cultures carry blueprints for dealing with problems', in this case a past history of genocidal aggression towards wolves.[142] Staub argues that a history of the use of aggression in specific situations makes it more 'available' as a future response in comparable contexts.[143]

Wolf bounties were introduced in Europe in classical times. Solon of Athens, for instance, introduced a wolf bounty in the sixth century BCE,

offering five drachmas for each adult carcass and one drachma per dead cub.[144] Garry Marvin details how in Anglo-Saxon Britain in the ninth century CE, dead wolves were used as tribute in an effort to control their numbers, with King Edgar demanding three hundred wolf skins a year from his Welsh subjects.[145] Later, wolf bounties were offered in England, a price was put on the head of the wolf, 'and they doubled, tripled, decupled and centupled the reward as the species became rarer'.[146] Other European countries also offered bounties. France, for example, extended a reward of thirty livres for each wolf head.[147] This sum was also paid in New France, demonstrating how European practices accompanied colonisation.[148] Wolf bounties introduced in Turtle Island are discussed at length in Chapter 1, the first recorded instance being in Massachusetts in 1630.[149] Bounties continue to be offered in the United States of America. Idaho, for example, offers various levels of payment including $1,000 per wolf killed in the north of the state.[150] The bounties offered in Idaho are in response to stock losses. This has long been used as a justification for genocidal policies enacted against the animal.

In *The Companion Species Manifesto*, Haraway gives national figures for wolf predation in the United States in 2002, noting that two hundred cattle, five hundred sheep, seven llamas, one horse and forty-three dogs were identified as killed by wolves, before asking 'who were those 43 dogs?'[151] In the same period, 'over 125 errant wolves' were killed. Errancy can refer to roving but also means misbehaving, straying from accepted standards of comportment. It is a loaded term. That even someone as sensitive to nonhuman animal welfare as Haraway chooses to use it demonstrates the deep-seated, perhaps instinctive misgivings that exist regarding wolves. Haraway does not discuss the number of livestock killed by feral dogs, by dogs that have turned away from companionship. She does, however, acknowledge that in the 1970s 'loose dogs killed lots of sheep', noting that livestock guardian dogs emerged as a counter-measure to curtail this predation.[152] In 2000 (no figures are available for 2002), 23.8 per cent of cattle losses to carnivores in the United States were due to feral dogs (only coyotes caused more losses; after dogs come mountain lions and then the category of 'other predators', which includes bears, lynx, wolves, ravens, eagles, vultures and others).[153] More recently, data from the US Department of Agriculture – Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (USDA) covering 2015 again shows that stock losses to wolves are minimal. This data uses unverified sources and therefore potentially inflates wolf predation. Figures provided by the US Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) are lower.[154]

Pressure on the wolf population in Turtle Island has sometimes come not only from bounty schemes but from demand for pelts. As Marvin explains, after a lull in demand by the mid-nineteenth century 'the price

for wolfskins began to increase … and it became worthwhile for hunters to spend time trapping them'.[155] Poisoning using strychnine was the preferred method of killing.[156] Wolf pelts sold for $1.25 each in the early 1860s.[157] Calculating the value of wolf pelts post-1870 is complicated by the decision of the Hudson Bay Company in 1870 to consolidate the returns of coyote, ordinary wolf and timber wolf pelts under a single category: 'wolf'.[158] For a long time the value fluctuated between $1.50 and $3.50.[159] In the 1880s prices for wolf hides varied from fifty cents to $2.50. By the early twentieth century most of the wolf skins sold in Turtle Island derived from Canada or Alaska.[160] Despite the decline in wolf numbers being noted in many regions, trapping continued, and trappers as well as bounty hunters are therefore culpable of animal genocide.

It is not new to describe the wholesale killing of wolves in genocidal terms. Writing in 1925, Ernest Thompson Seton decries the 'bitter, exterminatory war' that modern humankind has waged against wolves.[161] Farley Mowat would later refer to 'the strictly human crime … of biocide' perpetrated against wolves.[162] In 'A Race of Wolves', Carla Freccero argues that '[f]or a long time humans have intended genocide for wolves'.[163] In the context of a discussion of the campaign of extermination committed by European settler colonists against wolves, Andrea Smalley traces how wolves became subject to legislation because of their perceived transgressive behaviour, refusing to respect the neat (if imaginary) boundaries the colonists had established between the wild and their 'civilised' enclaves.[164] In Newfoundland, this behaviour would ultimately result in the extinction of the island's indigenous wolf population.

Of Newfoundland Wolves

One of the earliest settler colonial references to the Newfoundland wolf occurs in 1620 when Richard Whitbourne states of them that they 'did something affright us with their howlings'.[165] The wolves, however, 'did not hurt us: for we had dogs, fire and sword to welcome them'.[166] Whitbourne is puzzled by the wolves as they seem to befriend his mastiff: 'the one began to fawne and play with the other, and so went together into the Woods.'[167] The dog went with the wolves for nine or ten days at a time, returning 'without any hurt'.[168] The behaviour of the wolves thus challenged the preconceptions he held of them:

> Hereof I am no way superstitious: yet it is something strange to mee, that the wilde beasts, being followed by a sterne Mastiffe-dogge, should grow to familiarity with him, feeling their natures are repugnant: surely much

> rather the people, by our discreete and gentle usage, may be brought to society, being already naturally inclined thereunto.[169]

Here he seems to believe sorcery of some kind may be behind the unexpected behaviour of the animals he thinks abhorrent.

Wolves were clearly relatively numerous on the island. In his *Geography of Newfoundland*, James Howley describes the wolf as 'tolerably abundant in the interior' and as frequently making their way 'to the seashore'.[170] The many place names in Newfoundland that refer to wolves are another indicator of their one-time omnipresence on the island. Howley's 'Report of Geological Explorations on the Gambo and Gander Rivers' names a river that runs into the Southwest Gander River 'Dead Wolf River'.[171] The toponym derives from him discovering a wolf skeleton on its banks. Other places historically named after lupines include Wolf Point (East Coast, St. Mein Bay), Wolf Head (Notre Dame Bay), Wolf Harbor (a former settlement on the south-east coast), Wolf Cove (now Upper Amherst Cove), Wolf Pond (near to Chapel Arm) and Wolf Mountain (close to the Meelpaeg Reservoir). As the European population increased, wolves were increasingly blamed for livestock losses. Because of these losses, on 14 September 1839, 'An Act to Encourage the Killing of Wolves in this Colony' was passed by the Newfoundland legislature. The second paragraph of the Act reads:

> *Be it therefore enacted*, by the Governor, Council and Assembly of Newfoundland, in General Assembly convened, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this Act, any Person or Persons who shall produce, or cause to be produced, before any Justice of the Peace in this Island, the Skin of a Wolf recently Killed within this Colony, and shall make and subscribe, or cause to be made and subscribed, a declaration in manner and form as in Schedule A, hereunto annexed, that the same was Killed by or for such Person or Persons, such Person or Persons shall be paid a reward of *Five Pounds*; and if any declaration so made shall be false or untrue, the Person wilfully making such false declaration shall be deemed Guilty of Misdemeanour.[172]

The bounty was suspended in 1863, which may have been a financial or political consideration. It was then reintroduced in 1872.

For a time, reports of wolf attacks on livestock were common. The naval captain D. Miller states of the small community living at Ship Cove in 1873 that '[s]ome of their cattle were killed by wolves not long ago'.[173] He also notes of Indian Point that wolves roamed the area all year round 'and must be a great detriment to cattle or sheep farming, besides the loads of hungry dogs generally kept'.[174] As this last remark shows, it was common

knowledge that dogs were also responsible for livestock losses. In fact, dogs were identified as the primary cause of livestock predation. Richard Henry Bonnycastle writes that Newfoundland dogs (a breed of working dog, often black or white and black in colour) had the propensity 'of worrying cattle and sheep'.[175] He explains:

> [Newfoundland dogs] have been known to make an entrance under an outhouse where sheep have been stalled, and to commit serious devastation. In short, half the mischief said to be performed by wolves, which are very rare near St. John's, is done by their starved congeners.[176]

There was increasing legislation in the 1860s designed to curb against dog attacks. As with the thylacine, the wolf was likely blamed for many attacks that were the result of wild dogs or uncontrolled domestic dogs.

In the speech that the Governor of Newfoundland, Alexander Bannerman, gave at the opening of the First Session of the Seventh General Assembly of Newfoundland in 1860, he acknowledged 'that great complaints continue to be made of the ravages committed by dogs on sheep &c.' He adds: 'It is an evil to which my attention has been called by many industrious farmers, and I know that they expect the Legislature will provide a remedy for so great a nuisance.'[177] The Legislature did indeed provide a solution, passing the 'Act to Provide against the Destruction of Sheep and Cattle, and Injuries to the Person, by Dogs' on 14 May 1860. This act granted the right to shoot any dog without an owner or without adequate identification of their owner and any dog killing, maiming or worrying livestock. Provisos were also made for compensation to be paid to livestock owners for the loss of animals killed by dogs. The Act seemed aimed primarily at working dogs as the identification required, which was to be fastened to the animal's neck, was 'a clog or piece of wood not less than five pounds weight, and not less than eighteen inches in length, with the name of the owner stamped or marked thereon at full length'.[178] Pointers, setters, spaniels and terriers were explicitly excepted from this rule and only required to 'wear a collar of leather or brass, with the name of the owner marked thereon'.

In a 'Statement of Expenditure on Account of Unforeseen Contingencies' provided by the Financial Secretary's Office for 1860, there are also several references to dogs. On 6 July 1860, Charles Cozens was granted £3 9s 4d for buying guns to kill dogs. On 10 August, Timothy Mitchell was paid £2 18s 6d for killing dogs. Further payments for killing dogs were made to John Hayward (23 October, £17 8s 6d) and R. J. Pinsent Jnr (29 October, £8 0s 4d). This does not equal the £50 in bounties made for killing wolves over this period but it still represents a substantial sum and signals the probable role of dogs in livestock destruction. The actions en-

abled by the Act were, however, clearly seen as insufficient by the farmers. In 1865, they demanded further action from the legislature. That year saw petitioning from the Agricultural Society of Newfoundland who provided statistics for killings attributed to dogs in various locales around the island. The figures of sheep killed are quite considerable: 4,136 in total. In addition, 228 goats, eighty-two cows and seven horses are listed as victims. As in Lutruwita, some of these deaths may have been wrongly attributed to predation. It is also possible that a few of these attacks were perpetrated by wolves and mistakenly attributed to dogs, yet it is clear that dogs were recognised to be a major threat to livestock. The tallies kept of destroyed dogs in later years demonstrate that the problem was ongoing and unresolved.

Another act was passed on 7 April 1865: 'An Act to make further provision against the Destruction of Sheep and Cattle, and Injuries to the Person, by Dogs'.[179] This Act was far more detailed. The weight of the identifying clog or piece of wood a dog should wear was increased to seven pounds but the dog could now also simply wear a muzzle. Stipendiary magistrates were also required 'once in each year, to prepare a statement, from information furnished on the Oaths of the Owners, of all Sheep, Lambs, Cattle, Horses and Goats, destroyed in their respective districts by Dogs'.[180] A dog licence introduced for dogs such as pointers and setters permitting them 'to be at large' cost $4 for each dog.[181] Police Constables or other people destroying dogs under the provisions of the Act were entitled to receive the sum of fifty cents for each dog destroyed.[182] In 1864, the year before the dollar was adopted as currency on the island, the wolf bounty stood at £10. The first bounty paid (in 1873) after the change to the dollar was for $10. The bounty for a wolf was therefore twenty times the amount allocated for the destruction of a dog. This disparity is revealing. It speaks to the symbolic status of the wolf as threat but, in hard economic terms, also to a recognition of the carnivore's rarity. Offering a $10 payment for the killing of a dog was probably unaffordable to the treasury. The persistently high wolf bounty is therefore a damning indictment of the government, demonstrating their knowledge of the animal's scarcity.

In 1879 it is noted that the 'chief impediment to sheep raising is *dogs*'.[183] It is tragic that despite it being common knowledge dogs were predominantly responsible for attacks against farm animals, the wolf bounty was reinstated and there were numerous payouts in the 1870s and 1880s (all detailed in Chapter 6). The numbers of dogs being destroyed was large. In 1865, for instance, J. Wilcox reported a total of 174 dogs destroyed.[184] In 1872, 617 dogs were destroyed, costing $308.50.[185] These totals vastly outnumber the amount of wolf bounties being claimed in the same period. In 1873, 457 dogs were destroyed at a cost of $228.50.[186] In that same year, four wolves were killed at a cost of $40. Wolves, however, were easier tar-

gets than dogs in terms of vote-winning. For this reason, as David Mech has argued, wolf bounties in general continue to be popular among politicians irrespective of 'whether or not the bounty is necessary or useful'.[187] In this sense, the Newfoundland politicians such as William V. Whiteway who knowingly advocated unnecessary wolf bounties aimed at eradicating the island's wolf population were culpable of genocide. Perversely, while the wolf bounty was in force and wolves were regularly being killed efforts to protect domestic animals from violence were underway. On 16 April 1878 'An Act respecting Cruelty to Animals' was passed by the island's legislature. The animals named in this act are, however, all domestic animals.

As with the thylacine, wolves were culturally framed as negative. An account of a Newfoundland shipwreck by the geologist Joseph Jukes is revealing in this context. He writes of the wreck of the 'Onondago' (*sic*):

> She appeared to have been a fine ship of 700 or 800 tons; her hull seemed not to have sustained much injury, but her masts were now gone, and she was of course stove in below by sharp rocks on which she lay. Two small sloops, two or three fishing-boats, and several punts lay alongside, and their crews were on shore getting out her cargo, piling the deals and other timber of which it consisted, and loading their own vessels with all imaginable coolness and deliberation. She was evidently considered fair game, and 'first come first served' seemed the order of the day. The dirty little vessels around her put me in mind of a parcel of wolves preying on the carcase of a race-horse.[188]

Here something of the European mindset regarding wolves reveals itself through the description. The hunting expression 'fair game' is noteworthy. Jukes sees the salvage in terms of a hunter or predator and their prey. The extract demonstrates how hunting, which was a regular pastime, fed into everyday perceptions and sense-making activities. In Jukes's picturing of events, dirty boats have the character of wolves, animals that are, by association, also to be viewed as unclean. The image of a pack of wolves preying on a dead racehorse is incongruous but the noble racehorse (the fine ship) is clearly meant to be contrasted with the ignoble wolf (the dirty boats). The use of 'wolves' as a 'dirty word' or insult is recorded in testimony by the butcher John Eales relating to the November 1836 elections for the Newfoundland House of Assembly (in the build-up to which he served as a special constable).[189] In everyday speech then, wolves signified negatively. The bad language that surrounded the species was deleterious, facilitating the extermination of the island's wolf population because people were unlikely to mourn the passing of what they perceived as such a cruel and depraved creature. Their perception can be seen to embody a 'genocidal gaze'.

The Newfoundland wolf likely became extinct in the 1920s. Writing in 1923, Gower Rabbits, the Secretary of the Game and Inland Fisheries Board in Newfoundland, states that a relatively big pack of wolves (eight animals) was spotted over twenty years previously near Gaff Topsails. Two wolves were seen in the vicinity of St. George's on the south-west coast in 1921 and two were seen in 1922 crossing over Birchy Lakes.[190] Additionally in 1922 the tracks of two wolves were found at Doctor Hills in the Great Northern Peninsula.[191] The bounty scheme probably contributed to the wolf's disappearance. John Maunder suggests that a decline in the island's caribou population in the period 1915–25 was also a major contributing factor.[192] Such a decline would certainly have had a detrimental impact on the wolf population of the island. In a study conducted in Alaska of wolves whose primary prey was caribou, Stephenson and James found that over 95 per cent of the biomass consumed by two wolf packs they studied was from caribou. To an extent, however, wolves can switch prey. They can turn to moose, for instance, when caribou are less numerous.[193] When ungulates are sparse, other prey such as beavers, birds and fish offer alternatives. Fluctuations in caribou populations in Newfoundland have historically probably been recurrent albeit infrequent. Severe winters, for instance, can cause population declines. Caribou decline alone would therefore probably not have caused the extinction of the wolf.

Chapter and Verse

The chapters that follow offer occasional correctives and additions to the factual record, some highlighted and others not. Reading outwards from my chosen case studies, I provide a broad history of the thylacine and the Newfoundland wolf from their first contact with Europeans to their ultimate disappearance. In relation to the thylacine, recent research by Stephen Sleightholme and Cameron Campbell that has identified and catalogued films and photographs has been of significant help. In 2005, Sleightholme also established the International Thylacine Specimen Database, which is crucial when seeking information regarding physical remains of the animal. The sixth revised version of the database was released in 2017. In 1999, Campbell founded the online Thylacine Museum, a venture that has subsequently been expanded and is also a key resource when researching tigers.

The thylacine is a polarising research topic as current robust discussions relating to the last captive thylacine have demonstrated.[194] Threading the needle of thylacine research to avoid conflict is virtually impossible and no doubt my own efforts here (with their indebtedness to critical theory and

clear ethical and political engagement) will 'raise hackles' in some quarters. My approach has been to try to build on the broad body of scholarship that already exists regarding the thylacine by signalling occasional disagreements but never descending into vituperation. There are many scholars I am indebted to. Important early work was performed by scientists such as the zoologists Eric Guiler and Heinz Moeller.[195] Robert Paddle is another major figure whose monograph *The Last Tasmanian Tiger* has been an important reference point. The recent publication of *Tasmanian Tiger: Precious Little Remains*, co-authored by David Maynard and Tammy Gordon, which provides an inspiring combination of scientific research and cultural history, is also noteworthy. In relation to cultural history, Hannah Stark's work relating to physical remains of tigers has been inspirational, as has the groundbreaking research by Carol Freeman and Nic Haygarth who have focussed, respectively, on how visual and textual representations historically framed ways in which the thylacine was perceived and, by extension, treated.[196] To my mind, Freeman's *Paper Tiger* stands as the benchmark for visual cultural research on the thylacine.[197] Her efforts are sometimes unjustly sidelined.[198] Col Bailey's writings have also provided valuable insights into how settler colonists (such as trappers and farmers) perceived the tiger. Bailey is one of the few to make direct links between the fate of the thylacine and that of the Newfoundland wolf.[199] Regarding the Newfoundland wolf, the literature is minimal but I am beholden to the pioneering research of Leslie Tuck and, more recently, John Maunder.

The concept of genocide is central to my analyses. It was developed by Lemkin in response to atrocities perpetrated by the Axis powers during the Second World War. He used the term in his 1944 book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* to describe coordinated efforts to destroy a nation or an ethnic group.[200] Lemkin conceived the term as denoting an 'old practice in its modern development'.[201] He only considered human genocide but the term began to be used in the context of the annihilation of nonhuman animals in the 1960s. In Chapter 1, I trace the history of 'animal genocide' and the different ways the concept has been understood and employed. Drawing on the work of Elizabeth Baer and Griselda Pollock, in particular, the chapter also discusses the role of the 'genocidal gaze' (a specific way of seeing) in fostering the conditions that made animal genocide possible. Building on Chapter 1, the ensuing chapters each, in their different ways, examine how images, remains and other traces of the Newfoundland wolf or the thylacine incarnate narratives of animal genocide which close readings can bring to visibility.

In Chapter 2, I examine how the physical remains of the thylacine register the genocidal violence that was perpetrated against them. In this sense, the remains constitute a kind of 'material testimony' to genocide, archiving

attitudes and emotions. Through close analyses of remains derived from collections in Australia and the United States, I identify how they preserve evidence of histories of violence. The remains include scientific 'specimens' and also artefacts such as thylacine skin rugs and a pincushion made from a young thylacine's mandible. In the same way that artworks, newspapers and photographs embody outlooks and opinions, the pincushion and the rugs record the effects of the genocidal gaze as it was historically directed towards the thylacine. Reading these artefacts in purely aesthetic terms risks overlooking the politics of cruelty they record. In the chapter, I draw on insights derived from cultural studies but also forensic anthropology and veterinary forensics as a means to unpack the varied histories of thylacine remains in museum collections. This transdisciplinary methodological approach provides me with a vocabulary adequate to describing how physical remains document a history of violence. Two of the thylacines I study probably died in the 1950s. This is not interpreted as evidence of the continuing survival of the species but as drawing attention to the arbitrariness of declaring 1936 as the year the species went extinct.

Most of the remains discussed in Chapter 2 are rarely displayed by the museums where they are held. Chapter 3 focusses on the thylacine-related materials that are exhibited. Through close readings, I consider the ways in which exhibition strategies frame a visitor's reception and understanding of the thylacine in the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery (TMAG) (Nipaluna/Hobart), the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery (QVMAG) (Launceston), the Australian Museum (Gadigal/Sydney), the Melbourne Museum, the Tiegs Zoology Museum (Melbourne) and the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (Washington, DC). While reading the kinds of histories offered by the museum displays, I also sometimes move outwards from them to consider the broader history of the war of extermination of the thylacine in its direct and indirect guises. In this sense, readers who have never seen the exhibitions may find some of the historical information in this chapter of interest. The most extensive analyses are given over to the major exhibitions devoted to the thylacine by TMAG and QVMAG, with the implications of similarities and differences between the two displays examined. The readings of these two exhibitions help to demonstrate the varied forms animal genocide took in Lutruwita, with animal traffickers, bounty hunters and collectors found culpable. My analyses of the museums are informed by cultural semiotics and by the idea of affective encounters. In this way, I can examine not only the kinds of information museums disseminate (or fail to) but also the sorts of feelings they encourage (or discourage) in visitors.

In Chapter 4, I engage at length with Erle Wilson's 1953 novel *Coorinna* – which gives a fictional account of the life and death of a young

male thylacine – positioning the novel within Wilson's broader corpus of works. My approach to the novel involves close reading, focussing in detail on form and figurative elements the better to grasp the complexities of Wilson's palimpsestic attitude to history, one in which human and nonhuman animal genocide are often imperfectly overlayed. *Coorinna* memorialises the thylacine and their historical persecution but also draws parallels with the fate of the palawa. As such, in the same way that Brian Johnson has identified Canadian animal stories as haunted by human history, *Coorinna* is preoccupied by human genocide in Lutruwita.[202] The thylacine is therefore frequently reduced to a cipher through which human genocide is obliquely acknowledged and processed. Coorinna, the central character of the novel, is an instrument for addressing human concerns and Wilson imbues him with human qualities. This limits the novel's effectiveness at engaging with animal genocide but does not entirely negate it. *Coorinna* also raises important questions about the representation of nonhuman animals, which are developed more fully in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 focusses on the film *The Hunter*, an adaptation of Julia Leigh's novel of the same name, which tells the story of a hunter on a mission to locate a thylacine in present-day Lutruwita. The film combines representational and non-representational modes of engaging with the tiger and, drawing on the psychoanalytic theories of Bracha Ettinger, I examine the aesthetic potential of dimensions of the film (notably its use of 'absence' as a way of imaging the thylacine) for resisting anthropomorphism. A straightforward narrative analysis would be incapable of registering and understanding the film's aesthetic complexities and affective dimensions. I also explore the use of archival film footage in *The Hunter* and in other narrative films featuring thylacines. The footage I concentrate on is David Fleay's 1933 film of 'Benjamin' (probably the last thylacine held in captivity by Hobart Zoo in Nipaluna/Hobart), assessing what this footage reveals about cultural attitudes towards the tiger.[203] I also address how these attitudes carry into the 2021 colourised version of Fleay's film and the CGI tiger in *The Hunter*.[204] The colourised version is intended to restore 'Benjamin' to how he 'originally looked' but I demonstrate that this comes at the expense of traumatic histories embodied in the black and white footage. Colourisation as a practice, one that involves technical processes underpinned by aesthetic choices, is therefore revealed to be an ethical issue, one that, in this instance, works to mute a particular genocidal history.

In Chapter 6, I offer an object biography of the pelt and skull of a wolf shot in Newfoundland in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century by William Whiteway. Object biographies track the changing perceptions and significances regarding an object through time, attending to the varied

histories it accumulates. Through this biography, I hope that something of the objecthood of the object is diminished and the wolf becomes a subject for the reader, a singular individual rather than a type.[205] The wolf skull and skin are powerful testaments to the violence wolves were subject to in Newfoundland. The chapter also builds on Leslie Tuck's pathbreaking research into the bounty scheme to provide what is, perhaps, the most comprehensive account to date of its scope.[206]

I conclude *Animal Genocide and its Aftermath* by considering a series of photographs taken of the last known 'wild' thylacine, examining what they reveal about the genocidal gaze as it was operative in Lutruwita. These photographs pose profound ethical questions regarding the representation of nonhuman animals. The thylacine in question was shot and killed in 1933 by Wilfred 'Wilf" Batty at a time when the marsupial's rarity was common knowledge. The very taking of the photographs attests to the 'event' that an encounter with a thylacine constituted. Batty knew the financial value of the tiger as he tried to capture him alive. When the tiger was on the cusp of escaping, however, the smallholder shot him.[207] This killing was an act of genocide. Retrospectively, Batty attributed the cause of the species' extinction to canine distemper, downplaying the impact of actions such as his own. The death of the tiger Batty shot was not quick; he lingered for roughly twenty minutes, becoming a local spectacle: people 'came from all about to look'.[208]

Notes

1. The palawa (First Nations Tasmanian) name of Lutruwita is used to refer to Tasmania throughout this book. Lutruwita and other palawa place names are capitalised in response to the April 2024 decision by the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre to adopt this format (it was not previously standard practice to capitalise palawa places names).
2. In this book the terms thylacine and tiger are used interchangeably to refer to *Thylacinus cynocephalus*. The term Tasmanian tiger, while common, is misleading as it attributes feline characteristics to the thylacine. I nonetheless reluctantly choose to employ it for reasons of literary style to reduce repetition. As I go on to discuss, many palawa names for the tiger are known and there are strong arguments for using these in certain contexts. Discussions of the thylacine in this book, however, are primarily about European settler colonist attitudes towards the species and their actions against it. European terminology reflects and is bound up with those attitudes and actions, which is why I retain it. For a discussion of how European-derived classification systems in natural history erase Indigenous recognition of some species, see Bienvenue and Chare, 'Introduction', 11–12. See also Gillman and Wright, 'Restoring Indigenous Names'. When referring to thylacines and wolves as a species or when the gender of a given animal is uncertain, 'they', 'them' and 'their' pronouns are used. When the gender

of a given animal is established, male or female pronouns are adopted. My choice of pronouns aims to resist objectifying the animals that are being discussed, although it inevitably and problematically involves imposing human binary conceptions of gender on them. For a recent discussion of inclusive language in relation to nonhuman animals, see Chau and Jacobs, 'Applied Linguistics'. See also the discussion of pronouns in Hoquet, 'Animal Individuals'.

3. The term palawa is written in lowercase throughout this book. This is in deference to the decision by the Tasmanian Aborigine Centre that, with the exception of place names, palawa kani only be written in lowercase. palawa kani is a composite Lutruwitan language constructed from recorded vocabulary from various palawa peoples. Breen, 'Extermination, Extinction, Genocide', 81.
4. Meston, *The Van Diemen's Land Company*, 53.
5. For a discussion of the passage of the bounty legislation, see Chapter 6 of Paddle's *The Last Tasmanian Tiger*.
6. Rothfels, 'Immersed with Animals', 207.
7. 'Pickled Devils', *The Mercury*, 16 July 1874, 2. For a long time the Jamrach family, based in Germany then England, were major traffickers in exotic animals and birds for the European market. See Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 47.
8. The thylacine was not the only animal in Lutruwita to become extinct due to European invasion. The Tasmanian emu (*Dromaius novaehollandiae diemenensis*) disappeared in the 1850s and the King Island emu (*Dromaius novaehollandiae minor*) slightly earlier, the last known birds dying in captivity in France in 1822. These birds were both subspecies.
9. Baker and Dickman, *Secret Lives of Carnivorous Marsupials*, 75.
10. Ibid., 83.
11. Ibid.
12. See Brook et al., 'Resolving When (and Where) the Thylacine Went Extinct'.
13. Gould, *The Mammals of Australia*, unpaginated [56].
14. Ibid.
15. Newfoundland has been inhabited for about nine thousand years. The major Indigenous population at the time of European invasion in the seventeenth century were the Beothuk. After invasion, the island was ruled by a succession of naval commanders until 1832 when government by colonial assembly commenced. The island was a self-governing colony from 1855 until 1907 when it became a dominion. It continued to be self-governing until 1934 when it began to be governed by royal commission. Newfoundland became a province of Canada in 1949.
16. Col Bailey suggests the bounty legislation was only repealed in 1963. See Bailey, *Lure of the Thylacine*, 140.
17. As discussed in Chapter 6, a wolf that had crossed from the mainland using sea ice in the Strait of Belle Isle was shot on the Bonavista Peninsula in 2012. DNA testing confirmed he came from the wolf population of Labrador. See Barb Sweet, 'It's a Labrador Wolf: DNA Tests', *Telegram*, 24 May 2012, https://www.saltwire.com/newfoundland-labrador/its-a-labrador-wolf-dna-tests-126023 (retrieved 6 February 2025).
18. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, 12, 30. Haraway, however, emphasises in *When Species Meet* that companion species are not restricted to companion animals such as dogs but encompass any species that there is an ongoing 'becoming with'. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 16.
19. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 35.
20. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, 49.
21. Ibid., 6.

22. Haygarth, 'The "Walking Museum"', 35–36. I refer to these 'dealers' as traffickers as although their actions were not illegal they were plainly unethical. My understanding of trafficking is inspired by Sollund's definition in *The Crimes of Wildlife Trafficking*, which extends trafficking to the *legal* wildlife trade. She defines trafficking as the 'legal or illegal trade, smuggling, abduction, theriocide and collection of [free-born] animals pertaining to (often endangered) animal species, either alive or by turning them into products' (3).
23. I am by no means the first to link their fates. Col Bailey, for instance, includes a discussion (Chapter 32) of the Newfoundland wolf in *Lure of the Thylacine*. Others, however, have not examined their histories through the prism of animal genocide.
24. The term 'nonhuman animals' is used on occasion throughout this book to signal that humans are also animals and that there is continuity between humans and other animals. The term has been critiqued for implying a qualitative variance with human animals possessing traits and capacities other animals lack, but I believe that the way it signals continuity and difference between human animals and other animals justifies its continued usage. This opens the question as to why I do not employ the term 'nonhuman animal genocide' instead of 'animal genocide' or use 'animal genocide' to cover all instances of genocide (human and nonhuman). These are certainly possibilities, but I have opted to retain 'genocide' and 'animal genocide' because these are established terms with specific histories that I value.
25. Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, 73.
26. Anonymous, *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)*, 10–11.
27. Ibid., 5.
28. Goldie suggests that the extermination of the Beothuk was part intentional and part a result of White settler colonists interfering 'with the delicate ecology of an inhospitable environment'. See Goldie, *Fear and Temptation*, 154.
29. Lemkin, *Lemkin on Genocide*, 18–19.
30. Kuper, *Genocide*, 40.
31. Anonymous, 'The Black Natives', *Colonial Advocate*, Thursday 1 May 1828, 29.
32. Ibid., 30.
33. See Archives and Special Collections, Memorial University, St. John's, NL, COLL-262 Howley Family Papers, 6.0 William Epps Cormack Original Documents, 1818–1829: 6.03.005. In another fragment (6.04.013), Cormack writes, 'Civilization and barbarity might shake hands in Nfland [Newfoundland]'.
34. Ibid., 6.03.005.
35. Ibid., 6.03.007.
36. Cartwright, 'An Account of the Red Indians of Newfoundland', 32. Unpublished manuscript held by the Newfoundland and Labrador Collection, Provincial Resource Library, St. John's NL: 971.6 C24. Extracts from Cartwright's account are published in Howley's *The Beothucks or Red Indians*.
37. Cartwright, 'An Account of the Red Indians of Newfoundland', 32–33.
38. As discussed at length later in this Introduction, the thylacine was frequently referred to as a 'hyena' or 'wolf' because of their assumed behaviour. There were therefore clear similarities in how the palawa and the thylacine were perceived by settler colonists. Anonymous, 'Untitled', *Hobart Town Courier*, Saturday 13 November 1830, 3.
39. Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, 90.
40. Staub, *The Roots of Evil*, 52.
41. Ibid., 61.
42. Ibid., 88.

43. The evidence for the extinction date of the thylacine on the mainland is largely based on the dating of a mummified 'specimen'. The notion that the near-to-last thylacine was one that became mummified in exceptional circumstances is questionable. Samuel Turvey lists the calibrated radiometric of the last occurrence of the thylacine on the mainland as 3816–3336 BP but the last historically recorded occurrence as in the 1830s–40s. This would suggest relatively late survival but is not based on the dating of fossil or physical remains but on oral historical accounts. Turvey, 'Holocene Mammal Extinctions', 42. See also Turvey and Cooper, 'The Past is Another Country', 196.
44. See White et al., 'Ancient Mitochondrial Genomes', 9.
45. Harris, 'Description of Two New Species of Didelphis from Van Diemen's Land'. For a discussion of nineteenth-century ideas about speciation and classification see Berlocher, 'Origins', 4–5.
46. Allen and Barbour, 'The Newfoundland Wolf'.
47. See John Gittleman and Matthew Gompper. 'Plight of Predators', 371.
48. Ibid.
49. Turvey and Cooper, 'The Past is Another Country', 196.
50. Baker and Dickman nonetheless suggest in *Secret Lives of Carnivorous Marsupials* that there remains some convergence between thylacines and wolves (57). Freeman also discusses convergence in *Paper Tiger*, emphasising its lack (92).
51. 'Description of a Tasmanian Tiger Received by Banks from William Paterson, 30th March 1805', SAFE/Banks Papers/Series 27.33. Sir Joseph Banks Papers, State Library of New South Wales. The Yorkton settlement was soon abandoned in favour of the site that would subsequently become Launceston.
52. Anonymous, 'Untitled', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 21 April 1805, 3.
53. Ibid.
54. On 4 November 1804, one horse, three sheep, four cows and fifteen pigs arrived at Port Dalrymple. I do not know whether any of these animals were still alive in 1805. For a discussion of the history of livestock at Port Dalrymple, see Walker, 'The Discovery and Occupation of Port Dalrymple'.
55. See Philip King's 30 April letter to the Earl of Camden reproduced in Bladen, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, 607–8. King notes that 288 of the cattle being transported by the *Sydney* died on route to Port Dalrymple.
56. The measurements of the female are as precise as the male. She has nineteen stripes, for instance, to his twenty. Unless guesswork, this necessitated the study either of a captive animal or of a cadaver.
57. Anonymous, 'Natives', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 21 April 1805, 2.
58. For an extended account of these resistance activities (and of massacres perpetrated against the Darug by Europeans), see Ryan, 'Untangling Aboriginal Resistance'.
59. Anonymous, 'Natives', 2. Emphasis in the original. All emphases are present in the original unless otherwise stated.
60. Ibid.
61. Meston, *The Van Diemen's Land Company*, 51.
62. Cited in Ellis, *Trucanini*, 44.
63. Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', 133.
64. For a discussion of Newfoundland's mining history, see Martin, *Once Upon a Mine*, particularly Chapter 1. The growth in mining led to increased demand for lumber. Forestry activities therefore expanded at the same time as mining. See Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador*, 162.

65. Ibid., 104–5; Mackinnon, 'Farming the Rock'.
66. The case of the Beothuk is a different story as their territory was regularly encroached on, if not 'legally' annexed, by fishers and trappers. In their context, Wolfe's identification of the settler need for land as a potential contributing to factor to genocide is a major consideration.
67. Harvey, *Newfoundland in 1900*, 132.
68. Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', 141.
69. Jones et al., 'Carnivore Concerns', 423.
70. Thylacines are still sometimes blamed for sheep losses. In the comic strip by François Craenhals, (*Les) 4 as et le Loup de Tasmanie* [*The 4 Aces and the Tasmanian Wolf*], for example, thylacines with their 'wolfish ways' are said to have hunted in packs and to have caused huge damage to farmers (38).
71. Paddle discusses theft as an issue in *The Last Tasmanian Tiger*, 163.
72. Edward Curr, for instance, mentions the poor sheep management skills of Alexander Goldie, the superintendent of the VDLC holdings at Ningherner/Parteenno (known to him as Hampshire Hills) and Wulaninka or Woollunnengar (known to him as Surrey Hills). See Meston, *The Van Diemen's Land Company*, 49.
73. Ibid., 28.
74. Ibid., 38.
75. Dallas, 'Conclusion', 59.
76. See the discussion of stock losses in Stokes, *The Settlement and Development of the Van Diemen's Land Company's Grants*.
77. See Thomas Walker's advertisement warning trespassers on his landholdings in Rhodes that they would be prosecuted. Walker observed that now that he would actively prosecute any intruding splitters, sawyers and stockmen, he expected '[t]he hyenas who are reported to have killed my sheep' to 'disappear'. See Walker, 'Caution', *Launceston Advertiser*, Thursday 26 January 1837, 2.
78. The shepherd Charlie Williams at Mount Cameron, for example, was paid ten shillings for each dog or tiger he caught. See Anonymous, 'Through Tasmania No. 35', *The Mercury*, Saturday 26 April 1884, 2.
79. See Robinson, *Friendly Mission*, 858–59; 860–66. Robinson believed the depredations caused by dogs were exaggerated (865).
80. See ibid., 865.
81. Breton, *Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Dieman's Land*, 359.
82. West, *The History of Tasmania: Volume 1*, 323.
83. Ibid., 133.
84. Ibid.
85. Anonymous, 'Parliament of Tasmania: House of Assembly, Tuesday November 2', *The Mercury*, Wednesday 3 November 1886, 3.
86. Stephen Burns, 'Epidemic Dogs the West: Danger Lurking in the Mulga Scrub', *The Land*, Thursday April 25 2019, 3.
87. Ibid.
88. Anonymous, 'Parliament: House of Assembly Thursday, October 7', *Launceston Examiner*, Friday 8 October 1886, 3.
89. In the abstract of this petition (numbered 44) these ravages are specifically identified as against sheep. The petition was issued as Paper No. 165. See *Journals and Printed Papers of the Parliament of Tasmania 1884*, Volume 1 (Hobart: Govt. Printer, 1884).
90. Paddle, *The Last Tasmanian Tiger*, 153.
91. 'Country' encompasses land but also culture and environment. It refers to a physical but also spiritual connection. palawa are connected to Country by ancestry and family.

92. Anonymous, 'Wynyard', *Advocate*, Saturday 19 July 1919, 2.
93. Anonymous, 'House of Assembly,' *The Mercury*, Friday 5 November 1886, 4. Braddon may have used the pun more than once. See Anonymous, 'House of Assembly', *Launceston Examiner*, Saturday 6 November 1886, 3.
94. Chinese tin miners came to greatly outnumber Europeans for a brief period in the late nineteenth century. See Vivian, *Tasmania's Chinese Heritage*.
95. Anonymous, 'House of Assembly', *The Mercury*, Friday 5 November 1886, 4.
96. For 'stickiness' and its relation to attributing negative qualities to specific groups, see Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. Ahmed is discussed further in Chapter 2.
97. Mitchell, *Picture Theory*, 333.
98. Dickman et al., 'The Dingo Dilemma', 299; Van Eeden et al., '"The Dingo Menace"', 247.
99. See Chapter 3 of Stuart, 'The Dingo in the Colonial Imagination'.
100. See Stuart, 'The Dingo in the Colonial Imagination', 1, 10, 13, 16.
101. Ibid., 19–20.
102. Bewick, *A General History of Quadrupeds*, 319.
103. Anonymous, 'House of Assembly, Friday, August 26', *Devon Herald*, Tuesday 30 August 1887, 3.
104. John Lyne correspondence, 23 January 1888, LMSS 583/1/1, Libraries Tasmania Launceston Manuscript Collection.
105. Krefft, *Mammals of Australia*, 6.
106. Brinsmead, *Echo in the Wilderness*, 150.
107. In 1830 a tiger entered a cottage and sought to seize a child. See Anonymous, 'The Courier', *Hobart Town Courier*, Saturday 17 April 1830, 2. A second example is discussed in my Conclusion.
108. Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, 380.
109. Ibid.
110. Oscar, 'The Native Tiger', *The Mercury*, Tuesday 19 September 1882, 3.
111. Freeman, *Paper Tiger*, 97.
112. Ritvo, *The Platypus and the Mermaid*, 8.
113. In Julia Leigh's *The Hunter*, the main character M refers to the names 'striped wolf' and 'marsupial wolf' as evidence of the taxonomic confusion the thylacine caused early settler colonists. Leigh, *The Hunter*, 16. The tiger was not just difficult to name, they were also hard to classify. Of animals extant today, the numbat is close genetically to thylacines although markedly different in appearance and behaviour. For a brief overview of numbats, see Friend and Thomas, 'Conservation of the Numbat'. The thylacine is usually grouped with the Tasmanian devil and the quoll, which, like the numbat, are of the order Dasyuromorphia, an order including most carnivorous marsupials. The devil and quoll, however, are of the Dasyuridae family while the thylacine was of the Thylacinidae family and the numbat is of the Myrmecobiidae. See the discussion in Baker and Dickman, *Secret Lives of Carnivorous Marsupials*, 65–66.
114. Freeman, *Paper Tiger*, 102.
115. References to the 'hyena tiger', for example, occur in Anonymous, 'Hobart Town', *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, Saturday 2 August 1823, 2; Anonymous, 'Port Phillip', *Bent's News and the Tasmanian Three-Penny Register*, Saturday 9 April 1836, 3.
116. Swainson, 'Australasia: Natural Geography'. In a similar vein, in the 1930s, some Australian newspapers referred to the thylacine as the 'tiger-wolf'. See H. Stuart Dove, 'Remarkable Rocks: Former Haunt of the Hyena', *Advocate*, Tuesday 8 April

1930, 2; Crosbie Morrison, 'It Walks by Night: Tiger-Wolf is Elusive Beast', *Herald*, Tuesday 1 November 1938, 6.

117. Anonymous, 'Untitled', *Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter*, Saturday 24 June 1820, 2.
118. Breton, *Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Dieman's Land*, 357.
119. Halsey, *Deleuze and Environmental Damage*, 91.
120. Ibid., 1.
121. Ibid.
122. In *Paper Tiger*, Freeman also attends to the power of words to shape opinions, observing that historically the term 'tiger' 'epitomised what [Europeans] feared in regard to the animal kingdom' (83).
123. Here, images and words are viewed as operating more symbiotically. Images do not simply reflect the connotations of words regarding the objects they depict but rather possess the potential to extend or contest as well as to buttress the meanings of particular names for things. I am grateful to students from my course ART3001 *Écrire l'histoire de l'art* for our enriching conversations regarding word–image relations.
124. Anonymous, 'Parliament', *Daily Telegraph*, Friday 1 October 1886, 3.
125. Storey discusses the mystique surrounding lions and tigers in 'Big Cats and Imperialism', 138.
126. Guiler, *Thylacine*, 115. Herbert Eugene Pearce lived from 1904 to 1973 so certainly could have been interviewed by Guiler in circa 1953. He is too young, however, to have claimed bounties. The man Guiler interviewed claimed to have received fifty-three payments indicating a birthdate in the 1870s or 1880s. The Pearces were renowned trappers and various members are mentioned in histories of the thylacine. Tracing their family history is, however, difficult as records are incomplete. See Chick, 'Tasmanian Family and Community Reconstitution', 319. Chick notes the existence of alternative spellings of the family surname including Pierce and Pears (577).
127. Bailey, *Lure of the Thylacine*, 240.
128. Knight, 'On the Extinction of the Japanese Wolf', 137–43.
129. Tametomo is reputed to have adopted two wolves.
130. In the 1970s a terrorist cell of the East Asia Anti-Japan Armed Front was named *Ōkami* (Wolf) by its members because of the animal's perceived pride and independence. The 2006 video game *Ōkami* designed by Hiroshi Shibata, which features a white wolf, demonstrates Japanese culture's enduring fascination with the animal.
131. The zoologist Coenraad Jacob Temminck identified the Japanese wolf as a distinct species but it is now accepted that there were two subspecies of grey wolf in Japan. Temminck was also the scientist who, building on the work of Harris, created the genus *Thylacinus*. See the section 'Genre Thylacine – *Thylacinus*' (60–65) in Temminck, *Monographies de mammalogie*.
132. For a discussion of Dun's impact on Japanese perceptions of the wolf and a summary of his genocidal conduct towards the species, see Walker, 'Meiji Modernization'.
133. Hunt, 'The Face of the Wolf is Blessed, or is It?', 321.
134. Fiennes, *The Order of Wolves*, 11.
135. Roosevelt, *The Wilderness Hunter*, 188.
136. Corbin, *Corbin's Advice*, 6.
137. Ritvo, 'Calling the Wild', 105.
138. Young and Goldman, *The Wolves of North America: Volume I*, 76.
139. Anonymous, 'The Wolf Chase', 163.
140. Hunt, 'The Face of the Wolf is Blessed, or is It?', 321.

141. Smalley, *Wild by Nature*. One of Scotland's last wolves was stabbed to death in Sutherland in the Highlands by a hunter called Polson in about 1700. There is a stone monument at Glen Loth near Helmsdale commemorating the event (I am grateful to Peter Chare for providing me with a photograph of the monument). The monument fails to acknowledge that the wolf, a female, had cubs that were also killed. For an account of the death of these wolves, see Scrope, *The Art of Deer-Stalking*, 377–80.
142. Staub, *The Roots of Evil*, 54.
143. Ibid.
144. Waters, 'Solon's "Price-Equalisation"', 186.
145. Marvin, *Wolf*, 81.
146. My translation. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. Rozier, 'Loup, Louve', 298.
147. Ibid.
148. Ball, 'Grim Commerce', 92–93.
149. Ibid., 4n14.
150. Associated Press, 'Idaho Reaches Deal to Reimburse Hunters Who Kill Wolves', *US News*, 11 October 2021, https://www.usnews.com/news/politics/articles/2021-10-11/idaho-reaches-deal-to-reimburse-hunters-who-kill-wolves (retrieved 15 July 2022). Montana currently has a de facto bounty system. See Ted Williams, 'America's New War on Wolves and Why It Must Be Stopped', *Yale Environment 360*, 17 February 2022, https://e360.yale.edu/features/americas-new-war-on-wolves-and-why-it-must-be-stopped (retrieved 15 July 2022).
151. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, 78.
152. Ibid., 71.
153. US Department of Agriculture, *Cattle and Calves Predator Death Loss in the United States, 2005*, 26. In 2015, coyotes (40.5 per cent) were still the major cause of cattle predation with unknown predators second and feral dogs (11.3 per cent) third. Wolves (4.9 per cent) were sixth on the list. US Department of Agriculture, *Death Loss in U.S. Cattle and Calves Due to Predator and Nonpredator Causes, 2015*, 53. The next study is due in 2025.
154. For a comparison of the data see The Humane Society of the United States, 'Government Data Confirm that Wolves Have a Negligible Effect on U.S. Cattle and Sheep Industries', 6 March 2019, https://www.humanesociety.org/sites/default/files/docs/HSUS-Wolf-Livestock-6.Mar_.19Final.pdf (retrieved 15 July 2022). The data does show that in the state of Idaho (where a wolf bounty starting at $1,000 is currently offered), wolves are a major source of stock losses alongside coyotes. Often establishing what predator is responsible for killing livestock or whether predation occurred post-mortem is difficult and cost-prohibitive. The unverified data from Idaho therefore needs to be treated with considerable caution.
155. Marvin, *Wolf*, 98.
156. Ibid., 100.
157. Young and Goldman, *The Wolves of North America: Volume I*, 170.
158. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age*, 24–25.
159. Young and Goldman, *The Wolves of North America: Volume I*, 170.
160. Ibid., 170.
161. Seton, *Lives of Game Animals Volume 1*, 319.
162. Mowat, *Never Cry Wolf*, viii. This preface is not included in the first edition of the book. The epilogue to *Never Cry Wolf* details efforts to eradicate the wolves of the Keewatin barrens using cyanide and strychnine. See *Never Cry Wolf*, 247.

163. Freccero, 'A Race of Wolves', 116.
164. Smalley, *Wild by Nature*.
165. Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of New-found-land*, unpaginated.
166. Ibid.
167. Ibid.
168. Ibid.
169. Ibid.
170. Howley, *Geography of Newfoundland*, 51.
171. Howley, 'Report of Geological Explorations on the Gambo and Gander Rivers', 437.
172. See 'An Act to Encourage the Killing of Wolves in the Colony [passed 14 September 1839]', published in the 1839 *Acts of the General Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Ryan & Withers, 1839), unpaginated.
173. Miller, 'Report of the Newfoundland and Labrador Fisheries', 765.
174. Ibid.
175. Bonnycastle, *Newfoundland in 1842*, 24.
176. Ibid.
177. *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's: House of Assembly of Newfoundland, 1860), 11.
178. 'An Act to Provide against the Destruction of Sheep and Cattle, and Injuries to the Person, by Dogs', *Statutes of Newfoundland* (St. John's: J.C. Withers, 1860), 49–50, 49.
179. 'An Act to make further provision against the Destruction of Sheep and Cattle, and Injuries to the Person, by Dogs', *Statutes of Newfoundland* (St. John's: J.C. Withers, 1865), 53–56.
180. Ibid., 53.
181. Ibid., 53. Newfoundland changed its currency from pounds to dollars in 1865.
182. Ibid., 56. The payment was two shillings and sixpence in sterling.
183. Appendix of the *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's: E.W. Bowden, 1879), A-647.
184. Appendix of the *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's: James Seaton, 1866), 837.
185. Appendix of the *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Morning Chronicle, 1873), 104.
186. Appendix of the *Journal of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland* (St. John's: James Seton, 1874), 139–40.
187. Mech, *The Wolf*, 333.
188. Jukes, *Excursions In and About Newfoundland*, vol. 1, 179. The ship was likely the *Onondaga*, a first-class ship built in Québec in 1829 and weighing 568 tons. See *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping: From 1st July 1838 to the 30th June 1839*, unpaginated. The *Onondaga* is listed as abandoned in the *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping* of 1839. See *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping: From 1st July 1839 to the 30th June 1840*, unpaginated.
189. 'Mad dogs' is another animal-inspired insult recorded by Eales. John Eales, 'No 2 – John Eales, Butcher', *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee to Inquire into the State of the Colony of Newfoundland* (London, 1841), 50.
190. Birchy Lake is near the Gaff Topsails.
191. Cited in Seton, *Lives of Game Animals: Volume 1*, 263.
192. In his 1982 article 'The Newfoundland Wolf', Maunder blamed the extinction of the wolf firmly on settler colonists and the bounty scheme they instituted (36). He has subsequently revised his opinion and now attributes extinction to a sparsity of car-

ibou. https://web.archive.org/web/20240421051959/https://www.therooms.ca/the-newfoundland-wolf-0 (last accessed 27 March 2025).

193. See Spaulding et al., 'Summer Diet of Gray Wolves'.
194. Loretta Lohberger and James Dunlevie, 'New Thylacine Research Project Casts Doubt on Last Captive Tasmanian Tiger Assertions', *ABC News*, 8 November 2023, https://amp.abc.net.au/article/103065256 (retrieved 1 February 2024).
195. Despite some factual errors, Guiler's research is remarkable given that he worked from paper archives, painstakingly reconstructing the fates of many tigers and assessing the scope and impact of the bounty scheme.
196. In *Paper Tiger*, Freeman observes that 'wolf-like illustrations of the thylacine predominated in natural history literature' (91). She suggests that common names for the thylacine (such as 'marsupial wolf') 'reflected animosity towards the species and had the capacity to produce and reinforce destructive attitudes' (30). Haygarth notes that the thylacine was often referred to as a 'hyena' by Europeans but gradually the name 'tiger' became dominant in local newspapers. Lupine-inspired nomenclature was infrequent, which opens the possibility that zoological visions of the thylacine differed markedly from popular perceptions or that visual descriptors were at odds with verbal ones. See Nic Haygarth, 'Theophilus Jones and the Thylacine', 29 December 2016, http://nichaygarth.com/index.php/2016/12/29/theophilus-jones-and-the-thylacine-or-the-case-for-the-prosecution/#_ftn6 (retrieved 14 July 2021).
197. My decision not to engage in depth with paintings and drawings of the thylacine in this book is due to the extensive and insightful treatment they have already been accorded by Freeman. I do address photographs in the Conclusion.
198. For example, a recently published chapter by Sleightholme and Campbell, 'The Thylacine: A Wolf in Name Only', that seeks to foreground how different the thylacine was to wolves, makes no mention of Freeman's analyses of the influence of visual culture on lupine perceptions of *Thylacinus cynocephalus*. Freeman, however, helps us understand important elements of the process that led to the production of the 'marsupial wolf'.
199. See Chapter 31 of Bailey's *Lure of the Thylacine*.
200. Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, 79.
201. Ibid.
202. Johnson, 'National Species', 340. Johnson suggests that in some Canadian stories nonhuman animals readily stand in for the human because of perceived kinship between so called 'lower races' and animals (342).
203. Hobart Zoo, which opened in 1923, replaced Beaumaris Zoo. The latter, which opened in 1895, was housed on a site deemed not conducive to animal welfare. I am grateful to Robert Paddle for nuancing my understanding of the histories of these zoos. The name 'Benjamin' first emerged in 1968 and seems an invention and not an appellation ever actually used for the last thylacine. See James Dunlevie, 'Stop Calling the Last Thylacine Benjamin, Tasmanian Tiger Researcher Says', *ABC News*, 5 December 2022, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-12-06/benjamin-thylacine-tasmanian-tiger-naming-myth-persists/101734442 (retrieved 1 December 2024).
204. The name 'Benjamin' is given in scare quotes throughout this book as, while welcome as a means of attributing retrospective specificity to a particular thylacine (breaking with type), it is a human name imposed on the nonhuman animal. When some nonhuman animals differentiate among their kind (as they are clearly capable of doing) they may be employing qualities such as smell to engage in this process. Smell, in this sense, would potentially function in ways comparable to aspects of naming.

205. Here, although she does not refer to it as object biography, I am influenced by Valérie Bienvenue's inspiring research relating to A544, a quagga that was part of a menagerie kept by Louis XVI of France. See Bienvenue, 'From the General to the Particular'.
206. Due to incomplete records, however, the total number of claims detailed is likely too low. At times information about the names of claimants, where they lived or where a given wolf was killed is also absent.
207. Brass, 'The $55,000 Search to Find a Tasmanian Tiger', 40.
208. Ibid.