Beastly Encounters: Human-Animal Relations in the *Illustrated Police News* and Victorian Literature and Culture, 1864-1901

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This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the sensational Victorian newspaper the *Illustrated Police News* and its representation of human-animal relations from its inception in 1864 to the end of the Victorian era in 1901. It proposes that this critically-overlooked paper can illuminate our understanding of contemporary attitudes towards animals, providing, as it does, a popular perspective not often discussed in academic studies.

Drawing on scholarship from animal studies, urban studies, periodical studies and literary studies, this thesis suggests the significance of this newspaper's representation of animals and explores how this representation relates to contemporary anxieties surrounding, for example, urbanisation, criminality, degeneration, order and civility.

The analysis is comprised of case studies, with each chapter examining the representation of human-animal relations in a different set of urban and rural spaces. The thesis moves from the private space of the home to public settings such as the street, the menagerie, the zoo and the courtroom, and finally to the controversial Victorian laboratory. In each case, the paper made important contributions to, for example, discussions of the legal status of animals, and conceptions of their potential agency and of their position in Victorian society.

The paper's use of genre in its dissemination of ideas is also explored, and it is situated in its literary and cultural contexts through comparisons with other contemporary periodicals and with Victorian fiction, examining particularly its use of Gothic and sensational modes.

The thesis thus contributes to scholarly work on the representation of animals in nineteenth-century periodicals, which until now has largely focused on titles produced and read by the social elite. Often viewed as only a low and lurid title, this thesis provides the first sustained critical study of the *Illustrated Police News* and argues that it is a valuable resource for the study of Victorian culture.

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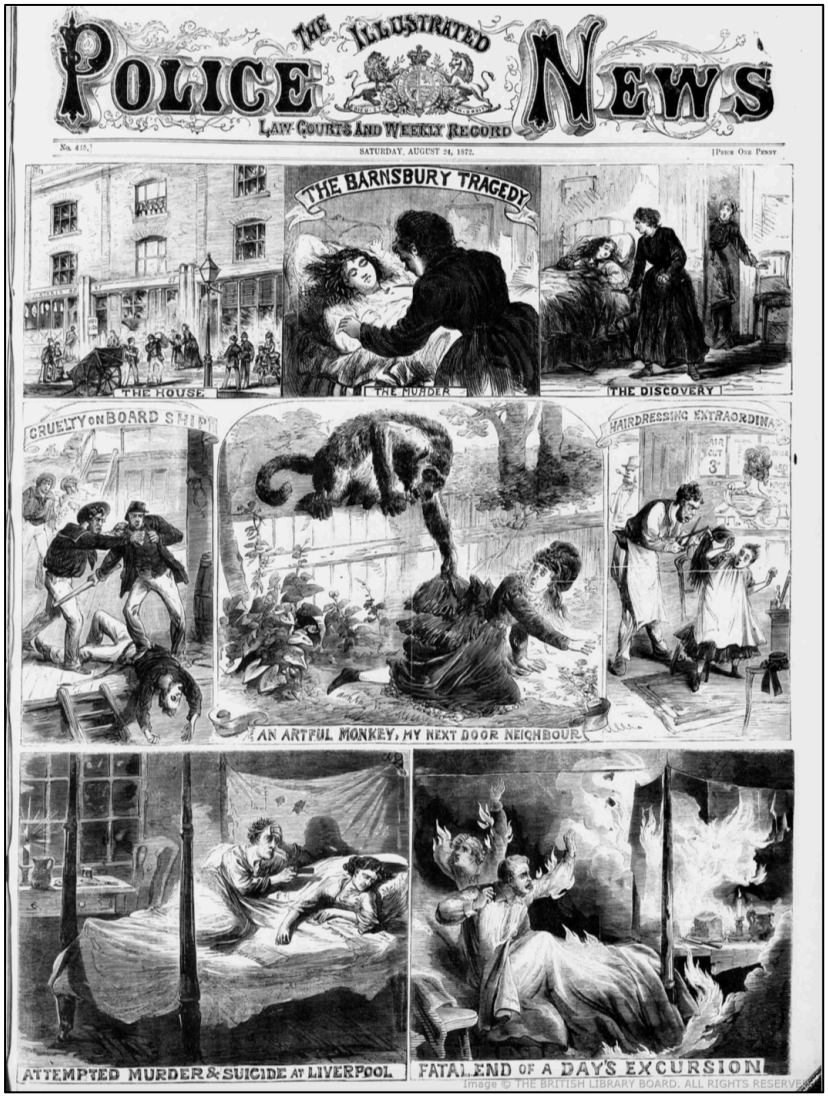

Fig. 1. Front page. *Illustrated Police News,* 24 Aug. 1872.

Introduction

In a typical week in Victorian Britain, unfortunate citizens might have faced any number of predicaments. These might have ranged from an encounter with a ghostly apparition or a runaway horse-drawn carriage; a devastating fire or a hairdressing mishap; or perhaps they might have been murdered in their bed, or attacked by "An Artful Monkey" (fig. 1) – at least, that is, according to the *Illustrated Police News*, a sensational weekly penny newspaper that reported on the criminal, desperate, and extraordinary incidents of everyday late-Victorian life. The front page of the 24 August, 1872 edition of the paper is

representative of the varied content one could expect from this title (fig. 1). It was entirely pictorial, featuring eight illustrations and a lavishly stylized masthead – a significant development from its first issue in 1864, when the front page included two key illustrations surrounded by text. In this one page, some of the prevailing subjects of the *Illustrated Police News* (hereafter the *IPN*) are represented, from the tragic – the murder of a child at the hands of her mother, a fatally destructive fire, a desperate man almost driven to murder and suicide due to destitution – to the bizarre – a vindictive hairdresser and, in the centre of the page, a monstrous primate grasping at the skirts of a fleeing woman. On the second page of the paper we learn that the monkey was the pet of the woman's neighbour; the animal was kept chained up in the garden of his south London home, but he got loose and the woman 'had to jump over a fence to avoid it' ("An Artful Monkey" 2).

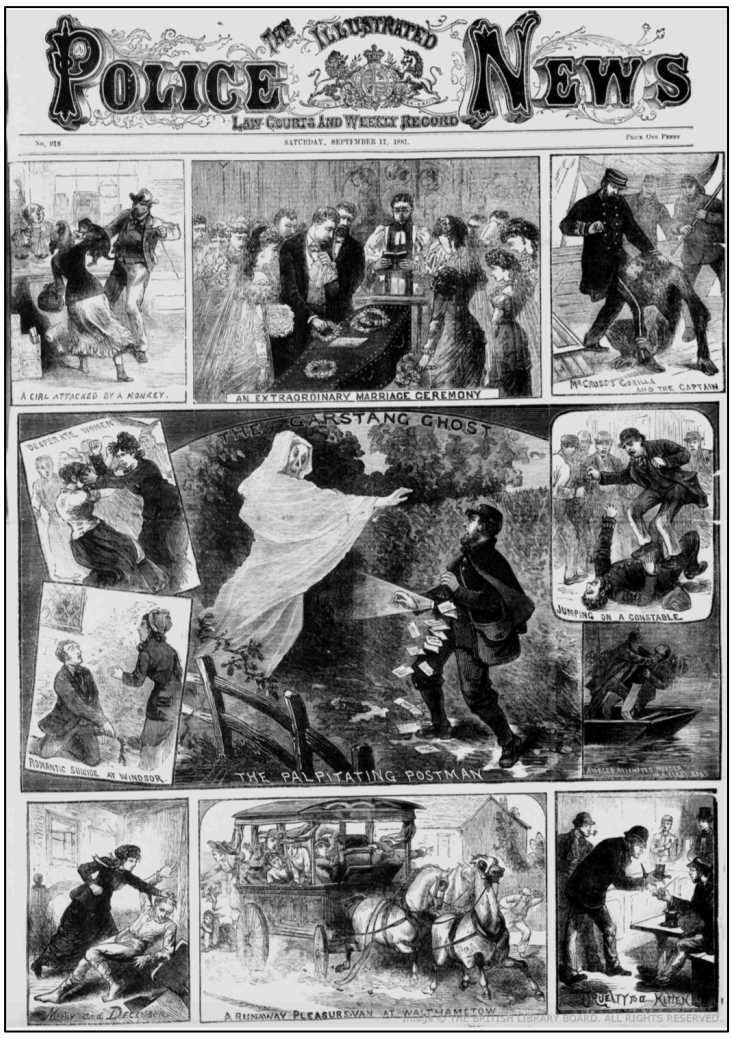

Fig. 2. Front page. *Illustrated Police News,* 17 Sept. 1881.

The front page of the edition of 17 September, 1881 is similarly varied (fig. 2), featuring illustrations that depicted the assault of a police constable, another attempted murder, domestic violence, and suicide, as well as an "Extraordinary Marriage Ceremony" in Florida in which a man was married to his dead sweetheart, a performing monkey attacking a girl in a shop near Edinburgh, the exploits of a Liverpool-bound gorilla that escaped from a ship's cargo, a postman's encounter with a ghost, some runaway horses, and cruelty to a kitten in a London pub. The juxtaposition of the tragic and the strange and exotic is central to the *IPN*'s unique style, as it sought to inform and entertain its readers with dramatic reports and illustrations which reflected the brutal conditions of modern life as well as its eccentricities.

Established in 1864, the *IPN*'s style and content combined the crime focus of early nineteenth-century broadsides and penny dreadfuls with the sensationalism that flourished in the 1860s; in many ways, the paper was a precursor to both tabloid journalism and the New Journalism of the 1880s and 1890s. Its lurid – and, in the eyes of some commentators, indecent – portrayals of crime and catastrophe often courted criticism. The highbrow weekly journal the *Examiner* condemned its illustrations as 'vile' and 'disgusting' in 1876 ("The Daily Papers…" 456-7), while the eminent physician Samuel Wilks did not need to name the 'penny illustrated paper' that 'panders to the vilest and lowest feelings of the mob by delineating in detail all the circumstances of brutal crimes' – so infamous was the *IPN* that the readers of the distinguished intellectual journal *Nineteenth Century* would have known exactly which paper he was referring to (Wilks 944). But despite its critics, the *IPN* had a wide readership. From its beginnings in the 1860s, when London's (human) population had increased from approximately 1 million people in 1801 to 2.7 million in 1851, and to almost 4 million in 1871, the London-based paper enjoyed a large circulation in Britain's growing urban centres, where it catered to an increasingly literate popular audience.

The *IPN* was a widely read and vocally condemned paper that vividly portrayed late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century life, and yet no sustained academic study has examined what this paper can tell us about this time. This thesis examines the *IPN* from its inception in 1864 to the end of the Victorian era in 1901, and aims to reassess its cultural and historical importance through an examination of its representation of animals. The *IPN* abounds with stories about animals, some of which we might expect,

such as stories about animal cruelty and rabid dogs being chased through and destroyed in the streets of Britain's towns and cities, and others which are more surprising. For example, in September 1893 it reported on the four-hour-long effort to recapture a circus elephant that had escaped from its trainer while out for a walk in north London, and a number of reports detail dancing bears that appeared in the dock alongside their owners in London's courtrooms ("An Elephant Hunt in London" 2). This thesis will examine the *IPN*'s varied portrayals of animals in light of work from animal studies and ask what the paper can tell us about contemporary attitudes towards animals in relation to, for example, concepts of agency and cross-species empathy, and notions of human-animal distinctions. Each chapter will focus on human-animal relations in a different set of spaces, both private and public, moving from the street and the home to sites of animal exhibition in the form of the zoo and the travelling menagerie, and finally to the courtroom and the laboratory, sites of animal control where the legal status of animals came into question. Most of these settings are urban, but the sections on exotic pet keeping and itinerant animal exhibitions in the second chapter move out of towns and cities to examine how animal escapes impacted local communities.

Alongside animal studies, urban studies and periodical studies are key theoretical perspectives in this thesis. The *IPN* shows that Victorian Britain and particularly London were places in which animals were a ubiquitous and influential presence. Laws designed to contain them dictated where animals could and could not go, while the animal welfare movement grew out of concern for the cruelty towards animals that was witnessed daily in London's streets. But while the *IPN* shows that London was teeming with all kinds of animals, work in urban studies has from its origins in the late-nineteenth century consistently neglected the centrality of animals to urban life – for example as pets, pests, and sources of food, entertainment and transport. This thesis will therefore continue the work of animal studies scholars such as Jennifer Wolch by encouraging a transspecies urban theory that 'takes nonhumans seriously' (120). Additionally, work from periodical studies will inform my methodology. However, as an emerging field little work has been conducted on the popular press in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, while research into the representation of animals in Victorian periodicals has been confined to highbrow journals. By bringing together these three fields, this thesis aims to expand the critical parameters of each.

This Introduction will begin by examining the historical, cultural and literary contexts of the *IPN* and its publication history, focussing on its editor, George Purkess, its style, and its evolving format. From here, the Introduction will consider the three key theoretical perspectives of the thesis in turn, beginning with animal studies. This section will foreground the ways in which the *IPN* responded to contemporary concerns about animals and overview the key works of Victorian animal studies scholars that will inform the thesis. This section will be followed by an examination of some foundational works from urban theory. Although these works typically neglected animals, we shall see how their reliance on Darwinian notions of evolution and concepts such as dominance and order can be useful when considered in relation to the *IPN*'s representation of urban human-animal relations. From here, we will consider the newspaper as a site of human-animal encounter in and of itself, using work from periodical studies to situate the *IPN* as an important and useful literary and historical document. This section will also outline the methodology of the thesis before the final section, which will introduce its individual chapters and suggest the key research contributions of the thesis.

The Nineteenth-Century Popular Press, Victorian Sensation, and the Origins of the *Illustrated Police News*

The style and success of the *IPN* is owed to a number of literary and historical factors. As Heather Worthington notes, 'literature concerned with crime has always sold well to the public', and a number of outlets met this demand before the *IPN* began distributing its weekly fare of illustrated criminal activity in 1864 (14). *The Newgate Calendar* first appeared in 1773 and provided biographies and execution details of the criminals residing in London's Newgate Prison. Towards the end of the eighteenth century an edited collection of Newgate trials and criminals titled *The Malefactor's Register; or, New Newgate and Tyburn Calendar* was published (ibid). Rather than glorifying crime, the volume emphasised its moralising function when it featured a frontispiece which showed 'A Mother presenting *The Malefactor's Register* to her Son, and tenderly intreating him to regard the Instructions therein recorded' (Birkett n.p.). By 1800, *The New Newgate Calendar* included lurid front-page illustrations of brutal crimes, while broadsides and chapbooks – even cheaper forms of street literature that originated in the sixteenth century – sensationalised crime for profit. Penny bloods, fictional and sensational crime and mystery stories issued

in weekly instalments, also emerged from these forms. They cost one penny and were later known as "penny dreadfuls," a term Christopher Pittard explains 'had been coined by middle-class critics and applied indiscriminately to a wide range of popular crime fiction' (106). Penny dreadfuls were primarily read by the young and the working-classes, and concerned moralisers held that such material was detrimental to the moral and intellectual wellbeing of readers.

By the 1860s similar criticism was levelled at sensation fiction, which had much in common with these earlier forms due to its focus on modern life and its attendant problems, such as crime and urbanisation. Lyn Pykett notes that sensation novels were distinguished by 'their complicated plots of secrecy, mystery, suspense, crime and horror' and that they were often a 'mixture of modes and forms, combining realism and melodrama, the journalistic and the fantastic, the domestic and the romantic or exotic' (*The Nineteenth-Century* … 4-5). The subjects of sensation fiction along with their ability to, as the name suggests, evoke physical reactions from readers was concerning for some critics. Most famously, H. L. Mansel's 1863 diatribe on sensation novels condemned what he saw as a 'morbid' phenomenon in literature, claiming that such fiction was both contributing to and symptomatic of 'wide-spread corruption' because, he argued, sensation fiction attended to 'the cravings of a diseased appetite' (482-3). Mansel's key criticism of sensation fiction was that it seemed only to thrill and shock rather than morally or intellectually inform its readers, and this particular kind of criticism links the *IPN* with sensation fiction and these earlier forms of crime writing.

As well as these literary market conditions, technological advances also contributed to the *IPN*'s success. It was the only illustrated newspaper of its time to serve a popular demand for sensational reading material and crime news at a time when developments in print technology made it easier to reach a mass readership. The mid-nineteenth century saw the rapid expansion of the press, with the number of newspaper publications in Britain and Ireland rising from 274 in 1856 to 2,205 in 1914, and from 151 to 478 in London alone (Williams 99). Several factors contributed to this significant growth. One of the most notable developments was the abolition of the so-called "taxes on knowledge", which were newspaper duties first introduced in the early-eighteenth century as an additional source of government revenue and as a way to prevent the circulation of radical titles and cheap, "immoral" literature. Working- and middle-class reformers argued for the abolition of the taxes on the basis that 'the press was an

educational agent' that could promote order rather than, as their opponents held, radicalise the working classes (Hampton 32). A successful campaign led to the repeal of advertisement duty in 1853, closely followed by the abolition of stamp duty in 1855, and eventually that of paper duty in 1861. Secondly, technological developments in printing such as the advancement of the rotary press in the 1840s, which allowed newspapers to be printed from a continuous roll, made printing faster, more efficient, and more economical. Newspapers became cheaper to produce and to purchase as a result, while the development of railways allowed city-based publications to reach a wider readership.

Many of the conditions under which the expansion of the newspaper press was made possible can therefore be attributed to urbanisation. An increasingly urban population meant an increasing demand for news, as newspapers gradually replaced broadsheets and word of mouth as the primary mode of obtaining the news. Developments in industry and technology, enabled by a growing urban workforce, additionally saw the expansion of transport and communication links. In light of these market changes, the nature of news also changed. As Andrea Korda notes:

> Nineteenth-century news was not just noteworthy information, but information that could be packaged as a commodity … Moving away from an emphasis on political or parliamentary news, newspapers began offering a diverse array of subjects to please a wide range of readers and increasingly emphasized sports, crime and human interest stories. (28)

With such a surge in periodical publications, newspapers competed for both readers and advertisers, and the *IPN* had a number of contemporary rivals. *Reynolds's Newspaper* (1850-1967) was the most successful working-class Sunday newspaper of the mid-Victorian period ("Reynolds …" *DNCJ*). It maintained a focus on crime news, but was more outwardly political than the *IPN*, reflecting the radical, Chartist values of its founder, the journalist and novelist George W.M. Reynolds. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (1842-1931), another Sunday paper, was founded by Edward Lloyd and appealed to a lower-middle class readership, focussing more on topics of general interest than of politics to maintain its mass appeal ("Lloyd's …" *DNCJ*). Notably, Lloyd was responsible for the introduction of the rotary press in Britain in 1856, as well as the web press in 1873 ("Edward Lloyd" *DNCJ*). Both Reynolds and Lloyd were, like Purkess, successful publishers of penny fiction before they were newspaper proprietors; Reynolds was the writer and publisher of *The Mysteries of London*, an immensely popular series of penny dreadfuls, published in

instalments from 1844-56. The content of *Reynolds' Newspaper* and, to a lesser extent, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, was similar to the *IPN* in that they reported on crime and urban life, but the key difference between these titles and the *IPN* was the latter's illustrations.

Illustrated news was popular with readers, and the *IPN* followed the success of the *Illustrated London News* (1842-1989; hereafter the *ILN*), the first illustrated weekly paper. At 6d. and later 5d. per issue, it had a firmly middle-class readership, and was not overtly political. In its inaugural issue, the *ILN* promised to bring 'the very form and presence of events as they transpire in all their substantial reality' to readers, 'with evidence visible as well as circumstantial' ("Our Address" 1). The paper also assured that it would proceed 'with a purity of tone that may secure and hold fast for our journal the fearless patronage of families' and would 'seek in all things to uphold the great cause of public morality' (ibid). This first issue sold 22,000 copies, and 20 years later over 300,000 issues were being sold weekly (Korda 19). In stark contrast to the *IPN*, its illustrations were always tasteful; it featured, for example, portraits of Queen Victoria in the course of her royal duties, picturesque scenes of nature, and faithful, unembellished depictions of current affairs. As Bob Clarke explains: 'The medium being the message, its news values were those that lent themselves to illustrations that would grace and not offend the middle-class table' (247). The *ILN* therefore catered to a different audience from the *IPN*, but there were other illustrated titles to compete with. The *Penny Illustrated Paper* (1861-1913) presented similar content to the *ILN* for a mass audience, declaring itself 'an illustrated Paper for the million' in its first issue ("Topics of the Week" 1). The only illustrated paper that bore significant similarities to the *IPN* was the *Illustrated Police Budget*, which was founded in 1893 by Charles Shurey, the nephew of the then recently-deceased *IPN* editor Purkess. Linda Stratmann suggests that Shurey might have been disgruntled not to have inherited any of his uncle's estate, and so founded a rival paper out of spite (22). The *Illustrated Police Budget* featured large, full-page illustrations of sensational crimes and claimed to be 'the Leading Illustrated Police Journal in England', but it failed to reach readers on the scale of the *IPN*, becoming a sporting paper in 1910 and eventually folding in 1912 (ibid).

The *IPN* thus occupied a unique space in an expanding news market by providing illustrated crime reports and human interest stories to a mass audience at an affordable price. It emerged alongside sensation fiction and its content represented a similar melding of genres and a concern with the brutal realities and bizarre eccentricities of modern life.

Its sensationalism was overt, with headlines that indicated the reactions the *IPN* expected its readers to have; a report of the uncovering of a body in a churchyard was described as a "Shocking Discovery" (3), while the murder of a wife at the hands of her jealous husband was deemed a "Thrilling Deed …" (3). The *IPN* also told of an "Exciting Gorilla Hunt" when three apes escaped from a menagerie in 1867 (2), reported the death of a two-year-old from starvation as a "Revolting Case of Cruelty" (4), and detailed a "Sensational Mystery" when the preserved corpses of two premature infants were found in the coffin of a woman before her burial (8). The *IPN* sought to elicit physical and emotional responses from its readers, but it was frequently suggested to have exaggerated or entirely fabricated its reports and illustrations; while the illustrations were always original, it was common practice for news to be extracted without credit from other papers, so the same story often appears word for word in several different titles. Again, it was the illustrations that allowed the *IPN* to stand out, and Purkess acknowledged the charges of falsehood made against his paper in an 1886 interview, when he said, 'I know there exists a popular impression that our illustrations are largely imaginative, but as a matter of fact we are continually striving after accuracy of delineation' ("The Worst Newspaper … 2). The fantastic and lurid nature of the *IPN*'s content made the paper infamous, but to understand the *IPN*'s rise it is necessary to examine its beginnings and Purkess' background.

*

The first issue of the *IPN* was published on 20 February, 1864. At this time, the proprietors were Henry Lea and Edwin Bulpin, and the publisher was John Ransom. Not much is known about these three men, but in her work *Cruel Deeds and Dreadful Calamities* (2010) – one of only three existing works[1] dedicated to the *IPN*, and the only study that includes historical and biographical research on the paper – Linda Stratmann states that

[1] The other two publications, *'Orrible Murder: An Anthology of Victorian Crime and Passion Compiled from the* Illustrated Police News (1971) by Leonard de Vries and *The* Illustrated Police News*: Victorian Court Cases and Sensational Stories* (2002) by Steve Jones are compilations of the *IPN*'s more lurid offerings ostensibly for a popular audience, and so do not provide a critical commentary on the paper.

Lea was 'a publisher of illustrated adventure stories and magazines' (8). Bulpin and Ransom are more elusive figures; the only other mention of an "E. Bulpin" in contemporary documents suggests he was a leather manufacturer, so his involvement with the *IPN* is unclear, while Ransom might have also been the publisher of the provincial title the *Hastings and St. Leonards News* (ibid). In the first issue of the *IPN*, the proprietors stated their intentions for the paper. They expressed their support for the extension of suffrage to all men, reforms to ensure fairness and consistency in the justice system, fair wages for the police force, and their aim to 'further the cause of Co-Operative Societies, and keep a strict watch on the doings of all corporations having for their expressed object the benefit of the Working Man' ("Our Intentions" 2). As to what to expect from the paper itself, they stated that while its focus would be on the activities of the courts of justice, general news would also be attended to:

> The reader will find an epitome of all "news" sufficient to satisfy any man who has but a few hours a week to spare from his toil for intellectual and physical recreation. Of course, due prominence will be given to subjects of more than ordinary interest, preference being ever given to that which most concerns the toiling masses. (ibid)

The *IPN* was designed to inform and entertain the working-classes, and though men were here identified as the paper's anticipated readership, its general interest content and its advertisements directed specifically to "Ladies!" (which euphemistically referred to contraceptives and abortifacients) in the later decades of the nineteenth century suggest women also read it (4). The proprietors also noted in their intentions that 'our Illustrations will assist in fixing on the memory the remarkable occurrences of the times' ("Our Intentions" 2). These were wood engravings, the cheapest way to produce newspaper illustrations at this time and the method used by other illustrated papers, including the *ILN*.

Before Purkess took over the *IPN* in 1865, the paper was less sensational. It reported on crime news and court proceedings in its regular column "'The Week's Police",[2] and on disasters such as factory explosions, urban calamities like omnibus accidents, assaults in railway carriages, and murders. Its illustrations were also less grisly in this first year; compare, for example, figures 3 and 4, which depict, respectively, a

[2] In the context of the nineteenth century, "police news" refers to crime news, rather than news about the police.

murder on the railways and a factory explosion, both from 1864, with illustrations of similar tragedies from Purkess' *IPN* (figs. 5 and 6). Figure 3 shows only the discovery of the body of a man thrown from a railway carriage, while figure 5, from 1881, graphically depicts a man's murder, the disposal of his body and the discovery of it across three plates. Similarly, figure 4 represents the aftermath of a factory catastrophe while figure 6, from 1867, depicts a stampede of children fleeing an explosion. Figures 5 and 6 here have greater immediacy, which places the viewer in these situations and draws out the sensationalism of the scene.

Fig. 3. "The Atrocious Murder in a Railway Carriage." *Illustrated Police News,* 16 July 1864, p. 1.

Fig. 4. "The Scene at the Hall End Iron Works After the Terrific Explosion." *Illustrated Police News,* 12 Mar. 1864, p. 1.

Fig. 5. "The Railway Tragedy." *Illustrated Police News,* 9 July 1881, p. 1.

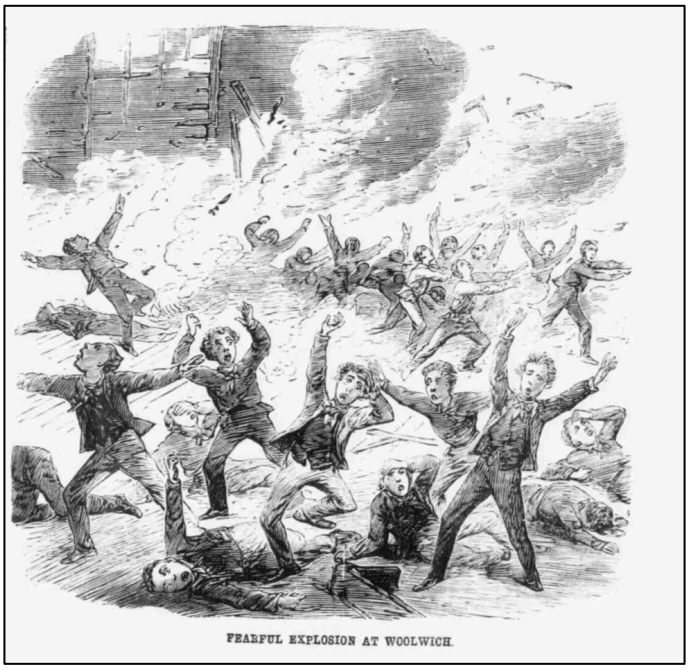

Fig. 6. "Fearful Explosion at Woolwich." *Illustrated Police News,* 12 Oct. 1867, p. 1.

The first time Purkess was identified as the proprietor of the *IPN* was on 18 November, 1865, but there are several indications that he took over before then. Stratmann suggests that Lea and Bulpin ended their affiliation with the *IPN* as early as February 1865, when regular advertisements for Lea's publications and Bulpin's boots ceased, but the first concrete sign of editorial change came on 17 June that year, when a notice indicating a change of office to the Strand appeared (10). The last illustrations

signed by the *IPN*'s regular artist E.V. Campbell appeared on 24 June, suggesting he might have followed Lea and Bulpin. Then, on 15 July, Walter Sully was listed as the paper's new printer and the *IPN* noted that it was printed in a new type which was 'cast expressly for its pages' ("Illustrated Police News" 2). The editorial then promised further advancements:

> After this week an improved heading will be used for future numbers of this journal … Our readers will be glad to learn that it is our intention to make material alterations and improvements to the character of the paper, that has enjoyed no considerable amount of patronage since its first appearance. (ibid)

The 'character of the paper' certainly became more pronounced after this announcement. Its headlines were more profuse and used sensational language, referring to an attack on a woman by her husband as a "Brutal Outrage" and an incident with a horse and carriage as a "Fearful Street Accident" in October 1865. It also began advertising its future content by emphasising its sensationalism. For example, it encouraged early orders for the following week's issue in August 1865 with the following notice:

FIVE APPALLING MURDERS.

LOOK OUT! LOOK OUT! LOOK OUT!

For next week's Number of the

Illustrated Police News.

Our readers will find in the Fourth Page of this Paper an Account of the Death of Three Children who were found murdered at the STAR COFFEE HOUSE and HOTEL, in Red Lion Street, Holborn.

In our next week's Number we purpose giving

GRAPHIC AND AUTHENTIC

ILLUSTRATIONS

Of Subjects that may be interesting to the Public in connection with this Fearful Tragedy.

("Five Appalling Murders" 2)

These changes appear to have been appealing to readers, for in September 1865 a notice from the editor thanked them for 'the receipt of numerous letters from various parts of the country sent by our subscribers, in which the writers are pleased to expatiate upon the improvement of the ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS' ("Illustrated Police News" 2). In the Christmas edition of that year, after Purkess' editorship had been officially announced,

he promised more 'great improvements' to the *IPN* and stated his aim to make the paper 'the most complete journal of its class IN THE WHOLE WORLD' ("Notice to Our Subscribers" 2). After Purkess took over, the *IPN* maintained some of the radicalism set out in the original intentions, but, as evidenced here, clearly paid most attention to Lea and Bulpin's aim to provide sensational content 'of more than ordinary interest.'

Purkess kept the original format of the *IPN* until November 1867, when the front page no longer included text and became entirely pictorial. The paper promised its "Permanent Enlargement …" in the months leading up to and following this change, but it was not until April 1868 that further developments were made, and the *IPN* increased in size (4). It continued to be four pages in length but expanded from six to seven columns of text on pages 2-4 (the original dimensions of the paper were approximately 22.5 by 17.5 inches, but I have not been able to verify the size of the paper in later years). The announcement read:

> The ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS has always enjoyed a more than ordinary share of public favour. Its circulation continues to steadily increase – it has long been the recognised organ of its class, and despite cavillers and pharisaical critics, its illustrations, albeit of a sensational character from the very nature of the subjects, are deservedly popular in consequence of the vigour of the designs and the dramatic treatment of various subjects. ("To Our Readers" 2)

Here the *IPN* acknowledged its critics and its growing reputation as a sensational title and indicated its growing readership. Following this announcement, the *IPN* remained four-pages long but the pages became larger, as did the illustrations, which were still confined to the front page at this time. Each of the subsequent pages contained different features: the second page related the stories that accompanied the illustrations on the front page, and included a "General Summary" section, an editorial, which usually commented on current affairs, and, until 1878, replies to correspondence (the original letters and their authors were not included); the third page was devoted to "Police Intelligence", which was divided into sections representing individual London localities, reports from the Central Criminal Court, and a section of miscellaneous news stories entitled "Everybody's Column"; in 1876 the back page was occasionally entirely dedicated to illustrations, but generally that page featured more crime news and advertisements. The *IPN* mostly advertised penny fiction and medicines, including cures for male baldness and, as mentioned, contraceptives.

Fig. 7. The evolution of the *IPN*'s front page. From top left: 1867, 1888, 1895 and 1901.

These page structures were largely consistent until the 1890s, excepting additions such as sections dedicated to the divorce court, sports and horse racing, and vaguely titled columns such as "Passing Notes" and "Odds & Ends", introduced to contain miscellanies of trivial and eccentric news items. The articles in the *IPN* never included bylines, and the only signed illustrations appeared between 1878 and 1888, when "A. Watkins" was a regular contributor (Stratmann 16-18). In the 1890s the *IPN* began printing sensational

fiction in weekly instalments, for example "The Spectre of the Hostelry" in 1890 (3) and "The Haunted Closet" in 1895 (8); again, the authors of these stories were never named.

In 1894, the *IPN* expanded to eight pages, illustrations started to be featured inside the paper as well as on the front page, the masthead was redesigned (see fig. 7), and advertisements featured on every page. By 1900 the paper was 12 pages long and included more illustrations, including a large double-page illustration in its centre pages, and in 1903 it expanded again to 16 pages, retaining the double-page of illustrations in its centre. The *IPN*'s format remained so until 1916 when it reverted to 12 pages due to poor sales, and in 1917, its price changed from one penny to threepence. During this time, most of the paper was dedicated to coverage of the Great War, alongside sporting news and crime news, which came to receive almost equal attention (Stratmann 28). In 1918, the *IPN* scaled back once more to 8 pages, remaining so until an expansion to 12 pages in 1934. Soon after, the *IPN* became increasingly devoted to sporting news, and in March 1938 it announced a change in title to *The Sporting Record*, which ran until 1979 – the *IPN* was no more (Stratmann 29).

From this brief overview of the *IPN*'s publication history, it is clear that it enjoyed a large readership. It was most successful in the period from its first appearance in 1864 up until around the time of the Great War. It is difficult to confirm its exact circulation figures, but an advert for the *IPN* in the 1870/1 edition of the *Newspaper Press Directory* claims it had 'the largest circulation of any other illustrated paper. Average sale 15,000 copies weekly and this affords a great medium for advertisers' (qtd. in Stratmann 9). Stratmann suggests that this figure was probably a misprint, as in subsequent editions the figure was stated as 150,000, and 300,000 from 1877 onwards (ibid). The only indication of regional circulation figures comes from an interview with Purkess in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1886, in which he stated the largest circulations to be in Manchester and Liverpool, followed by Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh, the North of England and London. The article also noted that while the lowest circulation figure ranged from 150,000 to 200,000 per week, it could reach 600,000 if there was a story which 'excited popular interest' ("The Worst Newspaper in England" 2). But despite its popularity with readers, the contemporary reaction to the *IPN* was generally unfavourable.

A letter to the editor of the *Times* in 1870 titled "Criminal Literature" condemned the *IPN*'s content and its illicit advertisements, and called for the intervention of the law to prevent its circulation after a murderer referred to an illustration he had seen in the

IPN at his trial (Stratmann 16). Such criticisms of the paper's content are numerous. The *IPN* was further linked with sensational and criminal literature due to Purkess' literary endeavours, as he came from a family of publishers of penny fiction. His father, George Purkess Snr, was a bookseller operating out of 60 Dean Street in Soho who primarily published illustrated penny bloods. An advertisement for Purkess Snr's "The Mysteries of the Quaker City" appeared in *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* in 1847 and was cited as one of many 'New and Interesting Works Published by G. Purkess … In Penny Weekly Numbers, Illustrated' alongside such titles as 'The Unhappy Bride; or, the Grave of the Profligate. A Romance of great interest' and 'Where's Eliza? Or, the Adventures of a Vagabond. – A most exciting production' (7). At this time Purkess Snr's partner was William Strange, but sometime between 1847 and 1853 they parted ways. Purkess Snr continued publishing several titles through "Purkess's Penny Library of Romance", and in 1854 formed a business partnership with his eldest son, future *IPN* proprietor George Purkess Jnr (10). Together they published a number of 'Penny Books for the People' as "George Purkess and Son" ("Purkess's Library of Romance" 13). From this time onwards, advertisements for their publications had a more marked focus on the sensational, with titles including 'Black Hugh the Outlaw', 'The Haunted Forest', 'The Haunted Hulk' and 'The Vampyre' (ibid). A notice in *Perry's Bankrupt and Insolvent Gazette* informs us that Purkess and Son ended their partnership on 4 June, 1856, three years before the death of George Snr in 1859 ("Partnerships Dissolved" 431). After this point, George Jnr continued to publish illustrated penny works, before taking over as proprietor of the *IPN* in 1865.

Purkess' experience in the family publishing business meant he knew what was popular with readers, and the influence of the penny blood is clear in the *IPN*, which capitalised on the form's popularity by bringing the sensational to the everyday through language and illustration. So appalled were some by the paper's content that in 1876 there was a call for it to be banned, for in August that year the paper printed a notice "To Our Yorkshire Subscribers" that described 'evil-disposed persons' who were 'intimidating shopkeepers with a view to suppress the sale' of the paper in that area (4). The paper claimed that such action was an 'infringement on the RIGHTS AND LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,' and offered a reward for information that could lead to the prosecution of those 'offenders' (ibid). The *IPN*'s debt to the penny blood was not lost on contemporary critics either. One commentator in the highbrow cultural journal the *Contemporary Review*

lamented in 1881 that boys who read penny dreadfuls would grow up to 'find pabulum in the lower kinds of weekly papers, including that Dreadful of Dreadfuls – the *Illustrated Police News'* (Wright 36). In the same year, an article in *Macmillan's Magazine* – a middle-class monthly literary title – read:

> it is an unflattering comment on our boasted civilisation that the worst papers have the largest circulation. The *Illustrated Police News* is to be found in every town and village in England … its illustrations minister to the morbid craving of the uneducated for the horrible and the repulsive, and its advertisements call for the intervention of the police. (Hitchman 397)

The illustrations were often the focus of critics' outrage, as they were seen to be the vehicle of the paper's corruptive influence. An article by James Britten that appeared in the literary and political title the *Dublin Review* in 1889 emphasised the popularity of the *IPN*'s engravings:

> Go down some side street in any of our large towns, and you will see a group of people, boys and girls mostly, but men and women also, surrounding some small shop-window. What is the attraction? It is the last number of the *Police News*, with its weekly tale of crime and horror, graphically presented on the front page. This is the popular art gallery, attracting more visitors among the working classes in a single week than, I will venture to say, all the exhibitions and galleries in the kingdom do in a year, and bearing its natural fruit when some epidemic of crime seems to sweep the country. (380)

The *IPN* was often accused of glorifying criminal activity through its visualisation of crime and violence. After the readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette* voted the *IPN* "The Worst Newspaper in England" in 1886, Purkess gave an interview to the paper, through which he sought to defend the *IPN*. This interview is probably the most enlightening contemporary view of Purkess and his paper that we have. It describes the paper's offices, at this time situated at 286 The Strand, as 'not of the princely and palatial order' one might associate with the location, but instead 'small', 'dark', and 'somewhat dismal' (1). Purkess took the interview and the verdict of the *Gazette*'s readers in good humour, and was described as 'a stout, comfortable looking man', who acknowledged that 'good fortune had been meted out to him in very generous measure' (ibid 1-2). This description and the general tone of the interview indicates that the negative reviews were not at all disconcerting to Purkess. To his detractors, he said, 'barring the sensational illustrations,

there is nothing in the paper to which objection can reasonably be taken,' and noted that the illustrated middle-class journals the *Graphic* and the *Illustrated London News* had also began publishing portraits of criminals (ibid 2). He argued that the *IPN* 'rather tends to prevent crime' (ibid) and spoke of criminals who had pleaded with friends to 'keep [their] portrait out of the *Police News*!' (ibid).

Like the *New Newgate Calendar*, then, Purkess suggested that the *IPN* had the potential to turn its readers away from crime, and its content certainly condemned cruelty in its most brutal forms, particularly against children and animals. Indeed, one of the most significant shifts from Lea and Bulpin's *IPN* to Purkess' is the frequency of the paper's reports on animals. From February 1864 to the end of 1865 there were a total of 79 stories about animals, 49 of which appeared between June, when I have suggested Purkess took over, and December 1865. In 1867, the first full year of Purkess' editorship that is available (issues from the year 1866 are no longer extant), 157 animal-centric reports were featured, almost double the amount of the first two years. While at its core the *IPN* was a crime newspaper – with its stories of murder, escaped convicts, domestic violence and robbery fashioned into entertainment – its reports on animals were significantly varied and frequent and, as I will argue, used to explore modern social anxieties.

Human-animal Relations in Victorian Britain

As mentioned, this thesis examines the *IPN* from its beginnings in 1864 to the end of the Victorian era in 1901. As the paper was a weekly publication there is a vast amount of material to consider, and so I have used a sampling method whereby one full year of papers was read in every five-year interval. My core sample consists of eight full years: 1865 (the year Purkess took over), 1870, 1876 (no issues from 1875 are extant), 1880, 1885, 1890, 1895, and 1900. The years 1864 and 1867 were also read in full but are not included in the sample; my methodology is discussed in greater detail later in this introduction. This core sample has yielded 900 reports focused on animals, 30% of which were illustrated; 221 of these were front-page illustrations, and a further 52 appeared in the paper's inner pages. These reports vary significantly in both nature and tone, ranging from delight at the latest addition to London's Zoological Gardens, to outrage at the cruelty endured by a range of animals, from cab horses to kittens, to fear of the mad dogs allegedly plaguing the city streets. While many were presented comically, such as the

accounts of cattle wandering into piano shops on their way to market and drunken monkeys destroying parlours, some, though still comic, revealed an underlying anxiety of, for example, foreign invasion, as is the case in its stories of French dancing bears in London's docks. But despite the diverse and often unusual ways in which animals featured in both the real and imaginative lives of people across the Victorian social spectrum, they have been consistently neglected by scholarship. This absence has been corrected in recent years, as the development of the field of animal studies has sought to revise and emphasise the active roles animals played in the development of human societies and culture. The nineteenth century, in particular, saw the establishment of a variety of animal-focused institutions in Britain, including those concerned with welfare, exhibition, and pet-keeping. Additionally, animals were prominent presences in the lives of people at all levels of society a number of ways.

In 1840 Queen Victoria became the patron of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (hereafter RSPCA), which was originally founded in 1824. The Queen's support of the Society was perhaps not a surprise, given that she was known as a lover of animals. She commissioned prominent painters such as Edwin Landseer to paint "family" portraits of her beloved pets, which 'kept the Queen's favourites alive on her walls long after they had been replaced by an endlessly reconstituted menagerie of dogs, cats, birds, and horses' (Mangum 23). As well as the owner of several pets, the Queen also enjoyed visiting London's Zoological Gardens, which opened in 1828. As Harriet Ritvo observes in her seminal study of animals in Victorian culture,

> The maintenance and study of captive wild animals, simultaneous emblems of human mastery over the natural world and of English dominion over remote territories, offered an especially vivid rhetorical means of reenacting and extending the work of empire. (205)

The Royal family also enjoyed private shows and performances from travelling menageries and circuses. The young Victoria witnessed several of Isaac van Amburgh's famous lion-taming shows (Ritvo 224), and Wombwell's Menagerie, the largest menagerie in nineteenth-century Britain, brought its show to the Queen several times, allowing Wombwell's to call itself 'The Royal Menagerie' (Simons 64). The public also frequently encountered all manner of exotic creatures due to the increasing number of them being imported to be kept as pets or for exhibition at zoos, travelling menageries, circuses, and other kinds of itinerant animal spectacles. London's Post Office Directories indicate that

there were 81 bird and animal dealers listed in the city in 1882, compared to only 14 in 1841, and this number would rise to 118 at the trade's peak in the mid-1890s, before its decline in the early-twentieth century (Simons 49). In addition to the vast number of live exotic animals coming into Britain in this period, dead specimens of rare species collected in Britain's colonies were also increasingly on display in museums and galleries.

The nineteenth century also saw an increase in pet-keeping. Philip Howell notes that 'pets came to express the ideal of the Victorian family', though as we shall see in the course of this thesis, they could also disrupt that ideal (46). A number of pet-keeping manuals emerged in the nineteenth century, as the training received by dogs in particular came to reflect upon their owners. Both the Kennel Club and Crufts were established in the late-nineteenth century, in 1873 and 1891 respectively, and the training and breeding of animals, like animal exhibition, sought to order and establish human control over them. Indeed, Ritvo notes that 'domestic animals symbolized appropriate and inappropriate relations between human masters and servants' in this period (23). The Battersea Dogs Home opened in 1860 to take care of the thousands of stray dogs roaming London's streets; by the 1890s, over 20,000 dogs were being seized by police every year in London alone (Walton 226). This abundance of stray dogs led to several outbreaks of rabies in the late-nineteenth century. Although these outbreaks were fairly small and easily contained, with only a few human fatalities, the pervasive anxiety surrounding rabies is demonstrated by the extensive coverage of it in the press. The extent of the stray (and potentially rabid) dog problem in London meant that 'rabies lurked in the background of almost all legislation concerning public order and the regulation of the streets' (Pemberton and Worboys 78).

This apparent nation of pet lovers was outraged in the 1870s when they realised that cats, dogs and rabbits, those beloved household pets, were being vivisected in the name of science in Britain's laboratories. An organised antivivisection movement formed, and the debate surrounding vivisection raged throughout the decade, particularly in the periodical press. One prominent (if reluctant) voice in the debate was Charles Darwin, whose *Origin of Species* was published in 1859 and suggested human descent from animals, calling both the existence of God and the place of humanity in the natural order into question. Rod Preece notes that the subsequent furore surrounding Darwin's theory 'revolved around the implications that this might have for scripture and revealed religion – and even for the fear that if humans come to believe that they are just like all other

animals, they will behave accordingly, and a civilised and law-abiding society will be lost forever' (345). However, he also argues that 'the maintenance of evolutionary theory was no sign of a guarantee of sensibility towards animals' (ibid 346). Indeed, vegetarianism was on the rise in the early-nineteenth century, and first advocates of the diet encouraged their way of living from a religious perspective alongside the virtues of temperance and compassion for animals (Gregory 21). The Vegetarian Society was founded in 1847 and sought to improve the lives of humans and animals, for its aims to reform human diets existed alongside its opposition to capital punishment and its pacifism (ibid 5-6). By the end of the nineteenth century it had over 6,000 members, including George Bernard Shaw.

Underlying many of these trends and changes was urbanisation. Though some have theorised that the growth of cities signalled the increasing physical – and, indeed, cognitive – distance between humanity and animals (Berger 1980; Thomas 1983), scholars working in animal studies have shown animals to be central to urban life. As Hilda Kean argues, the suggestion that only pets impacted urban life 'fails to recognize the abundance of animals living in cities in the early nineteenth century and their economic, as well as cultural, importance for the inhabitants' (30). Far from being only companions, urban animals and their by-products constituted the livelihoods of many city residents, including cab drivers, pure-finders who collected dogs' dung for use in leather tanning, exotic animal exhibitors like bear leaders, and, of course, those who drove animals to the city's meat market, and those who butchered and sold their meat. Kean argues that by failing to recognise the centrality of animals to city life one 'also fails to acknowledge the importance of the role of sight in developing the relationship between seeing ill-treatment and creating change' (ibid). Indeed, animal welfare legislation emerged in the early-nineteenth century in response to the cruelty witnessed daily on London's streets, particularly in relation to cab horses who were whipped to increase speed and the livestock that were beaten as they were driven to Smithfield Market. As Kean notes, reformers 'were keen to view cities as modern structures in a modern world' and so 'a new humanity towards the animals who lived, worked and traversed the urban domain becomes a distinctive part of modernity' (31). In 1822, the Cruel Treatment of Cattle Act, one of the first pieces of animal welfare legislation, came into effect and criminalised the ill-treatment of horses, cattle, and sheep (and later bulls). Then, the 1835 Cruelty to Animals Act outlawed bear and badger baiting, dog and cock fighting, and criminalised cruelty to

domestic pets as well as livestock (s.2-3). The Act was amended in 1849 so that these offences could incur prison sentences as well as fines (s.18), and in 1876 it was revised again in order to regulate vivisection. All of these Acts came into being due to the work of urban reformers who had witnessed cruelty in London's streets, markets, knacker yards and laboratories, suggesting the centrality of animals to city life in the nineteenth century.

With humans and animals living in such close proximity, and with discussions of the treatment of animals and their relationship to humanity becoming increasingly prominent, we find that discussions of human-animal relations in the Victorian period, and in the *IPN*, came to be concerned with boundaries – that is, both the physical boundaries between animals and humans, and the figurative boundaries that distinguished humans from animals. Conceptualisations of these boundaries are central to this thesis and my analysis of the *IPN*, whose stories reveal an underlying anxiety about human-animal proximity in spatial, physical and cognitive terms, as we shall see. In the *IPN* and wider nineteenth-century literature and culture, animals complicate notions of humanity. For example, the *IPN*'s reports suggest that some animals acted in ways that indicate their agency, while the bites of rabid dogs infected humans and consequentially caused them to undergo transformations and act in canine ways, suggesting the fragility of human rationality. Similarly, the ability of lions to eat their tamers threatened notions of human dominion, upsetting seemingly natural hierarchies. That which apparently separates humans from animals – in these examples, agency, rationality, and being inedible – has been continually problematised since Aristotle suggested animals could not reason and Descartes questioned their ability to feel pain.

The question of how humans can firmly differentiate themselves from animals is one that remains without an answer, and, as H. Peter Steeves suggests, even agreeing on a definition of "human" has proved elusive. He writes that 'the traditional boundary between human and animal is threatened' when we try to do so, because humanity has always been defined against animals (231). This boundary has allowed humans to eat animals, use them for sport, transport and scientific experimentation, keep them as captives, and kill them, and in this thesis I will focus on the *IPN* stories that attend to these uses and, from them, trace anxieties surrounding human-animal distinctions. One key way in which these anxieties emerge is in the *IPN*'s reports of human-animal encounters in the city. This new terrain forced humans and animals closely together in new ways, and so raised new questions about animals and their control.

Animals in the City and the Origins of Urban Theory

Urban theory remains a nebulous field that encompasses a number of disciplines and sub-disciplines – including, for example, urban sociology, urban geography and urban economics – and as such there is some contention amongst scholars regarding its definition and usage. However, as Simon Parker notes, 'the term "urban theory" has become accepted in academic circles as shorthand for a range of perspectives and interpretations of the urban world that aim … to provide a general understanding of city life' (3), and this is the broad definition I am working from in this thesis. Most urban theorists from the late-nineteenth century up to the present day identify the decidedly human nature of urban spaces as their defining characteristic, and, as a result, animals are often overlooked as urban presences. But to Victorian authors, journalists and social reformers, London, the city 'at the forefront of the urban process', was often figured as something more than human, or, in some cases, even inhuman (Andersson 3).

Alongside the familiar metaphors that alluded to the dark, treacherous and labyrinthine qualities of London were complementary images that suggested something animal-like, or monstrous, about the metropolis. When Friedrich Engels travelled through the country writing what would become his observational study *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), he witnessed the capital's 'human turmoil' and worried that 'these Londoners have been forced to sacrifice the best qualities of their human nature, to bring to pass all the marvels of civilization which crowd their city' (55). Charles Dickens frequently suggested the proximity of human and animal existence in Victorian London in his writing, from the provocative imagery applied to 'the unwashed, unshaven, squalid, and dirty figures' (171) that crowded Smithfield Market in *Oliver Twist* (1839) to the opening scene of *Bleak House* (1853), in which dogs, horses and human pedestrians became 'undistinguishable in mire' as they waded through London's primordial soup-like mud (13). To American author Henry James, London was a 'strangely mingled monster' (27), while in 1903 Jack London rendered it 'the jungle of empire' inhabited by 'beasts' (279; 96).

Directly or indirectly, then, reformers and writers alike repeatedly brought the humanity of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century London and its inhabitants into question. And while animals themselves were often absent from these depictions of city

life, what these examples reveal is that the city in this period had become a place where the boundaries between what was human and what was inhuman, or indeed animal, came under scrutiny. As we have seen, animal presences in Victorian cities were varied and ubiquitous, and urban dwellers had a demonstrably strong reaction to them. Despite this, urban theory has until recently neglected the role of animals in the social, economic and cultural development of urban spaces. Animal studies scholars working in urban theory have sought to correct this oversight, with key early works including Jennifer Wolch and Jody Emel's co-edited volume *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* (1998) and Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert's collection *Animal Spaces/Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations* (2000). The essays that comprise these collections focus on human-animal proximity and boundaries, and the interactions that occur in urban space, but when we look at both historical and modern works of urban theory from scholars not engaged in animal studies, these considerations of urban human-animal relations disappear. For example, in his 1938 essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life" – considered one of the seminal works of urban sociology to emerge from the Chicago School – urban theorist Louis Wirth stated that 'nowhere has mankind been farther removed from organic nature than under the conditions of life characteristic in great cities' (1-2). And, almost seventy years later, in their co-edited 2005 volume, *The Urban Sociology Reader*, Jan Lin and Christopher Mele state that 'cities are focal arenas for the contemplation of the human condition and man's struggle for self-expression' (1). Work in urban studies has historically been anthropocentric, with many theorists equating the urban with the human.

The images of urban life presented by urban theorists and by nineteenth-century social commentators seem to be contradictory. Wirth suggests that urbanisation takes humanity away from the natural world, while Victorian London was depicted as monstrous and beastly in contemporary accounts. One link between these seemingly contradictory renderings of urban life is that each of them show that the conditions of city life and its accompanying social problems – for example, crime, poverty, over-crowding, lack of proper sanitation, and disease – create a pertinent lens through which to scrutinise what we understand "humanity" to be, and this became abundantly clear to me when faced with the stories of human-animal encounters in the *IPN*.

Urban theory was not a fully established field until the early-twentieth century, when sociologists attempted to theorise city life in response to the change urbanisation

enacted. Émile Durkheim, considered to be one of the nineteenth century's pioneers of sociology, wrote extensively on the city and the social effects of urbanisation. In particular, he theorised the impact of social differentiation and increased diversity, the ramifications of which included:

> the development of formal institutions, such as contracts and bureaucracy; the rise of rational, scientific modes of understanding the world; and increase in individual freedom, at the cost of interpersonal estrangement; and a rise in the rate of deviant behaviour and social disorganisation. (Fischer 54)

The image of urban life here is paradoxically one of progress and of dysfunction, where an increasingly rational society was also an increasingly deviant one. Georg Simmel theorised this dysfunction at the level of the individual in his influential essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903), in which he suggested that city dwellers became socially distant from one another in order to protect themselves against what he called 'the profound disruption [of] the fluctuations and discontinuities of the external milieu' (104). Simmel suggested that the ways in which city life demands an increased 'degree of awareness' of one's surroundings exists in 'deep contrast with the slower, more habitual, more smoothly flowing rhythm of the sensory-mental phase of small town and rural existence' (ibid). The contrast here is telling. Simmel implies an opposition whereby the city represents the rational, the intellectual, and, therefore, the civilised, while rural life is suggested to be simplistic, more primitive, and, intriguingly, more engaged with the sensory. As such, Simmel's understanding of the city as rational and the country as sensitive recalls the distinctions between humans and animals outlined by traditional humanism. Thus, in these early examples of urban theory, we see that the city was figured as a place of both progress and deviance that was nonetheless suggested to be rational and implicitly human in comparison to the rural. And, by extension, while urban theorists do not often refer to animal presences in the city, animals seem to appear in ways that are not always immediately obvious. A useful illustration of this can be found in the work of Robert E. Park.

Park was one of a group of researchers at the Chicago School of Sociology in the early-twentieth century that enhanced the theoretical development of urban sociology. One of their most significant contributions was the 1925 work *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment*, co-authored by Park and his colleagues, Ernest Burgess and Roderick McKenzie. *The City* remains a seminal work for

urban scholars, in which Park et al 'interpreted cities as constantly evolving organisms' (Judd 3). Park often evoked organic language in his work, most prominently in his influential 1936 essay "Human Ecology," in which he borrowed Darwinian theorisations on natural selection in plant and animal communities and applied them to the structures of urban human societies. To illustrate the interlinked and interdependent lives of all living organisms, as held by the Darwinian notion of the "web of life", Park employed the nursery rhyme 'The House that Jack Built'. The traditional rhyme has a cumulative structure that reflects the interwoven lives of the animals – and, crucially, humans – of the tale:

> This is the cow with the crumpled horn,
> That tossed the dog that worried the cat,
> That killed the rat that ate the malt,
> That lay in the house that Jack built.

Park suggested this verse to be a symbolic reflection of 'the mutual adaptation and correlation of plants and animals', suggesting that 'Both the species and their mutual interdependence, within a common habitat, seem to be a product of the same Darwinian struggle for existence' (2). However, Park failed to note that the nursery rhyme indicates the interrelation of humans as well as animals, and indeed of humans *with* animals. The rhyme later includes a 'maiden all forlorn', a 'man all tattered and torn', a 'priest all shaven and forlorn' and a 'farmer sowing his corn', all of whom are connected to the original rat in the house that Jack built. Here, then, Park's choice of example is surprising. Although the nursery rhyme is a whimsical departure from his key arguments, it nevertheless undermines his proposal that 'The conditions which affect and control the movements and numbers of populations are more complex in human societies than in plant and animal communities' (6).

Park's failure to recognise the presence of animals, their relation to humans in urban settings, and their potential agency, endured in his application of Darwinian principles to his rendering of social organization in the city. In this study, despite relying on animals to explain his theory of ecological structures at work in urban society, Park spoke of human and animal communities as being separate throughout most of his discussion. Indeed, the only time in which he alluded to the interwoven lives of humans and animals was in his example of a boll weevil infestation in rural Texas and the damage

they inflicted upon the cotton industry, implying that animal presences are more keenly felt in rural areas (5-7).

Park's theorisation of the city, then, is one in which animals are absent. At the same time, however, urban theory often focuses on notions of order and hierarchy, concepts that are foundational to some of the key principles of evolutionary theory. With this in mind, we might reassess the ways in which Park applied Darwin's discussion of dominance to the structure of the city. Park asserted that 'In every life-community there is always one or more dominant species' (7), and explained how this is reflected in the spatial organization of urban centres:

> the principle of dominance operates in the human as well as in the plant and animal communities. The so-called natural or functional areas of a metropolitan community – for example, the slum, the rooming-house area, the central shopping section and the banking center – each and all owe their existence directly to the factor of dominance, and indirectly to competition … Thus the principle of dominance, operating within the limits imposed by the terrain and other natural features of the location, tends to determine the general ecological pattern of the city and the functional relation of each of the different areas of the city to all others. (8-9)

Park's interpretation of the principle of dominance here relates only to the social and spatial organisation of humans in the city, and the comparison between the slum and the banking district implicitly aligns human class divisions with species difference, suggesting the influence of Social Darwinism, popularised by nineteenth-century social theorists such as Herbert Spencer, upon his work. Park, however, failed to comment on one of the most evident and visible examples of dominance in urban centres: that of humans over animals.

As the *IPN* indicates, animals were ubiquitous in nineteenth-century London, and those under human control were subject to the same structures of spatial organization as the people they lived alongside. Domestic pets (except perhaps cats) were confined to the home, and dogs had to wear muzzles in public in the latter decades of the century; exotic animals not kept as domestic pets were kept in zoos or menageries; livestock could not be driven through central London to market 'between the hours of eleven in the morning and seven in the evening', as three drovers found out when they were fined for doing so with a flock of 150 sheep in 1885 ("Police Intelligence" 3), and the markets themselves

were gradually moved away from central London, out of concern for both sanitation and the sensibilities of human witnesses to animal cruelty and slaughter.

However, what the *IPN* also makes clear is that animals frequently undermined these ordering structures, as recalcitrant animals comprised a significant proportion of its animal-based reportage. In one example from 1890, a performing bear escaped from its keeper and ran into a church ("Bears at Large" 4), and in 1884 an ox escaped from Islington Cattle Market and caused havoc in Primrose Hill and Regent's Park ("An Infuriated Ox" 2). Park's notion of an "ecology", then, when applied to animals as well as humans, seems to underestimate factors such as chance, mutation and deviation that are key in Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection. Park applies chance to the interrelations of humans, but does not consider the ways that disruptive human-animal relations affect urban life, and are part of its evolution, a disruption that is evidenced by Pemberton and Worboys' assertion that in late nineteenth-century London 'rabies lurked in the background of almost all legislation concerning public order and regulation of the streets' (78). Park's theory is thus founded upon an assumption of an orderly and structured city that is distinctly human and not influenced by animals. Nevertheless, the chaos and disruption caused by animals in the *IPN* exposes the fragility of the spatial and mental divisions between humans and animals. As these stories make clear, even in cities – those apparent symbols of human reason and power – control is limited.

Park is correct to suggest that cities are intricately organized spaces of human order and control, but while the social organization of the city is designed to create physical boundaries, the *IPN* shows that these boundaries were often traversed by humans and animals alike. And even though the *IPN*'s animal reports indicate their frequent evasion of human control, there remains an expectation of human dominance over animals in the city within these stories. As we shall see, they show that the city is a site where the physical boundaries between humans and animals are under the most strain and scrutiny, and the crowded circumstances of urban spaces and the recalcitrant animals of the *IPN* magnify human-animal relations in the period.

In its exclusion of animals from its critical framework, urban theory is indicative of the ways in which modern society expects animals to exist within certain logical and physical boundaries. That is, animals have been largely written out of urban theory in the same way they are relegated to certain physical locations – whether the countryside, the zoo or the abattoir. In this sense, rather than being simply at odds with animal studies,

urban theory viewed from an interdisciplinary perspective is able to shine a useful light on the ways we think about human-animal boundaries, and it is my intention to bring these two disciplines together in my examination of animals in the *IPN* in a way that will benefit each field. Each chapter of this thesis will examine a different site of human-animal encounter in the *IPN*, most of which are urban, but this thesis will also examine the newspaper as a site where humans encountered ideas about animals.

Periodical Studies and Methodology

We have seen that in relation to the development of the nineteenth-century animal welfare movement, sight played a key role. Kean has highlighted the link between seeing cruelty in London's streets and the move towards creating change, and seeing animals and animal cruelty in the periodical press was similarly influential (*Animal Rights* 30). In her essay titled "Beastly Sights", Diana Donald explores the role of nineteenth-century periodicals in reforming attitudes towards animal welfare, and includes in her study illustrated newspapers and the periodical literature circulated by, for example, the RSPCA, in which 'man's relationship to animals is a recurring theme' ("Beastly Sights" 514). Donald demonstrates the ways in which reforming publications sought to draw attention to the overworked and abused horses of London's transport industry, as well as to the continuing practices of rat-killing, and cock and dog fighting. She investigates the ways in which the illustrated depictions of cruelty were seemingly intended as a 'deliberate affront to polite taste' (ibid 526), indicating the efficacy of one illustration showing the 'barbaric urban frenzy' of Smithfield Market in the campaign for its closure and relocation (ibid 540).

As Donald and others have noted, the urgency of such campaigns was not only to do with ethical concerns for animal welfare, but often rather with the morality of both the human perpetrators and witnesses alike. However, what this demonstrates is the key role of animals in Victorian visual culture, as well as in Victorian life more generally. As Kean observes:

> The very act of seeing became crucial in the formation of the modern person. Who you were was determined by where you were and what you saw – as well as how you interpreted it. (*Animal Rights* 27)

The connection between visual representations and morality pervades in Victorian cultural reproductions of animals; for example, illustrated works of natural history, such as those of Thomas Bewick, were seen as educational and improving texts. However, such texts – as well as those Donald examines – were distinctly middle-class, whereas the depiction of animals in the popular press has received little critical attention, particularly in relation to the contribution of such works to the effort to reform public opinion about animal welfare. Reports of animal cruelty are the most common animal-related stories in the *IPN*, and almost every issue read as part of the core sample of my research included at least one story of this nature, many of which were illustrated on the front page. Animal welfare was a pertinent social issue for the *IPN*, as demonstrated by a consistent focus on inhumane urban practices that none of its contemporaries can boast. And though, as we shall see, the *IPN* was also at times contradictory in its message, one of the key aims of this thesis will be to investigate the new perspective on nineteenth-century attitudes towards animal welfare the *IPN* provides.

Due to the unique nature of this publication and the evident distinctions between the ways in which middle-class publications reported on animals in comparison to the *IPN,* periodical studies will be one of the key theoretical perspectives of this thesis. Hammill, Hjartson and McGregor succinctly describe periodicals as 'print media characterized by both seriality – single titles are instantiated across multiple issues – and periodicity – titles strive for, if they don't always achieve, a regular publication cycle that structures reader engagement' (v). But aside from these basic features, there is significant debate about the defining characteristics and boundaries of the periodical. Margaret Beetham has noted the difficulty of identifying which aspects of the periodical constitute "the text". She notes that periodicals are not simply a number of texts – that is, articles – sewn together, and that one issue of a periodical in its entirety might be considered a more satisfactory textual unit (20). But even this definition encounters problems: is the text the individual periodical, or does an entire volume, or an entire run of a periodical, constitute one, whole text? What about illustrations, advertisements, publication notes, letters from correspondents and editorials? In their seminal essay "The Rise of Periodical Studies" (2006), Sean Latham and Robert Scholes outlined the need for archivists and researchers to treat the periodical as a complete textual unit; that is, everything from the written text to the images to the advertisements constitute part of the overall text, and its layout and composition represent a unified object which must be considered intact and in its entirety.

They observe that 'editors worked carefully to solicit, craft, and organize the material as part of an autonomous print object'; my study of the *IPN* aims to consider these aspects of the paper collectively (Latham and Scholes 528-9). Scholars working in periodical studies largely agree that that one issue of a periodical – illustrations, advertisements and all – constitutes one textual unit, but what these questions illustrate is that when we are working with periodicals, we are working with unique historical documents with their own set of methodological and theoretical issues. These are issues I have had to consider in my approach to the *IPN*.

The *IPN* was published weekly between 1864 and 1936, and as such there is a vast catalogue of material to consider. My study examines the *IPN* from its origins in 1864 to the end of the Victorian era in 1901. Reading almost forty years of weekly issues would have been an ambitious and time-consuming task, and so I have used a sampling method. As Hammill et al note, periodical studies is 'a field that insists on the value of reading across full issues and multiyear runs of serial texts rather than cherry-picking individual items' (vi-vii). With this in mind, my method has been to read one full year of issues in their entirety in each five-year period, beginning with 1865, the first year of Purkess' editorship. As noted, my core sample comprises eight years' worth of weekly issues, and each report about animals from that sample was categorised and entered into a searchable database. Each story was organised in relation to, for example, the animal(s) featured, its geographical location and local setting (e.g. "zoo", "menagerie", "domestic", "wild") and the situation or focus of the story, such as "cruelty to animal", "rabies/hydrophobia", "runaway/escaped animal" and "injured/attacked/killed in encounter with animal". This database allowed me to identify the most common stories (cruelty to horses in London is the most repeated animal story), and temporal trends; for example, stories about rabid dogs occur most frequently in the early 1880s, and stories about runaway horses become less frequent at the turn of the century, probably because of the decrease in the number of horses being used for transport after this time. I use this kind of quantitative data at various times throughout the thesis, but primarily make use of qualitative case studies. These case studies have been chosen based on trends identified in the core sample; for example, dogs and horses are the animals that feature most commonly in the paper's reports, so the first chapter considers their representation in an urban context. However, I also examine cases that are not as frequent, but are nonetheless significant in that they tell us something important about the paper's modes of reportage and narrative style;

examples include stories of sexually aggressive pet primates, examined in Chapter Two, and Chapter Three's discussion of reports of dancing bears in London's courtrooms. The case studies of each chapter (described in detail in the next section) combine to provide a comprehensive view of the variety of the paper's animal reports in a number of contexts.

While the core sample gives a broad sense of the *IPN*'s animal reportage, I have also made complementary use of the online British Newspaper Archive's (BNA) search function; for example, when the core sample showed six stories about bears in London's courtrooms, the BNA's search function allowed me to find out if there were more reports of this kind (which there were). While Hammill et al have rightly warned against cherry-picking, my approach to the articles found via the BNA (and those of my sample) has been to consider the placement of the article in both the newspaper as a whole and in relation to the articles surrounding it. I also examine the newspaper's self-promotion, its advertisements, its changing format, its interaction with other periodicals, and, of course, its illustrations.

Scholarly work on the Victorian illustrated press has so far focused mainly on middlebrow publications such as the *ILN* and the *Graphic*, but as Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor note, 'in spite of the publication of a few influential monographs on the visual aspect of periodicals and the conviction of many Victorian scholars that images were central to the Victorian mass media, there is still much work to be done' (8). Indeed, periodical illustration remains under-theorised, and so my analysis of the *IPN*'s illustrations considers them in relation to genre. In their essay on illustrating sensation fiction, Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa Surridge note that 'illustration played a key role in the genre's generation of nervous excitement' with tropes that represented atmospheric disturbances, nocturnal activity, and transgressions, with 'figures starkly highlighted in white space against a dark background' (37). They also note that the layout of the page and the placement of illustrations enriched their capacity 'to suggest sensational boundary crossing by allowing for multiple, sometimes contradictory, images on the same page' (43). Additionally, the illustrations that accompanied serialised sensation fiction paid close attention to detail; Leighton and Surridge explain that 'unlike gothic novels, sensational fictions tantalised the reader with their realist underpinnings in contemporary everyday life' (ibid). Rather than being supplementary to the experience of reading sensation fiction, these illustrations were integral to the reading experience. In serial form, illustrations often

appeared at the beginning of the work, containing clues about the content of the instalment which would therefore encourage engagement and interpretation.

The *IPN*'s images similarly adopted the tropes of sensational illustration identified by Leighton and Surridge. The *IPN*'s images combined the sensational with the realist, for example in its depiction of detailed street scenes, and its illustrations that included animals often involve boundary crossing, such as a horse crashing through the window of a tea room, a monkey traversing a neighbour's fence and grasping at a fleeing woman (fig. 1), or a rabid dog biting their human master. Additionally, the *IPN*'s illustrations often showed the incident as it was happening (as we saw in the comparison between figs. 3-6), creating a sense of immediacy that asked the reader confronted with the front page of the *IPN* to wonder what would happen next, and to read the full story inside. As we shall see in the fourth chapter, this immediacy was rhetorically useful in light of the *IPN*'s antivivisectionist content.

I have found genre to be a useful way of thinking about the *IPN*'s content, which leads me to another key debate in periodical studies, which is how the material in question is to be used. The reflective theoretical model uses periodicals as mirrors of the period they document. Similarly, the foreground/background model uses periodicals as contextual tools that can illuminate, for example, a study of a particular historical moment, or the development of a literary genre. Critics of these models have noted that such approaches dilute the inherent value of periodicals as historical documents in their own right. As Tony Bennet has argued, this approach 'implies that the media are secondary and derivative, somehow less real than the "real" they reflect, existing above society and passively mirroring it rather than forming an active and integral part of it' (qtd. in Pykett, "Periodical Press" 6). While I agree that these theoretical models seem to undermine the active role periodicals play in informing culture, I am not convinced that completely abandoning these methods is desirable either.

My approach to the *IPN* has been to acknowledge that while periodicals are distinct and separate from literary culture, they are inherently linked, as the discussion of the *IPN*'s inheritance from sensation fiction and other forms of fiction such as the penny dreadful has demonstrated. For while the central focus of this thesis is the *IPN*, my aim to demonstrate its cultural significance necessitates a consideration of the paper alongside contemporary cultural outputs. As such, I have examined the *IPN*'s use of genre in relation to works of contemporary literature at various points in this thesis. So far, I have

discussed the *IPN*'s relation to Victorian sensation, but another key genre that emerges from its content is the Gothic. Alexandra Warwick suggests that the Victorian revival of eighteenth-century Gothic 'can be summarised as the translation of Gothic to new locations: first to a bourgeois domestic setting, and second to the urban environment' (30). The first chapter explores the latter manifestation and the emergence of "urban Gothic", a subgenre theorised by Robert Mighall in his work *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction* (2003). Mighall traces the origins of urban Gothic to George W. M. Reynolds' aforementioned *The Mysteries of London* (1844-8), which continually applied the strange and fantastic icons of traditional Gothic to familiar London locales, depicting 'scenes and places whose very existence may appear to belong to the regions of romance rather than to a city in the midst of civilisation' (qtd. in Mighall 46). In doing so, Mighall suggests that *The Mysteries of London* laid the foundations for urban Gothic, which in its relocation of traditional Gothic's barbaric terror to the civilised metropolis expressed and highlighted anxieties about the potential collapse of civilised order that were unique to the new, urban experience. By examining the *IPN* in relation to genre, we are able to understand how its rhetorical devices worked and see that it incorporated the same devices as key works of sensation and Gothic fiction by melding realism and the fantastic. In doing so, this thesis hopes to firmly situate the *IPN* within the literature and culture of the Victorian era.

Thesis Structure

Each of the central chapters of this thesis have been structured around space in response to the central focus on urban human-animal relations, though some chapters make key departures away from the city in order to compare relations in rural and urban areas. The first chapter moves from the city streets to the urban home and examines the *IPN*'s representation of the fluid boundary between the two, before the second chapter examines the impact pet primates have on domestic order and the sensational way such stories are represented by the *IPN* in comparison to those about calamities in travelling menageries. The third chapter considers the legal discourse surrounding trained animals, examining the paper's differing representations of inquests into man-killing circus elephants and its xenophobic depictions of dancing French bears and their owners, who frequently appeared together in the docks of London's courtrooms. The final chapter examines another kind of professional space, but a private rather than a public one. It

continues the third chapter's discussion of the control and legal status of animals by considering the *IPN*'s representation of vivisection and the Victorian laboratory. By examining how the *IPN* presents human-animal relations across these different settings, we are able to understand what the paper perceived to be appropriate and inappropriate human-animal relations.

The opening chapter of the thesis considers the *IPN*'s representation of human-animal encounters in relation to the unstable boundary between the city streets and the home, focussing on horses, cattle, dogs and rats. It examines animals as urban presences that undermine socially-constructed boundaries and ordering structures and considers whether the recalcitrant animals that abound in the *IPN*'s pages can be seen as having agency, using work from animal studies and urban studies to inform this reading. An analysis of the representation of horses and cattle in the paper opens the chapter in order to think about the city streets and how they are organised, looking particularly at the regulations applied to animals via the Metropolitan Streets Act of 1867. This section examines some key examples of reports from the *IPN* that focus on runaway horses and infuriated cows and considers them in relation to the idea of resistance as agency in animal studies. This section will thus seek to bring together ideas from urban studies and animal studies and suggest a new way of thinking about animals in Victorian cities that is not modelled upon dominance.

This first chapter also introduces discussions surrounding the *IPN* and genre that will be a focus for the thesis as a whole. It analyses the different representational modes the *IPN* employs to discuss different species, including realist, comic and Gothic modes. A key strand of this chapter considers how the *IPN*'s depictions of rabid dogs and rats is an example of urban Gothic. I argue that the *IPN* adapts this mode and applies it to its unique style of news reporting and illustration. Overall, the chapter considers the ways in which different species are uniquely represented by the paper and imbued with different symbolic meanings, and demonstrates that their representation relates to location and context.

The second chapter continues the previous chapter's consideration of the home in relation to pet primates, before considering the paper's representation of lion taming in the nineteenth-century travelling menagerie. The chapter therefore begins the thesis' consideration of the paper's depiction of exotic species, using work from animal studies and art history to contextualise the paper's illustrations. Scholars have read the capture

and display of exotic creatures as symbolic of the British Empire's dominance and conquest of other nations, but the *IPN*'s writing about pet primates and the menageries that toured Victorian Britain predominantly highlights the failure to control and contain these animals. Pet primates were frequently depicted by the paper as figures of sexual danger who attacked middle-class women in their homes. The *IPN*'s representation borrowed from contemporary racist stereotypes that figured primates as violently lustful stand-ins for colonised peoples, but this chapter shows that as these animals were introduced to the Victorian middle-class home, where they were under the control of British gentlemen, the context in which we read them must change. From the home, the chapter moves to consider the paper's depiction of zoos and menageries. Unlike the *ILN*, whose illustrations of zoo animals were always picturesque and never suggested cruelty, dominion or disorder, the *IPN* challenged contemporary narratives surrounding sites of animal exhibition which emphasised harmony and order. Instead, the paper indicated the unnaturalness of these spaces by highlighting the failure of control within them, indicating its scepticism about animal exhibition. This is most evident in the paper's discussions and images of lion taming incidents, which, rather than highlighting mankind's dominance of nature, instead emphasised the futility of such an enterprise.

These two case studies are connected by genre, for the *IPN* represented these reports of unruly exotic animals in a way that was sensational. However, rather than being merely lurid and shocking tales of disruption, I suggest that the paper's sensationalism served, in the case of pet primates, to highlight the dysfunction of the middle-class home, and, in the case of lion taming calamities, to problematise and disrupt Victorian narratives of mastery over nature. This chapter therefore re-examines the paper's sensationalism, which has until now been dismissed as voyeuristic, serving only to appeal to the basest feelings of its primarily working-class readership.

The third chapter continues the second chapter's consideration of exotic species, but moves from tamed animals to consider the paper's depiction of trained animals as potential legal subjects. The chapter outlines the crucial distinction between taming and training in the late-nineteenth century, and shows that, in comparison to tamed animals, who were merely beaten into submission and dominated by their tamers, trained animals underwent a process of education and civilisation that led some to consider them as being capable of making moral judgements. This shift is detectable in the *IPN*, which reported on trained animals who became involved in legal cases. The spatial focus of this chapter

is therefore the courtroom, a controlled public space that sought to establish order, and the genre considered is that of the crime report. The *IPN* was, at its core, a crime newspaper, and this chapter takes the *Police* of the paper's title seriously in relation to its discussion of the legal status of animals.

Firstly, the chapter considers the *IPN*'s representation of killer circus elephants, which often featured as inquest reports. In the paper's accounts of these inquests the reputation of the animals and their potential motives were key features of witness cross-examination; indeed, these witnesses often provided what amounted to character references for the elephants. In this sense, the *IPN* figured these elephants as potential criminals, and contributed to popular conceptions of elephants having memories that caused them to hold grudges. But while the paper was on the side of the elephants, often demonstrating that cruelty had driven them to violence, its depiction of dancing bears in London's courtrooms differed significantly. These animals were owned and exhibited by French peasants in almost all of the *IPN*'s reports, and so these stories were consistently Francophobic in tone. The paper depicted the bears alongside their owners in the dock in a manner which humanised the animals in order to dehumanise their owners. These vastly different depictions of trained animals relate to the Frenchness of the owners, but perhaps more pertinently the lack of institutional control over the bears. While elephants were contained by the circus, a dancing bear was under the sole control of its owner, and the *IPN*'s court reports reveal an anxiety about the latent ferocity of these animals which might only have been subdued by their presence. The *IPN*'s representation of these cases indicates once again the paper's conception of appropriate and inappropriate human-animal relations, and it is clear that the paper believed exotic species should be under the control of particular individuals or institutions. In the case of foreign bears and their owners, the *IPN* situated the courtroom as a place where order was restored.

At the end of the third chapter, the *IPN*'s conception of the legal status of animals remains ambiguous. In the fourth and final chapter of the thesis, the question of the paper's stance on animal welfare and the legal status of animals in relation to its focus on crime comes to the fore. Specifically, the chapter examines on the *IPN*'s contribution to the late nineteenth-century vivisection debate and considers the ways in which its illustrations of vivisection evoke empathy. The *IPN* was the only newspaper to firmly support the antivivisectionists and was also the only one to print original illustrations of vivisection. I compare the *IPN*'s illustrations of vivisection to those featured in highbrow

newspapers and antivivisectionist journals, and argue that the *IPN* illustrated vivisection in a unique and influential way that evoked a strong response from both antivivisectionist publications and prominent scientists, who derided the paper's illustrations as false and abominable.

With its focus on the *IPN*'s illustrations and how they so uniquely depicted animals, the chapter also examines the development of research into animal emotion and expression and contributes to our understanding of this development. By examining how these ideas came to be represented in a popular illustrated newspaper, as opposed to contemporary natural science, this chapter illuminates how the *IPN* and its readership understood animals as beings capable of emotion and expression. In relation to genre, the chapter continues Chapter Two's discussion of sensation, and demonstrates that the paper's sensational representation of vivisection was not designed to shock, but to motivate its readers to take action. Another key element of this chapter is an examination of the *IPN*'s representation of the vivisector. By conflating its antivivisection content with its police news content, the *IPN* implies the criminality of the vivisector, and the chapter traces a crucial link between the representation of the criminal scientist from the *IPN* in the 1870s and H.G. Wells' 1896 novel *The Island of Doctor Moreau*. This final chapter therefore demonstrates the influence of the *IPN* through an examination of its significant intervention in the late-nineteenth century vivisection debate.

Overall, this thesis aims to demonstrate the significance of the *IPN* to Victorian culture. The paper is one of several overlooked popular titles, and my study seeks to contribute to the development of Victorian periodical studies by demonstrating the potential value of such titles. Rather than being only a lurid and trashy penny paper, the *IPN* used sensationalism to meaningfully engage its readers in social issues and critically interrogate class hierarchies, and its place in Victorian print culture is one that should be taken seriously. Through the lens of a unique source, the thesis also examines conceptions of human-animal relations in urban spaces and contributes to the ongoing effort of creating a transspecies urban theory. Overall, the key contribution of the thesis is to animal studies. Victorian literary animal studies has been well-served by scholars, but animals have been largely overlooked by Victorian periodical studies, despite being a key site of readers' encounters with representations of animals and ideas about them. By opening up these previously unexplored links between the two fields, this thesis hopes to

precipitate future considerations of the impact of popular Victorian titles on contemporary thinking about animals.

Chapter 1

From Comic Recalcitrance to Gothic Monstrosity: Representations of Animals in and Between the Street and the Home in the Victorian City

The prevalent image of human-animal relations in the city presented by the *IPN* is one of disorder. Despite the boundaries and ordering structures designed to organise and confine them, the urban animals of Victorian Britain are often shown evading control. This chapter will consider the rules and restrictions placed on animals (and the humans responsible for controlling them) in relation to the *IPN*'s depictions of urban human-animal relations in and between the street and the home, with a particular focus on late nineteenth-century London.

The streets are an apt place to begin a study of the *IPN*, as it was an urban paper frequently associated with the streets and street literature in contemporary periodicals that questioned the paper's decency. In 1889, James Britten wrote in the *Dublin Review* that his readers would not find it difficult to locate a copy of the *IPN*: 'Go down some side street in any of our large towns, and you will see a group of people, boys and girls mostly, but men and women also, surrounding some small shop-window. What is the attraction? It is the last number of the *Police News*, with its weekly tale of crime and horror, graphically presented on its front page' (380). Similarly, an unnamed commentator in the *Saturday Review* in 1881 suggested that the *IPN* was an eye-sore one encountered when walking through London, though it seems that averting one's gaze was a moral test: 'We turn away with indignation from the coarsely realistic pictorial representations of murders and suicides in the *Police News* which occasionally catch our eye in passing by some small newspaper shop …' ("Penny Dreadfuls" 662).

The *IPN* was thus associated with the vice and immorality of urban streets in terms of both its circulation and its content, and while it was read widely outside as well as inside the cities of Victorian Britain, its stories largely reflect the brutal and unpredictable realities of urban life. The paper abounds with stories of poverty and starvation in the city ("A Woman Starved to Death" 2), assaults in broad daylight ("A Man Garroted [sic] in a Busy London Thoroughfare" 6), fatal traffic accidents ("A

London Death-Trap" 6) and violent murder. Indeed, the *IPN* is most known for its extensive and detailed coverage of the Whitechapel or "Ripper" murders of the late 1880s. Its illustrations came under particular scrutiny and were the subject of a number of disparaging articles and discussions of the state of popular reading materials in the late-nineteenth century. Commentators used the *IPN* to indicate the failure of the Obscene Publications Act of 1857, which was brought in to stop the deluge of pornographic and otherwise immoral books and periodicals in circulation. Many cited the *IPN* as an example of the kind of publication that should be criminalised by the Act, including one unnamed writer in the *Examiner* in 1872, who argued that the extent of the country's problem with indecent publications could be illuminated by 'a ten minutes' stroll in the neighbourhood of Somerset House, or a glance at the *Illustrated Police News*' ("Sham Suppression. …" 977). The writer goes on to emphasise the *IPN*'s rhetorical association with notorious locales and urban streets:

> Rats are not extirpated by killing a rat or two once a quarter. Judaism is not lessened in the gross by the occasional conversion of a stray Jew. And the amount of good done by the Society for the Suppression of Vice can be seen in a moment by a glance at the *Illustrated Police News*. (ibid)

Nineteenth-century anti-Semitic rhetoric typically likened Jews to vermin in relation to their geographical spread and supposed infiltration in Britain, and the *IPN* is here imbued with the same undesirable qualities. Like rats and like Jews, the *IPN* is figured as a pervasive, unclean, immoral and dangerous threat to urban order.

Animals were significant contributors to the image of dangerous and disorderly city streets presented by the *IPN*. In its pages, runaway horses and cattle knocked down pedestrians and destroyed shop-fronts, rabid dogs terrorised children, and rats found their way into homes and attacked their human inhabitants. This representation is starkly different from the many accounts of urban life both past and present that have depicted animals as scenery or as objects for human use, rather than participants in city life, if, indeed, they were depicted at all. For example, the first volume of Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851) began with an examination of the streets, which he identified as the epicentre of London life. The thoroughfares of Mayhew's London were filled with 'a very large and varied class' of people who made their living in and from the city streets, and many of these trades relied on animals (Mayhew 1:3). Vendors sold fish, meat, and live animals, while "'pure" pickers' had the task of 'gathering dogs'-dung' to be

sold for use in leather tanning (ibid). Street performers made money exhibiting exotic and extraordinary animals, such as alligators and 'pigs with six legs or two heads' (Mayhew 1:4). The streets, then, were central to urban existence both geographically and commercially, and animals – as meat, performers, and fellow pedestrians – were as much a part of urban existence as humans.

While Mayhew's account makes clear the centrality of animals to city infrastructure, he depicts animals as objects to be shown and sold rather than as active participants in urban life. As commodities, the animals of Mayhew's London have clear functions, and are categorised and controlled. Today, animals remain important and controversial city presences, and yet they continue to be overlooked in urban studies.

Only in the last few decades have scholars working in animal studies attempted to correct this oversight in their respective disciplines. Jennifer Wolch lamented in 1998 that 'you will find no mention of animals in contemporary urban theory, whose lexicon reveals a deep-seated anthropocentrism' (119). Twenty years later, urban theory remains largely preoccupied with the human experience. As discussed in the introduction, the foundational works of urban theory from, for example, Robert E. Park, Georg Simmel, Louis Wirth and Friedrich Engels relied on reductive urban/rural and culture/nature dichotomies, and while modern theorists have highlighted the ways in which these distinctions can be unsatisfactory,[3] the idea of the city being a place separated from nature – and by extension, from animals – pervades. However, some notable works have demonstrated the value of understanding how human-animal interactions shape city life. For example, Colin Jerolmack's 2008 study of over 100 years of *New York Times* articles sought to trace the origins of the phrase "rats with wings" in relation to pigeons, arguing that 'how humans construct animals reflects our conception not only of nature but also of society' (73). Using notions of purity derived from Mary Douglas' work, Jerolmack demonstrates the ways in which 'conceptions of proper, morally appropriate, spatial relations between animals and society' relate to ideas about hygiene (ibid). 'Framing pigeons as rats', he concludes, 'simultaneously orders nature and redraws moral boundaries' (ibid 86). Jerolmack furthermore illustrates the ways in which the presence of animals in specific urban localities contributes to perceptions of the physical as well as the moral cleanliness of that place. He cites an article from 1966 in which a New York

[3] See, for example, the introduction of Alan Harding and Talja Blokland's *Urban Theory: A Critical Introduction to Power, Cities and Urbanism in the 21st Century* (2014).

parks commissioner outlined the problems facing New York City's Bryant Park, which included 'the homosexuals', homelessness, litter, vandalism, and, finally, 'the Pigeons' (Jerolmack 80). Similarly, in Victorian London the inhabitants of Smithfield were perceived to be as bestial and immoral as the animals sold and killed there, and the Market's closure was as much to do with public health and hygiene as it was with moral cleanliness. These examples demonstrate the centrality of animals to perceptions of what a city is and should be. Rather than mere scenery, pests, or pets, animals are fundamental to urban life and the spatial organisation of cities.

The most commonly appraised urban human-animal relationship is that of people and their domestic pets, and Nerissa Russell and others have noted that 'the definition of domestication in terms of control models the human-animal relations of domestication as powerful, active humans dominating subordinate passive animals' (288). However, obedience is not just a requirement of domestication, but of all city animals, be they pets or police dogs, or, as we shall see in later chapters, zoo or laboratory animals. Those which are not obedient – pests such as rats, pigeons, and foxes, or unruly pets – are seen as threats to health, cleanliness, and/or safety. Cities, then, are spaces where even non-domesticated animals are controlled, and it is the perception that urban animals are unproblematically dominated by human structures and boundaries that allows them to be erased by urban theory. However, urban human-animal relations are neither straightforward nor are they peripheral, making their relative absence from urban studies surprising.

The *IPN* complicates nineteenth-century accounts of urban living that neglect animals, as its frequent reports demonstrate not only the centrality of those animals to urban life, but also – in relation to human-horse and -cattle relations – the reliance of their human owners on a cooperative relationship with them. Drovers and cab drivers depended on their animals to make a living and, since they were responsible for controlling them, they would have been liable for any damage caused by their animals. This control is crucial not only to the livelihoods of the humans involved, but also to the representation of these animals, for when they cooperate they are depicted as objects, or machines – or they are not considered at all. Indeed, it is their recalcitrance that most frequently landed them on the front page of the *IPN*, as was the case when a bull ran into a cigar shop as it was being driven to market ("A Bull in a Cigar Shop" 2) and when a rabid dog bit several children in a rampage across north London ("Exciting Chase of a

Mad Dog at Kentish Town" 2). Wolch's transspecies urban theory contends that 'animals as well as people socially construct their worlds and influence each other's worlds', thus challenging the notion that city animals are subordinate objects merely for human use (121). Rather, her research argues that city animals are influential, and the *IPN*'s depiction of animal agency is, as we shall see, likewise complex and variable depending on species. An assessment of the *IPN*'s conception of agency in relation to its portrait of urban animals is key to an understanding of how this newspaper understands order, human-animal relations, and spatial boundaries.

As a concept, Walter Johnson has noted that agency has had 'a long, complicated, and polysemous history,' but can be summarised as 'self-directed action' (115). Agency has traditionally been considered a uniquely human trait, and animals have been denied the capacities for rationality, intentionality and premeditated action perceived to be necessary for the possession of it. However, scholars working in animal studies have more recently turned their attention to challenging anthropocentric conceptions of agency and assessing the ways in which nonhuman animals can be regarded as agents. Vinciane Despret, for example, has discussed how animals exhibit agency in ways which go largely unrecognised by humans, and has suggested that agency cannot exist in isolation. Rather, she has argued that agency consists of a 'rapport of forces' termed *agencement*, or "assemblages" to use the English translation, which 'makes some beings capable of making other beings capable, in a plurivocal manner' (38). *Agencement* produces agency by way of collaboration, which may or may not be intentional: 'Inciting, provoking, producing, inducing, arousing, sparking, evoking, instigating, engaging, inspiring, and so on are examples of active affects inside an *agencement*' (ibid). In this sense, animals can provoke and be provoked into action. Despret thus challenges traditional understandings of agency by suggesting that intention is not necessarily a requirement, proposing instead that agency is always in fact 'interagency' (44).

To illustrate this theory of interagency, Despret refers to Porcher and Schmitt's work on dairy cows, in which they argue that the role of the cows in breeding and milk production is not recognised when they act as is expected of them. As Despret notes, the behaviour of the cows 'begins to look like a machine that is functioning, and their obedience looks "mechanical" (43). When the dairy cows respond to orders and go willingly to the milking machine, they are not seen as responsive or willing subjects, but

as properly functioning objects. 'When everything happens as it should,' Despret notes, 'we don't see the work' (42):

> the cows' work never becomes perceptible, *except when they refuse to cooperate*, place limits on what can happen, explicitly disobey, pretend not to understand, hide themselves, cheat, or when, for example, they deliberately try to slow down the pace and seek places or opportunities to avoid work: when they resist. This resistance shows that when everything goes correctly, it is because of an active investment on the part of the cows. As in the case of human work, animals' collaboration at work is visible when it is not obtained. (ibid; original emphasis)

Despret makes a compelling argument for reassessing our understanding of animal behaviour and makes clear the collaborative efforts that underpin human-animal relationships. While she argues that resistance is not the same as *agencement*, she does suggest that animals 'become "companion-agents" through encounters, conflicts, collaborations, frictions, affinities – a rapport of forces' (Despret 44). It is also important to note here that cooperation does not necessarily mean willingness – cooperation may be a means to an end, especially for animals who are cruelly treated, as was often the case for the animals of Victorian Britain. But nonetheless, resistance and cooperation, Despret argues, constitute decisions made by the animal that indicate their agency.

The *IPN* suggests animal agency in different and sometimes contradictory ways depending on species and the degree of control humans are perceived to have over that species, and for the purposes of this discussion, I have suggested literary modes as a way of defining how the *IPN* represents specific animals. Urban horses, as trained and domesticated working animals, are presented as being without agency by the *IPN*, and any recalcitrance on their part is figured less as a display of defiance and rather as the malfunction of a fleshy machine. In this sense, horses are not necessarily considered as creatures at all, and are instead represented as merely part of the landscape of Victorian London. As such, representations of horses seem to include them only as part of the day-to-day reality of the city, and I am suggesting that realism – the representational technique by which the everyday is detailed – is the mode used by the *IPN* here. In contrast, the thousands of cows and bulls that were driven through London to the city's meat market are depicted as full of wild and untamed agency. They run down pedestrians and get into human spaces, causing mayhem and destruction. While they are at times terrifying in their destruction, the *IPN*'s representation of them focuses on their being out of place in the

city. They are clumsy and alien, and as such the *IPN* predominantly represents them in a comic mode. However, the recalcitrance of rabid dogs poses a more urgent threat to public safety. Their attacks on humans are often horrific, while instances in which they are described as tearing at and consuming human flesh renders the rabid dog a grotesque and uncanny corruption of the domestic pet. For these reasons, I argue that the *IPN* represents rabid dogs in a Gothic mode that allows it to use these creatures as a way of questioning human-animal boundaries. Rats are presented as a different kind of Gothic threat. They are not pets, nor are they wild, and their liminality makes them difficult to categorise and control. In this sense, rats are particularly interesting creatures through which to examine late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century attitudes towards space and urban human-animal relations.

In its unique and varied representation of a range of urban animals, the *IPN* thus provides a valuable insight into human-animal relations in Victorian London, and into the experiences of these marginalised urban residents. This chapter will suggest, through an examination of the representation of human-animal relations in a city at a crucial time of urban development, that these narratives possess value as contributions to a transspecies urban theory that, as Wolch suggests, 'takes nonhumans seriously' (120). The chapter begins by comparing the *IPN*'s representation of urban horses with that of unpredictable cattle as a way of discussing how domesticated species are valued in terms of their training. The chapter then moves on to a discussion of dogs in relation to rabies and hydrophobia and examines how these diseases complicate the boundaries between the street and the home and upset domestic order. This leads to an examination of rats in the *IPN*, which, unlike the other species that will be discussed, cannot be controlled by legislation and, try as we might, cannot always be kept out of the home. As the chapter moves from the street to the home, it will illuminate how the city is organised around concepts of where animals should and should not be.

Flighty Horses and Infuriated Cattle: Realist and Comic Depictions of Animal Accidents in the City Streets

Animals were encountered and seen daily in British towns and cities in the nineteenth century. As noted in the Introduction, historians including Hilda Kean (1998) and Diana Donald (1999) have identified the close proximity of humans and animals in Victorian

London as being crucial to the development of animal welfare groups and legislation designed to protect animals. Seeing animals abused in the public domain mobilised urban residents against animal cruelty, and the increased presence of animals in the streets of London has been credited as the catalyst for one of the earliest pieces of animal welfare legislation. The Cruel and Improper Treatment of Cattle Act of 1822 criminalised the abuse of 'Horses, Mares, Geldings, Mules, Asses, Cows, Heifers, Oxen, Sheep, and other Cattle', making it illegal to 'wantonly and cruelly beat, abuse, or ill-treat' these animals (s.1; bulls were later added to this list). Violation of the Act could result in a fine of up to five pounds or a prison sentence. Significantly, the Act meant that horses and cattle came to be protected by law before domestic animals such as cats and dogs (and, indeed, before children), and similarly, the initial concerns of the RSPCA were not with cruelty towards pets, but with the abuse of working animals and livestock in the city streets (Kalof 137).

Rather than signalling humanity's divorce from rural life, as some theorists have argued, urban living brought many humans into closer proximity with animals – often too close for comfort. It is impossible to know exactly how many working horses there were in London in the nineteenth century; as F.M.L. Thompson explains, 'the horse was so much taken for granted that no one thought it important or interesting to take a horse census' (60). However, some contemporary estimates exist. The most comprehensive of these is W.J. Gordon's 1893 work *The Horse-World of London*, in which he claims that it took 'over 300,000 living horse-power to move the wheels along the roads of London' (113). This figure, derived from information pertaining to vehicle licenses from Metropolitan Police reports and individual enquiries, is difficult to verify, but nonetheless indicates the ubiquity of horses towards the end of the nineteenth century. Statistics from T.C. Barker and Michael Robbins, modern historians of London transport systems, suggest that there would have been little discrepancy between the figures Gordon provides in the early 1890s and earlier decades, as they claim that between 1830 and 1850, 'the number of stage carriages increased from 800 to 1,200, and of hackney carriages from just under 1,500 to just over 3,000' (64). Additionally, Barker and Robbins suggest that in 1875, 48,900,000 journeys were made by horse-drawn tramcars and 49,720,000 by omnibuses owned by the city's largest establishment, the London General Omnibus Company (196). Throughout the nineteenth century, horses were key to the everyday function of London, and many urban residents would have encountered them daily in the streets of the capital.

As the number of horses in London increased throughout the nineteenth century, reformers were campaigning to have livestock animals removed from the centre. Thousands of cows, bulls, sheep and pigs were driven through London's busy streets every week, and before its closure in 1852 Smithfield Market in the City of London received the majority of the livestock entering the capital. As London continued to grow the area surrounding Smithfield became increasingly cramped, with housing and shops occupying all available space. Additionally, the growing urban population created a greater demand for meat in the city. Richard Perren writes that 'between 1732 and 1830, the number of cattle recorded at Smithfield rose from 76,210 to 159,907 and sheep from 514,700 to 1,287,070', and all of these animals would have been driven through some of the busiest streets of central London (32). In light of this substantial growth, Perren notes that Smithfield was known to exceed its capacity:

> On particularly busy days, such as the last market before Christmas, the whole market, which was calculated to hold 4,100 oxen and 30,000 sheep besides calves and pigs, would be crammed to over-flowing. The streets around were also full of animals blocking up all access to and egress from the market. (33)

Locals and reformers complained about the chaos the market caused. In response to the problem of Smithfield – declared to be 'the greatest nuisance that ever existed in a crowded city' in a parliamentary debate on the issue – a new market was opened three miles away in the suburb of Islington (Smithfield Enlargement Bill 1331). The Metropolitan Cattle Market, which eclipsed the old market in size, was opened by Prince Albert in 1855. Initially covering an area of 60 acres, it expanded to over 70 in its first ten years. The market was thus able to accommodate (in 1855) 34,980 sheep, 6,616 cattle, 1,425 calves and 900 pigs at once, and additionally allowed for cattle pens almost twice the size of those in Smithfield (though even these were a meagre three feet in width, meaning there was insufficient room for the animals to lie down) ("Domestic Occurrences" 85).

The removal of the live animal market from the centre of London to the suburbs marks a crucial moment in London's ongoing urbanisation. As P. J. Atkins has noted, 'in mid-nineteenth century London the idea of a clear-cut distinction between urban and rural life had yet to develop' (383). In addition to the vast number of livestock animals being driven into the city, urban residents, particularly the poor, continued to keep domestic pigs and chickens in the late-nineteenth century (Wohl 82). The debate

surrounding the relocation of Smithfield, then, marks a major discussion about the place of animals in the city, and the motivations surrounding the campaign to close the market are complex and manifold. As well as complaints about congestion, smell, hygiene and the brutal treatment of animals, Chris Philo notes that the filth and barbarity of the market came to be associated with the people who lived and worked there: 'The anticipation was hence that these people would be debased, bestial in their habits, and strangely similar in disposition to the animals with which they shared their spaces' (669). Additionally, the behaviour of the animals themselves was seen as incongruous to the perceived civility the city sought to present, and Philo cites one urban resident offended by 'thoroughly degrading' display of 'untamed sexuality … being freely expressed in the "public streets"' (670). While the removal of live animals from the centre of London was in some ways motivated by concerns for animal welfare and did indeed improve conditions for the animals somewhat, Philo observes that the relocation of the market 'meant that a new measure of spatial ordering (and to some extent exclusion) was imposed upon the animals by their human masters' (668). The move signalled an attempt to hide livestock animals from view, and implied that the city was not a suitable place for certain kinds of animals.

Despite moving the market out of the centre, livestock animals continued to be driven through London in increasing numbers and with similar barbarity, so while the new market was described by one writer in Dickens' *Household Words* as 'proof of the civilising influences of space, light and order', others held that the cruelty of the old Smithfield remained ("The Metropolitan Cattle Market" 456). In 1883, the journalist James Greenwood wrote that drovers continued to 'participate in the fun of driving the poor harassed horses, ponies, and donkeys well-nigh frantic with their howling and yelling, with the slashing to whips and the rattling of whip-stocks' (132). Similarly, the move did little to decrease disruption and crowding in the city streets, and some unfortunate city-dwellers were still finding themselves in the path of rampaging cattle that diverged from their course while being driven to market. One particularly unfortunate pedestrian wrote to the editor of the local publication *Clerkenwell News* in 1859 to complain that 'for the fifth time' he had 'narrowly escaped certain impalement' due to 'the infuriated cattle which are continually and recklessly driven through [Farringdon] on Mondays by ruffians' (Gibbs 3). The letter appeared eight years before the introduction of the Metropolitan Streets Act of 1867, which sought to minimise overcrowding and disruption in London's streets by restricting street sellers and drovers. The Act legislated that 'No

person shall drive or conduct any cattle through any street … between the hours of ten in the morning and seven in the evening' (s. 7), with "cattle" here including any 'bull, ox, cow, heifer, calf, sheep, goats, and swine, also horses, mules, and asses, when led on a string or loose' (s. 3b). But, despite the Act's attempt at controlling animal movement and the relocation of the livestock market away from the centre, the ubiquity of these animals in the city streets meant that they remained difficult to contain, and accidents were frequent occurrences.

The animals involved in the most traffic accidents were horses. My wording here is deliberate, as horses were not always figured as responsible for these accidents, and this is crucial to their representation in the *IPN* and wider Victorian culture. Unlike cows and bulls, horses were not figured as wilfully chaotic by the *IPN*. Rather, horses were depicted as flighty creatures that were not in control of their actions. Figures vary, but the Society for the Prevention of Street Accidents and Furious Driving calculated the number of street accidents in London in 1878 alone to be over 20,000 ("Street Accidents" 331); ten years earlier the journal *London Reader* had suggested than an average of 200 people per year died as a result of carriage accidents in the streets of the metropolis between 1865 and 1867 ("Carriage Accidents" 460). These accidents were most frequently a result of "furious" driving, which often involved the brutal and incessant whipping of cab and omnibus horses, but bolting horses, alarmed by the noise and chaos of the city streets, were also common. If the driver was not demonstrably at fault, collisions and fatalities were deemed unfortunate accidents, as was the case in December 1868, when a woman was killed by a bolting horse at the new Smithfield Market and a verdict of 'accidental death' was returned, though the jury suggested the police investigate the congestion at the market that was judged to have alarmed the horse ("A Female Run Over …" 4).

The ubiquity of these incidents is made clear in the *IPN*. It reports frequently on accidents involving horses, and we are made aware that such incidents must occur with alarming regularity by the language the *IPN* uses to describe them. An everyday collision is unlikely to make its columns, but an "Appalling Carriage Accident on Hackney Marshes" in August 1867 warrants a large, front-page illustration and several column inches (2). In this incident, the horse was allegedly frightened by 'some cause not apparent' which resulted in 'the driver losing all control over the animal' (ibid). The blame is then placed on the 'very high spirited' horse, which we are told 'dashed along at a fearful pace and could not be brought up' (ibid). In the resulting chaos, the carriage passengers were

thrown from the vehicle and into the canal, and 'a scene of the wildest excitement instantly ensued' (ibid). Similarly, two weeks after this incident a "Frightful Omnibus Accident" in which several people were seriously injured was related, with a large front-page illustration (fig. 8) depicting the carnage of the scene and passengers falling to the ground. The incident was attributed to the number of commuters on board, which caused the vehicle 'to make a sudden swing, and instantly fall over on to its off side with a frightful crash', and the horses to be 'thrown over by the shock' (2).

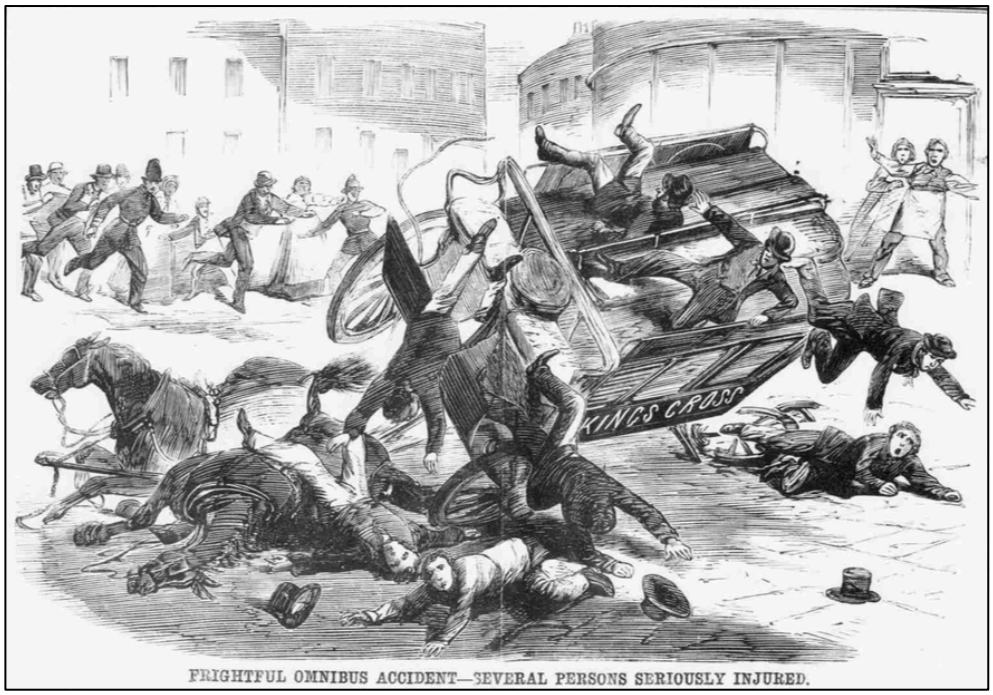

Fig. 8. "Frightful Omnibus Accident – Several Persons Seriously Injured." *Illustrated Police News,* 17 Aug. 1867, p. 1

In these examples from the *IPN*, though horses are key to each story, the headlines refer instead to the vehicles involved in the accident. This is characteristic of the *IPN*'s reporting, which typically described carriage, cab and omnibus accidents, rather than horse accidents. Where the accident was caused by a drunken driver (as in a case of "Reckless Driving" in 1885) or an overcrowded bus ("An Omnibus Overturned" in 1890), the erasure of horses does not seem unusual. But even instances where the article cited the horse(s) as the cause of the accident, the article headlines referred to the vehicle involved rather than the animal, as was the case when a horse bolted and 'dashed' through a shop window in London in 1895 ("Exciting Carriage Accident" 3) and when a carriage was overturned by bolting horses in 1894 ("Fatal Carriage Accident in Hyde Park" 3). In

my eight-year sample of the *IPN*, of the 86 articles relating to cab, bus and carriage accidents involving horses, only 15% (13) mention the animal in the headline. I am not suggesting that this exclusion was an intentional editorial decision, or that horses should have been blamed for these accidents and that this should have been reflected in these headlines. Rather, I am proposing that the way in which horses are somewhat overlooked in these narratives indicates how they were generally perceived in this period.

In this period horses were tamed and domesticated creatures that served a function that allowed them to be regarded less as animals and more as fleshy machines. They were not livestock in the same way cattle, sheep and pigs are, nor are they pets. They occupied a liminal space between livestock and trained pet, and were defined in terms of their function to humans. They were thus overlooked as animals, and this erasure is replicated in recent urban studies of the period. For example, in his 2015 work *By Accident or Design: Writing the Victorian Metropolis*, Paul Fyfe examines the chaos of nineteenth-century London and the ways in which urban authorities fought for order and control. Though much of the work focuses on traffic accidents, Fyfe strangely spends little time considering the ways in which horses contributed to urban disorder. Instead, he focuses on the cab drivers themselves, and notes that in response to the rising number of deaths and injuries due to cab accidents, the Hackney Carriage Act of 1843 required cab drivers to obtain a license. In doing so, the Act formalised what continues to be known as "The Knowledge", the examination for London cab drivers that requires all would-be licensed drivers to know the best route to get to any destination in the city without the use of a map (or, today, satellite navigation). Fyfe describes the processes of attempting to "know" the Victorian city:

> For cab drivers, passengers, as well as social demographers, freelancers, and writers of London guidebooks and narratives, it took various forms of meandering, looking, jockeying, sketching, cataloguing, and attempting to compile a representation of what ultimately might be beyond knowledge itself. And, like the vehicular melee in the streets, such knowledge seemed punctuated by accidents: by the seemingly random encounters in the city, by the collisions that collapsed social extremes, by the exceptions and oddities that constellated the urban cosmos. (68)

Like the Metropolitan Streets Act, the licensing of cab drivers was another attempt to order the city – not just in terms of regulating cab drivers, but also by making the city

potentially legible, knowable and containable. Interestingly, Fyfe neglects to mention horses here, or the ways in which cab drivers might come to "know" them. This is a remarkable oversight for a scholar engaged in the project of uncovering how accidents contribute to the ways in which we have come to understand the Victorian city. Contemporary periodicals demonstrate that animals were frequently involved in, or causes of accidents, and this is also clear in fictional depictions of the Victorian metropolis.

In Anna Sewell's 1877 novel *Black Beauty*, the London cab-driver, Jerry Barker, develops a mutually beneficial, though perhaps idealised, relationship with the eponymous horse, which prevents accidents from occurring. Jerry refuses to whip Beauty to make him go faster, and refuses to accept fares from customers who ask him to do so. As a result, his fellow drivers often mock his 'conscience' (Sewell 139). But the horse does not need to be whipped, as Jerry knows that he will know what to do. In his first-person narrative, Beauty states:

> I was quick, and bold, and could always trust my driver; Jerry was quick, and patient at the same time, and could trust his horse, which was a great thing too. He very seldom used the whip; I knew by his voice, and his "click click" when he wanted to get on fast, and by the rein where I was to go; so there was no need for whipping … (Sewell 141)

Sewell's novel makes clear that the human-horse relationship is one that requires reciprocal cooperation. When Beauty's previous owners ignored his signals, disaster ensued, as when a driver mistook a stone in the horse's shoe for laziness. And when in the narrative a drunken London driver does cruelly whip his horses to go faster, he loses control of them and they run over a child before crashing into Jerry's cab and injuring his other horse, Captain, who has to be put down as a result. The novel thus emphasises the agency of horses, and their willingness to engage with their human owners. When Jerry suggests cab drivers should not cruelly whip their horses, another driver suggests it is the only way his horse will respond, to which Jerry replies, 'You never take the trouble to see if he will go without it' (Sewell 143).

Sewell uses *Black Beauty* to criticise, among other things, cruelty towards horses, and attempts to highlight an ideal human-animal relationship based on mutual understanding. Jerry's "knowing" the horse epitomises that, as Beauty tells us: 'when a good driver and a good horse, who understand each other, are of one mind, it is wonderful

what they can do' (Sewell 140). The union of Jerry and Beauty prevents accidents, but Jerry is identified as a uniquely gentle cab driver whose relationship with Beauty is not the standard in London, where the treatment of animals is used again and again in the novel to highlight the cruelty of the city. In *Black Beauty*, it is Jerry's knowledge of the horse, rather than of the streets, that makes him a good driver. While the *IPN* recognised the danger and inefficiency of reckless driving and reported extensively on cruelty to horses (as noted in the Introduction, reports on horse cruelty constitute to most common animal story in my sample of the *IPN*), it seemed to fall short of recognising the cooperation of horses in successful driver-horse relationships, and instead focused solely on the actions of the driver.

As trained animals, then, horses are presented as knowing and potentially knowable in *Black Beauty*. Indeed, knowing horses, as Sewell's novel shows, relies on recognising them as intuitive individuals, and encouraging this intuition. But for many of Sewell's contemporaries, knowing horses resulted in them being treated as programmable, fleshy machines, whereby their obedience was valued over their intuitive nature. For example, Henry Curling's 1852 treatise *A Lashing for Lashers* criticised the cruelty cab drivers enacted upon 'the most willing and useful animal God has placed in the service of mankind', writing that alongside dogs, horses were 'perhaps, the most sensible and sensitive of the animals of the brute creation', praising their 'knowledge, tact, and the readiness with which they comprehend the wishes of man' in particular (4). Curling's remarks here indicate that the value of horses was perceived to lie in their docile and servile natures, while their comprehension and intelligence was only revered insofar as it was understood to be useful to their human masters. Similarly, W.J. Gordon, citing "horse whisperer" J.S. Rarey's belief that a horse 'should never be allowed to find out how strong he is', asserted that breaking a horse required encouraging it to think, but 'within certain limitations' ("The Education …" 525). In such writings horses are knowable not necessarily because of their perceived intelligence, but more because they have been trained to be obedient. This perception of domestication is one reason why horses are depicted differently from cows and bulls in the *IPN*.

When runaway horses were described by the *IPN*, in all the cases I have found the article indicated that the animal was frightened. "A Runaway Horse in Cheapside" in 1883 described a scene of 'considerable excitement and alarm' when a horse attached to a cab bolted, 'dashing madly' through the area (4). The article related that 'while the

vehicle was unattended the horse, alarmed at some street cry, darted into Newgate-street at a considerable pace', and that it was followed by a crowd 'yelling and hooting in the conventional manner', whose cries alarmed the horse further, causing it to 'increase its pace' (4). The descriptions here – of the alarm, the excited crowd, and the frightened horse – are typical of the *IPN*'s reporting of such incidents. Horses were and continue to be known as nervous creatures, as Clay McShane and Joel A. Tarr indicate in their work on nineteenth-century urban horses:

> Training horses for city life was a difficult and important part of controlling them. The evolutionary track taken by horses provided shyness and speed as defense mechanisms. Horses scare easily, and their reflex is to run away. (54)

Cab drivers knew that horses were easily alarmed by obstacles, and most horses were fitted with blinkers to help avoid this (though, as the frequent accidents reported in the *IPN* make clear, they were not always successful), but there was nothing to prevent the sudden noises of the city from frightening a horse. A runaway horse was not particularly unusual in Victorian London, but if enough excitement and destruction was caused the *IPN* would report on these instances.

Drivers and pedestrians expected horses to bolt, and so the novelty of the incidents reported by the *IPN* lay in the destruction they caused. As a result, horses were most commonly represented as mere objects or scenery in the *IPN*, and as part of the day-to-day reality of city life. Comparatively, livestock animals, as the closure of Smithfield Market shows, became increasingly seen as not belonging in the city from the 1850s onwards, so their recalcitrance warranted a more colourful reportage. Incidents involving cows and bulls, as we shall see, highlight the contrast between these clearly non-urban animals and their city surroundings while stories about accidents involving horses could be more readily filed under "urban traffic chaos", with horses assumed to be an inevitable, natural part of the urban landscape. The *IPN*, you might say, presented the cow out of her field like a fish out of water. And, intriguingly, horses made headlines more frequently as they became less common in the city. Search results for "runaway horse" in the *IPN* in the British Newspaper Archive (which holds records of the *IPN* from 1867-1938, excluding 1875) show only 80 results between 1864 and 1899, but 259 between 1900 and 1938, even though the number of horses in the city declined from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards. The increased attention to incidents of runaway horses in this period is arguably due to their increased novelty, as London gave way to motorised cabs

and buses and horses gradually replaced livestock as the city's aliens in the twentieth century.

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While, as I have suggested, the *IPN* depicted horses as part of the reality of urban life and treated them mostly as scenery, its coverage of cows and bulls warranted a greater range of representational modes. The behaviour of these rampaging animals was less comprehensible to the *IPN*, and as they were relatively less common urban sights than horses, their wild behaviour was more of a novelty – and, often, a dramatic story. While horses were perceived to be responding to fear, its reportage on cows and bulls often lacks any suggested motivation for the apparent rage of these animals. Thus, "A Mad Bull" was described in the issue of 6 August, 1870 as being in 'an infuriated state' when it 'rushed at full speed along [Old Kent Road], to the great terror of passers by' (2). The article noted that 'Although efforts were made to stop the animal in its wild career, they proved futile until he had reached Lewisham, where he was driven into a shed at the railway station in an exhausted condition, and subsequently shot' (ibid). "A Strange Freak of a Cow" (fig. 9) from 1885, this time in Liverpool rather than London, was depicted as aggressive in the front-page illustration. Again, the report describes how the cow 'made a rush' into a house, but the motivation for the animal's behaviour was not suggested. It was described as attacking the occupants of the house, before once again rushing into the street in a 'threatening manner' ("A Strange …" 2). Similarly, "An Infuriate Cow" in Preston 'became unmanageable' and charged at several people in October 1870. In the accompanying illustration, the cow appears ready to charge and is depicted so that its rage is clear from its expression and body language (2; fig. 10). While the *IPN* occasionally explained this kind of behaviour – as when, for example, "A Mad Cow [Causing] Consternation in the East End [of London]" in 1899 'had just lost her calf, and owing to the turmoil and excitement of the streets became excited' (9) – it mostly presented cows and bulls as being full of wild and inexplicable fury, in comparison to horses, which were depicted as nervous and flighty, responding to noise and to strange sights. This difference is perceptible in the way the *IPN* illustrated these creatures, as in comparison to the cows in figures 9 and 10, which are suggested to be deliberately attacking the humans depicted, the illustration of "A Runaway Horse in Pall Mall" (fig. 11) from May 1894 focuses more

on the carnage created by the horse than the animal itself, which is not drawn in a way that makes expression discernible. Here, the horse is not the focus of the illustration because it is not perceived to be defensive or engaged in an attack, in comparison to infuriated cows and bulls, whose perceived aggression made for a more sensational story and illustration.

Fig. 9. "Strange Freak of a Cow at Wavertree." *Illustrated Police News,* 7 Sept. 1885, p. 1.

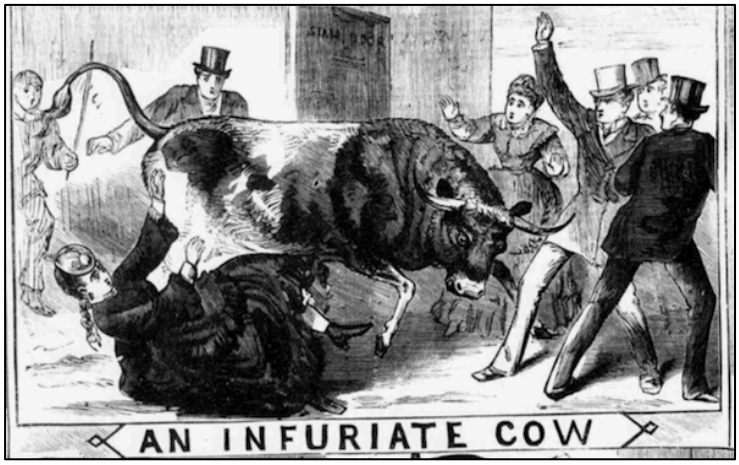


Fig. 10. An Infuriate Cow." *Illustrated Police News,* 15 Oct. 1870, p. 1.

In these urban contexts, the behaviour of cows and bulls was presented as violent and unpredictable, but when we look at how the *IPN* reported on similar incidents that

occurred in rural areas, we find that the tone is very different. On 21 September, 1867, the *IPN* reported an incident in North Devon in which a woman was "… Gored to Death by a Cow", while delivering a letter to the farmhouse. Rather than describing the wild rage of the cow, the article attempted to account for the animals' behaviour, noting that the woman 'was attacked by a cow which had her calf with her' ("A Woman Gored…" 4). While urban stories of rampaging cows were lurid in their detail and tone, this article is imbued with pathos, as it focused on the woman's tragic death despite attempts to revive her.

Fig. 11. "A Runaway Horse in Pall Mall." *Illustrated Police News,* 19 May 1894, p. 1.

Stories about cows featured much less frequently than those about horses in the *IPN*. In my eight-year sample there are 222 stories about horses, while cows and bulls feature only 37 and 39 times respectively. 40% of these are reports of bovine recalcitrance, with the majority of these incidents taking place in cities and market towns. Only 9 of these sampled articles report on rural incidents, and as in the case above, there are marked differences in the ways urban and rural bovine encounters were reported. In a "Desperate Encounter with a Bull" in a Lancashire village in 1867, a bull being led to the train station 'became furious', and displayed aggression towards its owner, a Mr. Thompson ("Desperate Encounter with a Bull" 2). As in urban accounts of such behaviour, the report described the bull's rampage and eventual capture, but again concluded with an attempt to explain the bull's agitation: 'It is thought that the bull did not know Mr.

Thompson, owing to a fresh coat which he was wearing, and on that account "set" him' (ibid). In another example, a cow keeper, named Mr. Rutherford, was killed in 1882 by a young bull, which the article notes he 'bred himself' ("Gored to Death by a Bull" 2). When leading the bull back to its byre, the door was said to have swung back and accidentally struck the bull, which 'rendered it unmanageable, and caused it to get the better of its owner, whose cries for help were heard immediately afterwards' (ibid). Rutherford died from his injuries, and, interestingly, the article concluded with a brief obituary: 'Rutherford was about fifty years of age, and leaves a widow and four sons. He had from very humble beginnings established himself as a substantial cowkeeper, and his industry and integrity had won for him the respect and regard of all who knew him' (ibid). Here, the experience, skill and care of the cowkeeper were emphasised, and the article made clear that the bull's rage was through no fault of its keeper's. In this and the previous example, the behaviour of the animals involved was rendered comprehensible, and both emphasised the importance of communication and mutual understanding between bull and owner.

From this we might infer that the *IPN* reported less frequently on rural incidents of this nature because, due to the greater care involved in those interactions, they were rare. These examples involved individualised bulls familiar to their owners, while urban accidents involving cows and bulls tended to occur when one animal broke away from a large and unfamiliar herd being driven by middlemen, who were employed by farmers to transport and sell their stock in cities beyond the reach of farmer's markets (Overton 143). It was the breakdown in communication that occurred when livestock are moved to towns and cities where they were alien that caused accidents and thus made them newsworthy. In rural contexts, however, recalcitrant cows and bulls were most commonly reported on when the story was tragic.

Despite being capable of causing as much destruction and human injury as horses, cows and bulls were primarily represented as comically out of place by the *IPN*. Comparatively, I have found only one example of a horse being represented in this way. On 1 July, 1905 (outside of the period of this thesis' focus, but nonetheless notable), an *IPN* headline described "The Fighting Horse of Islington" as 'a Terror to the Neighbourhood', and yet the article opened by saying that 'Some amusement was caused at Clerkenwell Country Court by the story of a fighting horse' (11). The article noted that the horse had 'a peculiar habit of attacking elderly women' (ibid):

> As they approached it would run forward, throw up its head, put its ears back, and strike them sideways. In fact, it was a terror to the neighbourhood as far as elderly women were concerned. It did not attack men. (ibid)

Here, the loss of control of an animal was figured as comic, rather than a source of real concern, and while the owner was fined, there was plenty of 'laughter' in the court when the case was heard (ibid). However, this horse was only humorous due to its peculiarity, which individualised it and meant it could no longer be represented by the *IPN* as being part of the everyday reality of city life.

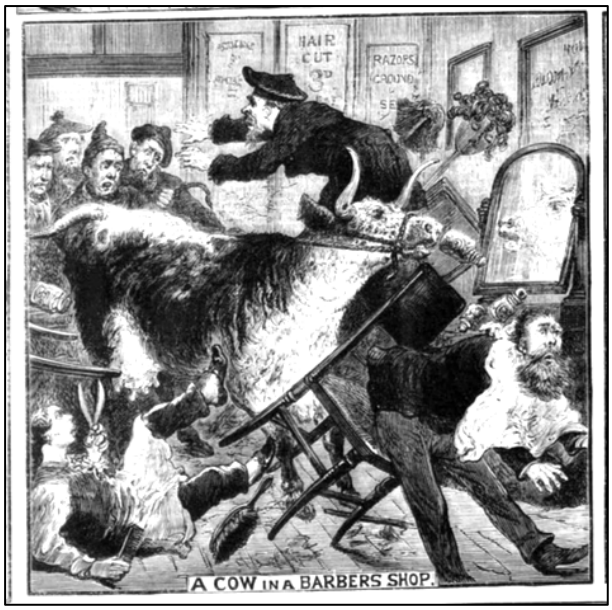


Fig. 12. "A Cow in a Barber's Shop." *Illustrated Police News,* 28 May 1881, p. 1.

Cows and bulls, however, were much more frequently represented in the comic mode because they were out of place, and this was emphasised in both the *IPN*'s illustrations and its written reports of these incidents. For example, "A Cow in a Barber's Shop" in 1881 (this time in Edinburgh) described 'an unusual commotion', and rather than "rampaging" or acting "furiously" as previous articles had described, the animal was said to have simply 'broke[n] away' (2). Even though the animal caused destruction and, as the illustration suggests, injured the shop's inhabitants, the image focused on the comedy of the scene (fig. 12). In this case, however, rather than personal injury, most of the damage 'was restricted to the demolition of a considerable portion of the fittings of the premises' (ibid). Similarly, when a bull found its way into a London cigar shop in 1880 (fig. 13), the *IPN* wryly noted that its herd was 'a great trouble to manage, as they showed

a very strong disposition to enter nearly all the shops they passed' ("A Bull in a Cigar Shop" 2). The comedy of these stories was dependent on setting. A recalcitrant bull in a rural setting, as we have seen, was not comic, even when no one was harmed. Rather, the comedy of these urban examples lay in the image of cows and bulls out of place, in a specifically human space, and in their ungainly size. Even when there was the potential for bodily harm, the *IPN* emphasised the humour of such accounts.

Fig. 13. "A Bull in a Cigar Shop." *Illustrated Police News,* 25 Dec. 1880, p. 1.

Additionally, the comic nature of these stories seems to derive from the curiosity exhibited by these creatures, as when a cow entering a chemist's in 1877 was suggested to have been 'seized with a sudden desire to study pharmacy' ("A Cow in a Chemist's… 2; fig. 14). Beyond the Victorian era, another cow, from 1904, was suggested to have indulged her 'musical curiosity' when she entered a piano shop before leaving, having, the *IPN* suggests, 'had enough shopping experiences for one day' ("Cow in a China Shop" 2). Comparatively, instances of horses entering shops were not presented as comic, primarily because, as in the case of a runaway horse in 1895, the majority of these cases involved horses crashing through the windows of these establishments. In that report, the *IPN* noted that 'several persons had a very narrow escape of receiving personal injuries' and chose instead to focus on the 'great damage' done to the shop (fig. 15 – "Runaway Horse …" 2). It seems that, for the *IPN*, the humour of such calamities lay in the character

of the animal involved, which horses, as mere fleshy machines, were represented as having little of.

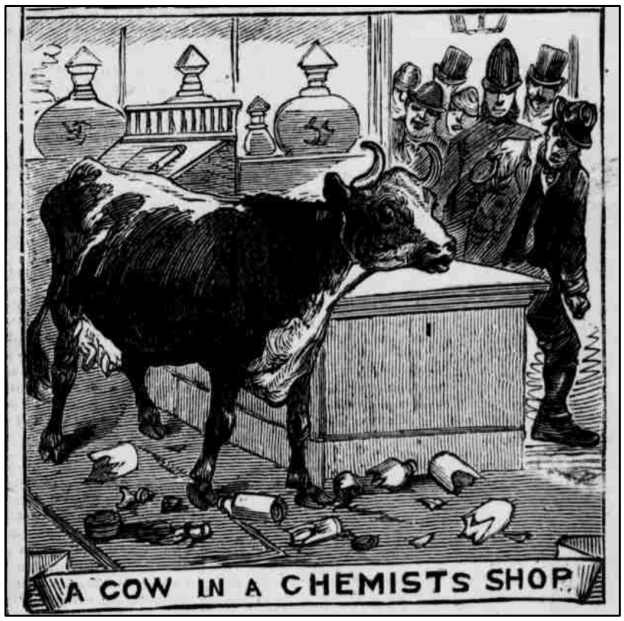


Fig. 14. "A Cow in a Chemists [sic] Shop." *Illustrated Police News,* 10 Feb 1877, p. 1.

Fig. 15. "Runaway-Horse – Exciting Scene." *Illustrated Police News,* 11 May 1895, p. 1.

We have seen how cows and bulls were more colourfully represented than horses in the *IPN*. Horses were perceived to have been trained into an obedience that made them more tractable and thus dispossessed of agency, while untrained livestock animals were not raised for urban existence, and so were comically alien. When horses bolted they were

seen to be responding to fear, while the disruption of livestock was perceived to be due to their untamed agency and intent. They were presented as primarily comic rather than frightening because their actions deemed them to be out of place in the city, while, as urban animals, horses were regarded as a part of the city's scenery and day-to-day functions, which in turn allowed them to be overlooked. The *IPN*'s representation of horses and livestock thus indicates how animals were central to perceptions of urban spatial boundaries, and allows us to see what belongs and does not belong in the city. But while boundary-crossing cattle were sometimes funny, when rabid dogs and rats got into human spaces, the threat they posed to symbolic and spatial divides was perceived to be much more serious. They were represented as being terrifying and grotesque not only because of the greater physical damage they were able to inflict. Rather than mere injury, the ability of these animals to cross human-animal boundaries threatened to destroy those distinctions altogether, and it is this conceptual danger that was, perhaps, most threatening.

Undead and Un-Dog: Gothic Representations of Rabies and Hydrophobia in the *Illustrated Police News* and Late-Victorian Fiction

On 8 July, 1865, the *IPN* reported on the death of eight-year-old Mary Jane Braillard from hydrophobia – rabies in its human form – with an article subtitled "What is to be done with the London Street Dogs?" As John Walton notes, rabies had become 'an object of widespread fear as the number of hydrophobia cases in man began to mount noticeably from the late 1860s' (220). Mary Jane was playing in the passage of her home 'when a strange dog ran in out of the street' ("Death from Hydrophobia …" 2). The dog had already bitten another child, and when it ran in the report describes how 'the deceased ran up the stairs, but the dog bit her on the calf of the leg, causing her to fall' (ibid). Following the bite, Mary Jane began to display the initial symptoms of hydrophobia, including 'pains in the head', before developing symptoms common of the 'so-called furious phase' of the disease (ibid), which Jack Botting notes include 'an increased sensitivity to sensory stimuli and a horrifying aversion to liquids … Patients scream in alarm during periods of wild agitation, which alternate with periods of lucid calm' (18). Before her death, Mary Jane had an urge to bite her mother but avoided some of the more distressing symptoms that filled reports about hydrophobia patients in both the press and

medical journals, which often described patients barking on all fours as though undergoing a canine metamorphosis. The dog that bit Mary Jane was chased by a crowd and killed in the street by a policeman. At the inquest into the child's death, the coroner commented that 'it was an additionally distressing feature in the case that the poor girl was bitten not in the street, but in her own house, where her safety might reasonably have been expected' ("Death from Hydrophobia …" 2). The coroner went on to suggest that 'the dog nuisance' could be abated with changes to current legislation and the method of collecting the dog tax, leading the jury in the case to request that the coroner 'communicate with the Home Secretary on the subject of the great danger arising from the number of unnecessary dogs about the streets' (ibid). Though introduced in 1796 to help curtail the population of stray dogs on the streets, the collection of the five-shilling dog tax 'was piecemeal and the working classes largely ignored it,' but reformers campaigning for dog control called for greater efforts to enforce it (Pemberton and Worboys 33).

The story of Mary Jane was the first time the *IPN* wrote about the rabies problem, and the article contains a number of themes that recur in its reports on rabies and hydrophobia. In the previous section, we saw that runaway horses and rampaging cattle were represented in, respectively, realist and comic modes. However, dogs, and rabid dogs in particular, enact a different kind of boundary-breaking, and as such they were depicted using a different representational mode. The mad dogs of Victorian Britain, as Mary Jane's story makes clear, posed several threats. The ease with which the strange dog was able to enter her home and attack her reveals the disturbing fluidity of the boundary between the street and the home. Alongside this, as creatures that were usually invited into the home as trained and domesticated pets, canine attacks on humans, and particularly children, represented a grotesque breakdown of human-animal relations and of Victorian expectations of "man's best friend". In addition, the potential to become infected with hydrophobia, which would cause the victim to die an agonising death following a terrifying psychological transformation akin to a canine metamorphosis, was a key concern. Combined, these factors resulted in the representation of mad dogs as Gothic terrors in the *IPN*.

Rabid dogs, I suggest, become agents of late nineteenth-century Gothic fears because they defy both the physical boundaries designed to contain them and the symbolic boundaries that separate humans and animals. In doing so, rabid dogs upset

Victorian notions of the domestic pet to the extent that they become what I suggest could be termed "un-dogs." As the violent and grotesque antithesis of the Victorian canine ideal, they become almost divorced from the image of what a dog should be. The lack of sympathy displayed to rabid dogs in Victorian culture supports this notion. Though revered and valued when healthy, rabid dogs were despised and, as we shall see, readily dispatched with hammers, knives and shotguns in the streets to apparently unanimous praise. The un-dog is thus born of the conceptual separation of the domestic pet and the Gothicised rabid dog in Victorian culture.

The concept of the un-dog embodies several features of Victorian Gothic, a mode characterised by concerns and anxieties relevant to the late-nineteenth century. As such, the new literary manifestations of Gothic brought new villains to the fore. Alongside the 'spectres, monsters, demons, skeletons, evil aristocrats, monks and nuns' of early Gothic fiction, later nineteenth-century works featured 'scientists, fathers, husbands, madmen, criminals and the monstrous double' as its Gothic antagonists (F. Botting 2). Victorian Gothic expressed the fears and anxieties that emerged from modernity, urbanisation, progress, and social change, whilst also examining human psychology and calling subjective experience into question. In the sense that Victorian Gothic anxieties related to the realities of modern life, we can see how the mode's fears are encapsulated by what Freud termed *unheimlich*, or, the uncanny. Rather than emerging from something unknown, Freud theorised that the uncanny emerged from 'something which is familiar and old-established in the mind and which has become alienated from it'; that is, something familiar that has been rendered strange (634). Fred Botting suggests that in Victorian Gothic, the uncanny 'disturbs the familiar, homely and secure sense of reality and normality' and thus 'renders all boundaries uncertain and … often leaves readers unsure whether certain narratives describe psychological disturbance or wider upheavals within formations of reality and normality' (7). The un-dog embodies several of these Victorian Gothic fears. Rabies, like the dogs themselves, was widespread and difficult to contain, and despite the efforts of chemists such as Louis Pasteur, there was – and remains – no cure for it. The symptoms of hydrophobia are uncanny in the sense that they render the human body and mind strange and suggest the fragility of human-animal distinctions, as we shall see in examples from the *IPN* and contemporary medical journals.

As well as 'the murky recesses of human subjectivity' (F. Botting 7), the key landscape of Victorian Gothic was the labyrinthine city, and here the un-dog can be

further linked to the urban Gothic Mode. Robert Mighall, a key exponent of urban Gothic, has argued that rather than merely relocating Gothic from isolated castles and dark forests to the city, the mode's terrors derive 'from situations peculiar to, and firmly located within, the urban experience' (29). The threat of a bite from a rabid dog was seemingly omnipresent in nineteenth-century London, and the *IPN*'s coverage of rabid dogs employed motifs, language and imagery that are associated particularly with urban Gothic. The majority of the *IPN*'s reports on rabid dogs focused on London; of the 175 stories concerned with dogs in my core sample, 25% (43) relate to rabies and hydrophobia and of these, 22 focus on incidents in London in which rabid dogs are depicted as embodiments of the danger and monstrosity of the city. Though common in the country as well as in towns, as Walton notes, rabies and so hydrophobia was an especially urban problem, and the *IPN* often reported on mad dogs running loose in the streets. Cities were home to what Walton terms 'a burgeoning canine proletariat of the ownerless and uncared-for', which caused Britain's urban centres to become 'the stubborn stronghold of rabies and hydrophobia' (Walton 225). Dogs were particularly ubiquitous in nineteenth-century London, with the Battersea Dogs Home receiving 40,000 lost and ownerless dogs between 1896 and 1897, according to a letter from the Home's secretary to the editor of the *Morning Post* (Ward 3). Another anonymous writer in the *Saturday Review* in 1886 lamented that 'daily in the most crowded streets one meets dogs neither muzzled nor led, nor even "under proper control"' despite the Orders and Acts that supposedly enforced the control of dogs ("The Muzzles" 712).

Rabid dogs were thus a particularly urban problem, and as the discussion of urban theory at the beginning of this chapter demonstrated, animals become embroiled in narratives about urban pollution and impurity, and this is evident in the way rabid dogs became agents of urban Gothic in Victorian culture. Kathleen L. Spencer suggests that urban Gothic is characterised by 'a concern for purity, for the reduction of ambiguity and the preservation of boundaries' and the attempts to 'reduce anxiety by stabilizing certain key distinctions, which seemed, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, to be eroding: between male and female, natural and unnatural, civilized and degenerate, human and nonhuman' (201). Rabid un-dogs thus became an urban Gothic threat in their defiance of both the physical, spatial boundaries designed to contain them and the symbolic boundaries that separated humans and animals.

In the *IPN*, then, the Gothic terror of the un-dog was manifold, and this section will now illustrate in turn the ways in which they were shown to represent urban danger, the breakdown of the ideal of the Victorian family, and the destruction of human-animal relations, before discussing how the *IPN* brought fundamental questions of human-animal distinctions to the fore in its depiction of hydrophobia patients.

*

Rabid pet dogs represent the breakdown of a human-animal relationship based on dominance and obedience, and their attacks on children in particular contrast sharply with the canine ideal that the science fiction writer and horticulturalist Jane Loudon wrote about in her 1851 book *Domestic Pets: Their Habits and Management*. In it she describes the qualities of individual breeds – for example, intelligent spaniels, poodles and Newfoundlands (26-7), sagacious Shepherds (27-8), and stupid but faithful bull-dogs (31) – but nonetheless indicates that despite their variety, all dogs were known for their submissiveness, obedience, and affection for their human masters:

> The Dog is unquestionably the noblest of all domestic pets, and he may be pre-eminently styled the friend of man; for, however different dogs may be in other respects, they are all alike in being faithful and affectionate to their masters. Always grateful and never treacherous, forgetful of himself, and loving even the hand that strikes him, watching his master's looks, and obeying his slightest sign, the dog affords a model we might do well to study. (1)

Harriet Ritvo has noted that the relationship between human masters and their dogs 'epitomized the appropriate relationship between masters and subordinates' (20) on a wider (human) scale, and has argued that dogs were defined by their obedience. She suggests that it was common in this period to assume that 'The dog understood and accepted its position so thoroughly that it did not resist punishment if it failed in its duty; it might even lick its master's hand as he delivered the corrective blows' (21). In addition, and underlining the value of a dog's submissiveness, Loudon points to the intelligence of the species as a mark of their superiority to others. She writes:

> It is generally said that one of the clearest marks which distinguish the reason of man from the instinct of animals, is that the latter have no power of will, and cannot do anything different from other animals of the same species. Instances,

> however, have been recorded in which dogs appear to show a power of choosing, judging, and acting for themselves. (7)

Loudon cites an example of a dog from Derby who often took a train to Matlock and back: 'He never goes farther than the Matlock baths, and always returns the same night to Derby, which is his home' (8). Dogs were thus perceived in this period to be below humans, yet above the lower animals due to their kindness and intelligence, existing somewhere in between, which consequently afforded them a unique position in Victorian culture.

Fig. 16. "Fire at Rochdale – Sagacity of a Dog." *Illustrated Police News,* 29 Aug. 1885, p. 1.

It is within this context that the *IPN*'s frequent reports of canine heroism should be read. In August 1890, it told of 'A wonderful case of canine sagacity' ("Remarkable Sagacity …" 2) in which an Airedale terrier attracted the attention of two men walking through a field and led them to a ditch where a three-year-old girl was trapped and drowning; the child was saved. In another example from August 1885 it reported on an "Exciting Scene at a Fire at Rochdale"[4] in which an officer tending to the fire was drawn to 'a peculiar noise' which turned out to be that of 'a black retriever dog, which was

[4] Note that here, as in other articles we shall see, the article title and the headline that accompanied the front-page illustration (fig. 16) were different. The title of the written article is what appears in the bibliography.

crouching at a bedside, and as soon as it saw him showed signs of joy, and indicated that there was someone on the bed' (2). As a result, the officer was able to save a ten-year-old boy, before returning to save another child and, finally, the dog itself. The accompanying illustration presents the dog as noble (fig. 16); it is well groomed and is holding itself in a dignified and obedient posture as it watches over its charge. In Victorian culture dogs were therefore presented as ideally self-sacrificing, responsible and subservient, and while certain breeds were more valued in the period – fanciers were known to pay sums such as £250 for prize King Charles spaniels, £375 for fox terriers, and even £1,000 for champion collies, St Bernards and their offspring (Ritvo 87) – the *IPN*'s coverage of the rabies crisis suggests that any dog could become mad. It did not specify the ownership of the dogs it reported on – most likely because this information was not available, as all of these dogs seem to be lost or ownerless. And though it occasionally identified a dog as a mongrel, it was not biased in terms of class in its reporting, despite many upper- and middle-class dog owners claiming the scourge of rabies emanated from the curs of the poor.

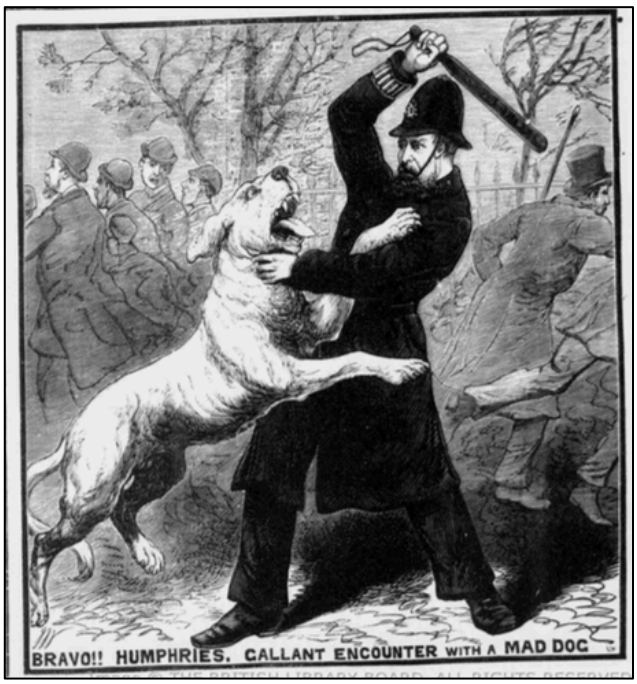


Fig. 17. "Bravo!! Humphries. Gallant Encounter with a Mad Dog." *Illustrated Police News,* 11 Apr. 1885, p. 1.

While heroic and sagacious canines were represented as noble, rabid dogs were depicted as uncanny and monstrous by the *IPN*. In one example from April 1885, the illustration accompanying a story of a mad dog in Chiswick depicts a huge mastiff, almost

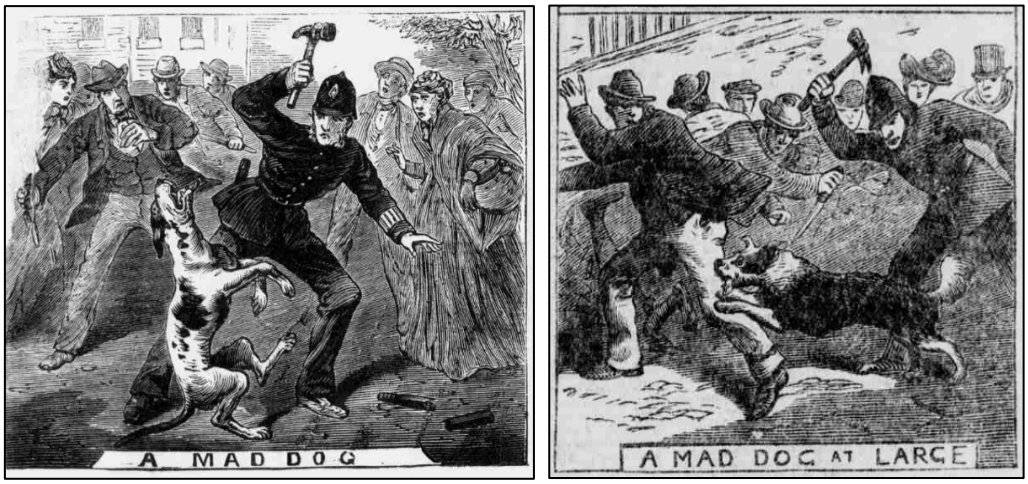
the same size as the police officer it is attacking (fig. 17). The dog is presented as powerful and imposing, with enraged eyes, its large teeth bared, and its mouth open, ready to bite. The accompanying article noted that 'the powerful mastiff' was nearly 2 feet and 3 inches in height, and its size and power rendered it a challenge to the officer's authority, and to humanity's dominion more generally ("Mad Dog" 2). Like other cases of rabid dogs in the street, 'considerable excitement' was caused by its 'frantic careering', and so a crowd assembled, but they quickly dispersed when the dog rounded on them (ibid):

> Being a dog of unusual size and strength, its pursuers hesitated to enter and attack it, and a messenger was despatched for a gun. Before the weapon was brought, however, the animal, foaming at the mouth, rushed towards the gate. The spectators fled, with the exception of Police-constable Humphries, who, with truncheon in hand, gallantly placed himself close to the side of the gate, and as the mastiff was passing through he succeeded in giving it a blow on the head which knocked it down. Before he could give another blow, however, the animal flew at him, but by the deft use of the weapon he was able to ward off its attacks until he gave it a stroke which felled it. It was then conveyed in a waggon to the Chiswick Police-station yard, where, after being taken out of the vehicle, it rose up on its haunches, though it had been regarded as quite dead. Its death was, however, put beyond doubt by an ex-butcher in the police force. (ibid)

In contemporary discourse and in the *IPN*'s wider coverage of rabies, what becomes clear is that breaches of order and control were the key concerns of these outbreaks. As a result we see that, as in the above example, police feature prominently as the restorers of order in the illustrations accompanying these stories. This restoration usually took the form of the violent killing of the dog in question. In this example, the dog posed a real threat to safety, not just because of its potential to infect, as indicated by its 'foaming' jaws, but also because of its strength and size. Like rabies itself, and like the monsters of Gothic fiction, the dog was difficult to overcome. It possessed an almost supernatural capacity to survive human assaults when it rose up despite having 'been regarded as quite dead'. Finally, it was an ex-butcher who succeeded in killing it, another indication of the boundaries that are crossed when a dog becomes rabid. Here, the dog – an animal with the status of a domestic pet that places it above livestock animals in rank – was symbolically reduced to mere flesh in its butchery, though it remained inedible. The victory of the policeman, described as '[gallant]' in his heroism, served to reinforce human

dominion over animals and thus indicated the restoration of order, though clearly rabies, unlike the dog, would rise again.

The violent destruction of rabid dogs is a frequent feature of the *IPN*'s accounts of dog chases in the streets, and in many cases the killing of the dog was encouraged by a crowd of spectators. A rabid dog running through the streets of Newington in East London in 1874, for example, was killed by a policeman with a hammer, 'an act for which he was loudly cheered' by the crowd that had assembled ("A Mad Dog in Newington-Causeway" 2). Similarly, the illustrations accompanying stories of mad dogs from Manchester in July 1874 (fig. 18) and London in 1876 (fig. 19) respectively depict police officers ready to strike the dogs with hammers. These images and the way in which the crowds celebrated the demise of a rabid dog, seemingly without sympathy, are strange when we know how valued dogs were in Victorian culture; the concept of the un-dog can, I suggest, usefully explain this reaction. In their rabid state, dogs forfeited the privileged position they had been afforded by 'the Victorian cult of pets' (Ritvo 86); it seems that if, as Jane Loudon suggests, dogs are 'always grateful and never treacherous', then rabid dogs are not dogs at all (1). Rabies is not curable, so the rabid dog cannot be reintegrated into society, and can only persist as an un-dog. In their madness, they are incapable of following the rules that allow them to live alongside humans and other animals, and they need to be controlled and eradicated because of the threat they pose to both domestic and public order.



Left: Fig. 18. "A Mad Dog." *Illustrated Police News,* 18 July 1874, p. 1.
Right: Fig. 19. "A Mad Dog at Large." *Illustrated Police News,* 23 Sept. 1876, p. 1.

Though valued and cherished before their transformations, then, un-dogs become unrecognisable in their rabid states, and here we might read Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) as allusive to the rabies crisis. In that novel the once 'sweetly pretty' Lucy Westenra is transformed into an un-dead vampire by the titular Count, and the novel's heroes note her uncanniness (Stoker 66). In his account of the first time he saw Lucy in her transformed state, Dr Seward, who had once loved Lucy, notes that her 'sweetness was turned to adamantine, heartless cruelty' and her 'purity to voluptuous wantonness' (Stoker 215). Though he struggles initially with the prospect of destroying her, when he sees the 'hell-fire' in her eyes, Seward is filled with contempt, which in turn complicates his own civility and humanity: 'At that moment the remnant of my love passed into hate and loathing; had she then to be killed, I could have done it with savage delight' (ibid). Here, Seward's desire to kill does not seem dissimilar to that felt by the crowds who delighted in the destruction of rabid dogs as described in the *IPN*; and indeed, Lucy is likened to a dog when she is described as 'growling over' a child she has captured 'as a dog growls over a bone' (ibid 216). In her vampiric form, Lucy is the dark double of her former self, a 'devilish mockery' that must be destroyed before she infects and transforms others (ibid 218). Similarly, the rabid un-dog of the *IPN* is the dark double of the Victorian canine ideal that cannot be allowed to persist.

More monstrous still than the examples we have already seen from the *IPN* are those cases in which dogs are described as tearing at the flesh of their victims. As furry members of the Victorian familial ideal, their attacks on humans were additionally suggested to have grotesquely cannibalistic significance, and for this reason, too, they must be destroyed. Inedibility is key to being human, and the consumption of human flesh – by human or animal – constitutes the ultimate destruction of the human-animal boundary. As Nick Fiddes notes, humans are distinguished 'as a higher form of life that cannot be preyed upon' (128). The potential for humans to become meat is an urban Gothic threat that would have been familiar to *IPN* readers in the form of the popular penny dreadful *The String of Pearls* (1846-7), which told of Sweeney Todd, "the Demon Barber of Fleet Street", whose murdered customers became the fillings of Mrs. Lovett's meat pies. The consumption of human flesh is rendered uncanny by Jarvis Williams, an ill-fated employee of Mrs. Lovett's who marvels at her delicious fare: 'Upon my soul, Mrs. Lovett, I don't know where you get your meat, but it's all as tender as young chickens, and the fat actually melts away in one's mouth. Ah, these are pies, something like pies! –

they are positively fit for the Gods!' (Rymer 90). Mrs. Lovett's customers do not realise that they are eating human meat and confuse it with veal and pork. The ambiguity here reinforces the idea that humans are only flesh and are also susceptible to being consumed.

The *IPN*'s stories of vicious and quasi-cannibalistic attacks by rabid dogs had similarly disturbing implications for human status. In one particularly gruesome account, this time in Crewe in 1880, the Lindop family were attacked when an allegedly mad dog entered their home. Upon entry, the eldest son of the family 'spoke to the animal and patted it on the head, when it suddenly turned and attacked the youngest boy, aged four' ("A Family Attacked …" 2). Here we see again the ease with which the dog is able to pass the threshold, and, indeed, is welcomed by the child who recognises the dog as "friend of man". Next, the dog turned on another child: 'leaving the boy, [it] seized the girl by the leg and bit it to the bone, stripping the leg of flesh' (ibid). When Mrs. Lindop appeared, having heard her daughter's screams, the dog launched a similar attack on her:

> the dog seized her by the boot, biting completely though to the leg bone. It then commenced to tear the calves of her legs in a dreadful manner. She flung herself across the table; the dog still fastened to her legs, the flesh of which it tore at furiously. (ibid)

The attacks described here are monstrous, and the terrifying potential of the mad dog is made clear: it was not biting its victims, but tearing at their flesh and almost eating them, a suggestion enhanced by the additional detail of Mrs. Lindop being on a table while the dog attacked her. The story is a horrific example of the ultimate breakdown of the human-animal relationship, and reinforces the threat the rabid dog poses to human status.

In addition to rendering the human body edible, an attack by a rabid dog could also make the human mind uncanny, as the psychological effects of hydrophobia caused some patients to become canine in their behaviour. The metamorphic potential of the bite from a rabid dog is central to the urban Gothic threat they are represented as possessing in the *IPN*. If a human can be made canine with only a bite, the suggestion is that humanity is fragile and that a beastly potential lurks just beneath the surface. In October 1890 the *IPN* reported on a "Fearful Case of Hydrophobia" in which Mr. James George Taylor, a law stationer, was bitten by his pet dog and later contracted the disease. The *IPN* painted a frightening portrait of the man's mania after he was admitted to St. Thomas' Hospital:

> the patients of the ward were in the morning wakened by hearing fearful noises like those of a dog barking. The nurses found Mr. Taylor foaming at the mouth and barking and struggling in a frightful manner … after a scene of the most terrible nature, the patient died in great agony shortly afterwards. ("Fearful Case …" 3)

Mr. Taylor's symptoms – such as barking and foaming at the mouth – were typical of not only journalistic accounts of hydrophobia, but also those of medical journals. An 1867 article from the *British Medical Journal* reported that a patient suffering from hydrophobia 'frequently felt disposed to bite [his wife] through the night' (Cossar 106), and increasingly displayed typically canine behaviour:

> he was seized with one of those spasms which caused him to leap out of bed, uttering a cry, as described to me, between a howl and a bark, running into a corner of the room, panting for breath, and in a state of awful horror; where he remained for some time, hawking, barking, and spitting, rested on his hands and knees. (ibid 107)

To modern readers, this description might read more like an excerpt of metamorphic Gothic horror fiction than an extract from a medical journal, but Victorian readers would have recognised such descriptions, for tales of hydrophobic patients "transforming" into dogs abounded in contemporary newspapers and periodicals. In addition, civilised humanity's dormant bestial nature is a preoccupation of Victorian Gothic fiction, including, as we have seen, Stoker's *Dracula*, as well as Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886).

Stevenson's enigmatic narrative has generated multiple interpretations, and his demonic villain has been suggested to embody a number of late nineteenth-century social anxieties. Elaine Showalter has examined *Strange Case* in the context of repressed homosexuality and 'the hysterical terror of revealing forbidden emotions' (69), while Stephen D. Arata (1996) and others have discussed it in relation to contemporary theories surrounding criminality and atavism. The text has thus been read as expressing a number of contemporary fears, and one of these, I suggest, is that of the late-nineteenth century rabies crisis. The novella's key anxieties revolve around the loss of control and human specificity, both of which are articulated in contemporary discussions surrounding rabies. Rabid dogs defy the most fundamental conditions of their domestication when they attack and, as we have seen, potentially eat, their human masters, while hydrophobic humans

undergo a psychological transformation that causes them to behave like dogs. Similarly, I suggest, in his savage form and actions Hyde can be read as symbolic of the rabid dog, while Jekyll, though his transformation is initially voluntary and controllable, comes to represent the hydrophobic human. As a single entity, Jekyll/Hyde articulates the fear that the boundary between the rabid dog and the hydrophobic human is almost non-existent.

Hyde is necessarily ambiguous in his uncanny beastliness, and those who encounter him find him indescribably repugnant; as the lawyer Utterson notes, 'he gave an impression of deformity without any nameable malformation' (Stevenson 15). Throughout the narrative, Hyde is likened to a variety of animals; he hisses (ibid 14), roars (ibid 60), and is described variously as being like a 'rat' (ibid 38), a 'monkey' (ibid 39) and 'ape-like' (ibid 20), and as such is not exclusively canine. However, other attributes align him with the rabid dog. In his first appearance in the text, for example, Hyde 'trample[s] calmly' over a child, leaving her 'screaming on the ground,' an action that prompts Enfield in his relation of the account to Utterson to note: 'It wasn't like a man; it was like some damned Juggernaut' (ibid 7). While 'Juggernaut' refers to a supernatural force, the incident also recalls descriptions of children being knocked down and attacked by rabid dogs in the street. Unlike incidents in the street involving horses, which as we have seen were perceived to be accidental in the popular press, rabid dogs were disproportionally represented as attacking children in a malicious manner. The chaos in Stevenson's text is, I suggest, deliberate, and Hyde is figured as being uncontrollable, and without remorse like a rabid dog.

The scene bears further resemblance to the encounters with rabid dogs we have seen from the *IPN* when Enfield notes the contempt both he and the crowd surrounding Hyde felt for him:

> I had taken a loathing to my gentleman at first sight. So had the child's family, which was only natural. But the doctor's case was what struck me … he was like the rest of us; every time he looked at my prisoner, I saw that Sawbones turn sick and white with the desire to kill him. I knew what was in his mind, just as he knew what was in mine … I never saw a circle of such hateful faces … (ibid)

The sudden impulse for murder that Hyde awakens in the crowd is similar to that of the formerly dog-loving spectators in the *IPN*'s reports who encouraged the destruction of rabid dogs. Where the latter are, in my description, un-dogs, Hyde is unhuman. In his ambiguity, Hyde is not privy to the same moral consideration Enfield and the rest of the

crowd reserve for other humans. Hyde's canine traits are further emphasised when Utterson, after hearing this narrative, goes on the hunt for him one evening. The night is quiet apart from 'the low growl of London from all round', and when Utterson finally meets Hyde he is described as snarling during their conversation (ibid 15). Here, the barely audible growl of the city suggests not only Hyde's, but the entire city's animal nature, and reinforces the sense of the pervasive presence of unruly beasts in late-Victorian London.

If Hyde is first akin to the rabid dog, when we learn he is Jekyll transformed, Jekyll/Hyde more pertinently resembles the hydrophobic human. Indeed, the ambiguity of Jekyll/Hyde towards the end of the novel is that it is not clear where the distinction between the two lies. The ambiguity here resembles the unclear boundary between the rabid dog and the hydrophobic human and, more generally, between human and animal. While hydrophobic patients undergo psychological alterations, Jekyll also endures physical changes that make his internal transformation visible. In his account, Dr Lanyon, a friend and colleague of Jekyll, describes his friend in a desperate state as he transforms into Hyde:

> he was wrestling against the approaches of hysteria … I could hear his teeth grate with the convulsive action of his jaws; and his face was so ghastly to see that I grew alarmed both for his life and reason. (ibid 49)

Here, Jekyll appears to be fighting against the beast within, and Stevenson's description of the doctor's convulsive jaw is reminiscent of the examples of hydrophobic patients choking and foaming at the mouth. Interestingly, Lanyon expresses concern for both Jekyll's physical wellbeing and his rationality here. Like rabid dogs and hydrophobia victims, whose symptoms caused them to forget their education and become violent, Jekyll undergoes a transformation that causes him to forget his morality and civility. Towards the end of his statement of the case, Jekyll's description renders his own actions distinguishable from that of Hyde, and he continually shifts between the pronouns *I* and *he*. Despite writing that he 'cannot say, I', Jekyll attributes some Hyde-like behaviour to himself, for example when he writes 'I gnashed my teeth … with a gust of devilish fury,' suggesting a need to bite reminiscent of the rabid dog (ibid 63). Here, Jekyll's actions become indistinguishable from Hyde's, just as those of the hydrophobic human become those of the creature who has bitten them. Jekyll writes in despair and desperation that he is longer able to control his metamorphosis:

> I became, in my own person, a creature eaten up and emptied by fever, languidly weak both in body and mind, and solely occupied by one thought: the horror of my other self. But when I slept, or when the virtue of medicine wore off, I would leap almost without transition (for the pangs of transformation grew daily less marked) into the possession of a fancy brimming with images of terror, a soul boiling with causeless hatreds, and a body that seemed not strong enough to contain the raging energies of life. (ibid 64-5)

While formerly Jekyll's second self merely '[growled] for license' (ibid 62), here Hyde has fully taken possession of Jekyll's body and mind, and his experience of weak, calm and furious energy bears similarity to the experience of hydrophobia patients, who are described as alternating between 'lucid calm' and the 'wild agitation' of their sudden and uncontrollable rages (J. Botting 18). And while, as I have argued, Hyde can be read as a rabid dog and Jekyll as a metamorphic hydrophobic human, by the end of the novella we can see that the two become necessarily indistinguishable. Like the un-dog, Jekyll/Hyde cannot be reintegrated into society, and so must die, as Jekyll/Hyde recognises in his suicide. Here, then, we can read the hydrophobic human as symbolically inseparable from the rabid dog, and the breakdown of human-animal distinctions in the text thus reflects the Gothic threat rabies and hydrophobia poses to Victorian society.

In this section, we have seen how the *IPN*'s Gothic reporting on late nineteenth-century rabies outbreaks spoke to a number of contemporary anxieties, and how this representation is reflected in the novel form via Stevenson's work. As well as posing threats to personal safety, in their rabid states mad dogs defied their domestication, and so became un-dogs that threatened human status, control, and order; humans, in turn, became edible. For these reasons, rabid dogs had to be destroyed. Like the cows and bulls discussed in the previous section, rabid dogs were represented as being wild and uncontrollable, but with far more terrifying consequences. In the next section, we will consider another of the *IPN*'s Gothic creatures: rats – but this time the issue of control is even more complicated.

Vampiric Rats and Gothic Liminality

As we have seen, rabid dogs were a nineteenth-century urban presence that could be controlled and legislated against, even though attempts at control were not always

successful. As domestic pets, the responsibility fell upon the dog's owner to ensure that their dog was muzzled or on a leash, and in the case of lost and ownerless dogs, it was the responsibility of the police to remove them from London's streets and deliver them to the Dogs Home. They were, as they continue to be, permitted to occupy urban space on the condition of their obedience. But what about so-called pests, or vermin, those urban animals who are not obedient domestic pets, who evade control, and which do not serve a specific function in the urban world? A notoriously fecund species, millions of rats lived in the shadows of Victorian Britain, and cities proved to be a particularly fruitful environment for them, with plenty to eat and endless space to live and breed. Of course, this meant that human-rat encounters were frequent, and often, as the *IPN*'s coverage indicates, unpleasant. While stories about rats are less frequent overall than those about dogs (only 22 in my 900-entry sample), they are significant because almost 50% of these are reports of rats attacking or killing people – most frequently children – or eating human corpses.

Unlike rabid dogs, rats were not the responsibility of a human owner, and even landlords do not seem to have been responsible for securing their properties against them. The extensive terms of the 1875 Public Health Act stated clear sanitary standards for both public spaces and housing, but said nothing of vermin or their control. It did, however, state that if 'nuisances' rendered a house or building 'unfit for human habitation, the court may prohibit the using thereof for that purpose until, in its judgement, the house or building is rendered fit for that purpose …' (s.97). Under the terms of the Act, nuisances included 'Any fireplace or furnace which does not as far as practicable consume the smoke arising from the combustible used therein', 'Any pool ditch gutter watercourse privy urinal cesspool drain or ashpit so foul … as to be a nuisance or injurious to health', 'any accumulation or deposit which is a nuisance or injurious to health', and 'Any animal so kept as to be a nuisance or injurious to health' (s.91). Here, the act specifies "kept" animals, which implies that the terms of the Act only apply to domestic or livestock animals that have been invited into the home by their owners. As such, the Act also legislated that 'Any person who in any urban district … Keeps any swine or pigstye in any dwelling-house, or so as to be nuisance to any person … shall for every such offence be liable to a penalty nor exceeding forty shillings' (s.47). The Act does not specify any responsibility for vermin or pests, and it is thus unclear if under the conditions of the Act an infestation of rats would render housing unfit for human habitation.

The confusion over the legal status of rats is reflected in the *IPN*. In a story from November 1891, a 'respectably-dressed woman' sought advice at the North London Police Court after sewer rats entered her home, which had 'a number of defects', and bit her children ("Children Bitten by Rats" 10). The detail about her attire suggests that rats were not only a problem for the poor. The resulting conversation, transcribed by the *IPN*, indicates the ambiguity surrounding rats and their control in the period:

> Mr. Fordham: What do you want me to do? The Applicant: The landlord refused to have the rat holes stopped, and I want compensation for the trouble and expense to which I have been put. … Mr Fordham: I do not know that the responsibility might not rest upon you to stop these holes; but the damages for these rat bites (if proof were given that they were rat bites) would be too remote for you to recover in a civil court. The Applicant: And when I told the landlord what had happened he gave me notice to quit. Mr Fordham: I should think you would be very glad to get out of such a house. I can do nothing for you. (ibid)

The officer's dismissal here is perhaps because of the applicant's gender, but the exchange nonetheless reveals the lack of legally mandated housing standards and of an organised approach to pest control.

While it might be that this officer was particularly unhelpful, the *IPN* provided further examples of cases involving rats beyond the Victorian era. In 1905, two households were in dispute after one alleged that his house had been invaded by rats that had come from his neighbour's premises. The case was not resolved in court, but a health officer was called to inspect the drainage between the two households, as neither was deemed responsible for the problem. While the case itself was presented as a somewhat comic dispute between two neighbours – for they were on bad terms before this episode, owing to one being bitten by the other's dog – the infestation itself was not a source of humour. The applicant told the Court that 'the nuisance arising from the presence of rats had become so acute that residence in the house had developed into a sort of terror,' which had additionally distressed his wife and children ("Rats! Neighbour's Quarrel …" 2). Like rabid dogs, rats were, as further examples will demonstrate, presented as Gothic threats in the *IPN*, but the fear they provoked differs in many ways.

Descriptions of rats and their habits are notable for the morbid fascination and disgust the species evokes in natural historians. Henry Mayhew, for example, quoted from Thomas Bewick's *A General History of Quadrupeds* (1790) in his discussion of rats in the

third volume of *London Labour and the London Poor*. Bewick's description of the creature is charged with contempt and the suggestion of the rat's unnatural, or perhaps supernatural, ability for self-preservation:

> The rat, though small, weak, and contemptible in its appearance, possesses properties that render it a more formidable enemy to mankind, and more injurious to the interests of society, than even those animals that are endued with the greatest strength and the most rapacious dispositions. To the one we can oppose united powers and superior arts; with regard to the other, experience has convinced us that no art can counteract the effects of its amazing fecundity, and that force is ineffectually directed against an animal possessed of such variety of means to elude it. (qtd. in Mayhew 3:3)

The way in which Bewick described the difficulty of defeating and exterminating rats is similar to the ways in which rabies was characterised but, crucially, the discourse surrounding rabies and hydrophobia sought the eradication of the disease, rather than dogs as a species. While rats were and continue to be known as disease-carrying creatures, they themselves are often likened to a pestilence that cannot be overcome due to their notorious fecundity, which Charles Fothergill similarly posits as supernatural in his *Essay on the Philosophy, Study, and Use of Natural History* (1813), likewise called upon by Mayhew. Fothergill writes that while 'the beautiful order and simplicity of the laws which govern' animals and the natural world ensures that 'the superabundant increase of each tribe of animals are managed', rats are a species that evade the laws of nature:

> even the natural checks are insufficient to restrain the effects of a too-rapid populative principle in some animals, which have, therefore, certain destructive propensities given to them by the Creator, that operate powerfully upon themselves and their offspring, as may be particularly observed in the natural history of the *rabbit*, but which is still more evidently and strikingly displayed in the life and economy of the *rat*. (qtd. in Mayhew 3:4; original emphasis)

Here, Fothergill seems to suggest that rats are both natural and unnatural. He acknowledges (as he must) that 'the Creator' has deliberately bestowed the rat with its prodigious reproductive abilities, but also suggests that 'natural checks' fail to control their population size. This tension contributes to the demonisation of rats in Western discourse, and seems to be most fervently directed at rats rather than other species considered under that broad heading of "vermin". Fothergill here notes that rabbits are

similarly prolific in their reproductive abilities, but while rabbits may enter gardens and destroy crops, they are not demonised in the way rats are. Rabbits are merely destructive of property, but in the *IPN* rats invade homes, and attack and eat children and human corpses. Similarly, though mice are alike in their habits and attributes and would have also been present cities in the period, I have not found any reports of swarms of mice in the *IPN*. I have found only one story about an individual mouse who caused the death of a man in 1876 when its attempt to evade capture went awry:

> the mouse slipped out of his hand and, running, up his sleeve, came out between his waistcoat and shirt at the neck. The unfortunate man has his mouth open, and the mouse darted thither, and in his fright and surprise the man actually swallowed it. That a mouse can exist for a considerable time without much air has long been a popular belief, and was unfortunately proved to be fact in the present instance, for the mouse began to tear and gnaw inside the man's throat and chest, and the result was that the unfortunate fellow died after a little time in the most horrible agony. ("A Man Killed …" 2)

This story relates an unusual occurrence with one mouse, rather than a swarm. Like the horse that attacked old ladies in the first section of this chapter, the mouse is individualised and newsworthy in this instance. Though the mouse is not presented comically, as the horse was, it is not depicted as a Gothic threat because it was an anomaly; indeed, the incident was so extraordinary that the mouse was preserved and 'placed in the museum of the London Hospital' (ibid). The Gothic fear evoked by rats, then, is the destructive potential of the swarm.

Fig. 20. "Rat Killing Extraordinary." *Illustrated Police News,* 4 Sept. 1880, p. 1.

Rats arouse a morbid fascination that is unique even among other species that are considered vermin, and their particular biological traits become imbued with a number of derogatory associations in the popular imagination. They are associated with filth, disease and destruction, and so they must be eliminated. And while campaigns and discussions of animal cruelty gained greater public support in the nineteenth century, rats were largely exempt from these considerations. As a result, rat killing became even more popular as a blood-sport amongst the working classes and gentlemen alike following the ban on dog-fighting in 1835, and the *IPN* reported on the unusual scenes at urban rat-pits several times. In 1880, for example, it described a 'rather novel' match where attendees bet on who could kill twelve rats in the quickest time: a dog or a monkey ("Dog v. Monkey …" 2; fig. 20). The article described the excitement surrounding the match, which would earn the winning animal's owner £5, and the 'commotion' caused by the monkey (ibid). As the monkey entered the pit, he was handed 'a peculiar hammer' which he was 'not long in getting to work with' (ibid). The *IPN* then described the monkey's destructive talents with delight:

> One may talk about a dog being quick at rat-killing, but he is really not in it with the monkey and his hammer. Had the monkey been left in the ring much longer one could not have told his victims had ever been rats at all – he was for leaving them in all shapes. Suffice it to say, the monkey won with ease, having time to spare at the finish. (ibid)

Here, the *IPN* showed no concern for the welfare of the rats, nor did it suggest the cruelty of the practice. This is striking for a newspaper so vociferously opposed to animal cruelty in many forms, including vivisection (as we shall see in the fourth chapter) and pigeon-shooting. Rats, it seems, were not worthy of the same kindness, care and respect the *IPN* promoted towards other species.

The *IPN* had, however, brought the issue of rats and cruelty to its audience in earlier reporting. On 4 May 1867, an article titled "Is Rat-Baiting Unlawful [sic]" related the story of six men brought to Hammersmith Police Court on a 'charge of being concerned in dog-fighting' (4). The defendants claimed, however, that more than one dog in the pit would be needed if dogs were fighting and that 'there was only one dog in the pit, and it had been killing rats' (ibid). The organiser of the rat-killing, a man named Williams, said 'he had allowed the rats to be killed to oblige several gentlemen', while two

others protested that they could not see the harm in killing vermin. The prosecutor read section 47 of the 1839 Metropolitan Police Act, which stated:

> Every person within the Metropolitan Police district who shall keep or use or act in the management of any house, room, pit or other places for the purpose of fighting or baiting lions, bears, badgers, cock, dogs, or other animals, shall be liable to pay a penalty of £5 … every person who is found within the place shall pay a penalty of 5s. (ibid)

Under these terms, the magistrate said that the baiting of rats made the defendants liable to a fine. When they protested, the prosecutor noted that 'there is no harm in killing rats which infest a dwelling-house, but it was cruelty, to kill them in that way' (ibid). Here, the prosecutor seems to have suggested that the cruelty lay in setting dogs upon them, but this argument would not have held up, as dogs were widely used to kill rats as a means of pest control in the period. In any case, the defendants argued that it was 'a quick way of destroying them', and after further debate the prosecutor conceded, with the article noting that

> If the charge [of dog-fighting] had been proved he should have inflicted the full penalty. He believed they were there for rat-baiting, but whether this was an offence under the Act of Parliament he did not know. Rats were animals, but they were not like lions, bears, or badgers. He was not satisfied that rat-baiting came within the Act of Parliament. He then adjourned the case to consider what should be done. (ibid)

Just as Fothergill's essay rendered rats both natural and unnatural, the debate here suggests that though rats were animals, they were not the right kind of animal to warrant protection, even though badgers were, despite also being considered vermin under the Tudor Vermin Acts of 1532 and 1566 (Cassidy 69).

The difficulty of categorising rats was exploited by a defendant featured in a similar case, described by the *IPN* in December 1870. The defendant was charged with 'unlawfully and cruelly ill-treating certain animals – namely, dogs and rats' ("Ratting …" 2). The man's representative contested 'rats being animals within the meaning of the Act' and argued that 'killing rats in a pit was not fighting; it was only a matter of destruction' adding that 'rats were neither wild nor domestic animals' as part of his argument (ibid). Here, urban rats are suggested to be liminal creatures in that they are not perceived to be "wild" in the traditional sense, and though they may live in domestic spaces, they are not

domesticated, nor are they invited to live there. In this way, they defy legal categorisation and are liminal creatures. Eventually, the magistrate removed the charge of cruelty to rats, but maintained that forcing dogs to fight them was cruelty to the dog, and so the defendant was fined.

The rat, then, is imbued with a number of qualities that make it uniquely difficult to categorise, and this is key to the horror they evoked in people and their Gothic nature. If rabid dogs are Gothic in their tendency to breach boundaries, an additional anxiety in relation to rats is that these boundaries are already unclear – they can go anywhere, and unlike dogs, they do not have somewhere they should be. In addition, rats are seen as destructive, limitless in their appetites, and are further associated with reproductive excess; Fothergill calculated that 'a number not far short of 3,000,000 might be produced from a single pair [of rats]' in a year, as female rats are able to produce litters of as many as 14 pups (qtd. in Mayhew 3:4). Additionally, rats are notoriously cannibalistic creatures, often eating their own offspring and, when food is scarce, fellow grown rats, with what Fothergill describes as 'the most ferocious and desperate avidity' (ibid 3:5). Jonathan Burt suggests that 'Because the rat is so bound up with ideas of mass and number it seems to be a totemic animal for the modern world' in its relentless production and consumption (148). In this sense, Burt and others have suggested that the rat is the "dark twin" of humanity, mindlessly consuming and destroying everything around it, an idea that enhances their Gothic resonances. While rabid dogs more frequently and immediately threatened personal safety and health, rats, though violent and aggressive in many of the *IPN*'s examples, more pertinently remind us of the filth that cannot be completely erased by progress and the destruction of modernity. Mighall has argued that urban Gothic emerges from the threat of the past encroaching on progress and modernity, but rats cause discomfort and terror in the *IPN* not because they are a vestige of an uncivilised past, but because they are atemporal and indestructible. Rather than being destroyed by modernity, they adapt and evolve with it, for this reason we might read them as vampiric in nature.

We have already seen how Stoker's novel can help us to understand the potentially Gothic nature of the rabid dog, but in the way they are able to exploit the conditions of the city and thrive, and in their representation as an invasive species, we can also see how in this period rats become as formidable an enemy as Count Dracula himself. *Dracula* is a thoroughly urban Gothic novel, with the majority of the narrative focussing on Dracula's

invasion of London and the attempts of the novel's heroes to destroy him. Spencer notes that *Dracula* constitutes a 'modern version of the fantastic marked by its dependence on empiricism and the discourse of science' (219). Indeed, the novel is rife with the marks of modernity; the phonograph, telegrams, typewriters, trains, and the London Underground all feature in contrast to the primitivism and superstition of the people of Transylvania, which is the setting for the opening chapters of the novel and its denouement. But despite being the heart of empire, commerce, and progress in this period, London and its inhabitants are not fully equipped to thwart the Count's efforts. As Jonathan Harker notes when he realises the true monstrosity of Dracula, 'the old centuries had, and have powers of their own which mere "modernity" cannot kill' (Stoker 37). Similarly, rats, are difficult to expunge from the urban landscape.

Dracula abounds with animals and animal imagery. In his ability to control and command animals and nature, the zoomorphic Count is associated with a number of creatures. Most notably, he is depicted as having an affinity with wolves, and is able to transform into one. Their omnipresence in Transylvania and the constant echo of their howling enhances the sense of impending danger in the novel's opening chapters, as well as that of Jonathan's isolation as his predicament becomes clear. The threat they pose to Jonathan's safety echoes that of Dracula, as they have the desire and ability to make humans prey:

> I saw around us a ring of wolves, with white teeth and lolling red tongues, with long, sinewy limbs and shaggy hair. They were a hundred times more terrible in the grim silence which held them than even when they howled. For myself, I felt a sort of paralysis of fear. It is only when a man feels himself face to face with such horrors that he can understand their true import. (ibid 13)

The attention to the teeth and tongues of the wolves emphasises their capacity to destroy and consume humans, and so they remind Jonathan of the horror of his own fleshy mortality. Wolves thus articulate one kind of threat Dracula poses, that of his brute force and aggression, which allows him to destroy and consume humans. Rats, on the other hand, articulate a different kind of anxiety.

The Gothic horror of rats lies in their ability to evade detection, their perceived cunning, and their fecundity, which allows them to grossly outnumber the novel's heroes. When Dr Van Helsing, Seward, Lord Godalming, Quincey Morris and Jonathan Harker pass the threshold of one of Dracula's lairs, they are attacked by a swarm of demonic rats:

> We all instinctively drew back. The whole place was becoming alive with rats … For a moment or two we all stood appalled … They seemed to swarm over the place all at once, till the lamplight, shining on their moving dark bodies and glittering, baleful eyes, made the place look like a bank of earth set with fireflies … The rats were multiplying in thousands … (ibid 258-9)

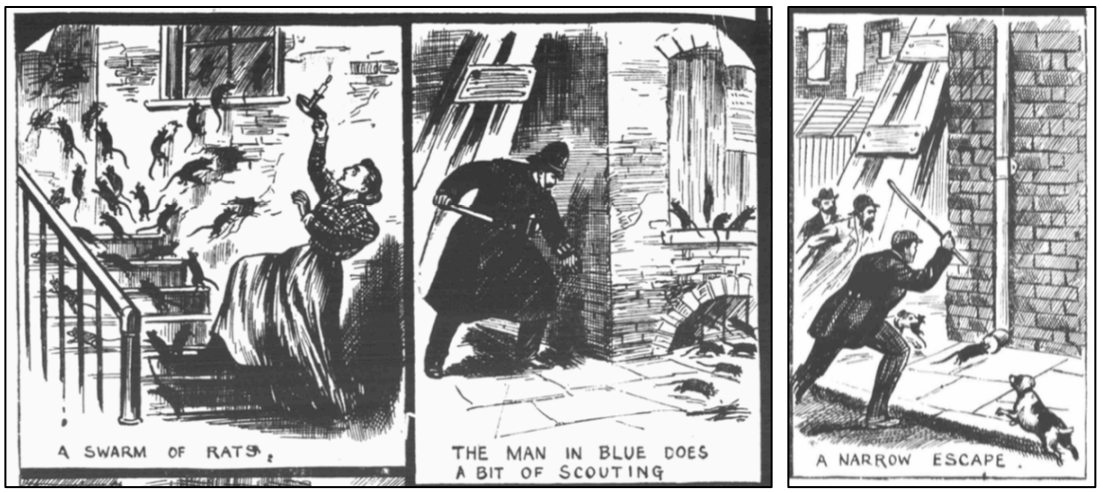
The foremost reaction of the protagonists here is not fear, as with the wolves, but horror and disgust. They are 'appalled' and disturbed by their abundance. The rats are uncanny in their supernatural ability to multiply, which makes them appear unstoppable and overwhelming. In addition, Dracula understands the capacity for rats to endure and thrive, and uses this to manipulate Renfield, Seward's zoophagous mental patient who eats a series of progressively larger animals – from flies, to birds, to a cat – in an attempt to absorb their life forces. Dracula tempts Renfield to join him on the promise of providing unlimited lives for him to consume, though this turns out to be a ruse Dracula uses to gain entry to Renfield's room and attack him:

> [Dracula] began to whisper: 'Rats, rats, rats! Hundreds, thousands, millions of them, and every one a life; and dogs to eat them, and cats too. All lives! all red blood, with years of life in it; and not merely buzzing flies!' … A dark mass spread over the grass … I could see that there were thousands of rats with their eyes blazing red—like His, only smaller. (ibid 286-7)

In his attempt to lure Renfield, Dracula articulates the horror of rats, which lies in their ability to survive and propagate. Even though dogs and cats eat them, and humans do their best to destroy as many of them as they can, there are still 'hundreds, thousands, millions of them', with 'years of life' in them. Even if one or several rats die, their power is not diminished. It is perhaps for this reason that Dracula primarily uses rats for defence and as his vehicles of terror in England, but uses wolves for this purpose in Transylvania. In the mountain wilderness surrounding his castle, wolves are able to isolate and overpower their human foes, but in the city, they exist in captivity. While, notably, Dracula releases one of them, which he uses to terrorise Lucy Westenra, it is not the brute strength of the wolf he needs in England, but the stealth of rats. As the *IPN* demonstrates, and *Dracula* repeats, rats are creatures particularly suited to urban conditions.

The Gothic and vampiric representation of rats exceeds the Victorian period in the *IPN*. In a story from April 1903 (six years after the publication of *Dracula*), the *IPN* told of a six-week-old infant in London killed by rats while she slept, having been 'gnawed

extensively about the face' and suffering blood loss from 'a wound which penetrated the skull' ("Killed by Rats" 11). Even more gruesome was the doctor's statement that 'it was an admitted fact that a rat would suck at a wound made by its own teeth' (ibid). In this example, rats become vampiric in their invasion and their destruction of the vulnerable.



Left: Fig. 21. Detail of "Rats!" *Illustrated Police News,* 28 Feb. 1903, p. 8.
Right: Fig. 22. Detail of "Rats!" *Illustrated Police News,* 28 Feb. 1903, p. 9.

If rats were adapting to the modern city, another conception of them brings them even closer to Stoker's Count. Despite being almost natives to the city – or at least being there for as long as if not before its human inhabitants – rats were, like the Transylvanian vampire, conceptualised as invaders. In the same year that the infant was killed, the *IPN* reported on what they termed "A Plague of Rodents" in the area of the Strand and Holborn which they declared 'unprecedented in the annals of London,' and illustrated with a series of engravings in the issue's centre pages ("Rats! A Plague …" 2) (figs. 21 and 22). They wrote at length on the terror the rats evoked in local residents and business owners:

> Something akin to a reign of terror prevails among the inhabitants after nightfall … Women refuse to pass along Blackmore Street and the lower part of Stanhope Street after dark, for droves of rats perambulate the roadways and pavements, and may be seen running along the window-ledges of the empty houses awaiting demolition by the County Council in the Strand and Holborn improvement scheme … The rats, indeed, have appeared in almost incredible numbers. "There are millions of them," said one shopkeeper, and his statement was supported by other residents. (ibid)

Here, the crepuscular nature of rats is linked to the threat they pose, especially, as with Count Dracula, to women, and their prodigious number (apparently 'millions') relates to the Gothic fear they elicit. Again, it is the conditions of the city – this time derelict housing and construction work – that allows them to multiply. Their number allows them to take over an area, and the article detailed at length the plight of the Strand's popular Gaiety restaurant, which had to close due to the 'unwelcome visitors' (ibid). Rats 'invaded the premises' and overtook the restaurant, consuming food and £200 worth of linen serviettes (ibid). Attempts to kill and capture the rats were futile:

> One day a dog of rat-killing fame was left in the restaurant all night. But it was the dog that died. The poor creature was found terribly mauled the following morning. A well-known City man essayed to catch a rat which had taken refuge in a cupboard behind the bar. The rodent showed fight and bit one of the amateur rat-catcher's fingers to the bone. (ibid)

Despite the services, infrastructure, and technology offered in the modern city in the early-twentieth century, rats proved to be a threat that could not be fully excavated from civilised society.

Like Dracula, rats were represented as vestiges of a savage and bestial past that must be destroyed., but they are also presented as thoroughly modern, urban creatures in the *IPN*. As Gargi Bhattacharyya suggests, 'it is the animals that live most successfully among us and within our messy streets that we most fervently wish to eradicate, and about which we spin horror stories and urban myths' (qtd. in Bavidge 107). Rats are both liminal creatures that are difficult to categorise and define, and uncanny ones that, as Burt suggests, can be read as representations of humanity's most destructive impulses. In the *IPN*, their Gothic nature lay in the fact that they, like rabid dogs, revealed humans to be only flesh, and demonstrated the disorder and pestilence lying just beneath the surface of the civilised metropolis.

Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that in the *IPN*, animals were central to city life and how cities were defined, conceptualised, and organised. The struggle for control is articulated by human-animal boundaries that are continually breached and redrawn. In their impact on urban existence, it is clear that animals, as they are represented by the *IPN*, have

agency. They assert their being, and humans react accordingly, and, as current attitudes towards foxes and pigeons demonstrate, humans and animals remain in a continuous battle to assert dominance and claim space.

We have also seen that the *IPN* did not present animals uniformly. Flighty horses were depicted as more obedient and controllable than comic cows and their wild agency, at the same time as rabid dogs and vampiric rats were figured as more frightening Gothic threats. While these were the predominant modes in which these animals were represented, the *IPN* also shows that animals defied these attempts at categorisation. On one occasion a horse was presented as comic; rabid dogs were occasionally also figures of pathos; and sometimes there was humour to be found in human interactions with urban rats. The *IPN*'s varied representation indicates that animals breeched even representational boundaries, and the paper afforded its animal subjects a degree of individual agency.

Additionally, relationships with one species of animal have been shown to have the ability to force us to think about how humans relate to other species, and open up questions about which animals should be allowed in the city and in the home. Dogs, for example, are permitted to live alongside humans in the city as long as they are obedient, and can further prove their suitability to urban life when they, as human allies, destroy rats. The *IPN* described an "Extraordinary Attack by a Rat on a Carman" in 1899 in which dogs fought alongside the man in order to overcome the rats, and they were able to kill five, but not before one 'flew' at the man and 'bit him right through the nose' (3). Similarly, when the heroes of *Dracula* are faced with thousands of rats in the scene previously discussed, they use a whistle to summon three terriers, who are described as courageously and merrily destroying their 'natural enemies' (Stoker 259). Dogs, then, though rejected from society as un-dogs in their rabid states, could be obedient animals that act in human interest, and are thus permitted to stay in the city. It is this willingness to accept dogs as useful and loyal that makes them dangerous, for the *IPN* shows us that all dogs have the potential to become un-dogs and unexpectedly turn on humanity.

Rats are also used to demonstrate unsuitable human-animal relations in domestic settings. On 13 August, 1870, the front page of the paper featured a pair of illustrations. The first, of 'A most appalling discovery' shows the body of a girl, 'the greater portion' of whom 'had been devoured by the rats' ("Horrible Discovery …" 2; fig. 23). The girl was previously thought to be missing, until 'An unpleasant and sickening odour crept up

the staircase and found its way to several apartments', prompting her neighbours to investigate (ibid). Though the girl died of a heart condition, the article noted that 'her death had in all probability taken place some weeks back, since which time the rats had been feeding on the body' (ibid). It is clear from this story that rats are not human allies, nor are they appropriate housemates. As in examples discussed throughout this chapter, the *IPN* indicated that appropriate control was the basis of human-animal relationships in the Victorian period, and in light of this it is interesting that the editor opted to place the illustration of the girl eaten by rats side-by-side with one captioned "Ludicrous Scene – A Lady and her Pets" (fig. 23).

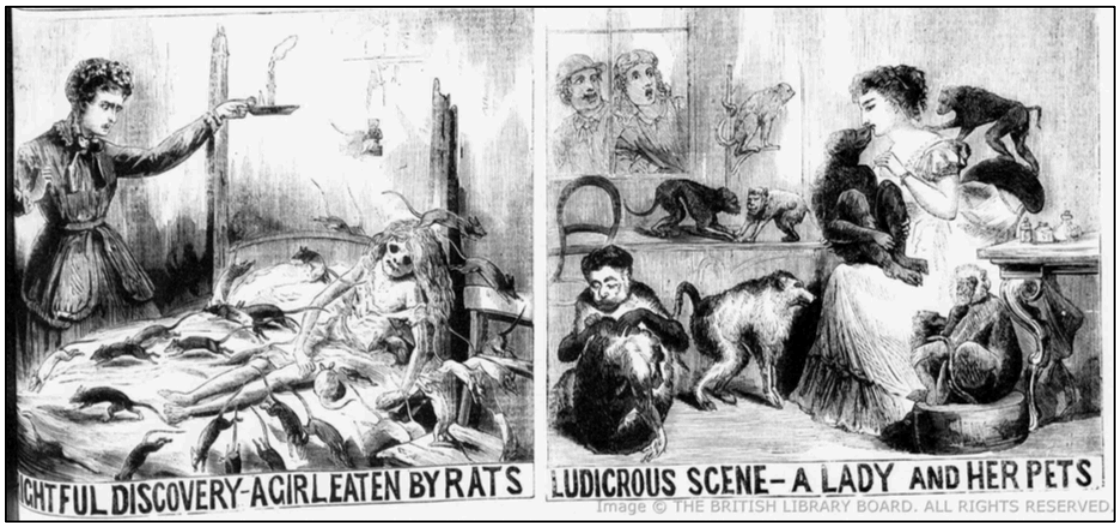


Fig. 23. "Frightful Discovery – A Girl Eaten by Rats" and "Ludicrous Scene – A Lady and Her Pets." *Illustrated Police News,* 13 Aug. 1870, p. 1.

The similarity between the two illustrations is striking. Rats swarm the dead girl's body just as the lady's pet monkeys climb on the furniture, up the walls, and on their mistress. The shocked spectators peering in the lady's window serve the same function as the woman pictured finding the dead girl; their expressions indicate that this is not an appropriate human-animal relationship. The suggestion here is that in Victorian culture, as pet-keeping became increasingly popular and institutionalised by organisations like the Kennel Club, the animals people opted to invite into their homes took on greater social import. This woman's attitude to pet-keeping is implied to be disordered, as the illustration suggests the monkeys are out of control and thus vermin-like. Additionally, the accompanying article tells us that the owner of the animals, 'a lady of most eccentric habits … was nursing and kissing one of the interesting creatures' ("An Eccentric …" 2).

The humour is clear in this story, but via the association of the two images, the *IPN* also suggests that this is a dangerous relationship, and implies, from its note that the lady is an 'Old Maid', that her pets take on the role of both child and, potentially, lover, even as they are also being represented as vermin (ibid).

In the juxtaposition of these articles, then, we can read that this woman's monkeys are just out of place as vermin in the Victorian home, and that appropriate human-animal relations are those based on dominance, control and strict boundaries. The alignment of these exotic pets with rats allows for a comment on what is apparently a very different relationship, and in the next chapter we will examine further the *IPN*'s representation of Victorian society's relationships with exotic animals, and consider their exhibition and control. What emerges here is that even when exotic animals are invited into the home as pets and kept as menagerie exhibits – two seemingly controlled arrangements – human dominion is once again shown to be tenuous.

Chapter 2

Artful Monkeys and Loose Lions: Challenging Narratives of Control and Dominion in Sensational Representations of Pet Primates and Menagerie Animals

In the previous chapter we saw how the *IPN* represented livestock animals, pets and pests as disruptive urban presences. This chapter is similarly focused on control, but in a new set of spatial contexts. At the end of the previous chapter we saw unwelcome visitors invading the homes of the working-classes, but in the middle-class domestic setting, the *IPN* represented pet primates as invited causes of disruption. These stories of domestic disorder and instability are read alongside the *IPN*'s representation of accidents in menageries. As itinerant spectacles, the boundaries between humans and animals in these spaces were insecure and often breached. My key foci in relation to menageries are the lions involved in taming displays, and the way that the *IPN* represented them when they went disastrously wrong. The chapter therefore moves from a private to a public space, and the two case studies are linked in relation to genre, as the *IPN* represented both sensationally. In the case of pet primates, the paper's sensationalism served to criticise middle-class domestic practices, while in the case of lion taming calamities, this representational mode brought questions of human dominion into focus and challenged the narratives of dominance and control that surrounded Britain's acquisition and display of exotic species.

Thanks to Britain's imperial efforts, the number of exotic species being imported for exhibition and for sale to private collectors increased dramatically in the nineteenth century, with John Simons noting that the number of registered bird and animal dealers listed in London rose from just 14 in 1841 to 118 in the mid-1890s (49). The *IPN* discussed the exploits of exotic species frequently, for with such an influx of wild animals came inevitable disorder and disaster. As we shall see, the paper sensationalised the loss of control in human-exotic animal relations, and this chapter will examine the *IPN*'s sensational representation of exotic animals.

For the purposes of this discussion it is important to clarify that I am using the term "exotic" to refer to any animal that has been captured and imported for display or

exhibition, or an animal that has been brought to Britain as a pet or as a performing animal from a country (usually) outside of Europe. Following Simons' lead, this excludes nonindigenous species like rabbits. Rather, 'an exotic animal has really to have come from the overseas colonies and dominions of the British Empire' – though like Simons, I make an exception to include the bears brought from parts of Europe and Russia, which, as we shall see in Chapter Three, were clearly exoticised in Victorian culture (7).

Existing discussions of Britain's various settings for the display of exotic animals in the nineteenth century focus largely on the narratives of control and dominion that spaces like the Zoological Gardens at Regent's Park, also known as London Zoo, sought to embody. Much has been written about London Zoo in particular as a microcosm of British imperialism and colonial rule, where the capture of savage beasts symbolised not only human mastery of animals and the natural world, but also white, British dominion over its colonial subjects.[5] Such scholarship tends to revolve around discourses of class, race, imperialism and colonialism – that is, narratives of oppression, order and control. In Victorian culture, viewing an exotic species in a zoo[6] or shooting it in the wilds of its native land was considered the most orderly manner of encounter, while keeping such animals as domestic pets or seeing them at travelling menageries are choices which were regarded more critically.

Instead of order, it is the lack of boundaries separating humans and animals in cases of pet primates and in menagerie accidents that are a focus of the *IPN*'s reports. These thus attend to the loss of human control, and as a result suggest that human status was compromised. The paper's reports showed pet primates to be figures of sexual danger that threatened women, and lions to be powerful creatures that frequently overcame their masters. Patriarchal authority was undermined rather than underlined in these stories. The *IPN*'s depiction of human relations with exotic animals thus complicates the images of order and dominion that surrounded many representations of the exhibition and ownership of exotic animals in Victorian Britain.

In this chapter, I look first at pet primates in the middle-class Victorian home. These creatures were overwhelmingly depicted as threats to women and occasionally

[5] See, for example, Nigel Rothfels' *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* (2002) and Takashi Ito's *London Zoo and the Victorians, 1828-1859* (2014).
[6] For clarity, throughout the chapter I use the capitalised 'Zoo' in reference to London Zoo, while the lowercase 'zoo' refers to the institution in general.

children. As we have seen, traditional, idealised pets like dogs could be disruptive presences, but this behaviour was seen as being out of the ordinary, and where the *IPN* reported frequently on feats of canine sagacity, I have never found a positive article relating to a pet primate. Furthermore, while rats, like primates, were primarily depicted as targeting women and children in the *IPN*, the rats of Chapter One were most often represented as the bane of the poor and the working classes, whereas the pet primates of the wealthy were shown menacing their middle-class neighbours. Indeed, unlike rats, these primates were welcomed into the home where they supposedly became the responsibility of reputable gentlemen, the masters of their domain. This first section of the chapter examines how we might read the attacks of pet primates that featured in the *IPN* as stories of threats to the stability and purity of the respectable Victorian home.

I then consider the *IPN*'s sensational representation of zoos and accidents and calamities at travelling menageries. Menageries were popular attractions in the nineteenth century, but they have received significantly less scholarly attention than zoos. This section of the chapter therefore begins by comparing the ways in which the *IPN* represented the London Zoo and menageries, and then moves on to examine the paper's accounts of lion taming accidents specifically. Here, the *IPN*'s reports and illustrations reveal another way of thinking about the value of sensation and the conception of human-animal relations in this period.

In these two sites – the home with its pet primate, and the menagerie with its flimsy barriers – the unclear physical boundaries between humans and animals once again led to disorder, and what links the way in which the *IPN* represented these two distinct kinds of exotic animal encounter is genre. Where the first chapter indicated the *IPN*'s use of comic, realist and Gothic modes of representation in dealing with urban animals, this chapter will focus on the *IPN*'s use of sensation in stories about rampaging pet primates and incidents with menagerie lions. In her essay "Emotions, Sensations, and Victorian Working-Class Readers", Shu-Chuan Yan notes that such readers took pleasure in reading cheap fiction and periodicals as they 'allowed for shared engagement with sensational episodes and melodramatic incidents' (320). Such material, she continues, 'emerged as the period's most popular form of escape from the drudgeries of everyday life' (321). Many middle-class Victorians and literary journals, however, linked sensational fiction and journalism of the kind found in the *IPN*, and regarded both as degrading, morally corrupt, and detrimental to the proper function of the working-class home and of society. I suggest

here, however, that a different link between class and sensation can be found in the *IPN*. Its sensational stories about pet primates highlight the dysfunction of middle-class domesticity through criticism of the act of inviting a disruptive primate into the home. Rather than representing the racist stereotypes found in traditional Victorian ape narratives, the pet primates represented in the *IPN* were owned and kept by affluent English gentleman. These animals, as represented by the paper, can therefore be read as sensationalised "dark twins" of their gentlemen owners who enact forbidden sexual desires. Similarly, the *IPN*'s representations of calamitous lion-taming acts prove to be more than merely shocking, lurid stories, as the sensationalism of these reports problematise and disrupt Victorian narratives of human mastery over nature.

What both of these foci demonstrate, then, is that the *IPN*'s sensationalism was used to challenge different notions of status. In what follows, I will consider the historical and cultural contexts of the *IPN*'s representations of apes and lions in order to demonstrate the ways in which the *IPN* challenged the traditional narratives surrounding them, and in turn complicated notions of both middle-class authority and human dominion.

Apes and Angels: Pet Primates and Sexual Danger in the Home

In April 1876, the central image on the front page of the *IPN* showed a "Murderous Attack by a Gorilla", and the report exemplifies the paper's numerous reports of pet primates in the home (fig. 24).[7] Firstly, the victims were two sisters described as 'ladies,' suggesting their middle-class status – the victims of the *IPN*'s pet primate reports were always of this class ("Two Ladies …" 2). Secondly, the incident occurred when the husband of one of the women was away from the home, his work as a merchant often making him 'absent for some days in succession' (ibid). The absence of a male figure was another common feature of the *IPN*'s reports of such incidents, suggesting that women were in need of male protection. Thirdly, the gorilla did not belong to the women or the husband (indeed, the article does not say where the animal came from), and this is also a

[7] As with rats in the last chapter, stories of pet primates attacking middle-class women are not overwhelmingly frequent, occurring only 3 times in my *IPN* sample. However, those examples pointed to a wider and significant trend in the paper, as I then found several additional examples of this kind of story using keyword searches in the British Newspaper Archive.

repeated trope of these stories: the animals in the *IPN*'s reports are always shown wreaking havoc on neighbouring women and their property, rather than their owners. Finally, the report has sexual undertones that are also present in other *IPN* reports, as the women were partially dressed and preparing for bed when the animal entered their bedroom: 'The ladies had just completed their toilettes when the window of the room was flung open, and a monstrous gorilla entered the bed-chamber. Both the ladies were speechless with horror' (ibid). The 'hideous monster' managed to get hold of a razor, which he drew across the face of one sister 'in imitation of a man being shaved' (ibid). In her attempt to free herself from the 'clutch' of the animal, it became agitated and 'inflicted several severe wounds on the throat and neck of his victim' (ibid). It was not until the 'piercing screams of both ladies' alerted a neighbour, a 'gentleman' who 'rushed to the assistance of the ladies', that the women were rescued and the gorilla shot, and eventually killed (ibid). The return of a male figure to restore order is yet another repeated feature of the *IPN*'s stories about pet primates attacking middle-class women in their homes.

Fig. 24. "Murderous Attack by a Gorilla." *Illustrated Police News*, 22 Apr. 1876, p. 1.

The implications of this story, and others like it, are manifold. In the *IPN*'s sensationalised reports of the exotic pets of the wealthy wreaking havoc on the home, we might read a critique of middle-class domesticity. But these stories also include discussions of gender and patriarchy that are interestingly paradoxical. While on the one

hand pet apes in the *IPN* were shown to undermine patriarchal authority when they escaped from their owners and disrupted middle-class homes in the absence of the husband, they were also shown as upholding patriarchy through their sexualised attacks on women. These attacks seemed to reinforce the need for patriarchal authority, as men were called upon to save the women and restore order to the home. The connotations of the *IPN*'s stories about pet primates are thus complicated in their discussions of both class and gender relations, and this section will look at both of these readings in turn, beginning with class, before moving on to explain the context of Victorian ape narratives in relation to gender, and finally examining how these narratives influenced the *IPN*'s reports.

As mentioned, pet primates were the reserve of the wealthy, and so the *IPN*'s reports showed that the chaos they caused was to the middle-class home, and often that of an unfortunate neighbour. This meant that the pet primate threatened a particular kind of Victorian domesticity and a particular kind of femininity – the Victorian feminine ideal of the 'Angel in the House', as famously described in Coventry Patmore's 1854 poem. This means that the women affected by unruly pet primates were not those who would have typically read the *IPN*. While working-class women and their children were terrorised by rats in the *IPN*'s reports, as we saw in the previous chapter, pet primates were the bane of middle-class women. The Victorian ideal of bourgeois femininity emphasised purity and order, which contrasts sharply with the disruption and sexual danger embodied by the pet primate. It is this contrast that imbues the *IPN*'s reports with sensationalism.

Peaking in popularity in the 1860s, sensation fiction was preoccupied with boundary crossing and explored contemporary social anxieties surrounding, for example, marriage, urbanisation and middle-class domesticity. The preoccupation of sensation fiction and journalism with middle-class domestic life and gender relations has been well established by scholarship, but its discussion of the theory of evolution and human-animal proximity has received less critical attention. Susan D. Bernstein argues that animals and evolutionary theory have a shared history with the sensation fiction of the 1860s, and in her work she examines the 'discursive encounter in the 1860s periodical press between natural history and serialised Victorian novels loosely categorised as "sensation fiction"' and describes 'suggestive resonances between the reception of sensation fiction and of *The Origin of Species* in the early 1860s' (250). Like sensation fiction, Bernstein notes,

Darwin's work was controversial. Both suggested the collapse of previously defined categories: between cheap fiction and literature, as well as between fiction and physiology on the one hand (H.L. Mansel famously criticised sensation fiction for 'preaching to the nerves instead of the judgement' (482)), and humans and animals on the other (253-4). In her discussion, Bernstein notes that although allusions to apes and evolutionary theory rarely appear directly in serialised sensation fiction, the discourse of debates over human descent appear frequently, citing the tropes of inheritance, hybridity and social mutability in these fictions (254). She thus reads Wilkie Collins' *The Woman in White* (1859) as expressing the anxiety of hybridity when Walter Hartright describes Marian Halcombe in a way that she convincingly reads as simian, as her dark hair, moustache, masculine jaw are emphasised (256). Animals – and primates in particular – are thus, she argues, used to express anxieties about categorisation and boundaries in sensation fiction, even if they do not feature directly in the narratives of these novels. They do, however, feature in the *IPN*'s sensationalised reports.

Class is central to Bernstein's discussion of simian imagery in Collins' novel. When Marian is figured as ape-like, this is due in part to her ambiguous heritage and class status, which seemingly manifests in her personality and appearance. Marian's description of herself and her half-sister Laura highlights the contrast between the two women:

> Except that we are both orphans, we are in every respect as unlike each other as possible. My father was a poor man, and Miss Fairlie's father was a rich man. I have got nothing, and she has a fortune. I am dark and ugly, and she is fair and pretty. Everybody thinks me crabbed and odd (with perfect justice); and everybody thinks her sweet-tempered and charming (with more justice still). In short, she is an angel; and I am --- Try some of that marmalade, Mr. Hartright, and finish the sentence, in the name of female propriety, for yourself. (Collins 30-1)

Marian represents the assertiveness and ambition of the New Woman, and here self-identifies as the "other" to Laura's pure embodiment of the Angel in the House. It is this latter image of classed femininity that the pet primates of the *IPN* and Victorian culture threaten. And indeed, this idea travels beyond the Victorian period: it is not the black maid Esmerelda who is abducted by the ape in Edgar Rice Burroughs' 1912 novel *Tarzan of the Apes*, but Jane Porter, who is perceived to be pure due to her whiteness and class status. In these narratives, apes only target women of the highest breeding.

Fig. 25. "A Child Stolen by a Monkey." *Illustrated Police News*, 9 July 1870, p. 1.

In the *IPN*'s reports pet primates are thus shown to undermine middle-class domestic order, and on one occasion the attack of an unruly monkey on a child, while not explicitly sexualised, still highlighted the ways in which these animals were presented as dangers to the feminine – and children, feminised by their vulnerability, are included in this category. In July 1870 the *IPN* detailed an incident in which a child was 'stolen' by a large pet monkey named Hutch, who was kept by 'a gentleman of independent means' on his Somerset estate ("A Child Stolen…" 2). Hutch was said to have had free rein over his master's garden and grounds, and 'was warranted to be free from vice', and so seems to have been a trusted animal, kept without restraints (ibid). However, the report told that one day Hutch got into a neighbour's garden, from which a child was then 'snatch[ed]' by the animal (ibid). Monkey and child were not found for many hours, but when they were the child was recovered unharmed. Despite this, and despite the fact that the article discussing the incident did not suggest that Hutch was ferocious or aggressive in any way, the accompanying illustration depicted him as monstrous (fig. 25).

A number of local publications, such as the *Islington Gazette*, for example, reported the incident, but I have not found illustrated reports in any other contemporary papers

("A Dangerous Monkey" 3). As the only paper to illustrate their report, the *IPN* was thus able to draw out the sensationalism of the incident. In fig. 25, the monkey is holding the child close, the infant's white gown contrasting sharply with the demonic blackness of the animal as it carries her off. Though the woman is not the central victim in this example, the incident is posited as an assault upon femininity as the monkey grotesquely usurps the mother, who is shown pleading for her child below. Crucially, no figure of male authority appears in the illustration.

Here we can detect in the *IPN* some of the tropes of sensational illustrations that appeared alongside works of sensation fiction. Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa Surridge note that such illustrations 'suggested the genre's propensity for blurring social boundaries such as those of nation, class, gender and race; life vs. death; and human vs. non-human' and that the sensationalism of the illustrations lay in what they term 'their realist underpinnings in contemporary everyday life' (Leighton and Surridge 41; 43). The *IPN*'s illustrators similarly evoke the grotesque violation of human-animal boundaries and the destruction of domestic order through the image of a monstrous monkey clutching a baby on a rooftop.

In the *IPN*, then, an uncontrolled ape in the home was figured as the antithesis of middle-class domestic ideals, and the *IPN*'s working-class readers might have seen these sensational and entertaining stories as evidence of the middle-classes undermining their own values by bringing in apes and destroying their domestic stability. Their enjoyment of these stories, I suggest, related to the pleasure they derived from reading cheap sensation fiction, which similarly revealed and revelled in the degradation that lay behind the sheen of middle-class respectability in both text and illustration. The *IPN*'s reports on pet primates, then, undermined and mocked the middle-classes, which is perhaps one reason why highbrow moralisers were concerned about the appetite of the working classes for such sensational reading materials.

In addition to class, gender was key in the *IPN*'s reports of pet primates, and the images of these animals presented by the *IPN* were consistent with popular images of apes in the Victorian era that figured them as ferocious and lustful brutes. In Edgar Allan Poe's *Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1841), considered to be the first work of detective fiction, the perpetrator of the brutal murder of two women is discovered to be an orangutan captured in Borneo and brought to Paris by a sailor intent on selling it. An article published in the highbrow weekly the *Examiner* claimed that the *IPN*'s report 1876 of the

two women attacked by the gorilla discussed at the beginning of this section was 'obviously stolen from Poe's story' ("The Daily Papers …" 456). This suggestion could be true, as I have not found the incident reported in any contemporary paper, national or local. While there is not space in this chapter to discuss the reasons why the *IPN* might report a fictional story as fact, we might say that this demonstrates the *IPN*'s awareness that its readership enjoyed sensational stories of middle-class domestic disruption, and that the paper capitalised on the popularity of sensation fiction. The similarities between the *IPN*'s report and Poe's story are numerous. Poe's sailor returns home to find the orangutan escaped from his cage and mimicking his owner's shaving process with a razor before jumping out of the window when it is disturbed, while the *IPN*'s 'hideous monster' found a razor and 'began drawing [it] across [the woman's] face in imitation of a man being shaved' ("Two Ladies…" 2). In both stories the women were not the owners of the animal: it entered their homes unexpectedly. But while the two women of the *IPN*'s story were saved by an armed neighbour before anything worse could happen, the ladies of the Rue Morgue were less fortunate. Poe's narrative suggests that the orangutan's behaviour was initially playful, but changed to 'wrath' due to the terrified responses of the women (Poe 269):

> With one determined sweep of its muscular arm it nearly severed her head from her body. The sight of blood inflamed its anger into a phrenzy. Gnashing its teeth and flashing fire from its eyes, it flew upon the body of the girl, and imbedded its fearful talons in her throat, retaining its grasp until she expired. (Poe 269)

The sensationalised primates presented by both Poe and the *IPN* were savage and ferocious, with seemingly uncontrollable and volatile tempers. This was in line with popular contemporary descriptions of primates, such as those by the anthropologist Paul du Chaillu.

The first European to encounter gorillas, du Chaillu similarly focussed on the monstrosity of the animals. In his 1861 work *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa*, he frequently refers to gorillas as savages and monsters, and spends a great deal of time observing a young gorilla he and the natives of the village he was living in were able to capture: 'I never saw so furious a beast in my life as he was. He darted at everyone who came near, bit the bamboos of the house, glared at us with venomous and sullen eyes, and in every motion showed a temper thoroughly wicked and malicious' (209-10). Du Chaillu's description suggests the monstrous semi-human nature of apes (and the capacity

for animals to feel and express emotion, which will be discussed in the fourth chapter), and is consistent with racist contemporary beliefs that apes were human hybrids. As John Sorenson explains,

> In European imaginations, apes, Africans and mythological creatures were jumbled together, especially in ideas about sexuality and bestiality. Many believed Africans were closer to apes, that they had sexual intercourse with apes, or that apes were the product of Africans having intercourse with some other animal. (58)

As a result, contemporary accounts of encounters with apes often emphasise their human-like appearance and behaviour. In an earlier extract, du Chaillu described the 'strange, discordant, half human, devilish cry' of one of the gorillas he was hunting and admits 'I felt almost like a murderer when I saw the gorillas this first time. As they ran – on their hind legs – they looked fearfully like hairy men …' (60).

In addition to their portrayal as savage and ferocious brutes, apes were also negatively associated with women and sexuality. Sorenson notes that in medieval culture and art 'apes designated sensuality and unreliability. Images of apes conveyed degradation, lust and sin: hideous deformations resulting from failure to follow religious duties', and it is clear that these contexts persist centuries later (Sorenson 48). In Poe's story the image of the orangutan penetrating the woman's neck with its 'fearful talons' is sexually suggestive, and Western culture before and after the nineteenth century is rife with imagery of apes as sexually dangerous (Poe 269). In *Tarzan*, Jane Porter is abducted by a large bull ape named Terkoz, who rather than killing her decides instead to install her in his 'new household,' having been banished by his tribe (Burroughs 174). The implication is clear, with one of Jane's search party later remarking 'it may be better that the poor lady were never found' (ibid 180). The sexuality of apes, like their rage, was portrayed as uncontrollable and violent, and they were seen as being unable to deny their savage impulses.

The perceived sinfulness and degradation of primates contributed to the rhetorical power of Benjamin Disraeli's famous question: 'Is man an ape or an angel?' (qtd. in Berry 19). Declaring himself to believe the latter, Disraeli posited the purity of angels (and, by apparent association, mankind) against lustful apes. This contrast can perhaps be seen most vividly in imagery that suggested women were the primary targets of the unrestrained and violent sexuality of apes. Notable among examples of this are two nineteenth-century sculptures by Emmanuel Frémiet, both of which depicted women

being abducted by gorillas in reference to the popular but false belief that apes frequently seized women in Africa. Indeed, the *IPN* contributed to this panic when it reported on "A Girl Carried Off by a Gorilla" in West Africa in 1876, though the 'monstrous' animal was shot by the girl's father before any injury could occur (2). Unlike Frémiet's first sculpture, *Gorille enlevant une négresse* (Gorilla carrying off a Negress), which appeared in 1859, the girl in the *IPN*'s story was white (fig. 26). The sculpture so shocked the Salon that it was destroyed. Frémiet knew his work would be controversial, given that it appeared in the same year Darwin's *Origin of Species* was published and 'was not flattering to mankind' (qtd. in Zgórniak 221). Frémiet thought audiences would be distressed by the sculpture's depiction of an assault upon a woman – although he imagined that because the woman featured in the work was black that 'it could have been forgiven' (ibid). Critics were appalled, as the sculpture was widely perceived to imply the rape of the woman by the gorilla. As Charles Baudelaire asked, 'Why not a crocodile, a tiger, or any other animal which is liable to eat a woman? But that is not the point! Be assured that this is no question of eating, but of worse!' (qtd. in Zgórniak 224). The eventual modification of the sculpture's title post-exhibition to clarify that it was apparently a "Gorille Femelle" (as seen in fig. 26) indicates that Frémiet was aware of this interpretation and attempted to correct it. Zgórniak suggests that the sculptor 'may have intended for [the inscription] to increase the chance of selling the sculpture, or … he may have felt compelled to demonstrate the purity of his intentions' (225).

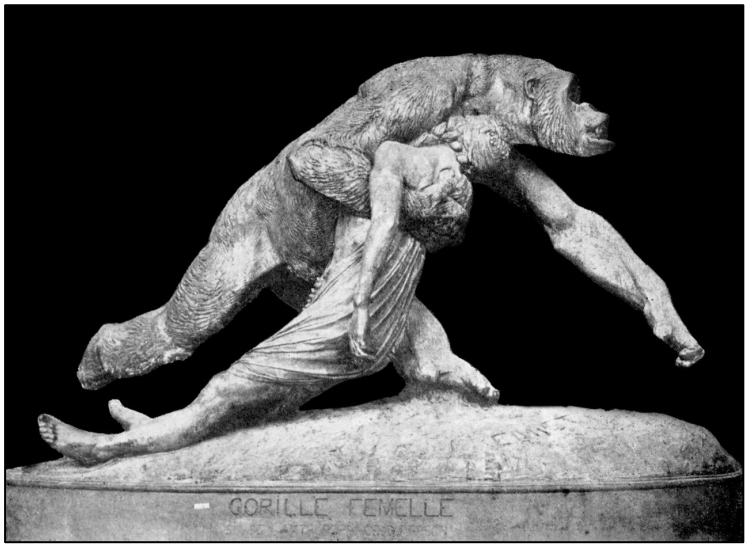


Fig. 26. Emmanuel Frémiet. *Gorilla enlevant une négresse.* Salón de Paris, 1859. Reproduced in P. Fauré-Frémiet's book *Frémiet* (1934) as *Gorille Femelle.*

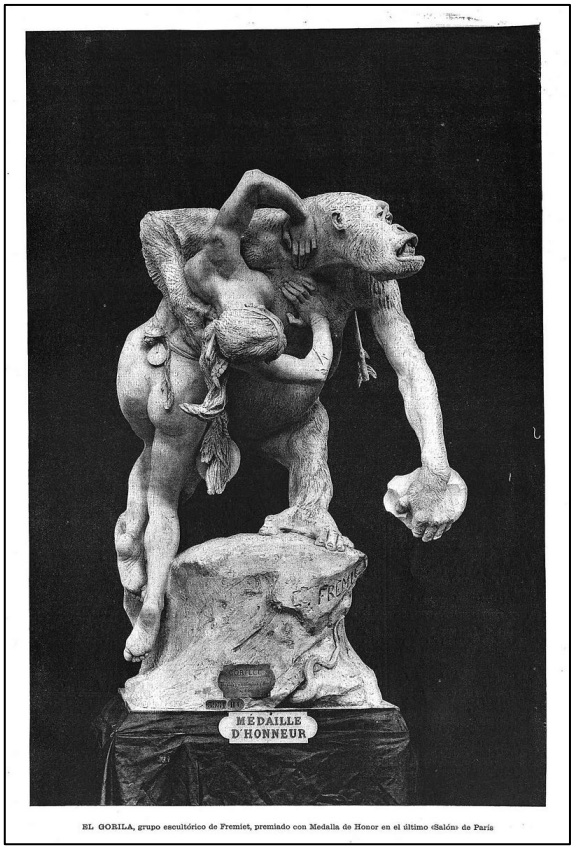


Fig. 27. Emmanuel Frémiet. *Gorilla enlevant une femme.* Salón de Paris, 1887.

Fig. 28. Giambologna. *The Rape of the Sabine Women.* Loggia dei Lanzi, 1582.

Almost thirty years later in 1887, Frémiet debuted another gorilla sculpture, *Gorilla enlevant une femme* (Gorilla carrying off a woman), and this time won that year's medal of honour at the Salon (fig. 27). In this second sculpture, Frémiet depicted a nude white woman being abducted by a gorilla and made explicit visual reference to artistic depictions of the Rape of the Sabine Women, such as Giambologna's sixteenth-century sculpture (fig. 28). By depicting the aggressor as a gorilla, rather than "heroic" Roman men, Frémiet challenged both Western colonial power and patriarchal authority at a time when British colonial expansion meant white women were a greater presence in Africa (Gregersdotter et al 21).

In this later work, then, Frémiet was seen to be suggesting the supposed unrestrained violence and sexuality of both the animal and colonial other, and apparently removed the suggestion of cross-species rape. According to Zgórniak, this is because by the time Frémiet's second sculpture debuted 'it was already well known, and not only in specialist circles, that male gorillas usually elude man and do not upset his marital bliss, as they have no taste for women. Anatomical incompatibility and the gorilla's limited libido would make that improbable in any case' (228). Apparently, this development in the understanding of the animals meant that the Salon accepted the second sculpture despite finding the first to be 'an offence against public decency', but I do not find this to be an entirely satisfying explanation (ibid 221). The key difference between the two sculptures is clearly the race of the abducted women, so it seems strange not to factor this into our consideration of their opposing receptions. Perhaps the Salon's jurors could not conceive of a white woman being raped by a gorilla, while the association of black women with apes was already established in the public imagination due to contemporary racist stereotypes which suggested black people were the result of human-gorilla intercourse.[8] But while the differing contemporary reactions to the two sculptures outlined by Zgórniak are perhaps confusing, the works nonetheless indicate that apes were seen to be sexually violent and posed threats to women specifically.

These sensationalised images of primates and their underlying narratives remerge in the *IPN*'s depictions of these animals, but it is important to note that it was not representing wild apes in colonial Africa attacking women, but pets in the Victorian home.

[8] See Donna J. Haraway's discussion of race and gender in relation to apes in *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (1989)

The trend for exotic pet-keeping meant that the other was no longer outside. The pet primates of the *IPN*'s reports were no longer wild animals, but captives under the control of white, middle-class British men. Because of this, it is not enough to read these stories and illustrations only in the context of debates about race and colonialism; the *IPN*'s representation of unruly pet primates is more complex than this reading alone can explain.

*

In August 1872, the *IPN* reported an incident which highlighted the threat that pet primates posed to the stability of the Victorian home and the safety of women, as well as patriarchal order. Its report related the story of a woman who was attacked by the monkey that was kept on a chain in her neighbour's garden. One day, the monkey managed to unchain himself and pursued the woman, 'who had to jump over a fence to avoid it' ("An Artful Monkey" 2). The article detailed the efforts of the woman's husband, 'a respectably dressed man' (ibid), to deal with the problem. He spoke to his neighbour but was unable to resolve the issue, and decided to take legal action against him at Greenwich Police Court, feeling that his wife was not safe and that 'the owner of such an animal should be compelled to securely cage it' (ibid). However, it appears that, legally, if someone had a complaint about their neighbour's exotic pet, the law was not able to help resolve the problem. The man was told that nothing could be done because the monkey had not trespassed in a public thoroughfare, and for that reason he would have to take the matter to a criminal court. Unlike dogs, then, which were strictly regulated as we saw in the previous chapter, the legal status of exotic animals is less clear, even though they could evidently pose a threat to personal safety (and the ambiguous legal status of exotic animals is a theme I will return to in the next chapter).

In the illustration of the incident of the "Artful Monkey", the suggestion of the threat of sexual violation is made clear, as the demonic and grotesque animal grabs at the skirts of the woman, whose ankle is tellingly revealed (fig. 29). The illustration further portrays the crossing of a threshold, another feature of sensational illustration identified by Leighton and Surridge (41). The looming presence of the monkey renders the woman vulnerable, and so reinforces the traditional narrative of the female in distress and the white male saviour – in this case, her husband – who must protect her and so the family unit.

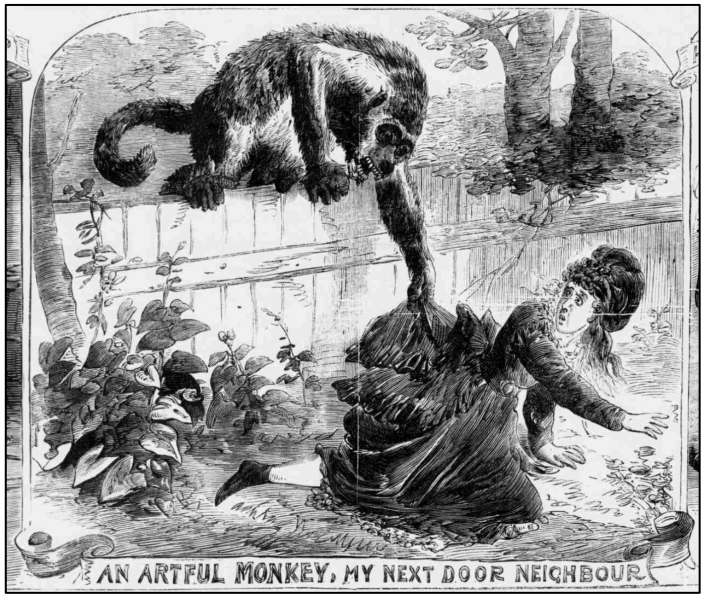


Fig. 29. "An Artful Monkey, My Next Door Neighbour." *Illustrated Police News*, 24 Aug. 1872, p. 1.

This is where we might read a second narrative in these images and stories. The aggression of pet primates renders women vulnerable victims in their own homes, and as such I suggest we might view them in relation to depictions of domestic violence and patriarchal dominance. Suzanne Rintoul has written about the *IPN*'s attention to domestic violence, which it reported on frequently and in lurid detail, even in comparison to the representation of these stories in other cheap, lurid titles; indeed, Brake and Demoor have also noted in their *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* that the *IPN* contained 'countless pieces on domestic violence' (*DCNJ "Illustrated Police News"*). Rintoul traces in its reports of intimate violence the *IPN*'s continuation of the early-Victorian broadside tradition, in which the focus was overwhelmingly on violence towards poor and working-class women at the hands of men of the same class. Sensational street literature rarely depicted such brutality in affluent households, and when it occasionally portrayed affluent men abusing poor women, the suggestion was that the woman had brought it upon herself by trying to progress socially or disrupt the man's marriage. However, Rintoul demonstrates that these publications and later the *IPN* hinted at middle-class domestic violence by 'showing and not showing' these incidents (31). While violence against poor women was highly visible and exploited by the *IPN* via lurid illustrations that would attract

readers, Rintoul argues that such images of middle-class women were rare to avoid injuring the image of the supposed morality of the bourgeoisie:

> The middle-class wife … signalled an emerging form of feminized political authority, a control over the home that translated into the moral authority of the middle-classes; narratives depicting her physical abuse threatened a major site of bourgeois currency. By this logic, the displacement of middle-class intimate violence was necessary to avoid compromising the expanding influence of an already economically and culturally powerful group. (Rintoul 31)

Rintoul suggests that the *IPN* avoids overstepping this social taboo by displacing bourgeois domestic violence onto the working-classes. In one example she cites a story in which a violent husband is described as a "hawker," thus aligning him with poor street sellers, before reference is made to his "business" a few lines later, suggesting affluence (ibid 37). However, it is important to question why a paper with a predominantly working-class readership would have been, as Rintoul suggests, protective of middle-class values. She explains this seeming contradiction when she notes that 'the content of sensational crime street literature often gestures toward the instability of social hierarchies even as it indicts and objectifies members of the working-class' (27). This is clear in the *IPN*'s representation of middle-class domestic violence, which Rintoul observes 'are notably less explicit and less brutal that ones that pertain to members of the working class. They tend to correspond with social criticisms of the privileged classes as hedonistic by emphasizing material excess, but the sheer physicality associated with working-class bodies remains notably absent' (37).

In its depiction of middle-class domestic violence, then, Rintoul suggests that the *IPN*'s subversion was limited, as it reserved its most sensational and sexualised depictions of intimate violence for working-class women, who often appeared partially-clothed and were thus objectified. However, in its representation of pet primates invading the middle-class home, I propose that the paper was more critical of bourgeois ideals than Rintoul suggests. Where Rintoul argues that middle-class brutality was displaced onto working men, I suggest that the *IPN* also projects this violence onto pet primates, who might also be read as agents of patriarchy in that they render women vulnerable. In these stories, the owners of the animals are always affluent men, the primates themselves are always male, and their victims are overwhelmingly women.

Fig. 30. "The Freaks of a Monkey." *Illustrated Police News*, 16 Nov. 1872, p. 1.

Gender and domestic relations, then, were the concerns that underpinned these sensational narratives, and although men were not the victims of pet primates, it is important to acknowledge that the pet primate invading the home does, to an extent, seem to present a challenge to domestic patriarchal authority in the *IPN*'s reports. We saw in the case of the "Artful Monkey" that the woman's husband sought legal recourse following the incident, but the law was unable to grant him immediate assistance because of the lack of regulation of exotic animals. The law was referenced in another incident reported by the *IPN* from November 1872, in which the victim of the "Extraordinary Freaks of a Monkey" in Sheffield was again a woman, but rather than a personal attack, it was her bedroom's contents that were destroyed. The monkey was the escaped pet of a neighbour, and was seen climbing through the woman's window shortly after she had left her home:

> A few minutes after the monkey was seen before a looking glass, with a brush in one "hand" and a comb in the other, brushing his head. Then a crash of crockery and glass were heard, blinds were pulled down, and other mischief was going on. A large crowd assembled, and when the plaintiff returned home she found ornaments and decanters smashed, brandy and other spirits spilled, a jewellery box was open and the contents strewn, and her furniture was generally in a state of confusion. ("Extraordinary Freaks …" 2)

Just as the gorilla of Poe's story and of the *IPN*'s derivative article imitated the process of shaving, here we have another example of a primate mimicking human behaviour. Such

mimicry has long been a source of comedy, as well as anxiety. In this instance, we might read a critique of femininity in particular, for as Sorenson notes, in Western art 'mirror-gazing apes signified vanity and self-love' (92). The article and the accompanying illustration further demonstrate the monkey destroying feminine symbols of vice and vanity, such as the brush, jewellery and the mirror (and although the decanter and the watch could be considered masculine objects, the article makes no reference to any male figure in the woman's life) (fig. 30). In the mimicry of the woman's behaviour and the destruction of objects of vanity, the woman becomes conflated with the monkey, and thus animalised.

Following the incident, the woman sought legal aid, and the owner's defence was that 'the monkey had always conducted itself properly,' and so he was not liable. However, the judge argued that 'if a man chose to keep an animal of a naturally mischievous disposition he did so at his peril' ("Extraordinary Freaks …" 2). While in the example of the "Artful Monkey" the husband was unable to obtain a resolution, the owner of the monkey on this occasion was ordered to pay £5 to the woman because of the material damage inflicted by his animal.

Despite this legal judgement, the *IPN* report did not necessarily criticise the man's decision to keep the monkey as a pet. This is interesting, as even as the law occasionally appeared to pose limits to patriarchal authority in the home, as we have seen here, the *IPN* seems to emphasise the rule of patriarchy. As we saw in the example at the end of the previous chapter which depicted a woman surrounded by several of her pet monkeys (fig. 23), women were criticised by the *IPN* for owning potentially dangerous exotic animals, even though in that example the animals did not cause damage, attack anyone, or otherwise misbehave. It seems that, following the logic of the emphasis of its reporting, to the *IPN*, the ownership of exotic animals should be confined to men, indicating that the structures of oppression symbolised by the ownership of exotic pets have patriarchal rather than colonial resonances in the paper's narratives. The *IPN* seems to suggest that these were not suitable animals for women not because those women could not control them, but because their control of them would upset patriarchal order. Here, then, we see that in none of the *IPN*'s stories is the lack of patriarchal control over these pet primates depicted as a failure or a challenge to patriarchal dominance. Even when husbands seek legal recourse, it is the vulnerability of women that is emphasised.

Fig. 31. "A Gorilla Hunt at Hewmham." *Illustrated Police News*, 10 Nov. 1877, p. 1.

This is made clear in another *IPN* story, this time from November 1877, which details the hunt that ensued after the escape of a pet gorilla and emphasises the ways in which gender came into these narratives as well, as we see men deriving pleasure from seeing women harassed by the gorilla. This incident was treated less seriously by the *IPN* than the previous examples, and rather than being depicted as demonic, the accompanying illustration portrays the gorilla somewhat cartoonishly as he reaches out to grab a young girl fleeing the scene with other women and children (fig. 31). While the illustration also shows men fleeing from the creature – thus reflecting the reality of the situation – the narrative focuses almost wholly on the vulnerability of women. We saw in the story of the child abducted by the monkey that the illustration sensationalised the animal; though it was presented as tame in the written report, the accompanying image emphasised his savagery. In this story we see the reverse, as the illustration offers a realistic depiction of the scene and the written narrative focuses on the specific threat the animal poses to women:

> Some of the fairer sex from time to time tried to decoy and make him prisoner, but on each successive attempt the monkey made a charge causing a complete rout to his foes, a general stampede being the result, amidst the shrieks of the women and roars of laughter from the other spectators. ("A Gorilla Hunt …" 2)

Rather than concern for the safety of the women and children the article depicted male spectators laughing at their expense, and the reader – similarly situated at a safe distance and of a different class than these victims – was invited to join in.

The tone of this report is difficult to define; like the cattle discussed in Chapter One, this incident is presented as comic because it depicts an animal out of its usual environment, but in the stories discussed in the previous chapter the cattle were a threat to property, rather than the personal safety of women. This report about the escaped gorilla was nonetheless presented comically by the *IPN*, which seems to suggest that the author (who we can assume was male), like the paper's predominantly working-class, male readership, did not perceive the gorilla to be a danger. The fleeing spectators were mocked and animalised when the author described the ensuing 'stampede', which further indicates the comic tone of the article. Pet primates are, in these stories, symbols of dominance, and their pursuit of the vulnerable reaffirms patriarchal rule.

In each of these examples of pet primate reports the humanity of the female victims of the animal was undermined. The *IPN* suggests that if the capture and control of these animals symbolises human dominance, so being chased, attacked, or otherwise undermined by an animal represents a disruption of natural order. This is clear in the *IPN*'s account of a white man's "Terrific Fight with a Fierce Baboon" in South Africa in 1900, in which the man's human status rested on his ability to defeat the animal in what was described as a 'tussle for superiority' (4). The article noted that 'in the first round humanity suffered defeat,' before the man eventually succeeded in killing the animal by repeatedly stabbing it in the chest. Here, then, the man was suggested to represent his entire species, and reaffirmed both his own humanity and his white, patriarchal dominance over animals. Such narratives also came into play in the *IPN*'s reports of menagerie lion taming acts, as I will show later, and so were not reserved for human-animal encounters in the wild.

Thus, in the *IPN*'s reports of pet primates, there are two competing narratives at play. On the one hand, a primate pet could enact a kind of patriarchal rule, but on the other hand a primate kept in the home and not suitably contained might upset domestic order and threaten the family unit, and therefore Victorian social values. Overall, however, it is clear that the *IPN* was critical of the decision to keep monkeys as pets. While on the one hand this criticism relates to the luxury and vanity of keeping such animals as pets, on the other the paper's illustrations made clear that the unrestrained primate was

grotesque and menacing. This is particularly noticeable in contrast to the *IPN*'s depictions of properly caged primates in London's Zoological Gardens and the Westminster Aquarium, which differ from the images of domestic pet primates greatly.

Fig. 32. "Mr. Pongo – The Gorilla." *Illustrated Police News*, 4 Aug 1877, p. 1.

The Westminster Aquarium and Winter Gardens opened in 1876 and was designed as a space for both amusement and education for all social classes; in this sense, it had a similar appeal to the *IPN* for working-class audiences. The vast building, located west of Westminster Abbey on Tothill Street, featured a music hall, gardens of exotic plants and trees, a theatre, exhibition space, and displays of both marine and fresh water species and animal exhibits. The Aquarium also exhibited indigenous peoples alongside the animals and was tellingly renamed The Imperial Theatre in 1879 (Poignant 124). In 1877 the *IPN* recorded the arrival of a young gorilla named Mr. Pongo at the Aquarium and featured a portrait of the animal that recalls contemporary images of eminent men (fig. 32). In the portrait Pongo does not appear to be aggressive or hostile; instead, he is composed and docile. The accompanying article similarly implied the gorilla's captivity to be a civilising exercise as well as one necessary for the safety of humans. The article, in reference to aforementioned contemporary beliefs about primates, noted the apparent penchant of gorillas for 'snatching stray coloured people from overhanging branches' and stated that 'negroes would doubtless be safe if [The Aquarium] could secure the whole tribe as well as this solitary specimen' ("Mr. Pongo …" 2). The secure Aquarium, we are asked to

believe, is the appropriate confinement of an exotic species, and the appropriate setting in which to view this symbol of white, British colonial and imperial might.

In contrast, pet primates were consistently depicted as chaotic. They are the antithesis of the ideal Victorian pet, which was supposed to complement the family unit and, in the case of dogs, share its values of loyalty and respect for authority. The suggestion of the *IPN*'s narratives about pet primates is that exotic animals needed to be restrained in order to be civilised, and that being given free rein in a household was an inappropriate arrangement for this process because the animal was not wholly controlled. In this sense, pet primates undermined the claims of British colonial discourse and might additionally represent the limitations of patriarchy, as pet primates were shown to be able to elude the control of their owners.

But on the other hand, we have seen that pet apes can be read as representations of white patriarchal dominance over middle-class Victorian women. Western depictions of primates attacking women such as Frémiet's gorillas suggest them to be wild animals, but the animals harassing white women in the *IPN* were under the control of white, affluent men. While the *IPN*'s racism is clear in the account of Mr. Pongo, where the savagery of his 'relatives' is related to Africa and its human inhabitants more generally, race is not as prominent a subtext in the *IPN*'s depiction of pet primates. The animals therefore cannot only be read as symbols of the colonial other – when brought to Britain and into the Victorian home, the context in which we read representations of these animals must change. The *IPN*'s reporting signals a failure of control, but also indicates a certain relish for the harassment and ridicule of women, which relates to a wider voyeuristic trend in the paper that Rintoul highlights in her examination of the *IPN*'s representation of domestic violence in relation to class. The fact that the respectable gentlemen who owned pet primates did not feature in the *IPN*'s stories and were not held accountable for the actions of their animals is interesting, and I will return to consider why that is in more depth when we come to examine trained elephants and dancing bears, and the ways in which responsibility comes into the *IPN*'s representation of those animals, in the next chapter.

The *IPN* thus brings popular narratives about apes and their behaviour, exaggerated in line with racist depictions in popular fiction and anthropological accounts, and uses them to criticise middle-class domesticity and gender relations, key preoccupations of sensation fiction and journalism. In this sense we can see that the *IPN*'s reporting on

exotic pets which breach the boundary between the domestic and wild represents this violation as both a breakdown of human-animal control and a reminder of patriarchal order, which positions women with the apes, and men with the angels. It is clear, then, that existing scholarship that discusses the capture and exhibition of animals in terms of colonialism, dominance and control is too narrow when we consider how exotic pets were discussed.

However, where the home was presented as an inappropriate place to keep an exotic animal by the *IPN*, the paper's reports of the travelling menageries that toured nationally throughout the nineteenth century show that control was frequently, and sensationally, lost, even in these supposedly secure sites of human-animal encounter. It is to them that this chapter will now turn.

Unnatural Sites: Deconstructing Moral Distinctions Between the Zoo and the Menagerie

Travelling menageries were immensely popular in Victorian Britain. So prolific were these exhibitions in the nineteenth century that 'few parts of the country were not within a walk of a menagerie on at least one day a year' (Simons 59). The largest menagerie was George Wombwell's,[9] which was founded in 1805 and became so large that it has to be split into three separate shows. Following Wombwell's death in 1850, the three menageries were managed by his wife, his nephew George, and his niece Harriet Edmonds. Edmonds' Menagerie was sold in 1896 to Edward Bostock (the brother of the prolific animal trainer, Frank, who we will return to in the next chapter), while the second George Wombwell's menagerie continued until 1906, when it was auctioned off, primarily to London Zoo. Manders' was another prolific menagerie that appears in the *IPN*'s reports up until its closure in 1875. The paper also reported on a number of smaller menageries, often neglecting to note the name of the proprietor, which indicates, perhaps, how many of these exhibits there were.

[9] I have not provided extensive biographical information concerning individual menagerie and circus proprietors, but both Helen Cowie and John Simons provide fascinating accounts of the lives and businesses of Britain's most prolific menagerists and showmen in their respective works.

The majority of the *IPN*'s reports on menageries focussed on the frequent calamities that occurred in them, including animal escapes, injuries to unfortunate patrons who got too close to an animal, and deaths of menagerie employees during the star attraction of the nineteenth-century menagerie – the lion taming act. In what follows, I will examine the *IPN*'s sensational coverage of menagerie incidents, focusing on escapes and accidents. I will show that, while contemporary papers also reported on these incidents, it is again the *IPN*'s illustrations, as well as the frequency and tone of these reports, that makes the paper's coverage unique. From there, I will go on to examine how the *IPN* represented lion-taming calamities in particular, and consider how its sensational illustrations of these incidents challenged notions of human dominion. To contextualise this discussion, I will examine the *IPN*'s representation of zoos in comparison to other papers as well as its own reportage of menageries, in order to demonstrate the ways in which the *IPN* was, in distinction from other publications, consistently sceptical about the civilising rhetoric of animal captivity and exhibition.

Menageries were not, of course, the only place that the public could see exotic animals in the Victorian era. A number of zoological gardens were established in nineteenth-century Britain, most famously London Zoo in 1828. Initially, though, the Zoo only admitted members of the Zoological Society and their recommended guests, meaning that its patrons were distinctly middle-class. It was not until 1847 that the Zoo altered its admissions policy and opened its gates to the public; the entry fee was one shilling, with a reduced admission price of sixpence only available on Mondays, which meant that the poorest remained excluded (Cowie 24). Menageries were thus more accessible to working-class audiences who lacked the disposable income required to visit the Zoo, and this is perhaps one of the reasons that attitudes towards itinerant animal exhibitions like travelling menageries differed from those held about zoos.

On the whole, though, the *IPN* presented the endeavours of zoos favourably. My sample contains 26 stories about zoos, and 17 of these are about arrivals, births or natural deaths of zoo animals. The rest are mostly general news items, with only a few eccentric or negative stories. When London Zoo acquired a 'Royal Lion' in March 1895, the *IPN* celebrated the new arrival, which was supplied by 'his Highness the Aga Khan' ("A Royal Lion at the Zoo" 4). The article noted that the lion was so tame that it would allow his keeper 'to pat and stroke it as one would a dog', indicating a broader trend in which zoo animals were valued for their docility, with this exotic creature is prized for its likeness to

a domestic pet which, as we saw in Chapter One, held a prized position in Victorian culture (ibid). The *IPN* report also suggested that 'there is little doubt that, after a short time, [the lion] will fill out and become a valuable addition to the society's collection' (ibid).

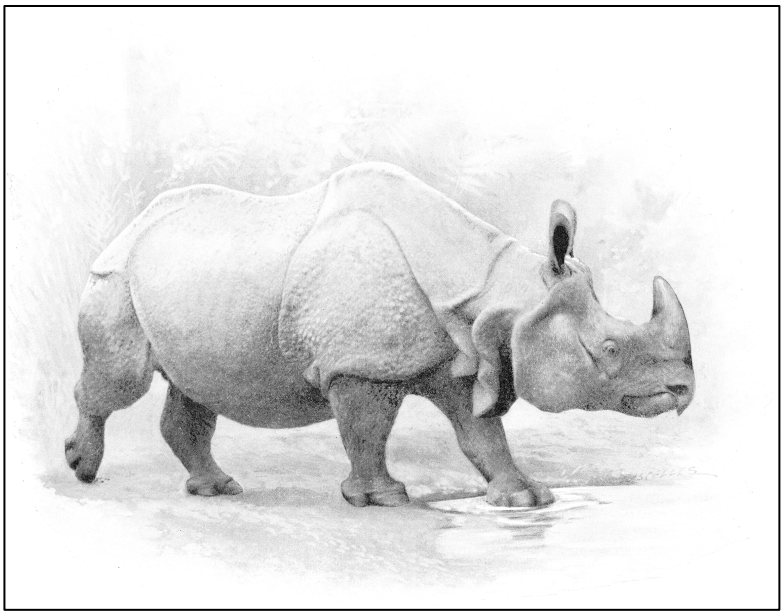


Fig. 33. "Studies from Life at the Zoological Gardens: No. VI. – The Great Indian Rhinoceros." *Illustrated London News*, 11 Feb. 1899, p. 202.

However, the *IPN* crucially differs from other publications in its reports about zoos on occasion. London Zoo was seen as a site of rational recreation, with pictorial representations emphasising the cleanliness and openness of its grounds and the scientific and educational value of it as an institution. In this spirit, in February 1899 the conservative middle-class newspaper and *IPN* rival the *Illustrated London News* (*ILN*) featured an image of "The Great Indian Rhinoceros", the latest subject of their series titled "Studies from Life at the Zoological Gardens" (fig. 33). The rhinoceros' surroundings appear to be idyllic – there is no suggestion that it is a captive animal, and this is true of every illustration included in the *ILN*'s series, with each emphasising the seemingly "natural" lives animals enjoyed at London Zoo. However, as Takashi Ito has found, 'the zoo's daily journal suggests that the actual physical environment of the zoo was at odds with the spectators' first impressions and, in fact, caused stress and distress to the animals' (36). Several animals died from illness at the Zoo or were killed by other animals, and the journal entries furthermore describe one kangaroo 'killing itself against

the fence' of its enclosure (ibid). Ito notes that 'The steady flow of new animals made it difficult [for the public] to realise that many animals received little care and died without attention being given to them' (ibid). The ideal of London Zoo was thus to some extent a social and cultural fabrication designed, as several scholars have noted, to display the evidence of 'expanding English influence over remote exotic territories' and the control and acclimatisation of exotic captives, as well as British social values and civility (Ritvo 208).

The *IPN*, on occasion, offered somewhat different representations of London Zoo from those seen in the *ILN*. Where it could be wholly positive – as in the report of the arrival of the lion – it did occasionally report on calamities, as was its custom, and so interrupted the tranquil image the Zoo cultivated. In January 1871, for example, the *IPN* depicted on its front page the (eventually successful) efforts of Zoo employees to save a rhino from drowning after it had fallen through the ice of its enclosure (fig. 34). The *IPN* explained that the pond had been covered with snow overnight, and so 'was not to be distinguished from the ground' ("A Rhinoceros and the Ice" 2). The report described the animal as a 'valuable living property' as well as a 'poor frightened and half-frozen beast,' suggesting the unsuitability of the climate (ibid). Here, the *IPN* seemed to question the role of the Zoo as a suitable guardian of exotic animals.

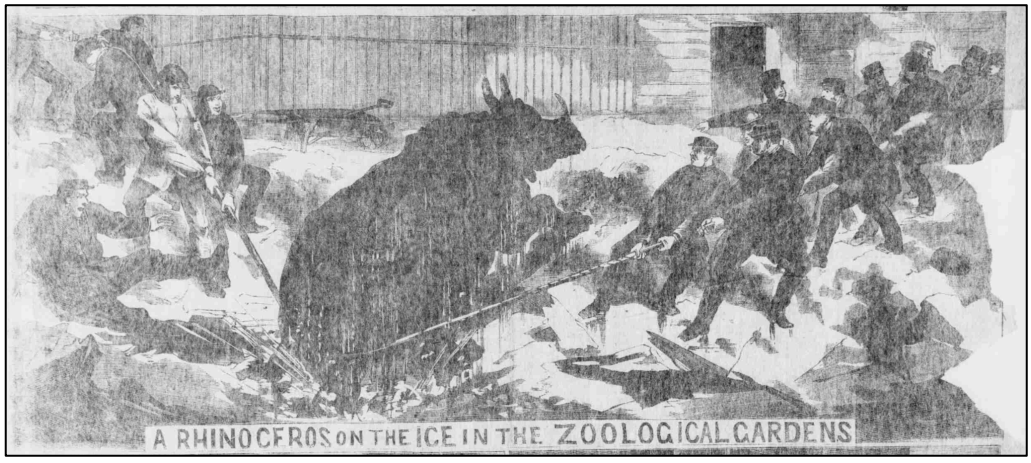


Fig. 34. "A Rhinoceros on the Ice in the Zoological Gardens." *Illustrated Police News*, 14 Jan. 1871, p. 1.

In contrast to the *ILN*'s noble rhino, the *IPN*'s illustration makes clear that the Zoo is an unnatural environment. The bars of the rhino's enclosure are visible and, rather than having command over its environment, as in the *ILN* image, the rhino is depicted

struggling with its surroundings. The perspective of the *IPN*'s illustration also suggested that the rhino was not only an object to be looked at, but a subject who deserved greater care and better living conditions. Similarly, the *IPN* seemed to question the harmony of the Zoo in an illustrated article from October 1871 that depicted a snake at the institution consuming its companion (fig. 35). While cannibalism is not uncommon in some species of snake, the *IPN*'s illustration suggested the abnormality of the scene with the inclusion of a dead rabbit in the foreground, indicating that an alternative meal was available but the snake preferred live prey, as it would have in the wild. The Zoo, by implication, has made this snake unnatural.

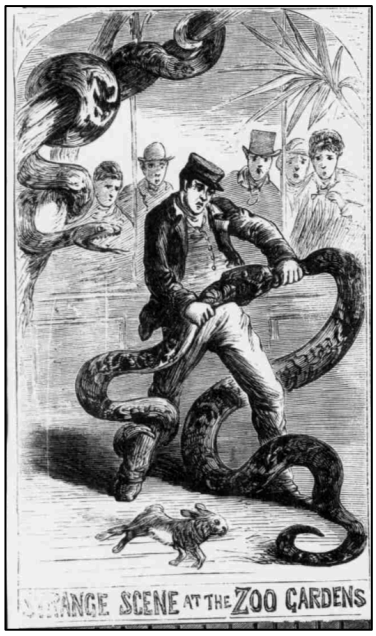


Fig. 35. "Strange Scene at the Zoo Gardens." *Illustrated Police News*, 14 Oct. 1871, p. 1.

In these stories, then, with their focus on accidents and unnatural behaviour at London Zoo, the *IPN* challenged the representation of it as a site of rational recreation and harmonious nature. However, the paper was in the minority in this regard, as the discussions of the Zoo in contemporary culture were overwhelmingly favourable. This positive representation of the Zoo had implications for the cultural representation of menageries, for while the latter were perceived to educate the working classes – George Wombwell's obituary in the *Times* stated that 'no one probably did more to bring forward the study of natural history among the masses' (qtd. in Ritvo 215) – concerned moralisers also suggested that sensationalised menagerie exhibits were detrimental to viewers.

The key attraction of the travelling menagerie from the 1840s onwards was lion taming, displays which, critics argued, catered to low and morbid feelings. Additionally, as pickpocketing, animal cruelty and drunkenness were rife at menageries, so these exhibits were also associated with crime and vice. Here, then, criticisms of menageries and the *IPN* are linked, as both were seen to cater to a predominantly working-class audience and sensational appetites. This is true to some extent, for menagerie crowds swelled in the days following the injury or death of a lion tamer, and the owners of these exhibits drew focus to their man-killing beasts in newspaper advertisements.

Unlike its stories about zoos, which, while sometimes reporting macabre moments also recognised the positive stories emerging from the lives of the animals caged there, the vast majority of the *IPN*'s reports on menageries focused on accidents, calamities, fatalities and otherwise tragic incidents. In my eight-year sample of the *IPN* there are 44 reports on menageries. Of the 28 that refer to British menageries, only two are not about an escaped animal, a fight between animals, or an attack on a human. One of these described an 'amusing incident' that occurred when a menagerie was leaving Luton in late 1895, whereby two chained-together elephants were caught on a lamp-post; rather than being alarmed by the obstacle, one of the elephants 'without fuss or noise … turned round, gave one pull, and, dashing the post to the ground, smashed it to pieces' ("The Elephants …" 3). The other report, though not tragic, nonetheless demonstrated the ease with which the public could submit themselves to danger at such exhibitions, as one man won a £10 note for entering a lion's den and singing the song "Alice, where art thou?", to which we are told the lions 'growled out an accompaniment' ("A Song …" 11). While neither of these stories were figured negatively, they illustrate that menageries could be disruptive on the one hand, and associated with rowdiness on the other. The majority of the *IPN*'s reports about menageries are from the later decades of the nineteenth century and the early-twentieth, with only six of these stories appearing before 1880. This greater frequency can probably be attributed to the greater number and increased size of menageries exhibiting as the century progressed – Simons tells us that Bostock's Menagerie had over 2,000 animals at one point (70).

The themes present in *IPN*'s reports and illustrations of menagerie calamities reveal much about the paper's attitude towards animal exhibition, dominion, and order, and also indicate the ways in which the success of menageries, much like the *IPN* itself, relied on sensationalism and chaos. As Cowie notes, it was 'a latent fascination with violence,

danger and sensation that drew people to read about grisly murders, attend executions or watch lion taming exhibitions' (7). Both the *IPN* and wild animal shows aimed to provide a thrill – through a lurid crime report or a ferocious animal – but also had to consider the comfort of their audience by maintaining a degree of order and, in the case of menageries, safety. While the *IPN* revelled in chaos and disaster, its police reports also described the restoration of order, just as performances with wild animals ended (for the most part) with a display of human mastery over savage beasts. While links can be made between the depictions in both spheres there was one key difference: the balance between sensation and actual physical safety was crucial for menagerie owners, and they were not always successful in their efforts.

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The *IPN*'s reports on menageries are not only sensational. They also demonstrate that containing a vast number of animals in travelling caravans was challenging, and reveal that escapes were a regular occurrence as a result. Sometimes the *IPN* included stories about animals escaping from their cages and attacking other animals, such as when it reported on a black bear that managed to break the partition wall separating it from three Bengal tigers, resulting in the death of the bear and grave injury to the tigers ("A Bear and Tiger Fight" 2). In another instance, it told of a rattlesnake that was able to escape from its case, 'hissing in a terrible manner and shaking his fearful rattle', before biting and killing a horse and a buffalo ("A Rattlesnake at Liberty …" 2). What is clear from the reporting is that menagerie keepers were not always equipped with sufficient knowledge to be able to handle or contain exotic animals. Menagerie employees were here described 'Arming themselves with shovels, forks, scrapers, brooms, &c.' before unsuccessfully attempting to throw a sack over the snake (ibid).

The lax security of menagerie animals meant that the *IPN* also included frequent stories of creatures escaping into the local area, causing panic, amusement, or occasionally both. The tone of the report of an "Exciting Gorilla Hunt at Belper, Derbyshire" after three gorillas escaped from Manders' Menagerie in June 1867 is both alarmist and comic. It tells of how at half-past five in the morning a watchman was seized by one of the gorillas, who had 'torn up the flooring of the caravan' and made their escape (2). A chase through the town of Belper ensued and, though two of the gorillas were caught and

violently beaten as indicated by the illustration as well as the text (fig. 36), the tone is comic in relation to the capture of the last gorilla: 'It now only remained to secure the third animal, which was discovered in the branches of a large oak growing by the wayside. His gorillaship appeared to wonderfully appreciate his new quarters, springing from branch to branch with marvellous celerity' (ibid).

Fig. 36. "Exciting Gorilla Hunt at Belper, Derbyshire." *Illustrated Police News*, 8 June 1867, p. 1.

Much like the stories of rampaging cattle we saw in the first chapter, the *IPN* identified the comic potential of the strangeness of these exotic animals being in the wrong place. In this case, the suggestion of the illustration and its caption is that the exotic 'hunt' has been transferred from Africa to the English countryside, and the scene of hunters pursuing the gorillas on horseback through a familiar landscape is ludicrous. But the *IPN* also found humour at the expense of the locals terrorised by the threat of a loose animal, as it did with the women threatened by escaped pet primates. For example, it reported on "Another Loose Lion …" in Somerset in November 1895, the title alone indicating the regularity of such occurrences. The lion was about to begin a taming performance when it leapt from its cage and escaped from the menagerie. The lion hid in a local resident's outhouse and was not found for six hours, during which time, the *IPN* noted:

> the parish was in a state of the greatest excitement. Mothers were to be heard screaming for their children, people seen running panic-stricken here, there and

everywhere, and men securing their horses behind gates. The scene was not without its humorous side, for some took refuge among the branches of their apple trees. (6)

Once again, the *IPN* found comedy here in the hysteria that accompanied the escape, and in the seemingly foolish local reaction to the incident. However, attacks on locals by escaped animals were rare; indeed, I have not found any reports of such in the *IPN*. Rather, the primary victims of attacks by menagerie animals were spectators who got too close to the animals and/or teased them, and, most frequently, menagerie employees.

Despite the unlikelihood of an attack from an escaped menagerie animal, the *IPN* suggested the possibility of an attack by such animals in its sensational illustrations as well as in its written reports. Thus, when the *IPN* reprinted an account from the *Leeds Mercury*[10]of a bear that had escaped from a menagerie visiting Wakefield in November 1867, it featured its own original illustration of the villagers and menagerie workers attempting to recapture it (fig. 37). Unlike many of the zoo animals that were represented as being well behaved and to an extent domesticated, the bear in the *IPN* illustration is aggressive; its teeth are bared, and its stance suggests it is ready to attack the men fleeing from it.

Fig. 37. "A Bear Hunt in Wakefield." *Illustrated Police News*, 16 Nov. 1867, p. 1.

[10] Local newspapers were often the first to report on incidents at menageries and circuses, and the national press would pick up these stories if they were newsworthy or, in the case of the *IPN*, dramatic.

Rather than deterring menagerie goers, stories and incidents such as this seem to have generated further excitement. This is where the appeal of zoo and menagerie animals crucially differed. While Jumbo, London Zoo's beloved elephant, was sold when he was no longer the ideal, gentle elephant (though the public refused to accept this assault on Jumbo's character), menagerie animals were valued for their ferocity, and attractive to audiences precisely because of their wildness, aggression and difficulty to control. Rather than being national pets, like Jumbo, the menagerie was where one could go to see the natural ferocity of a wild animal.

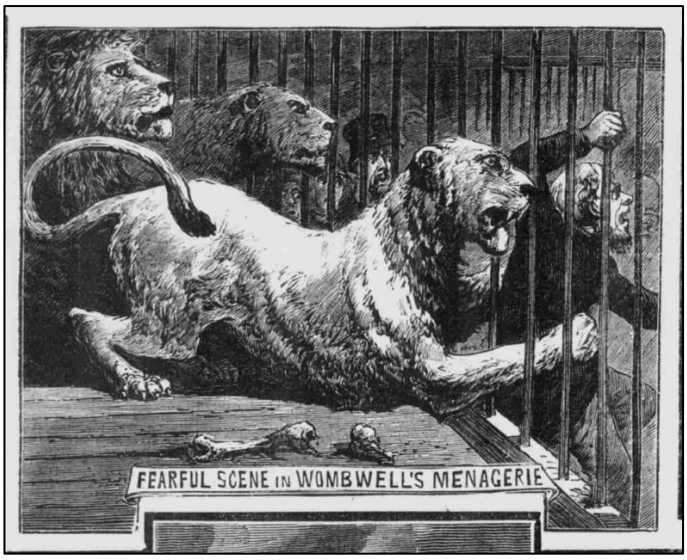

Fig. 38. "Fearful Scene in Wombwell's Menagerie." *Illustrated Police News*, 5 Oct. 1878, p. 1.

As Cowie notes, menageries drew in large crowds, and the lack of space meant that those unfortunate people who were pushed up against cages came within the reach of snarling predators (161). In October 1878, the *IPN* reported such an incident when it told of the misfortune of a tailor who got too close to the cage of a lioness during a visit to Wombwell's Menagerie in Henley. We are told that the lioness 'managed to get both of her forelegs through [the bars], with which she clasped the unfortunate man round the body' and that his injuries were severe: 'The lioness … clawed at his face, severely lacerating his left cheek, which she laid bare, and also tearing the skin off his right shoulder and arm until the muscles were fearfully exposed' ("Shocking Scene …" 2). The accompanying illustration (fig. 38) depicts the ferocity of the attack, while bones stripped of flesh lie in the foreground, suggesting the lioness' ability to make a similar meal of the

tailor. Just as the *IPN*'s stories of rabid dogs mauling humans in the first chapter presented, with Gothic horror, the potential for humans to be edible, so this sensational illustration undermines human dominion. Wombwell's was host to a similar panic in 1884, when the *IPN* reported on a tiger that had escaped from its cage while the menagerie was full of visitors. The paper noted that the ensuing rush to the exits caused a young woman to be thrown against the cage of a female tiger, which tore off the woman's bonnet and severely lacerated her neck ("Panic in a Menagerie" 3). Many were thus injured through no fault of their own due to the insecure boundaries between the animals and their spectators in the *IPN*'s reports on menagerie incidents.

Like escapees, stories of close shaves with ferocious beasts, rather than repelling potential patrons, excited a curious public in the same way reports of these incidents appealed to the morbid tastes of the *IPN*'s readership. As Cowie explains:

> True, in the immediate aftermath of an attack, or when rumours circulated that some wild beast was on the loose, menagerie-goers did evacuate the show with unseemly haste. Once the hazard was gone, however, most spectators were induced to return, while news of an accident on one day does not appear to have deterred visitors on the next. On the contrary, contemporary testimony suggests that reports of an accident could actually increase attendances at a wild beast show, since they titillated the public and gave free publicity to the exhibition, sometimes attracting people to the show for the explicit purpose of seeing a notorious or murderous animal. (173)

There are numerous examples in the *IPN* of exotic menagerie animals that had injured or killed a member of the public or a menagerie employee being deliberately publicised for the reasons outlined by Cowie: people wanted to see the most dangerous and fearsome animals. For example, when Britain's most well-known exotic animal dealer, Charles Jamrach, was forced to pay £500 in damages to the family of a boy who was almost killed by one of his newly-arrived tigers at the London docks, the menagerie proprietor George Wombwell quickly purchased the animal for £300 and advertised it as 'the tiger that had eaten a boy alive' ("Jamrach's" 434). Even when these animals had injured members of the public or killed their keepers they were seen as too valuable to put down and were usually only killed if it was necessary to save a human life. In light of this, sensational stories in papers like the *IPN* which suggested a lack of control were good publicity for menageries, who wanted their acts to appear dangerous and exciting and their animals

savage and ferocious, and popular stories with the *IPN*'s readership. This is particularly true of stories about lion taming gone awry.

Beasts and Kings: Lion Taming and Dominance in Nineteenth-Century Menageries

In late 1872, a series of newspaper adverts for Manders' menagerie appeared in a number of local papers[11] which urged potential patrons to 'Go to MANDERS' to see the GREAT LION that worried McCarthy at Bolton', referring to the death earlier that year of the renowned lion tamer Thomas McCarthy (who we shall return to later) ("Manders' Grand National Star Menagerie" 1). Here, a man-killing lion and a tamer's death was turned into an attractive marketing tool, contrary to Ritvo's assertion that 'public menageries generally avoided even the subtlest suggestion of the violence of nature' (245). Manders' flagrant glamorisation of the death of one of his employees in the aforementioned advert, though out of the norm, is an extreme example of a general trend in which the ferocity of menagerie lions was emphasised in promotional materials. For example, in 1886 a series of newspaper adverts for Bostock and Wombwell's Menagerie noted that feeding time was 'the most realistic and thrilling sight afforded in a Menagerie and by far the best time to see the true ferocity and savage nature' of those animals ("Bostock and Wombwell's…" 1). Menagerie advertisements additionally emphasised the bravery and skill of their lion tamers. An 1884 advert for Edmonds' Menagerie highlighted the great expense of retaining 'the World-famed Lion Tamer, LEDGER DELMONICO, whose daring and exciting performances are the subject of wonder to all beholders' ("Edmonds, Late Wombwell's …" 8), while an advert for Hancock's Great Carnival in 1899 stated that their tamer would be 'risking his life at each show' ("Whole of Hancock's …" 4). The suggestion of danger and the potential for violence, then, was key to the promotion of the lion taming show.

The success of these displays, Cowie explains, lay in the tamer's 'ability to persuade the audience that he was exposed to real danger from his animals while at the same time minimising the actual risk', and as such stories about terrifying accidents would only add

[11] Menageries advertised in local publications rather than national papers like the *IPN* so as to directly advertise to potential audiences in the areas they were soon to visit.

to the sense of the tamer's skill and bravery (184). In order to achieve the status of a "lion king" she continues, 'a tamer had to ensure that his beasts seemed genuinely ferocious, and his control over them tenuous. If he appeared to have civilised them too completely his act would become boring and the dramatic tension of his performances would be lost' (ibid). Menageries and tamers, then, had to balance how ferocious an animal could appear without destroying the chance of a safe and entertaining performance, with how far they could tame the lion without the act being unexciting. Lion taming thus required the encouragement of the natural ferocity of the lion (or at least the creation of the illusion of ferocity) while also maintaining complete control, a delicate balance that was often upset, as the *IPN* demonstrates. It is in these stories that we see the *IPN*'s sensational reports were not only lurid. In their depiction of the loss of control in displays that were supposed to exhibit human power over brute creation, the *IPN* also challenged notions of human dominion.

A typical nineteenth-century lion taming act usually began with the tamer feeding the animal (or animals - several reports from the *IPN* and elsewhere show that tigers, leopards, hyenas and wolves appeared alongside lions in the same performance) from outside of the cage before entering. Once inside the cage, the tamer would go through a number of feats, including standing on the lion and lying on top of it, before putting his or her head inside the lion's jaws, which was usually the grand finale of the display. One former tamer quoted in an 1877 article in *Chambers' Journal* – an inexpensive weekly magazine that focused on moral instruction – described his methods:

> To get a lion to lie down and allow the trainer to stand on him, is difficult. It is done by tickling the beast over the back with a small whip, and at the same time pressing him down with one hand. By raising his head, and taking hold of the nostril with his right hand, and the under lip and lower jaw with the left, the lion by this pressure loses greatly the power of his jaws; so that the man can pull them open, and put his head inside the beast's mouth. The danger is, lest the animal should raise one of his forepaws and stick his claws in the venturesome trainer. If he does, the man must stand fast for his life till he has shifted the paw. ("Lion Kings …" 174-5)

The tamer[12] here underplays the use of force in the display. He refers to 'tickling' the lion's back with a whip and while no violence is used in the performance, the lion would have been familiar with the whip's sting, and so its presence was designed to encourage submission even though it was not used. When the performances went awry, menagerie employees would subdue lions and other big cats with hot iron bars. Despite the obvious cruelty of these methods and an increasing concern for animal welfare amongst the public, menagerie animals and other exotic animal exhibits were largely exempt from discussions of cruelty. Indeed, though the *IPN* condemned cruelty to domestic and livestock animals, it rarely overtly challenged the cruelty of live animal performances (though, as we shall soon see, we might read implicit criticisms in its reports). Peta Tait suggests that this lack of concern for the welfare of exotic performing animals is because of the discourse of improving nature that surrounded menagerie acts, which she examines through John Stuart Mill's consideration of nature and its cruelty from the 1850s. For Mill, the natural world was cruel and harsh, and conflict and killing were rife; civility and culture thus improved nature, including human nature. Tait notes that such ideas found their way into the rationalisation of menagerie acts:

> Wild animals in cages or in chains showed nature's wildness, albeit safely contained. The conflation of animals with fearful nature allowed a menagerie handler to mimic notions of nature's courage in humans and the imposition of order on nature … If dominance of nature came to exemplify human progress, a menagerie act that enacted a shift from fearful confrontation to calm relations with animals confirmed the triumph of civilisation over untamed nature. (*Fighting Nature* 26)

Taming was thus predominantly seen to be an act of civilisation rather than cruelty, though contemporary accounts seem to emphasise dominance and power over animals rather than "calm relations" as Tait suggests. Tamers were referred to as "Lion Kings" (and, less frequently, "Lion Queens"), while some presented themselves with the title of "Captain". In addition, they often wore costumes that emphasised their authority; for example, Isaac Van Amburgh, the most famous lion tamer in America and Europe, dressed as a Roman gladiator during his performances. Just as animal ferocity was on display, then, so was human strength and authority.

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12 Though he refers to himself as a trainer in this excerpt, the terms 'tamer' and 'trainer' were often used interchangeably until the 1880s, when they became distinct; this will be explained further in the next chapter.

Tait suggests that lion taming was seen and celebrated as an act of civilising nature and a demonstration of human capabilities, but it seems unlikely that the average menagerie spectator had ideas such as those discussed by John Stuart Mill in mind when they went to see a lion taming act. The aforementioned article in *Chambers' Journal* referenced the rumour that 'one visitor attended night after night, in order that he might not be absent when Van Amburgh's head was bitten off (as many expected it would be) by a lion,' indicating the 'unhealthy interest' some patrons had in these exhibits ("Lion Kings …" 176). While the *IPN* did not mention this avid spectator it did report at length on an incident at Manders' Menagerie in 1868 in which a keeper almost lost his life, ending by noting that details of the accident had been circulated locally, and as a result the menagerie was crowded that evening. The report related the narrow escape of the renowned lion tamer Martini Maccomo, who is throughout the article referred to as "The African Keeper"; his exact origins are unclear, but most accounts suggest he was from Angola. Cowie notes that menageries sought African and Asian tamers in the 1860s to cater to the 'desire to see exotic scenes re-enacted on British shores,' the suggestion being that non-white tamers contributed to the apparent authenticity of such exhibits (193). Cowie suggests that rather than being merely exploited, African and Asian tamers like Maccomo were 'active agents who in many cases forged successful careers as entertainers and used their association with the menagerie business to accrue a level of fame, respect and income that they would have been unlikely to attain through other, less dramatic channels' (ibid).

Maccomo was indeed celebrated, but the *IPN*'s 1868 report of his "Terrific Encounter" was nonetheless one of many close calls. Maccomo had been cleaning out the lion's den at the time of the incident – tamers were not normally expected to perform such tasks, but as the *IPN* noted, 'So accustomed have these lions become to Maccomo, that they will not permit any other keeper to enter their den, and the African is obliged, therefore, to perform those menial [offices] which are not generally expected of [artists] occupying so distinguished a position in his profession' (2).[13] The *IPN* report states that, while cleaning, Maccomo noticed one of the lions staring at him somewhat menacingly. Rather than retreating, Maccomo instead approached the animal and 'knowing that his future power with the animals [consisted] in his reinstating his command over them …

[13] The quality of this article on the British Newspaper Archive is poor and difficult to read. The words in square brackets are my best guess at those that have been lost.

walked up to the scowling monster and dealt it a crashing blow on its nose with the handle of the broom' (ibid). Maccomo continued to beat and kick the lion and called for his revolver to be loaded. He then attempted to leave the den, but 'the insubordinate spirit shown by the first lion appeared to be now spreading to his companions' and another lion sprang at him, forcing him to the ground (ibid). Maccomo managed to escape by stabbing the lion in the paw with a knife, causing it and the other lions to retreat. The *IPN* then wrote that 'Maccomo stood triumphant in the centre of the den, illustrating in a most forcible manner the power of man over the brute creation!' (ibid). However, before he could escape a lion sprang at him once again, and Maccomo shot it in the shoulder.

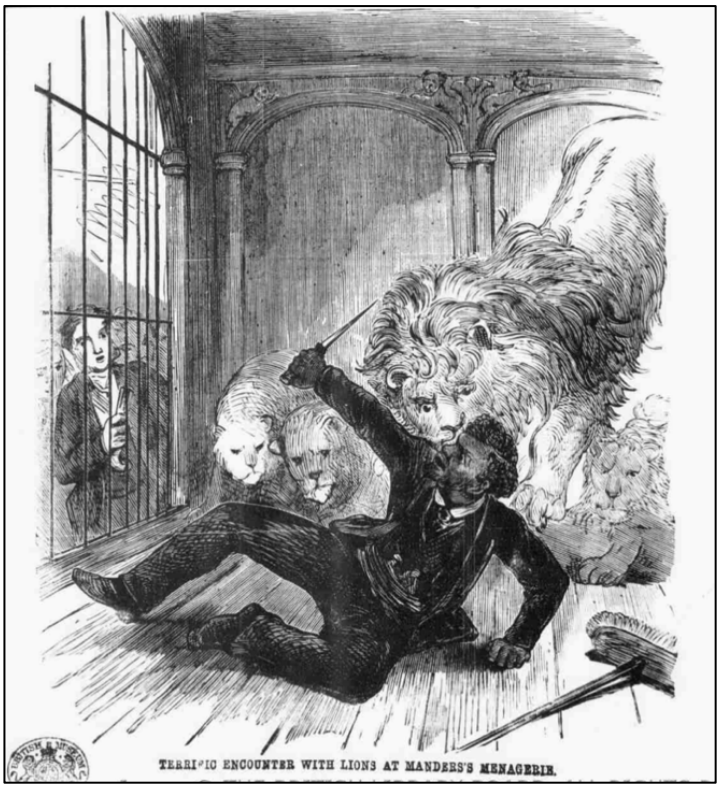


Fig. 39. "Terrific Encounter with Lions at Manders's Menagerie." *Illustrated Police News*, 21 Mar. 1868, p. 1.

This is where the titillating report ends. The *IPN* suggested that Maccomo had ultimate control over the lions, but the end of the article demonstrates that order was not quite restored, and his control was tenuous. Similarly, though the article celebrated 'the power of man over the brute creation', the accompanying illustration rather emphasised Maccomo's vulnerability, as he appears on the floor, with his back turned to the approaching lions (fig. 39). The *IPN*'s image seems here, then, to revel even in the

temporary failure of human dominion over animals, and might be linked to the reason why some spectators went to menagerie displays in the hope of witnessing horrific incidents.

Fig. 40. "Terrible Scene at Manders [sic] Menagerie – The Lion Tamer Killed." *Illustrated Police News*, 13 Jan. 1872, p. 1.

While the *IPN* was certainly sensational in its reports and illustrations of lion taming acts, it also appeared to challenge the idea that such spectacles 'implicitly confirmed the triumph of humankind over nature' (Tait *Fighting Nature* 13). This is clear not only in the illustration of Maccomo's escape, but also in their rendering of the death of Thomas McCarthy, the lion tamer at Manders' Menagerie who was killed during a performance in Bolton in 1872 (fig. 40). The article accompanying the illustration is mostly taken from the local paper the *Bolton Daily Chronicle,* which noted that McCarthy died at the scene during the final performance of the day, at which 300 spectators were in attendance ("Terrible Scene at Manders' Menagerie …" 2). As the performance was an extra one put on due to high demand, menagerie employees had neglected to ensure hot irons were prepared, so none were ready to help subdue the lions when they attacked. This delay and McCarthy's alleged drinking were said to have contributed to his death.

While the reprinted article followed the usual template of reports of this nature, the *IPN*'s illustration is notable for its allusion to Edwin Landseer's famous 1839 painting of *Isaac Van Amburgh and His Animals*, which was painted at the request of Queen Victoria (fig. 41). In Landseer's painting, Van Amburgh is surrounded by a number of big cats,

lying seemingly obediently at his feet. A regal lion sits behind his head, while a tiger rests its paw on his thigh, next to the lamb at his chest, suggesting Van Amburgh's association with both innocence and Christ. Yet, as Diana Donald notes, the painting is more complex than it first appears. Rather than a representation of imperialist stability, the artifice of the scene is emphasised by Landseer. Both this painting and another commissioned by the Duke of Wellington 'were deliberately literal and circumstantial in depicting Van Amburgh's act, with the bars of the cage and the tamer's histrionic gestures much in evidence' (Donald, *Picturing* 195). Van Amburgh's act was not natural, and so Landseer seemed to suggest that neither was his version of dominion. Donald argues that the painting reveals Landseer's

> scepticism about the millennial vision symbolised by the lamb, which Van Amburgh's cruel coercion of the animals belied, and about the religious sanction for this kind of aggressive anthropocentrism. Lions might have lost their legendary status as nature's aristocrats; but scientific advances, of which Landseer was certainly aware, simultaneously challenged the idea of an ordered hierarchy in the natural world, on which the old notions of human dominion were based. If all the "higher" animal species shared a common physiology with man, they could be assumed to suffer as man suffered in stressful or hostile conditions. (ibid)

Fig. 41. Edwin Landseer. *Isaac Van Amburgh and His Animals*, 1839. The Royal Collection.

Rather than portraying lion taming as heroic, Donald thus argues that Landseer's painting was instead a somewhat ironic and dismal portrait of man's relationship with and supposed mastery of nature, and I suggest that the *IPN*'s illustration (fig. 40) of McCarthy's death similarly indicates a scepticism about the imperialist and anthropocentric narratives surrounding lion taming in its allusion to Landseer's painting. With its royal patronage and famous subject, it seems reasonable to assume that the *IPN*'s readership might have been familiar with the painting, and the paper's numerous references to the painter add weight to this assumption. In 1892 it noted the sale of his *Monarch of the Glen* at Christie's ("Everybody's Column" 3) and the back page of its Christmas 1881 edition featured an uncharacteristically wholesome illustration of a child sketching a dog with the caption "A Youthful Landseer" (5). It furthermore offered every subscriber of its 10 March, 1877 issue a free engraving of the Landseer's *The Shepherd's Chief Mourner*.

The perspective of the *IPN*'s illustration of McCarthy's death is the same as Landseer's painting; the viewer is inside the cage, with the bars and spectators clearly visible to the left. From what we can see of McCarthy, he is dressed in a Roman gladiator costume as Van Amburgh is, and the lion in the *IPN* engraving that corresponds to the one that was sitting composedly behind Van Amburgh's head has McCarthy's entire head inside its mouth (an apparent instance of creative license on the part of the illustrator, as the *Boston Daily Chronicle* article made no mention of this). Similarly, while Van Amburgh's hand was resting on the head of a tiger, here McCarthy's forearm is pictured in a lion's jaws. The illustration is one of complete chaos; the lions have destroyed the broomsticks and ladders designed to subdue them in lieu of hot irons, while the spectators, both human and animal, look on helplessly. Three monkeys are pictured behind the crowd surveying the scene (another liberty taken by the engraver), an interesting inclusion that suggests the breakdown of hierarchy in another way. The monkeys and the human spectators are almost indistinguishable in their facial expressions. Here, then, the *IPN* suggested the lack of humanity in the spectators, and once again blurred the boundaries between fiction and fact in its illustrations. In doing so, the paper furthered the sensationalism of the incident and suggested an alternative reading of the spectacle. By dehumanising the spectators of the performance in this way, the *IPN* seems to have been

implicitly criticising the effects of witnessing such a thing, but I suggest the paper might also have been highlighting the cruelty of lion taming.

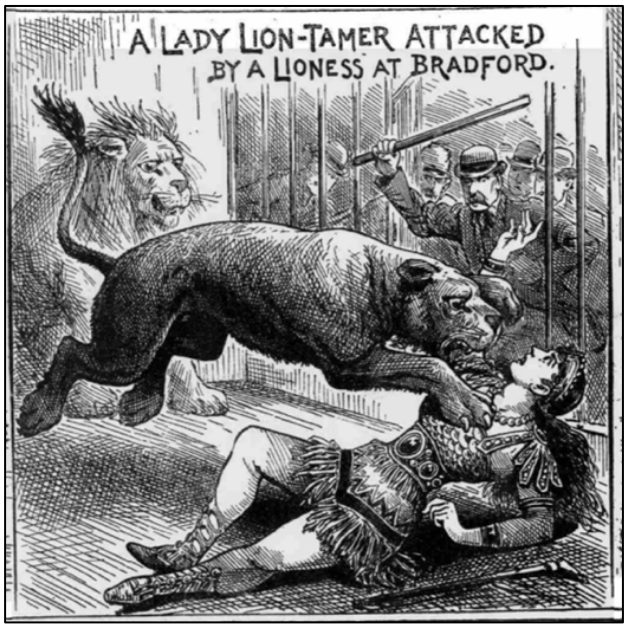


Fig. 42. "A Lady Lion-Tamer Attacked By a Lioness at Bradford." *Illustrated Police News*, 16 July 1892, p. 1.

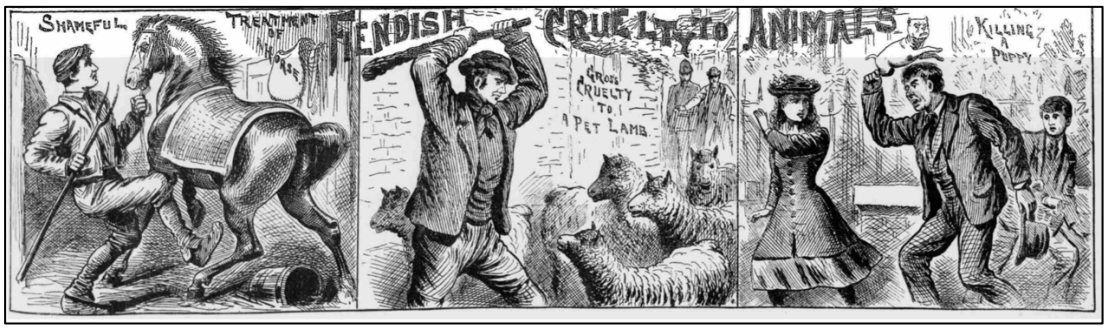


Fig. 43. "Fiendish Cruelty to Animals." *Illustrated Police News*, 16 July 1892, p. 1.

The paper frequently emphasised the inhumanity of those who harmed animals, and on the front page of their 16 July, 1892 issue they featured two images that the reader was asked to view comparatively. Featured at the top of the page was an illustration of "A Lady Lion-Tamer Attacked by a Lioness at Bradford" (fig. 42), while three plates illustrating "Fiendish Cruelty to Animals" (fig. 43) were placed along the bottom edge. The central plate of the latter image showed a man ready to strike a "Pet Lamb" with a bat, which corresponds to the first image, in which menagerie attendant appears poised to strike one of the lions with a bar in a similar stance. The article that accompanied the

image of the lion tamer's attack noted 'there was great excitement among the spectators, but the male attendants, armed with iron bars and pitchforks, beat off the animal before further injury was done [to the tamer]' ("Attacked …" 2). The report did not include any criticism of the menagerie or the act's cruelty, but appeared beside the written report about three cases of animal cruelty that had been heard at London's Police Courts on the same day. The placement of these articles and illustrations suggests that the editor of the *IPN* wanted his readers to notice the cruelties of each story.

The *IPN*'s reports on lion taming calamities can be read as challenging notions of dominion and hierarchy based on violence, a theme that, as we have seen, pervades the paper's rendering of lion taming acts. By sensationalising the failure of control at menageries, the *IPN*'s reports not only provided lurid entertainment and unintentional publicity for these shows, they also subtly criticised the cruelty of their practices and demonstrated the tenuousness of humanity's mastery over animals and the natural world.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen that the *IPN*'s reports of human-exotic animal encounters were sensationalised not only because of their novelty, but because of the wider implications of their narratives about pet primates and lion taming. The sensational stories of apes terrorising middle-class homes would have been entertaining for the predominantly working-class readership of the *IPN*, but in the paper's reports of bourgeois chaos we might also read a complex narrative in relation to gender and patriarchal authority. The paper's reports of menagerie calamities were similarly more than only lurid and entertaining stories. They revealed the grisly appeal of the menagerie for Victorian audiences, but also used sensationalism to question what menageries were doing. When it came to lion-taming acts, the *IPN*'s illustrations seemed to relish the loss of the tamer's control and challenge concepts of human dominion that the lion taming act purported to demonstrate, thus returning to the idea of the blurred boundaries that sensation fiction revelled in.

As we saw at the beginning of this chapter, contemporary critics saw sensationalism as detrimental to readers. In her aforementioned article on sensation and working-class readers, Yan explains that cheap, sensational papers and novels were seen to distract such readers from their social duties, and therefore have no social value. However, the *IPN*'s

use of sensation, rather than encouraging a retreat or escape from public life, rather asked its readers to engage with questions of class, gender relations, and animal welfare. As we shall see in Chapter Four, this is also evident in the *IPN*'s sensational antivivisectionist content. Focusing on this aspect of the *IPN*'s representation allows us to challenge some of the established contemporary and critical assumptions about the paper. Here it is demonstrably not only lurid, and pandering to crass, uneducated taste, but using sensational reporting to address and challenge assumptions about social issues.

The *IPN* showed exotic animals to be difficult to control and contain, and indeed, suggested that to seek ultimate control and dominance of these animals was foolish. In the next chapter, I will examine the *IPN*'s representation of trained animals. Unlike tamers, who sought only dominance, animal trainers rather saw themselves as educating and working cooperatively with animals. Animal training, as we shall see, raised larger questions about control, as the *IPN*'s reports related anxieties about who trained these animals and what the legal status of those animals might be. Moving from the uncontrolled spaces explored in this chapter, the Chapter Three takes us to the precisely controlled space of the courtroom, and examines the implicit suggestion of trained animal criminality in the paper's reports.

Chapter 3

Vengeful Elephants and "Furrign" Bears: The Discussion of Trained Animals in Inquest Reports and in the Courtroom

In Chapter Two, we saw that the *IPN* sensationally represented lion taming incidents and criticised the cruelty of the act. Towards the end of the nineteenth century such disapproval became more common, and animal exhibitors began moving away from taming displays based on dominance and violence and towards more humane methods that involved training animals. As mentioned in the previous chapter, taming and training were distinct in this period. Where lion taming had demanded submission, the wild animal training that gained popularity at the end of the century valued human-animal cooperation, and trainers regarded themselves as educators. They aimed to present their relationships with their animals as harmonious, but trained animal performances often went wrong, and despite their education, these animals featured frequently in the pages of the *IPN* for the havoc they wreaked. This chapter will explore the *IPN*'s representation of recalcitrant trained animals and show that its reports presented these animals as potentially criminal. If these animals were "educated", it seems that they were held to a higher standard than, for example, furious cattle and naughty pet primates. The *IPN* was, at its core, a crime newspaper, and this chapter examines the ways in which it presented legal discussions of trained animals – our location, therefore, moves from the streets, home and menagerie, to the courtroom.

This chapter begins by examining the *IPN*'s depiction of circus elephants. Travelling menageries and circuses were similar enterprises in the early- and mid-nineteenth century, as circuses often had small menageries attached to them and both faced similar problems with security and accidents due to their itinerant natures. By the end of the century, though, the two were distinct due to the turn away from the cruelty that had typified lion taming and towards the supposedly humane methods of wild animal training taken up by circuses, the key exponents of which were Carl Hagenbeck and Frank Bostock. Both men emphasised the individuality of the animals they trained, insisting that close observation of an animal would reveal if it had a personality suited to training. Hagenbeck claimed to be able to avoid resorting to brutality due to this careful selection

process, through which he recognised that 'each animal has its own peculiar characteristics, its own idiosyncrasies over and above the general psychological character which it shares with all members of its species' (125). He believed that any worthy trainer must understand the personalities of his animals and adapt their training programme suitably, and thought of his methods as being rooted in understanding, sympathy, and friendship with animals, rather than the brute force involved in taming. Frank Bostock's training practices, outlined in his book *The Training of Wild Animals* (1903), were similar to Hagenbeck's, but he thought of his methods as being rooted in science and rationality rather than friendship. Like Hagenbeck, he was critical of the brutalities of lion taming and sceptical of the practice in general, arguing that the tamed animal was 'a chimera of the optimistic imagination', while the trained animal was a 'product of science' (Bostock 185). However, it is important to note that despite both Bostock and Hagenbeck's emphasis on friendship and cooperation, the methods used in animal training were inevitably cruel. For example, in his memoir Hagenbeck claimed that his methods were 'based upon an intelligent system of rewards and punishments' (125), yet in his first description of the training he wrote that to correct a lion's behaviour, 'a kindly blow on the ribs intimates to the lion that civility is expected during lessons' (129), somewhat undermining his claim of a 'wholesome and happy relation of teacher and pupil' (118). Similarly, Bostock, like Hagenbeck, noted that he did not use hot irons, but nonetheless made mention of 'iron prongs' used to subdue recalcitrant lions, and so his methods were not entirely without cruelty (151). With its emphasis on an animal's individuality and intelligence, training made animals subjects in a way not seen with the other species discussed in this thesis. This crucial distinction emerges in the *IPN*, which prominently featured stories of trained animals involved in legal proceedings in which the animals were figured as potential criminals.

The *IPN*'s reports of circus elephants scrutinised the representation of human-animal cooperation that animal trainers like Hagenbeck and Bostock claimed to exemplify. It exposed the cruelties that could be involved in training and challenged trainers' rhetoric of education and improvement with reports of circus elephants rampaging through Britain's towns and cities. Similarly, the paper's numerous stories of elephants attacking or killing their trainers as an act of revenge for the cruelty they endured upset idealised images of trainer-animal cooperation. The popular notion of an elephant's unfailing memory led to the suggestion that elephants held grudges and were inclined to

seek retribution for mistreatments, but when an elephant was trained, there was also a generally accepted idea that they understood the difference between right and wrong. This education, then, seems to render trained elephants subjects of the law, and the *IPN* featured details of a number of inquests into the deaths of circus employees killed by elephants. While several newspapers wrote about the inquest into the self-titled "Lord" George Sangers' man-killing circus elephant, Charlie, the *IPN*'s crime format, its illustrations, and its established investment in animals and their welfare – visible in its discussion of menageries – make the paper's coverage of such incidents distinctive. In its reports, we can detect the ways in which the *IPN* revelled in the sensationalism and disruption of rampaging elephants, but, once again, underlying these stories are discussions about agency and the ethics of animal exhibition.

From circus elephants the chapter turns to look at a very different kind of animal training by examining the *IPN*'s representation of the dancing bears that entertained and suffered on London's streets. Unlike institutionally trained and controlled circus elephants, the dancing bears featured in the *IPN* were overwhelmingly owned by French peasants who lived closely with their animals, and this intimacy offered the opportunity for the *IPN* to animalise and other those trainers. Indeed, in the stories about the treatment of performing bears and their leaders I argue that we can detect a more specific context than is traced in more general discussions about cruelty, security and dominion found in examinations of zoos, menageries and circuses. In the paper's representation of performing bears can be found the pervasive anxiety of French invasion that gripped much of Victorian Britain. The *IPN* implicitly suggested that these travelling French bears and their leaders represented a threat to order in London's streets, but also symbolically challenged the narrative of British imperial dominion that permeated discussions of nineteenth-century animal exhibition.

As is the case with its inquest reports of killer circus elephants, the potential criminality of dancing bears comes to the fore in the *IPN*'s representation, for these stories featured most commonly as police reports in which the bears themselves were admitted to London's courtrooms and placed in the dock alongside their owners. But, unlike elephants, most of the bears that featured in the *IPN* were not guilty of attacking their leaders or spectators – the threat that they represented was different. I argue that, in light of the threat of French invasion, it seems that establishing control of the French bear population in the courtroom was one way of relieving Francophobic public anxiety

and asserting control over who should be allowed to control wild animals. The chapter concludes by examining bears in the courtroom as a place where order is restored, but also where the legal status of these animals is called into question.

By bringing together these two case studies, this chapter will therefore examine the *IPN*'s unique representation of trained animals. The reasons for choosing these two foci are not due to a great abundance of these stories, but due to the observation of notable patterns in the *IPN*'s reports. In my eight-year core sample of the *IPN* there are 14 stories concerning bears, and 5 of those are reports of dancing French bears in courtrooms. Similarly, there are 22 stories about elephants in that sample, with 15 focusing on captives, and 9 of those focusing on the recalcitrance of those captive animals. However, as I will show in this chapter, while these stories were not as overwhelmingly frequent as the cases discussed in other chapters, they are significant in that they each reveal an important aspect of the *IPN*'s animal representation. This chapter will therefore compare the paper's very different attitudes towards circus elephants and French dancing bears, continue the thesis' consideration of the paper's attitude towards animal exhibition, and further suggest the reasons why this crime newspaper was so fascinated by and concerned with animals. Here, the chapter takes the *Police* of the paper's title as having serious meaning in relation to its discussion of animals, and shows how the paper took its readers from both private and public spaces – the streets, homes, zoos, menageries and circuses – and into the courtroom, which functioned not only as a means of reporting crime, but as a site for the restitution of order.

"He lost his head": The Representation of Training and Animal Reputations at Inquests into Killer Circus Elephants

The Victorian circus had much in common with the travelling menagerie, attracting a similarly mixed demographic and an equal share of catastrophe. Steve Ward has suggested that 'For the masses, a visit to the circus was a welcome escape from the drudgery and toil of everyday life', but the middle and upper classes were similarly drawn to the big top (72). One of the most successful British showmen, "Lord" George Sanger, performed at Balmoral and Windsor Castles at the request of Queen Victoria, and noted in his memoir that the Queen and Prince Albert 'overwhelmed [him] with their gracious kindliness' (91). The Queen was particularly interested in Sanger's elephants and expressed her sympathy

when his elephant Charlie was destroyed, having caused the death of a second keeper – an event that the *IPN* diligently reported. A letter to Sanger from her private secretary referred to the legal proceedings following the death of the second keeper, noting that 'The evidence at the inquest made one sad: for evidently poor "Charlie" had been goaded into his dangerous condition' (Sanger 255).

Though many, like the Queen, believed Charlie innocent of any deliberate wrongdoing, there was a significant degree of doubt surrounding the case due to Charlie being a trained and arguably "educated" animal. Trained performing animals were perceived to have a level of intelligence that imbued them with the ability to make moral decisions, while elephants specifically were renowned for their memory and emotional capacities. This context meant that the *IPN*'s reports of rogue elephants were distinct from their stories of other recalcitrant animals, as the potential guilt of trained elephants meant that the *IPN* often featured these stories as police reports and inquests. In what follows, I will examine the *IPN*'s coverage of these incidents and how these animals were discussed by witnesses; but first, a discussion of elephant training and the Victorian circus is required to contextualise the paper's reports.

Until the late-nineteenth century, circuses were distinctive for their equestrian shows and trick riding, as well as human acts including clowns, acrobats and jugglers. It was not until the 1880s that wild animals became the star attractions of circuses, and the 1889-90 residency of the American Barnum and Bailey's three-ring show at London's Olympia was highly influential for the British competition, encouraging showmen like Sanger to expand (Assael 6). Assael suggests that as increasing competition led to shows becoming more dazzling and awe-inspiring, 'circus artists sometimes drove a wedge between respectable entertainment and transgressive thrill, thereby disrupting Victorian notions of improvement' (11). The sensationalism of circus displays became a focal point for moralising reformers, just as the menagerie (and, indeed, the *IPN*) had been: 'Rather than take walks in the park to renew their minds and bodies, for instance, the working classes, so the argument went, corrupted themselves by participating in irrational amusement like the circus' (Assael 12). Such concerns failed to note that the circus audience included the British elite as well as the masses.

The *IPN*'s reports on circuses tended to focus on accidents and calamities, and highlight that the challenges faced by circuses were, like menageries, due to their itineracy. There were frequent animal escapes, such as when 'Princess Lillian', the performing

monkey at Sanger's Circus, escaped into the town of Sittingbourne after a performance in 1884 (fig. 44). The animal was described in the article as being generally well-behaved, but on that occasion motivated by a 'spirit of mischievousness', and she was eventually recaptured after a rooftop negotiation ("A Performing Monkey …" 2). In comparison to the stories of pet primates in the last chapter, no endangered women feature in this report; instead the monkey is described as throwing roof slates at her would-be captors, before becoming 'perfectly docile' when reunited with her trainer (ibid). There were also false alarms, such as in October 1880, when the paper reported that residents of Croydon were in alarm at rumours of an escaped lion from Sanger's Circus. Sanger, the *IPN* noted, wrote to the morning papers to say that the rumours were false; he did not have any lions or escapees of any kind ("Rumoured Escape …" 4).

Fig. 44. "Sanger's Performing Monkey 'Princess Lillian' – Up to Her Tricks". *Illustrated Police News*, 4 Oct. 1884.

Though Sanger would have gained publicity through the rumour, circuses did not capitalise on catastrophe as menageries did. Rather than sensationalising the ferocity of their animals, circuses advertised themselves as a place where one went to see a display of not only human skill, but the feats of extraordinary animals. This shift from spectacles of dominance over animals to demonstrations of "improving" them is perceptible in newspaper advertising for circuses. For example, while Wombwell's Menagerie promised 'Startling Performances by LEDGER DELMONICO, the great Lion Tamer, with the groups of Lions, Leopards, Hyenas, &c.' to the readers of the *North and South Shields Daily*

Gazette in 1881 ("The World's Great Show" 1), an advert for Sanger's Circus in the *South Wales Echo*[14] in 1890 instead invited the public to come and see:

> SANGER'S EDUCATED STUD OF HORSES AND PONIES.
>
> SANGER'S EDUCATED HERD OF ELEPHANTS.
>
> SANGER'S EDUCATED BEARS.
>
> SANGER'S EDUCATED LIONS. ("John Sanger and Sons' Royal Circus and Menagerie" 1)

Sanger here emphasised the abilities of his performing animals rather than the humans who trained or tamed them, though of course it was still human dominance that was on show. Rather than a brief and sensational display of human mastery of animals, training was the result of a consistent process of domination that was largely marketed as one of education and cooperation.

To contextualise the *IPN*'s reports on trained elephants, a brief discussion of how they would have been trained is necessary. In *The Training of Wild Animals* (1903), Frank Bostock described his methods. Bostock's father had worked for Wombwell's Menagerie in the early-nineteenth century before marrying the first George Wombwell's daughter, Emma. Frank's brother Edward would later take over Wombwell's No. 1 show, which was renamed Bostock and Wombwell's Menagerie, while Frank toured Europe and America, gathering information about animal training as he travelled. When it came to elephants, the first thing they had to be taught, according to Bostock, was to walk around the circus ring without running away. For this reason, all elephant training took place at night after closing to minimise the risk of injury to civilians. After this, elephants would be taught basic tricks like standing up on their hind legs and lying down on command using a conditioning method. Ropes were attached to the elephants' fore legs and lifted in the air at a certain command to make them stand on their hind legs, and this was repeated until they would raise their legs themselves at the signal (Bostock 167-8). Similarly, a noose would be tied round their bodies and legs and pulled 'gently but firmly' until they lay down; again, this was repeated until they understood the command (ibid 168). Next, they would be taught to balance on a barrel; according to Bostock, successfully teaching an elephant this trick was 'simply a matter of inducing him to remain there. Ten

[14] Like menageries, circuses advertised in local papers, rather than national ones, in order to specifically target potential audiences in the days preceding their arrival in a town. There were therefore no advertisements for circuses in the *IPN*.

chances to one he will bolt in the middle of it; but there is no need to teach him to balance himself – he will attend to that himself. The same applies to see-sawing: he begins with a plank, and gradually gets accustomed to the movement' (ibid 171).

Trainers held that while any animal could be tamed, not all animals could be trained. Bostock claimed that 'some elephants show in the earliest stage of training that they can never be persuaded not to bolt at every opportunity' (ibid). Bostock saw wild animal training as a science rather than, like taming, an act of force and domination. Nevertheless, he claimed that 'a great many lessons [had been] learned as to the wonderful power of man over all the animal creation' as a result of these encounters (ibid 30). He saw himself as 'training animal nature against its instincts', and so claimed that for this reason training was 'one of the greatest proofs of the extent of man's power over wild animals' (ibid 33). While domination was key in training as it was in taming, Bostock's notion of training here is distinct from taming in that the success of the former lay in the ability to suppress an animal's instincts, as well as the animal's propensity to learn and cooperate, whereas taming exploited an animal's natural ferocity while attempting to keep it under control. Rather than savagery, the wonder of the trained circus animal lay in its civility and, arguably, its humanity. This distinction can be seen in the *IPN*'s reports. While lions were expected to attack their tamers, witnesses at the inquests into elephants that had killed their keepers always expressed their shock, as the animals had usually been friendly and playful. Because of their close working relationship with humans, they were seen to have a knowledge of right and wrong, and their subjectivity is discussed in the courtroom, as we shall soon see.

The tricks and performances of circus animals, including elephants, often mimicked human behaviour, which increased the sense that they were not wholly animal. Elephants see-sawed like children, danced, played instruments, and enjoyed mock tea parties ("About Elephants" 223-4). Performances also involved interactions with human performers; an article from the *Saturday Review* in 1881 wrote that 'One of P. T. Barnum's elephants amuses the audience by entering the arena, fanning itself with its trunk, and subsequently stealing the keeper's pocket-handkerchief to wipe its face withal' ("Trained Elephants" 622). But rather than mere physical comedy, Tait argues that trained elephants were also engaged in a performance of emotion: 'elephants were expected to embody gentle benevolence and thereby to deny their other inclinations … Like actors, animal performers contributed to the theatrical text of emotions so that these became associated

with them' (*Wild* 2-3). Elephants were trained to perform 'stoic endurance and amiable playfulness', traits that the public would recognise as apparently natural in elephants (ibid 3). While contemporary ideas about animal sagacity were to an extent exaggerated, they were also supported by science. Tait notes that the 'transition from menagerie taming to circus training followed a major social development in the study of emotions and of beliefs about them', citing the publication of Charles Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* in 1872 as a work that would influence discourse on the training of wild animals in the later decades of the century (ibid 13). Because of this, and because, as noted, training was perceived as a form of moral improvement, the misbehaviour of performing animals 'became aligned with a form of emotional disturbance' (ibid 35). The inquests into man-killing elephants presented by the *IPN* seemed to want to get to the heart of whether a killer elephant was emotionally volatile and a threat to human safety more generally, or if the incident was an isolated one.

Trained elephants were perceived to be able to suppress their natural inclinations on the one hand, but to be violent liabilities on the other, a paradox that comes to the fore in the *IPN*'s reports. Bostock wrote that a 'bad' elephant was more dangerous than a lion or tiger, noting that 'a rogue elephant is a terrible creature in more ways than one, for his huge bulk and enormous strength make him not only a formidable enemy, but his cunning and viciousness can be appreciated only by those who have come in constant contact with him' (100). This description is the antithesis of the playful, see-sawing, "educated" elephant, and Bostock's reference to the animal's 'cunning and viciousness' highlights the difference between trained animals who go rogue and the other kinds of animal recalcitrance we have seen so far in this thesis. In Chapter One we saw that horses, rather than being trained, were instead referred to as being "broken", and so we might draw comparisons between broken horses and tamed lions, a comparison that is strengthened when we consider the responses to accidents they were involved in. Bolting horses were not blamed for the chaos they caused, just as lions who got out of their cages and attacked their tamers and spectators were not blamed for their behaviour, because it was considered to be natural. Instead, the escape or attack of a lion was attributed to a fault on the tamer's part, or the insecure boundaries of the menagerie. However, the *IPN*'s reports of recalcitrant trained elephants indicate that these animals were seen to have a degree of agency due to their education, and so any defiance they displayed was attributed to bad behaviour, rather than natural inclination. When these animals caused a person's

death, the *IPN*'s inquest reports show that circus employees were engaged to account for the animal's behaviour and prove their innocence. These stories thus provide an interesting comparison to those of lion taming calamities and the recalcitrant animals discussed in Chapter One.

*

In September 1893, the *IPN* reported on the escapades of an elephant named Jim from Sanger's Circus who bolted during a routine walk through the streets of North London with his keeper (fig. 45). He was being led by 'the usual hooked stick used by keepers attached to one of the animal's ears,' and was 'said to usually be of a most docile disposition,' but on this occasion he 'became restive, and breaking away from his keeper, dashed at almost a break-neck pace into Finsbury-park' ("An Elephant Hunt …" 2). In the park, Jim broke down railings, charged at a bandstand, and knocked down several people with his trunk. Leaving the park, the article described how he caused considerable damage to local businesses and garden walls, 'trumpeting loudly' all the while, noting that all attempts to recapture him by the keeper, the police and the large and excited crowd were unsuccessful (ibid). When a member of the public attempted to divert the elephant, Jim 'slashed at the young man with his trunk' before striking him again and sending him 'flying along the road for about eight yards' (ibid). Jim caused havoc wherever he went for almost five hours, until he tired and 'allowed his keeper to chain his front legs together' and 'quietly went home' (ibid). Sanger wrote to the local papers to apologise for Jim's 'erratic behaviour', and his explanation, reprinted by the *IPN*, is illuminating (ibid). He wrote:

> It is quite a mistake to suppose that "Jim" is a blackguard animal, given to running amuck. On the contrary, his conduct during the twenty-five years of his life has hitherto been irreproachable. The truth is that "Jim" was slightly disappointed on the day when he lost his temper. He was vexed at not being able to take part in the gorgeous circus procession in which he is so conspicuous a figure. He knew another elephant was carrying the magnificently apparelled Indians and trappings that ought to have been on his own back, and he lost his head. (ibid)

Sanger's suggestion that Jim had 'lost his head' on this occasion implies that, as a trained animal, he was expected to be able to distinguish between good and bad behaviour. Sanger

suggested that the incident was caused by the elephant's feelings of jealousy and disappointment, rather than any fault of the keeper responsible for him. Here the blame was placed firmly on the elephant, suggesting he was responsible for his own conduct.

Fig. 45. "An Elephant Hunt in London." *Illustrated Police News*, 30 Sept. 1893, p. 1.

Of course, it was in Sanger's interest for the public to accept this explanation. When untrained animals ran amok, their behaviour was not suggested to be indicative of an inherent personality flaw, but due to their animal natures, whereas disobedience and destructiveness in trained animals was considered to signal that the animal might be a malicious one. Sanger here attempted to vouch for Jim, perhaps because he knew the public would be more forgiving of a novel animal acting out of character than human error, but also because of the danger a rogue elephant posed to the public. Menagerie animals were kept in cages and so were, for the most part, separated from spectators. Circus elephants performed in an open circus ring without partitions keeping them from the audience, and so when word of a particularly ferocious or difficult to contain animal got out, the publicity was not as positive for circuses as it was for menageries, hence Sanger's explanation. Additionally, if a trained animal went 'rogue' too often it would have to be killed. Once trained, exotic animals could be worth $5,000 (US), so their owners were often reluctant to destroy such valuable property (Wilson 22). No one was seriously injured by Jim on this occasion, so his destruction was not suggested, but it is intriguing

that the *IPN* decided to report both the sensational story and Sanger's explanation of the elephant's behaviour. This is a repeated trend in the *IPN*'s reports about recalcitrant performing elephants, even when these animals caused human fatalities.

Fig. 46. "Gored to Death by an Elephant." *Illustrated Police News*, 8 July 1882, p. 1.

When an elephant killed a horse keeper at Myers' Circus in 1882, the *IPN* printed the proprietor's account of the animal's behaviour that was given at the inquest into the man's death. Myers suggested that the groomsman's death was the result of the man's own carelessness, as his prize female elephant, Blind Bill, was reported to have gored the him to death when he pushed her trunk out of his way (fig. 46). A witness said he could not account for the attack but added that he had 'never known the elephant to do any mischief before, and she was always a very quiet animal' ("Gored to Death by an Elephant" 2). Myers stated that the elephant was always cooperative 'unless something was done to her', and related a story of another groom who, thirteen years previously, had 'put one of her eyes out', eventually causing her to go blind in both eyes (ibid). The man was dismissed but appeared at a show two years afterwards and slapped the elephant that had cost him his job. According to Myers, Blind Bill recognised the man's voice; she 'pushed him up against the wall, and twisted his head and eyes, and ever since the man had been cross-eyed' (ibid). Myers 'did not mean to say that the elephant injured the man's

eyes because he had served her the same, but, at the same time, it was a curious coincidence' (ibid). All of this was to say that he suspected that the deceased groomsman in this case had provoked the elephant, noting the presence of a pitchfork at the scene and injuries to the elephant's mouth, and adding that the same groomsman had stabbed Blind Bill in the trunk for taking fruit from his basket eight months earlier.

From the *IPN*'s account, the line of questioning at the inquest seems to be as much about the elephant's conduct as the keeper's, ostensibly to determine whether the animal was a threat to human safety more generally, or if this was an isolated incident, as the witnesses claimed. The coroner determined that 'the circumstance related by Mr. Myers was a curious one, and secured a just retribution to the groom', and that 'there was no doubt the deceased had a pitchfork in his hand at the time and that he used it against the animal' (ibid). The jury then returned a verdict of accidental death. Again, the *IPN* reported the incident not only as a shocking general interest story, but as a record of court proceedings which figured the incident as a potential crime. The inquest was designed to determine the cause of the man's death, and though the incident was judged to be one of animal cruelty, it is notable that witnesses were required to prove that this was not a case of a rogue who had killed its trainer deliberately and maliciously, and would kill again. Even more striking is the coroner's comment that the elephant's actions were 'just', another feature that is common in the *IPN*'s reports.

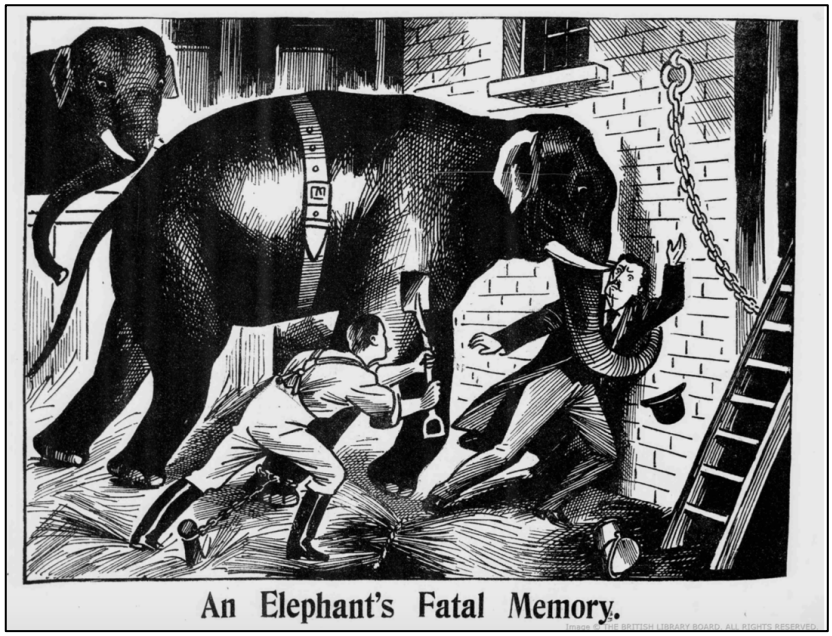


Fig. 47. "An Elephant's Fatal Memory." *Illustrated Police News*, 23 Jan. 1897, p. 5.

The case of one of Sanger's trained elephants, Charlie, is an interesting one. When Charlie killed his former keeper, Alan Baker, in 1897, the *IPN* reported the details of the inquest into the man's death in which, once again, the elephant appeared to be on trial. Charlie was said to have held 'a grudge of old standing against Baker,' which was suggested as the reason the elephant had gored Baker in the head (fig. 47; "An Elephant's Fatal Memory" 3). The *IPN* suggested that Baker 'lacked the patience and perseverance in kindness so indispensable in dealing with dumb brutes,' implying that he was perhaps cruel towards Charlie (ibid). At the inquest, Sanger, the circus manager Mr. Olliver, and Humphreys, the man who trained Charlie before Baker, all agreed that the elephant 'had an idea of paying back old scores', but everyone at the circus claimed Charlie had 'a good character' (ibid). This claim was the key subject of the inquest that the *IPN* reported, where an elephant trainer, nicknamed Tottenham, appeared as a witness. Tottenham asserted that Charlie 'had been a very quiet and docile elephant' for as long as he had worked at Sanger's, leading the coroner to ask: 'How do you account for this sudden attack?' (ibid). Tottenham repeated the theory that Charlie heard Baker's voice and gored him due to a grudge held on account of the keeper's cruelty, to which the coroner asked if Charlie had ever attacked anyone else. Tottenham replied that he never had, and that Charlie was 'as quiet as a child' (ibid). Sanger was also in court and agreed with Tottenham's testimony. The coroner was then reported as asking if Charlie was 'generally considered to be a good [animal]', which the witness again confirmed, leading the coroner to ask if he thought that elephants remember how they are treated, to which the witness replied that after forty-five years of experience with elephants, he did. The *IPN* report also includes the testimony of the trainer, who related stories of Charlie being playful with his nephew, and his performances at the Lord Mayor's Show, in order to further prove the elephant's good character. The jury agreed upon a verdict of 'death from misadventure', but before closing, the coroner asked the jury if they 'wished to add any rider or recommendation to the verdict', to which they replied they did not (ibid).

In light of the line of questioning, this final question from the coroner suggests that he was asking the jury if they thought Charlie was a risk to human life, and if they recommended Charlie's destruction. Again, this is significant: here it is not Sanger who is on trial, but Charlie. Dog owners, as we saw in Chapter One, would have been fined for not muzzling their animals and taken to court by those injured by their animals and forced

to pay compensation, but here Sanger was not criticised for his failure to control Charlie, nor were the keepers or trainers reprimanded or seen to have been responsible for his actions (although it should be noted that Sanger paid for Baker's funeral costs, perhaps to appease his family).

This shift in responsibility, from the keeper to the animal, is unique to trained animals in the *IPN*'s coverage. For example, in the *IPN*'s report of the inquest into the death of the lion-tamer McCarthy, as discussed in the previous chapter, the questions to witnesses and family members pertained to how long McCarthy had worked at the menagerie, his history as a tamer, and his health record.[15] A police sergeant who witnessed the incident said that the tamer's foot slipped, but he could not say if this was because the deceased was drunk. Another menagerie employee was questioned about the lack of hot irons available for use at the scene. The characters of the animals involved was never a focus of questioning, and the cause of death was determined to be misadventure. Of course, lions are very different creatures from elephants, but when we compare this report to one involving *trained* lions, the difference is notable. When the *IPN* reported a story of a trainer who was attacked by circus lions at an exhibition in San Francisco in 1894, an explanation was given by the proprietor for the sudden savagery of the animals:

> It has always been my custom to have lanterns and lamps about the arena in case the electric lights should become extinguished, as it is well-known that wild animals, no matter how well they may be trained, will attack a man in the dark, but in the excitement of the moment some delay occurred in the lighting of them. ("Mangled by Circus Lions" 3)

Attempts to account for the unusual behaviour of the animals were thus reserved for cases involving trained animals, as it was expected that untrained animals would act according to instinct because of their lack of education. The *IPN*'s coverage of these incidents thus reflected general beliefs about trained animals, but also demonstrates its interest in their welfare and fair treatment in legal proceedings.

Sanger's elephant Charlie would become infamous when he killed a second circus employee three years later in 1900. During a residency at London's Crystal Palace, Charlie and another elephant suddenly broke loose when they were being washed, and, according

[15] I have not been able to find a comparative example of an elephant in a menagerie or elsewhere killing a person, which is why I use the example of tamed and trained lions here, though this absence is in itself interesting.

to the *IPN* report, trampled a keeper to death in their 'wild rush' ("Exciting and Alarming Scene …' 9). Charlie, however, was identified as the elephant that had killed the keeper and was subsequently shot. The other caused significant damage when he rampaged through the packed Palace while a concert was on, but no one was harmed, and he was not killed. In the following week's issue, the *IPN* reported the events of the inquest into the man's death, and though Charlie had been killed, there was still a concerted effort to explain his actions and exonerate him. The inquest began by confirming that the deceased was a sober man, before a coroner described the horrific injuries he sustained, noting that the man was decapitated and had several fractures. A witness said that Charlie 'got in a temper when teased, but ordinarily the animal was very docile', and added that the deceased 'had nothing whatever to do with the elephants' and that he had been seen drinking earlier in the day ("The Elephant Tragedy …" 5). Another witness, one of the circus' animal keepers, claimed that Charlie had 'made a dash' at the deceased earlier that day, and the man later 'thrust at the elephant with [a] lance' in retaliation (ibid). Charlie lunged back and subsequently broke from his chains and trampled the man to death. The witness added that he had warned the man not to bother the elephant, but he was ignored.

Once again, the inquest and the *IPN*'s coverage of it focused on explaining the behaviour of the elephant, emphasising that cruelty towards the animal was the cause of the incident. The *IPN* article concluded: 'As shown by the evidence given at the inquest … "Charlie" and "Archie" were docile animals, the former exhibiting anger only when treated with cruelty' (ibid). The paper also printed the Queen's aforementioned letter to Sanger (though their version differs from that which featured in the showman's memoir) and concluded their coverage with a section titled '"Charlie' as a Children's Nurse", which quoted those 'friends' who mourned the elephant (ibid). One of them was Sanger himself, who had travelled with Charlie for 38 years, and said that he was 'the most docile, affectionate, and intelligent animal, and the finest performer [he had] ever known' (ibid). He added that Charlie had nursed all of his children, by which he meant that Charlie 'took them in his trunk and swung them gently until they fell asleep' (ibid). Sanger, again, was invested in keeping the popular idea of sagacious, human-like trained elephants alive, while the *IPN*'s inclusion of this section after the inquest report makes it read almost as an obituary to a much beloved colleague.

The reports of trained elephant recalcitrance and violence found in the *IPN* are notable in a number of ways. Stories of trained elephants specifically killing their keepers

appeared most commonly in the paper as inquest reports, a trend that is not evident in cases of untrained exotic animals involved in fatalities. This, I suggest, reflects the perception of them as educated and so able to understand good and bad behaviour, and because of the close relationships these animals had with their keepers and trainers. Elephants in particular are an interesting species to consider in relation to the *IPN*'s coverage, as they were already perceived to be sagacious in the popular imagination, despite also being considered to have extraordinary memories that made them vengeful. The *IPN*'s choice to include inquest details in its reports is one worth interrogating. Because elephants were widely perceived to be tender creatures, I suggest that the *IPN* included this information to explain and in some cases justify the animal's reaction to cruelty. This is in line with the *IPN*'s sceptical coverage of lion taming accidents, which, as we have seen, tacitly suggested its disapproval of the practice as cruel. It is clear that the *IPN* sympathised with the elephants in reports where it emphasised the cruelty of the keepers rather than the violence of the animals. This depiction contrasts sharply with the paper's depiction of the many French bears who danced on London's streets and were brought to the courtroom, and in the next section I will examine why.

"Nasty furrign whoppers!": Dancing French Bears in the Courtroom and Invasion Anxiety

Fig. 48. "A Bear in a Police Court." *Illustrated Police News*, 22 May 1880, p. 1.

The majority of cases of killer trained circus elephants featured in the *IPN* as inquest reports, and when we look at the *IPN*'s stories about dancing bears on the streets of

London, we find that almost all of them also feature within the context of the law, in this instance as courtroom reports in which the bears appeared in the dock alongside their owners, who were known as "bear leaders" in this period. One such report, featured on 22 May, 1880 and accompanied by a front-page illustration of "A Bear in a Police Court" (fig. 48), encapsulates the recurring themes and often bizarre tone of dancing bear stories:

> Bears of every denomination should be made to understand that they will be welcome to this country in a menagerial capacity. We shall be delighted to see them at the Zoological Gardens, or they are at liberty to travel about in a state of confinement; but when it comes to emulating Terpischore [sic] in the public streets Bruin must be taught that, among a people of whom it is said they take their pleasure sadly, few things are more difficult to obtain than a dancing licence. A large and intelligent bear, accompanied by a couple of peasants from the Bas Pyrenées [sic], appeared in the dock at the Worship-street Police-court the other day, charged with capering at Clapton. As the peasants were more innocent of English even than of soap and water, it was explained to the bear that, though he had waltzed through France and danced all the way from Dover, his was a form of exercise which was not publicly recognised in the metropolis. The bear, a harmless and well-conducted person, who stood on his hind legs and bowed to the magistrate's decision, left the court satisfied that it is to the advantage of his species that we should confine our encouragement of dangerous performances to men, women, and children. ("A Bear in a Police-Court" 2)

The tone of this article is difficult to define. In the implication that the bears dance in London's streets of their own accord and the suggestion that they are akin to Terpsichore, the Greek muse of dance and chorus, the tone of the article is mocking, but there is an underlying seriousness to the piece. The subtext of this article, and others that we will discuss, is distinct from other kinds of animal report discussed so far in this thesis. The bear in this case was mockingly humanised in both the article and the accompanying illustration as a means of animalising his owners who, in this and almost every other report of bears in courtrooms I have found in the *IPN*, were French.[16] Representations of French bear leaders in these stories were typically patronising, and the dehumanisation of the leaders often directly corresponded to anthropomorphic representations of the bears.

[16] For clarity, I have found one article in which the bear owner was Belgian and two articles in which the owner's nationality was not specified. The rest have been French.

Where, as we saw in the previous chapter, the respectable gentlemen owners of pet primates were not held accountable for the recalcitrance of their animals or punished in any way, the leaders of dancing bears were degraded in the *IPN*'s police reports, which were consistently Francophobic in tone.

Such an emphasis on the nationality of the leaders was not confined to the *IPN*. In August 1868, the "serio-comic" journal *Judy* published a poem titled 'Bear and Forbear' (178). This 'Ursary Rhyme' described a policeman arresting two bears for dancing on the street without a license:

> He frown'd, for two French bears he spied
> A public *deux-temps* doing:
> "My eye!" the sapient bobby cried,
> "Two bruins, mischief brewing!"
> Says he, "French bears I can't abear,
> The nasty furrign whoppers!
> Come on with me! – I tell you fair,
> You'll dance no more for coppers!" (ibid)

The spelling of 'foreign' as 'furrign' aligns foreignness with beastliness (and perhaps mocks the accent of the policeman), and indeed, the bears' key characteristics are indicated to be French, rather than bear-like, and so they are used as vessels for degrading anti-French imagery. They are described as 'Napoleonists' with 'Gallic *savoir faire'*, and it is this apparently French attitude that explains their going with the policeman 'without protesting' (ibid). The rhyme ends with a 'moral' that emphasises this is not really a poem about bears:

> That bears from France should thus submit
> To muzzling is no wonder;
> For France itself is gagg'd, and it,
> We know, knocks meekly under. (ibid)

The submission of the bears is supposed to represent the apparent deference of France to British superiority. The two nations represented Europe's largest colonial powers, and this competition was a contributing factor to commonly-held Francophobia in Britain throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

However, the arrogance of this rhyme belies an anxiety of French invasion that was pervasive in the period. In *Victorian Political Thought on France and the French*, Georgios

Varouxakis suggests that in the 1850s and 60s, the latent apprehension of French invasion 'had been given, understandably, additional impetus once a Bonaparte was again at the helm in France' (152). But the anxiety over French invasion clearly did not end with the reign of Napoleon III in 1870. In an 1896 article for the journal *Nineteenth Century*, Admiral R. Vesey Hamilton addressed the unease and assured readers there was no cause for alarm:

> Nothing in our past history appears to me more astonishing than the unreasonable fear of invasion from France, which has so frequently been manifested in this country, more especially when it is considered that such a fear does not appear to afflict continental countries whose boundaries are only an imaginary line easily stepped over; whereas we are separated by a 'silver streak' of sea, nowhere less than twenty-one miles from our nearest neighbour. (399)

That Hamilton was compelled to write this article indicates an ongoing and pervasive fear of French invasion. But while he cites the geographical security of Britain as evidence of its stability, Ailise Bulfin theorises in her study of invasion narratives in late-Victorian literature that it was this seclusion that constituted the root of invasion anxiety. Rather than being reassuring, some felt that Britain's geographical isolation rendered the nation a sitting duck, vulnerable to attack:

> Running as a paranoid under-current to the brash and widespread confidence of jingoism in the late-Victorian period were intensifying concerns that continual imperial expansion could entail not only fortune and glory for the colonising nation, but also serious drawbacks. Among these latter was the fear that Britain, the small-island centre of the world's then-largest empire, might imminently find itself facing an invasion attempt by any one of its resentful European "great power" rivals or even by rebellious colonial subjects. (Bulfin 482-3)

Britain's strength as a global power simultaneously gave a sense of security and led to anxieties about its position being usurped. Interestingly, this dichotomy can be traced in the rhetoric surrounding animals in this period. While the capture of exotic pets, the display of animals in zoos, and the taming and training of them in menageries and circuses were all deemed to be symbols of Britain's successful civilisation of colonised nations, bear leading undermined those efforts. And despite the *IPN*'s criticism of the orderly narratives surrounding these institutions, it nonetheless believed the zoo and the menagerie to be the appropriate place to view bears, hence their assertion that performing bears were welcome 'in a menagerial capacity' and in a state of confinement ("A Bear in

a Police-Court" 2). These French bears, according to the *IPN*, were not properly controlled or institutionalised, and, most importantly, they were not under the control of the right people.

Bear leading was common in Europe in this period, and bear leaders travelled across the continent exhibiting their animals in the streets for money. As Von Pelin Tünaydin notes, these bears were often graduates of so-called "bear academies", a number of which were established in continental Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, particularly in Poland and France. At a bear academy in the French town of Ercé, 'the curriculum included teaching the bears how to salute, simulate wrestling, simulate a defence against attacking dogs, and play dead upon being "shot" by the leader' (Tünaydin 55). Robert E. Bieder explains that bear training methods in this period varied but generally involved terrorising the bears with astonishing cruelty:

> The most humane [training method] was to encourage the cub to stand on its hind legs by holding food above its head. Crueller methods (still used today), included piercing a bear's lip or nose and inserting a ring used to pull the animal up into a standing position; drilling a hole through the roof of the bear's mouth and inserting a cord or ring to pull it erect – a method preferred in India; or forcing it to dance on a hot metal platform, thereby training it to associate music with burned feet and lift its feet up accordingly. (108-10)

Spectators enjoyed watching bears imitate human behaviour just as they had enjoyed watching them being baited to death by dogs, but while bear baiting was outlawed in 1835, bear leading was not banned in Britain until 1911. Indeed, Tünaydin observes that while concerns about the cruelty endured by performing bears were at the root of objections to these exhibitions, 'since bear leading was traditionally a Gypsy occupation, [the] effort to ban the practice may have also been the result of the government's wish to check the country's Gypsy population' (52). While the bear leaders in the *IPN*'s stories are all French, it is worth noting that 'French bear leaders donned distinctive headdresses to pass themselves off as Gypsies, since they were well-reputed for their talents as animal trainers' (ibid 55).

Antagonism towards the French and the fear of invasion is consistently demonstrated in the *IPN*'s xenophobic reports of dancing bears. While, in its representation of recalcitrant circus elephants, the paper presented the innocence of the animal in comparison to the cruelty of ill-fated circus employees, its discussion of dancing

bears is different, as often the bears had not misbehaved at all. Instead the *IPN* is, once again, critical of the animal handlers, but with a xenophobic inflection that is distinct to these stories, and without any demonstrable sympathy towards the animals. It was not predominantly the cruelty of the practice the *IPN* was exposing here; though we might read this as a subtext, cruelty was not the key focus of any of the bear stories I have found. Instead, it was the leaders' beastly "furrignness", emphasised in comparison to the suggested humanness of the bears, as well as anxiety in relation to the level of control leaders had over their animals, that are the recurring themes of these stories.

The back page of the 10 April, 1869 issue of the *IPN* featured an article titled "The Performing Bear Nuisance," which told of two Frenchmen in Hounslow charged with causing an obstruction with a dancing bear in a street, a frequent charge levelled against bear leaders in the *IPN*'s reports. When an officer attempted to arrest the men, one of them 'knocked a constable down with a pole on which the bear climbs, and, at a given sign, the bear stood upon its hind legs and knocked another constable to the ground' ("The Performing Bear Nuisance" 4). Here, then, the bear's thorough training was put to negative use – while obeying his master, the bear assaulted an agent of British law. The men in this case were eventually imprisoned and the bear was ordered to be taken to the zoo, which in these stories serves as the animal equivalent of prison. In another article, also from 1876, the *IPN* referred to a bear who was 'sent for a month's imprisonment at the Zoological Gardens'; the time frame here suggests that the zoo was presented as a correctional institution for the bears, as the story made no mention of the bear's leaders being imprisoned during that time ("The Dancing Bear Again" 2). The *IPN*'s presentation of the zoo as jail, a repeated trope of its bear reports, makes sense in relation to its representation of the zoo as an unnatural space in the previous chapter. In the aforementioned case, the bear showed considerable reluctance to go with his jailers. He tore up the bus he was being transported in and escaped by smashing the windows, and it was only the bear's leader that was able to calm him and allow the officers to recapture him.

The closeness of bear leaders with their animals, and the absolute control they had over them, as evidenced here, emerges in a number of the *IPN*'s reports and it is often depicted as a source of anxiety. In many of these examples, it is clear that the bears were extremely tame; it may have been the case that their teeth and claws had been removed, and so they would have posed less of a danger. In one example reported in June 1885, for

example, two Frenchmen were summoned to West Ham Police Court, again for causing an obstruction with a performing bear. The bear, the report notes, stood in the dock with its owners, and 'caused some amusement by its antics' ("A Performing Bear in Court" 3). The particular attachment of the bear to the younger of the two men is evidenced by the playful 'wrestling matches' they engaged in, which apparently gave witnesses much enjoyment (ibid). Though the *IPN* presented this as an amusing conclusion to the report, the extent of the leaders' control over their animals was more prominently a cause for concern in the paper's coverage. Though the cooperative relationship between human and animal was valued in relation to circus animals, as demonstrated in the *IPN*'s report of Sanger's elephant cradling his children, the paper presents the training of bears and their supposed friendship with their leaders as disorderly because of the nationality of the leaders.

This uneasiness is also evident in a story from April 1894 in which yet another French bear leader, named Paul Caw, was summoned for causing an obstruction, as his bear had apparently scared pedestrians who were 'afraid to pass the animal' and almost caused a horse to bolt ("A Bear in Court" 3). He was once again accompanied by his bear in court, where Caw's command of the animal was made clear. The *IPN* report relates how he led the bear in by a chain attached to an iron muzzle, and when in the dock the bear 'placidly stood up on its haunches and placed its paws on the front of the dock but at sign from its master dropped down and lay quietly on the floor' (ibid). Unlike in stories of cooperative circus animals, where the trainer's control was used as a way of signalling the orderliness of the animals, here, though it was designed to prove the docility of the bear, the display instead had the effect of causing the magistrate to wonder if the control Caw had over the bear was potentially dangerous:

> Mr. Kennedy having perused the police regulations bearing on the subject, produced by Inspector White, remarked that the bear could not be said to be at large or loose, as it was muzzled and led by a rope and chain, but there was a possible danger by the contingency of the prisoner, its keeper, becoming incapacitated from controlling it, by accident or sudden illness (he having told the constable that no one could control it but himself). His worship having conversed with the prisoner in French, elicited that he came from the south of France, and that he and the animal had been in England about a month. He pointed out the danger of allowing bears in public thoroughfares, and advised the prisoner to go

> back to France. He, however, did not want to be harsh with him, as he was a poor man, and discharged him. He warned him that he might be again arrested if he performed with the animal in the street. (ibid)

Here the lack of institutional control over the animal is suggested to be a problem. As performing bears were contained and controlled only by their keepers, rather than a cage, or by a larger organisation such as a menagerie or zoo, there was concern about what would happen to the bear if anything happened to the keeper. While the Battersea Dogs Home took care of stray dogs, there seems to have been nothing in place to deal with stray bears – though, as we have seen, they could be re-homed at London Zoo. The magistrate indicates that he was concerned that the bear's docility was only due to the presence of his keeper, without whom he would go rogue, and this concern reflects widely-held beliefs of the period. Tait suggests that stories of animals becoming violently distressed by the absence of their keepers were common, and that as a result 'animal misbehaviour became aligned with emotional disturbance' (*Wild* 35). The animals were therefore perceived to be capable of experiencing loss.

The *IPN* thus emphasised a particular conception of French dancing bears in which they became inextricable from their leaders. In doing so, the paper seemed to suggest that there being too many Frenchmen in England was as much of a concern as too many bears, and their coverage of these courtroom encounters, I suggest, was a way of allaying these fears. The courtroom became the place in which a degree of institutional control was placed upon the bears. Indeed, in the majority of these *IPN* reports the bears were present in the courtroom, which is strange for a number of reasons. Bears were the only animals that were consistently admitted to the courtroom in the *IPN*. There are a few cases of pet animals being brought into the courtroom in order to determine ownership. For example, in March 1880, a parrot's courtroom vocalisations proved he had been stolen ("A Parrot …" 2), and in October that year a stolen dog similarly ran to its true owner upon seeing him in court ("A Canine …" 2). Bears, though, were the only animals who were placed in the dock, despite animal trials ending in Britain in the eighteenth century. Rather than being offenders, though, their presence in the dock may have simply been practical, for as we have seen, there was a fear that only the leaders could control them. The bears were perceived as potentially dangerous when separated from their leaders because of their intimacy, which created the need to present them as if they were accomplices in the court, despite their not having any legal status distinct from other

animals. For example, in an 1895 article titled "A Well-Known Performer in Court" (fig. 49), the *IPN* referred to the bear as 'the first of the three offenders to jump into the dock' (2). Presenting the bears as accomplices served to highlight the order imposed on the French by English law, for while killer elephants were judged to be innocent of any wrongdoing, and perhaps good colonial subjects, these stories seem to imply that the thorough training of the bears rendered them unchangeably French.

Fig. 49. "A Well-Known Performer in Court." *Illustrated Police News*, 13 Apr. 1895, p. 5.

The behaviour of dancing bears was further suggested to be a reflection of their leaders by the *IPN*. For example, in March 1903 the *IPN* reported on a group of Frenchmen charged with creating an obstruction in Lewisham with two bears in an article titled "Aliens and Performing Bears". During proceedings, one of the prisoners handed a letter to the magistrate, who jokingly suggested that it was from one of the bears. It turned out to be from a 'lady' familiar with the bears, and it was read aloud in court (12):

> The young French bear Janibo (who presents this letter of introduction) merits the interest and consideration that English people are proverbially ready to extend to foreigners who are honest and hard-working. He was caught when only a few months old, and had earned his living for and with his masters ever since that time, and appears to be genuinely attached to them. When he has been a guest on my terrace here he behaved himself with politeness under a prolonged examination, which proved him to be well fed and in good condition. He and his masters have

> come all the way from the Pyrenees, and I have found all three very appreciative of any little attention or kindness. (ibid)

Here, the combination of the letter and the presence of the bears in court acted as a character reference that attempted to vouch for the good manners of the bears, and, by association, their owners. This is evident when the letter attributes the bear's good behaviour to their being 'well fed and in good condition'. While the bears appeared in court, in this case it was not the animals that were on trial – instead, they were evidence, as the well-behaved bears attested to the good characters of their owners.

This is significant when we consider the *IPN*'s coverage of recalcitrant pets and performing animals. As we saw in the previous chapter, pet primates were not seen as representatives of their gentleman owners when they misbehaved, and similarly the actions of killer circus elephants were not a reflection on the institution as a whole. The *IPN* instead emphasised the sensationalism of the pet primates, and the innocence of the elephants, who were responding to the cruelty of their conditions. In both cases, the paper's depiction was in line with its style of reporting animals, but in these stories, though the *IPN* occasionally encouraged sympathy with the bears, the theme that emerges most prominently is that both bears and Frenchmen were a problem to be eradicated. Indeed, in the aforementioned case, the letter in defence of the animals did not help matters: the magistrate remarked that there were 'too many bears and too many Frenchmen about' and ordered them to pay 20 shillings or endure 21 days imprisonment, while the bears were to remain in police custody until the fines were paid or the sentence served (ibid). We saw that the *IPN* was quick to defend rogue elephants with tales that emphasised their sagacity, but here there was no equivalent attempt to suggest that the outcome here, or in any of the previously discussed reports, was unjust. While elephants were presented as subjects with emotional intelligence and a degree of agency, bears were rather depicted as objects (albeit well-trained ones) that evidenced the unsavoury characters of their French leaders.

We can attribute this double standard firstly to the fact that the bears were performing in the public streets and not institutionally controlled. However, the Francophobia of these articles suggests that there was a sense that exotic animals should be under the control of only certain people: respectable gentlemen, the Zoological Society, the menagerie and the circus were implicitly deemed appropriate owners and exhibitors of these animals, even as the *IPN* simultaneously criticised animal exhibition

and ownership in its reports. In its treatment of French bear leaders, it is clear that the *IPN* and wider society did not consider foreigners to be appropriate owners of these animals. The paper thus revealed its Francophobia, which emerged from contemporary British fears of French invasion. The fact that the bears were trained compounded these anxieties, as trained animals in this period were known to be inseparable from their trainers, who could induce them to carry out violent acts, as seen when a bear attacked a policeman. The frequent presence of dancing French bears on London's streets seemed to be proof of an insidious problem, and so the *IPN*'s representation of both bears and leaders in the dock represents an attempt to assuage fear and symbolically impose order and control on these apparent invaders.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen that trained animals were at times unsettling creatures understood to have memories, as in the case of vengeful elephants, and conditioning that would cause them to act violently, as we have seen with dancing bears. While contemporary discourse suggested that wild animal training represented humanity's improvement of the natural world, the *IPN*'s reports challenged this view by presenting these animals as not only recalcitrant, but as potentially criminal legal subjects. In its depiction of man-killing circus elephants, the *IPN* once again highlighted the cruelty involved in animal performances and exhibition, revealing, as it did in its representation of lion taming, a scepticism of such practices. But while the paper consistently demonstrated leniency towards elephants in its inquest reports, and sympathised with them, it depicted, by comparison, French dancing bears as threats to not only human authority, but specifically British authority. Uncontrolled by an identifiable institution and solely under the control of foreign peasants, the *IPN*'s depiction of bears revealed their Francophobia. Their depiction in the courtroom was an attempt to allay such fears about loss of control, which these ubiquitous bears and their leaders symbolised, and to re-establish order.

The depiction of both circus elephants and dancing bears as subjects of legal proceedings differs significantly from the other animals we have seen in this thesis. As trained animals, circus elephants were perceived to have an understanding of morality, and when they killed circus employees the inquest examined both the character of the

deceased and the reputation of the animal. In these cases, the circus itself was not held accountable for the behaviour of the elephant. Comparatively, bear leaders were represented as being entirely responsible for their animals, and simultaneously the behaviour of the bears was seen as a reflection of the leaders' characters. The key difference between elephants and bears in these scenarios is that while the former were treated as subjects, the latter were depicted as mere objects through which to animalise their owners and support legal action.

The *IPN*'s conception of the legal status of these animals remains ambiguous here. While this chapter has considered the legal rendering of performing animals in the public space of the courtroom, the next chapter considers the legal issues surrounding animals that were vivisected in the laboratory, another professional space, but one which was controversially private. Animals used in experimentation were not visible to the public, and this is the focus of the *IPN*'s reportage of the late-nineteenth century vivisection debate.

Chapter 4

Illustrating Vivisection: Drawing Species Lines in Representations of the Late Nineteenth-Century Laboratory

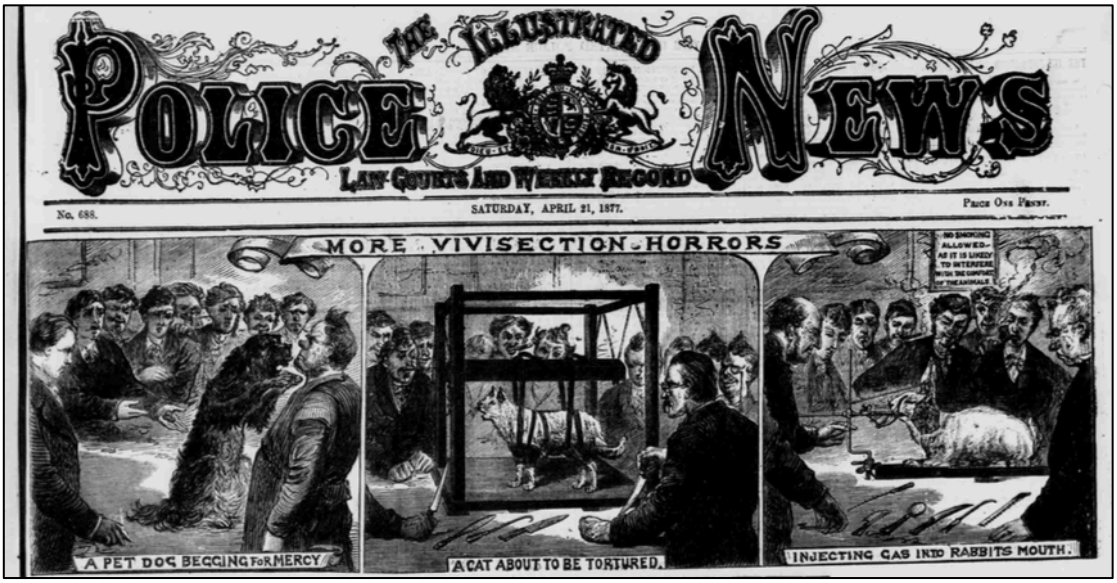


Fig. 50. "More Vivisection Horrors." *Illustrated Police News,* 12 Apr. 1877, p. 1.

On 21 April, 1877, the foremost illustrations on the front page of the *IPN* were devoted to depictions of laboratory experiments conducted on live animals, with the headline "More Vivisection Horrors". As the headline suggests, this was the latest of several front-page illustrations representing vivisection – the practice of using live animals in scientific experimentation – following the passage of the Cruelty to Animals Act eight months earlier. The Act came as a result of a Royal Commission, ordered by the government to investigate vivisection due to widespread opposition to the practice amongst the public. Vivisection was becoming increasingly common in late nineteenth-century Britain, encouraged by scientists determined to keep up with their contemporaries on the continent. While the Act was nominally supposed to protect animals, it was widely condemned by antivivisectionist activists who claimed that rather than limiting vivisection, it instead gave scientists greater license to use live animals for experimentation. The *IPN* presented three plates on its front page (fig. 50), and in them

are represented the key concerns and themes of the vivisection debate that followed the Act's passage.

The first features a dog surrounded by a group of what appear to be medical students, who are signalled to be men of affluence and education by their dress and appearance. The illustration's caption suggests the dog – a pet – is 'Begging For Mercy' from a stern-faced scientist, with its ears folded down and its paws tentatively raised, suggesting both fear and vulnerability. Dogs, situated at the hearth of many Victorian homes, were now also to be found flayed on the operating tables of medical schools, hospitals, and private laboratories. The intensity of Victorian canine reverence was not lost on the antivivisectionists, who frequently used dogs in their propaganda to appeal to a pet-loving public, while presenting the vivisection of dogs as a symbolic violation of the domestic realm by science.

The second illustration features a more sinister image of a harnessed cat, again surrounded by students, but this time the paraphernalia of vivisection is on display. Students wielding scalpels and other instruments appear in the foreground, and the image is captioned 'A Cat About To Be Tortured'. The faces of the student spectators are significantly detailed and menacing, with one depicted smoking a cigar and looking on with morbid delight at the helpless cat. Here, another domestic pet is the subject of vivisection, and the representation of the observers as cruel and callous evokes a key line of antivivisectionist argumentation, which held that witnessing vivisection would corrupt the observer, particularly if that observer was a young and impressionable medical student.

The third and final plate depicts a rabbit with its head in a vice-like apparatus and the caption 'Injecting Gas Into a Rabbits [sic] Mouth'. The animal is again shown surrounded by onlookers, and in the background is a sign reading: 'No smoking allowed as it is likely to interfere with the comfort of the animals'. Underneath, a student is shown smoking a cigar, which has a number of implications. Most immediately, it indicates the perceived disregard this representative of the scientific community has for the welfare of the animals they use for testing – the figure of the unfeeling professional scientist appears frequently in antivivisectionist discourse. Additionally, the smoking observer recalls the leisurely attitude of the Victorian gentleman scientist, a pertinent figure in the vivisection debate that mobilised discussion surrounding the professionalisation of science. We might also read this representation of the scientist as a suggestion of the supposed disregard such vivisectors had for established codes of conduct, and perhaps even the perceived

arrogance of medical professionals who regarded themselves as being above the law. In this case, the *IPN* situated the physician as a potential criminal.

Though the *IPN* was recalling and engaging with contemporary debates here, these illustrations also mark a unique contribution to the debate. The manner in which the *IPN* illustrated vivisection was strikingly different from that of any other contemporary journal or newspaper. Each of these illustrations depicted the pain and fear of its animal subject as well as the inhumanity of those carrying out the experiments in order to provoke an emotional response from the reader, as was the custom of this sensational paper. But I think there is more to these illustrations than pure sensationalism. By presenting illustrations of vivisection in which the subjectivity of the animal was made clear, the *IPN* made a unique and important contribution to antivivisectionist rhetoric that is not found in any other antivivisectionist materials. Illustrations of vivisection were controversial and seen as distasteful, so few activist groups or journals used them. Those who did reprinted figures from medical and scientific texts; as the Cruelty to Animals Act pushed vivisection further behind closed doors and away from the eyes of the public, this was all that was available to reformers to illustrate their cause. In turn, this invisibility and the inaccessibility of vivisection meant that its true horrors could only, for the most part, be imagined. And while images from scientific texts were shocking and often gruesome, their clinical nature meant that the animal was rendered an expressionless object. The *IPN*'s illustrations were, in distinction, able to imbue vivisected animals with emotion, and so their effect and impact was different.

In this the *IPN* was unique; it was the only newspaper, popular or otherwise, to print original illustrations of vivisection, rather than reproduce scientific ones. The *IPN* took inspiration from medical texts and applied a narrative to those images, including setting (a dark laboratory) and, crucially, villains (ghoulish vivisectors). The key site of this chapter, then, is the laboratory, and in relation to genre this chapter considers, again, the *IPN*'s use of sensationalism and Gothic, but especially in relation to its illustrations and their specific impact. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the significance of the *IPN*'s illustrations of vivisection and the specific impact of the paper on the debate. In order to do so, this chapter will place the *IPN* in the context of the discussion as it was presented in the wider periodical press.

The scale and scope of the national debate about vivisection was vast, and as such it has been examined from a range of critical perspectives. Hilda Kean has written about

the feminist and socialist response to the controversy (1995); Rod Preece has discussed Darwinian and Christian perspectives in the antivivisection movement (2003); John Ruskin's condemnation of the practice has been examined in relation to his moral and artistic philosophies by Jed Mayer (2008); and Rob Boddice's discussion of a Victorian gentleman scientist's defence of vivisection as a medical necessity has provided an important insight into provivisectionist rationale (2011). Each of these studies, which represent only a fraction of the published scholarship on this topic, make use of periodicals to varying degrees, but only Susan Hamilton (2004, 2010, 2015) has consistently acknowledged and interrogated the crucial role of the periodical press in shaping and fuelling the debate through her research on the dedicated antivivisection journals the *Home Chronicler* and the *Zoophilist* that emerged in the wake of the 1876 Cruelty to Animals Act. However, while Hamilton's work on these distinctly highbrow journals has added a valuable perspective to existing scholarship, no work has yet investigated the contribution of popular titles to the vivisection debate.

In the course of this chapter, then, I will examine the ways in which the Victorian press engaged with and shaped the debate, before considering how highbrow journals compare to the *IPN* in their dissemination of antivivisectionist ideas using three notable contemporaries: the middle-class newspaper the *Illustrated London News*, the antivivisectionist journal the *Zoophilist*, and the illustrated antivivisectionist title the *Home Chronicler*. I will demonstrate the crucial and controversial role of visual materials to the vivisection debate, and argue that the *IPN*, far from merely capitalising on a sensational controversy, used illustration to deftly overturn provivisectionist narratives, represent animal subjectivity, and mobilise its readership against animal suffering. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the ways in which the *IPN*'s antivivisectionist discourse might be traced as an influence in contemporary fiction, focussing on H.G. Well's late-Victorian Gothic work *The Island of Doctor Moreau* (1896).

The Vivisection Debate and the Periodical Press

Victorian attitudes towards animals are, as several scholars have noted, exceedingly complex. Domestic pets were fawned over while rats and cockerels were baited in illegal fighting pits; spectators marvelled at the exotic creatures in the Zoological Gardens and in travelling menageries, while the Duke of Edinburgh was lauded in the press for killing

these same animals for sport on a tour of British India. Contradictions in human-animal relations do not begin or end with the nineteenth century, of course, but the period is punctuated by a number of key events that complicated contemporary thought surrounding human-animal distinctions. The debate surrounding vivisection was one such event.

Opposition to vivisection had been widespread prior to the 1870s. As Macdonald Daly notes, 'Recurring pressure for a more humane treatment of non-human species had been exerted since at least the mid-1600s' (57). But it was not until the late-nineteenth century that a recognisable antivivisection movement formed, following over fifty years of sustained attention to the legal status of animals in British society. The Cruel Treatment of Cattle Act of 1822, designed to protect working and livestock animals, was extended to include domestic pets in 1835, and in 1840 the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in England and Wales was granted royal status by Queen Victoria. By the second half of the nineteenth century, discussions surrounding animal welfare had turned their attentions to the plight of animals used in laboratory experiments.

Live animals were used in anatomical and neurological research in order to learn about the human body, and provivisectionists argued that vivisection was justified by the contribution of such experiments to medical knowledge. The British physiologist James Paget provided one example of the utility of vivisection in an 1881 article for the esteemed journal the *Nineteenth Century*, claiming that in the late-eighteenth century it was 'nearly certain that ninety-five out of a hundred persons who had aneurism of the principal artery of a lower limb died of it', but at the time he was writing, it was 'as certain that of a hundred persons with the same disease less than ten die' (Paget 926). Paget and other provivisectionists argued that hundreds of human lives were saved every year in Britain thanks to knowledge gained from experimentation on live animals, but antivivisectionists held that as other research methods were being used in tandem with vivisection (for example observation of patients and post-mortem examinations) it was impossible to calculate its effectiveness. Vivisection, they argued, was unjustifiable.

An organised antivivisection movement emerged in response to the controversial 1876 Cruelty to Animals Act, which, as noted, activists argued did very little to protect animals from vivisection. The Act stipulated a number of conditions, including that vivisection could only be performed expressly to gain knowledge which would relieve human suffering; that physiologists required a licence to do so; that the animals must be

anaesthetised; and that vivisection could not be performed for purely educational purposes. However, these regulations were undermined by the extensive list of exceptions that accompanied them. For example, if anaesthetics were likely to interfere with the outcome of the experiment, then the experiment might be performed without them, and vivisection could be performed as part of lectures in medical schools and hospitals if they were 'absolutely necessary' for the instruction of medical students (Cruelty to Animals Act 1876 s3.1). Additionally, licences were relatively easy to obtain, as they were provided by the Home Secretary following approval by any of the heads of the Royal Colleges. Indeed, there were three times as many licensed vivisectors practicing in Britain in 1878 than there were prior to the Act's passage (Hamilton *Animal Welfare* xxx). Additionally, the Act forbade public spectators from laboratory experiments, which pushed the practice further away from the critical gaze of the public and reformers.

While the practice of vivisection itself was rendered invisible by the Act, the periodical press proved to be the arena in which the key concerns of the debate were most widely and frequently discussed, and thus where vivisection was most often "seen". That said, most newspapers reported on the debate impartially or took a moderate view of the issue. For example, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* called for strict regulation of vivisection, but was not against the practice in principle, an editorial proposing in January 1875 that 'There must be an end to amateur vivisection – to all vivisection indeed, except that which has the sanction of the highest authorities' ("The Practice of Vivisection" 6). Similarly, the conservative daily *London Evening Standard* was of the opinion that the 1876 Act sufficiently protected animals from cruelty, and that 'to do more would be wilfully to debar ourselves from a means of gaining medical and surgical knowledge' ("Vivisection" 2).

As most publications avoided taking a side, letters emerged as a prominent platform for leading figures to exchange arguments and counter-arguments and to promote their respective causes. Notably, an exchange across several issues of the *Examiner* in the summer of 1874 between the MP W.A. Hunter and the physician Charles Drysdale on the side of provivisection and the antivivisectionists Frances Power Cobbe and Richard Holt Hutton, editor of the weekly political magazine the *Spectator*, continued for over a month. In another example, the physician George Hoggan, who would later become Honorary Secretary of Cobbe's Victoria Street Society, responded to the provivisection *British Medical Journal* labelling him 'the accuser of his profession' in 1875 with an open letter in the *Spectator*, a publication aligned with the antivivisectionists thanks

to its aforementioned editor, who served on the Royal Commission on vivisection ("Vivisection and Anaesthetics" 749).

From daily newspapers to intellectual magazines, the periodical press abounded with articles and letters discussing the controversy, and Susan Hamilton has argued that by facilitating the debate, the press played a foundational role in its development. Hamilton has identified another 1875 letter written by Hoggan and published in the *Morning Post* as having provided 'the public exposure needed for an organized antivivisection movement' ("Genre" 136). In the letter Hoggan argued that the secrecy of vivisection was 'the greatest obstacle' for the antivivisectionist cause, as the public could not fathom the full extent of the cruelty of the practice due to the privacy afforded to laboratories, privacy that the 1876 Act would later enhance ("Vivisection" 3). Hoggan relayed his first-hand account of the experiments he witnessed while working with the French physician Claude Bernard; these were the sights that turned him to antivivisectionism, and he hoped that readers would be similarly affected:

> During three campaigns I have witnessed many harsh sights, but I think the saddest sight I ever witnessed was when the dogs were brought up from the cellar to the laboratory for sacrifice. Instead of appearing pleased with the change from darkness to light, they seemed seized with horror as soon as they smelt the air of the place, divining apparently their approaching fate. (ibid)

Hoggan's letter brought the realities of vivisection to the public, and in this brief excerpt from his account we can distinguish one of the hallmarks of antivivisectionist rhetoric. The evocation of darkness came to characterise the covert and implicitly immoral practices of vivisectors operating in their hidden laboratories, while the antivivisectionists thus aligned themselves with the transparency of "light", and all of the attendant morality it connoted. Indeed, Cobbe's 1883 treatise *Light in Dark Places* played on this metaphor, as the pamphlet sought to illuminate the realities of vivisection that had previously been hidden from the view of the public.

However, Hoggan's use of light here also indicates one of the problems the antivivisectionists faced. The light in his account did not present salvation for the dog. Rather than being redemptive, the light of the laboratory represented harsh and brutal reality; for the dog, the danger was in the light, not the dark. Similarly, when it came to revealing the realities of vivisection to the public, antivivisectionists were met with the dilemma of how to expose the cruelties of the practice without upsetting their audience.

In particular, the use of images of vivisection in antivivisectionist materials was frowned upon. Vivisection could be deemed immoral, but so too could the publication of horrifying and shocking images of the practice that sought to expose its immorality, as we shall see when we come to criticisms of the *IPN*'s illustrations.

It was not only illustrations of vivisection that were condemned: antivivisectionist rhetoric was often criticised as misleading or exaggerated. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, for example, did not approve of some antivivisectionist discourse, writing that the suggestion that physicians were as guilty of cruelty as those who organised and supported dog fights was 'one of the most preposterous that ever proceeded from prejudice, perversity, or folly' ("Vivisection" 10), and in 1894 the paper accused the Victoria Street Society of the 'deliberate mis-statement and falsification of records in order to give colour to their cause' ("Some Truth About Vivisection" 1). Accusations of misrepresentation and sensationalism marked provivisectionist critiques of their opponents. For example, an anonymous commentator in the provivisection medical journal the *Lancet* described antivivisectionist accounts of the practice as 'irrelevant, insincere, and sensational' ("Experimentation on Animals" 204).

Antivivisectionists, then, had to negotiate revealing the reality of vivisection's cruelties without offending and alienating their audience, and without engendering accusations of sensationalism or sentimentality, terms that emerge consistently in discussions of the vivisection debate in the press. Antivivisectionists were tasked with evoking an emotional response from the public whilst ensuring that those feelings were ones that would persuade rather than alienate their prospective audience. Now, the chapter turns to examine the role of sentimentality and sensation in the rhetoric of the vivisection debate and in the *IPN*'s illustrations, before considering the paper's distinctive evocation of empathy and its role in the development of the figure of the criminal scientist.

Seeing and Feeling: Sentiment and Sensation in the Vivisection Debate

Vivisection was debated in the press throughout the late-nineteenth century and into the early-twentieth. Over the course of this period, the key arguments of the debate remained largely consistent, though Coral Lansbury's seminal text *The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers and Vivisection in Edwardian England* (1985) has shown how in the early-twentieth

century the debate came to have broader resonances in terms of class, and how early feminists came to relate the plight of animals to that of those women who were forced to participate in gynaecological experimentation. But throughout this time, the debate was arguably most prominently characterised by concerns about sentimentality.

In the eighteenth century, sentiment was valued as a feeling that would guide moral action. In his key work on the development of sentimentality in the Victorian period, *Sacred Tears* (1987), Fred Kaplan notes that philosophers David Hume and Adam Smith, the key exponents of the moral value of sentiment, held that 'the more responsive we are to our moral feelings, the better, the more moral, our individual and social conduct will be' (Kaplan 20). But during the nineteenth century, sentimentalism gradually came to represent insincerity and irrationality, and to be pejoratively defined as 'the disposition to attribute undue importance to sentimental considerations, to be governed by sentiment in opposition to reason; the tendency to excessive indulgence in or insincere display of sentiment' (ibid 17). Kaplan explains that sentimentality came to be associated with 'philistinism and small minds', especially by the emerging modernist intellectual elite, and was no longer seen as a moral vehicle 'because it was not an expression of true feeling, natural feeling, and the feelings themselves were not a reliable guide to moral action' (ibid).

Antivivisectionists were often condemned as sentimental by their opponents. In an article in the influential journal the *Contemporary Review* in which he tacitly criticised the *IPN*'s illustrations (more on this later), the Russian physiologist Elias von Cyon claimed that those opposed to vivisection were motivated by 'hysterical sentimentality' and possessed 'an eccentricity amounting to disease' (499).[17] Another implicit critic of the *IPN*, the eminent Victorian physician Samuel Wilks, wrote in the distinguished literary journal *Nineteenth Century* that though the sentiment that motivated concern for animal welfare was justified, 'like other crude sentiments, it ought not to form a basis of legislation without rational consideration' (937). Wilks here indicated a hallmark of provivisectionist discourse, in which the expertise and rationality of the physician was

[17] Much has been written about the gendered language of the vivisection debate and the role of women in activism. See, for example, Paul White's essay "Darwin Wept: Science and the Sentimental Subject" (2011). For a more focused discussion of women and feminism in relation to vivisection see Hilda Kean's essay "The 'Smooth Cool Men of Science': The Feminist and Socialist Response to Vivisection" (1995), Coral Lansbury's *The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers, and Vivisection in Edwardian England* (1985), and Susan Hamilton's multi-volume work *Animal Welfare and Anti-Vivisection 1870-1910: Nineteenth-Century Women's Mission* (2004).

situated in opposition to what was characterised as the uninformed sentimentality of the antivivisectionist. He continues:

> On the one side there are those who alone can know the best methods of scientific research and can recount its beneficial results, while on the other side there are those of every profession and trade, who are non-scientific, who by their speeches show themselves transparently ignorant of the simplest laws of nature … (Wilks 937)

Here, Wilks identified the division between the antivivisectionist and the provivisectionist as an intellectual one. In the same article, he declared the illustrations of an unnamed penny illustrated paper, which 'panders to the vilest and lowest feelings of the mob', as having done 'good service to the anti-vivisectionists by its false and abominable prints' (944). We can confidently read this as a reference to the *IPN*, as no other penny illustrated paper published illustrations of vivisection and '[delineated] in detail all the circumstances of brutal crimes' (ibid). Rather than having appealed to the reason of their readership, Wilks suggested that the *IPN* had merely aroused their 'lowest feelings', a typical critique of sensational journalism (ibid).

But it was not only the antivivisectionists who appealed to feeling in their rhetoric. Despite the attempts of provivisectionists to emphasise the rationality of their arguments in favour of vivisection, it is clear that "feeling" – a term I am here using broadly to refer to attendant concepts including sentiment and emotion – was prevalent on both sides of the debate. In order to examine the function of the *IPN*'s antivivisectionist illustrations, then, it is first crucial to consider an example of provivisection illustration from the *Illustrated London News*, which provides an illuminating comparison to the *IPN* in its evocation of feeling.

The *ILN*, like much of the press, took a moderate view of vivisection, but it was outwardly critical of the antivivisectionists in its issue of 21 June, 1884. The paper accused them of misguided compassion, writing in an article relating to the experiments of the French chemist Louis Pasteur that 'The boasted virtue of "humanity," like other kinds of charity, should begin at home with our own species' ("M. Pasteur's Experiments on Hydrophobia" 592). Unlike antivivisectionist titles, the *ILN* did not print graphic illustrations of vivisection. And in stark contrast to the *IPN*, the *ILN* was seen as an aspirational family-oriented publication, which aimed 'to grace and not offend the middle-class table' (Clarke 247). The only visual depictions of vivisection I have found in the *ILN*

from 1876 to the beginning of the twentieth century come from this article, which details Pasteur's efforts to produce a cure for hydrophobia, or rabies, via live animal experimentation. The piece confirmed the *ILN*'s belief in 'the utility of vivisection', and was accompanied by three engravings ("M. Pasteur's Experiments on Hydrophobia" 592).

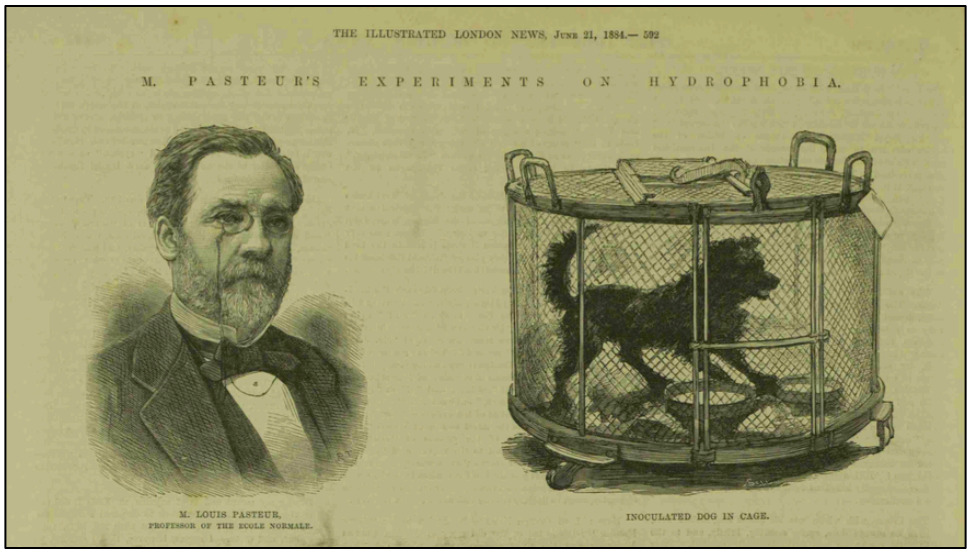


Fig. 51. "M. Pasteur's Experiments on Hydrophobia." *Illustrated London News,* 21 June 1884, p. 592.

Fig. 52. "M. Pasteur's Experiments on Hydrophobia." *Illustrated London News,* 21 June 1884, p. 592

The first two (fig. 51) include a portrait of Pasteur next to but crucially separate from an image of one of the caged and inoculated dogs being used in his experiments.

The dog's features are not visible in the detail of the illustration (indeed, more attention has been paid to the detail of the cage than that of the dog), and the stance of the dog is neutral – nothing in the illustration suggests fear or agitation. The portrait of a smartly dressed Pasteur suggests his professionalism and authority. At the bottom of the same page is another image, this time of Pasteur at work in his laboratory (fig. 52). Again, Pasteur is distanced from any association with vivisection. He is pictured with a notepad, rather than a scalpel, which places emphasis on the results of animal experimentation and their contribution to knowledge, rather than the methods themselves. The laboratory is open, clean and bright, and there is nothing to suggest death or cruelty; here, we might compare the rhetorical function of these illustrations to the *ILN* engraving of the rhinoceros in London Zoo we saw in the previous chapter, in which the rhino was pictured in a natural environment that emphasised open nature, rather than captivity (fig. 33). Pasteur is clearly the focus of the illustration – the caged rabbits, like the dog, are not sketched in great detail.

The accompanying article continued this theme. The experiments were described in surprising detail and their results were explained, but from these descriptions the reader is given no sense of the emotional states of the animals. Their physical reactions to the experiment were noted, but the language was precise and void of emotion:

> The dog was tied down, and his muzzle was thrust into a cup which contained some chloroform, which rendered him quite unconscious. The skin was raised from his forehead, the skull was trepanned, and a very small syringe, of crystal, with a thin curved point, was inserted in the brain, by which a drop of the virus of canine madness was administered. The dog, when aroused, was able to run about and eat, as if in ordinary health, but in a very few days became raging mad, and died like other mad dogs. (ibid)

The language is clinical, with the procedure and apparatus being afforded more explanation and detail than the dog, which is here rendered one of many pieces of laboratory equipment. The article also makes clear the dog's unconsciousness, and so lack of suffering. In comparison, the same article described the physical and mental turmoil of a young boy who died from the bite of a rabid dog with anguish:

> This child was in a frightful condition, tortured with thirst, while the sight of water, or any liquid, excited him to fury, and he raved horribly, scolding the nurses with all his little might, and continuing till he fell back quite exhausted, writhing

> in fierce spasms, his throat contracted, and with the signs of approaching suffocation … Those who saw the agonies of that child at the hospital might well think it worth while to call upon Science, even though a hecatomb of brute animals were to be sacrificed … (ibid)

Here, the *ILN* vividly described the agonies of the child, rather than of the animal, turning antivivisectionist rhetoric on its head. By being pro-animal, antivivisectionists were implied to be anti-human. The alleged sentimentality antivivisectionists harboured for animals was here posited as a threat to medical progress and the alleviation of human suffering, while the suggestion that those who witnessed the child's suffering would call for the continuation of vivisection emphasised the importance of expert perspectives in medical matters. Additionally, the apparently neutral illustrations that accompanied the article served to ensure that the reader's sympathies lay with the child, rather than the caged dog. Here, then, the *ILN* avoided anything that might be labelled sentimentality in its illustrations, barely granting the animals in its images any animation. It reserved its emotional appeal for its written description of an innocent human life that could potentially be saved by knowledge gained from vivisection.

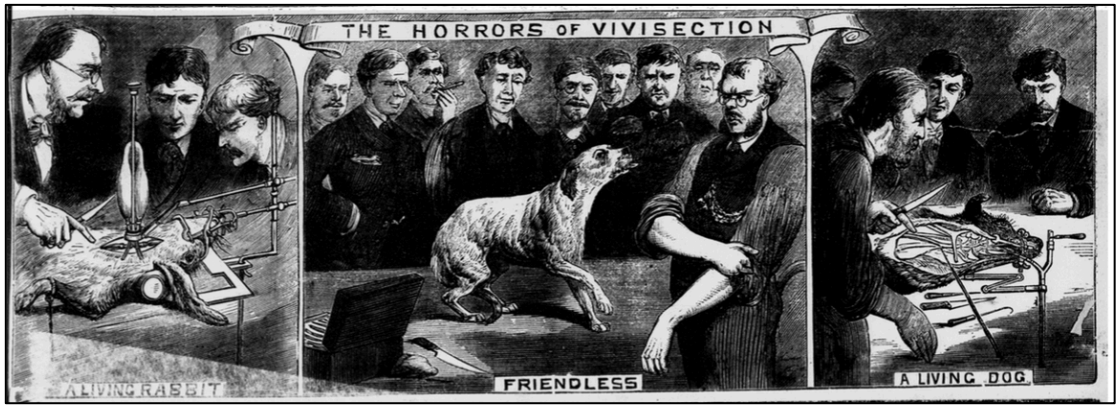


Fig. 53. "The Horrors of Vivisection." *Illustrated Police News,* 24 Mar. 1877, p. 1.

The *IPN*'s illustrations contrast markedly with those of the *ILN*. While the *ILN* sought to emphasise the clinical professionalism of vivisection by depicting Pasteur in a clean, bright and expansive lab, the *IPN* suggested the horror of the practice by evoking a heavily shadowed and cramped laboratory setting. On 24 March, 1877, one month before the triptych discussed at the beginning of this chapter was featured, the *IPN* presented three plates on its front page that depicted "The Horrors of Vivisection" (fig. 53). In these illustrations, the scientists are as prominent as the animals. Their facial

expressions, body language and attitudes are deliberately detailed to suggest that they are unfeeling, cruel, and even nonchalant, as indicated once again by one man in the background smoking a cigar. Additionally, the instruments of vivisection are in full view, and much like the *IPN* images already discussed, the key focus of the central image is a dog, again with one paw raised as if pleading with the unsympathetic vivisector, who is depicted rolling up his sleeves as though preparing to operate. Unlike the scientists, drawn in dark hues, the dog is pure white. It is depicted with its ears folded down, its tongue is out of its mouth, and its tail positioned between its hind legs.

While this image would seem likely to have been open to criticism that it was sentimental, we might turn to Darwin to justify this depiction of the dog. Published in 1872, his *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* challenged and developed Sir Charles Bell's theories from his 1824 work *Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression* in order to demonstrate the shared modes of emotional expression between humans and animals. Bell had argued that 'in the lower creatures there is no expression but what may be referred, more or less plainly, to their acts of volition or necessary instincts', but Darwin argued that rather than being merely instinctive creatures, animals were capable of experiencing and expressing a range of feeling, both physically and vocally (qtd. in Darwin 22):

> … man himself cannot express love and humility by external signs, so plainly as does a dog, when with drooping ears, hanging lips, flexuous body, and wagging tail, he meets his beloved master. Nor can these movements in the dog be explained by acts of volition or necessary instincts, any more than the beaming eyes and smiling cheeks of a man when he meets an old friend. (Darwin 22)

Here, Darwin implied human-animal kinship in emotional terms, adding to the shared biological links he argued were evident in his theory of evolution.

It is clear when reading *The Expression* that Darwin had an enormous affection for animals. He vividly described a startled chimpanzee at London Zoo, whose 'hair rose all over his body' (ibid 94), the various species of monkey who "laughed" and smiled 'when pleased by the return of any one whom they [were] attached' (ibid 125), and Indian elephants that wept 'when distressed by the removal of a young one' (ibid 156). However, Darwin's animal ethics were often contradictory, and the role of Darwinian principles in debates surrounding animal welfare were similarly complex. Darwin's love of hunting is well documented, as is his love of his dogs and his hatred of cruelty, but the most potent

dilemma for Darwin was vivisection.[18] He deeply regretted his youthful experimentations on pigeons and did not practice vivisection for the remainder of his career. Darwin was clearly unsettled when pressed on the issue, as evidenced in an 1871 letter to the British zoologist E. Ray Lankester in which he wrote that he would not be able to sleep that night if he continued ruminating on the matter (Rachels 214). However, as the vivisection controversy developed from 1876 onwards, Darwin became more vocal in defence of vivisection, condemning the 1876 Act, and declaring that vivisection was necessary for scientific and medical progress.

Nevertheless, Darwin's work is useful when considering the *IPN*'s illustrations of vivisection. For example, he provided a description of a frightened dog that matches closely the *IPN*'s depiction of the animal's body language in figure 53:

> Even a very slight degree of fear is invariably shown by the tail being tucked in between the legs. This tucking in of the tail is accompanied by the ears being drawn backwards; but they are not pressed closely to the head, as in snarling, and they are not lowered, as when a dog is pleased or affectionate. (Darwin 117)

Here, then, Darwin rendered the animal body legible in scientific terms, lending credibility to the *IPN*'s illustrations and debunking the provivisectionist claim that antivivisectionist rhetoric was ignorant of contemporary scientific debates. And even if the *IPN* was not directly evoking Darwin in its depiction (the paper did make references to popular interpretations of Darwinian theory like the so-called "missing link," so at the very least it took for granted that its readership would have a general familiarity with Darwin's ideas), it is clear that it expected its audience to recognise and understand the dog's fear. The *IPN*'s depiction of the dog, then, was not merely a sentimental view of an animal in distress, but rather a demonstration of the shared emotional language of humans and animals. In her work on Victorian emotions, Rachel Ablow has noted the difficulty in defining exactly what the emotions are, but has helpfully indicated their ability to upset seemingly immutable boundaries:

> Those diverse feelings and sensations commonly grouped together as "the emotions" almost invariably fall between apparently stable domains – whether of the physiological and the psychological, the individual and the social, or the

[18] For a discussion of the complex position of Darwin and his work in the vivisection debate and the wider nineteenth-century animal welfare movement, see Rod Preece's *Brute Souls, Happy Beasts, and Evolution: The Historical Status of Animals* (2005).

> human and the nonhuman. As a result, they challenge the stability and autonomy of those categories ... (375)

By focusing on animal expression and emotion, the *IPN*'s illustrations seem to have acknowledged something similar, and upset the barrier between human and animal. This is a distinguishing feature of the periodical, for while antivivisectionist rhetoric tended to emphasise the ability of animals to feel pain, there are few other examples of antivivisectionists suggesting a shared level of emotional expression between humans and animals – although, as we shall see later, antivivisectionist discourse frequently implied the malleability of the human-animal divide by suggesting that practicing vivisection would unlock the 'wild beast' in man (Carroll 851).

In addition to being criticised as sentimental, antivivisectionist illustrations such as these were, as we have seen, criticised for their perceived sensationalism, another term frequently encountered in contemporary appraisals of antivivisectionist rhetoric. The *Saturday Review*, though sympathetic to the antivivisectionist cause, scathingly criticised 'sensational illustrations of the alleged horrors of vivisection' which, they argued, '[appealed] to popular passion' and were 'detrimental to calm and reasonable reflection', again placing feeling in opposition to reason ("Vivisection" 540). While the origin of these images is not stated explicitly, we know that the *IPN*'s illustrations were being discussed in contemporary journals at the time, as we have seen so far in the examples of Cyon and Wilks. In her work *The Nineteenth-century Sensation Novel,* Lyn Pykett notes that in sensational journalism, 'Private affairs were turned into public spectacle in the theatre of the courtroom', as popular newspapers in particular abounded with tales of bigamy, murder, and domestic abuse (2). Sensation, then, is a form identified as revelatory, where the exposure of that which would prefer to remain hidden is a frequent and dramatic plot device. Here, the relevance of sensation to antivivisectionism, a movement concerned with revealing vivisection's hidden cruelties, is made clear. Though not exposing infidelity, antivivisectionist rhetoric sought to reveal that trusted physicians were performing unspeakable cruelties, and so undermine public trust in medical and scientific professionals. And rather than bringing scandal from the home and into the public sphere, antivivisectionist publications instead revealed the hidden practices of the laboratory.

Despite attempts to avoid sensationalism, antivivisectionist publications were inherently linked with the genre due to their necessarily revelatory function. Contemporary critics viewed the sensation genre as detrimental to readers – particularly

young readers and the newly-literate working class, as we saw in Chapter Two – but while it would be naïve to suggest that the *IPN*'s vivisection reportage was not to some extent sensational, its editor might have argued that its sensationalism had a different effect. Rather than encouraging a retreat from public duty, the *IPN*'s vivisection content was a call to public action, as it sought to rally its readership against the practice.

The *IPN*'s first report on vivisection appears to have been in January 1867 (though, as mentioned, issues from 1866 are no longer extant), eight years before it became a mainstream social and political debate. The article, titled "Horrible Cruelty", introduced an account of vivisection it had reprinted from the journal *The Veterinarian* as 'almost too horrible to be published, yet so horrible that the practice requires to be publicly denounced' (2). And in an editorial from 1878, the *IPN* once again made clear that it believed public knowledge of the practice was crucial to the antivivisectionist cause:

> We are very well assured that the great body of the people do not in any way realise the accumulated mass of horrors and cruelties included in the one insignificant word vivisection. It is true the laudable efforts of the several members comprising the various Anti-Vivisection Societies have done something towards arousing public indignation against the callous and detestable practice; but the English people are slow to move, save in exceptional cases; had this not been so, vivisection would have been, by this time, a thing of the past … ("Illustrated Police News" 2)

Here, the *IPN* firmly stated its support of the antivivisectionists, making it the only national newspaper to do so. It furthermore indicated a desire to mobilise its readership, thus subverting the typical function of sensationalism as the genre's critics saw it. The use of the verb 'move' in this quotation has a dual function, referring to both emotional arousal and physical action, which were inextricable in relation to the *IPN*'s antivivisectionism. Rather than merely evoking outrage and disgust, the *IPN*'s illustrations of "The Horrors of Vivisection" demonstrated the potential social function of sensation. And, as we have seen, the *IPN*'s efforts in this area did not go unacknowledged by the scientific community.

The *IPN*'s sensationalist antivivisection content, far from being merely gratuitous, functioned as a means of rallying its readership around an important cause which, as Coral Lansbury has shown, would have been of greater personal significance to the predominantly working-class readership of the *IPN* than the predominantly middle- and

upper-class antivivisectionists. Lansbury has noted that the poor feared being themselves experimented upon, as 'those who died in the workhouse or the hospital and had neither friends nor family to claim the body were regularly handed over to the surgeons', and even when alive they could be subjected to experiments without their consent (57). For example, Lansbury notes that 'In 1883, William Murrell and Sidney Ringer administered large doses of sodium nitrate to hospital outpatients at the Westminster Hospital before they had conducted any experiments on animals' in order to determine if it was poisonous (58). Far from being exaggerated sensations, the horrors of vivisection would have been all too real for readers of the *IPN*.

In addition, despite provivisectionist critiques that suggested their sentimentality and sensationalism, the *IPN*'s illustrations employed a more sophisticated mode of animal representation than it has been given credit for. Here I have compared the illustrations of the *IPN* to the provivisectionist *ILN*, but it is also necessary to examine their significance in relation to antivivisectionist journals. Such a comparison is crucial to demonstrating what it is that makes the *IPN*'s illustrations in particular so distinctive. In what follows I will examine the *IPN* alongside the antivivisectionist journals the *Zoophilist* and the *Home Chronicler,* both of which catered to vastly different tastes and readerships than the *IPN*. Though the *Zoophilist* never printed illustrations, its tone and political stance render it an interesting comparison to the *IPN*. The *Home Chronicler* prominently featured illustrations; however, in comparison to the *IPN*, these were not original engravings, but those reprinted from medical texts. As I will show, where the *Home Chronicler*'s illustrations promoted sympathy with animals, the *IPN*'s more importantly sought to provoke empathy.

Sympathy versus Empathy: Antivivisectionist Journals and the *Illustrated Police News*

While the *IPN* was the only newspaper to declare its support for the antivivisection movement, two dedicated antivivisection journals emerged in this period: the *Home Chronicler*, founded in 1876 (titled the *Anti-Vivisectionist* from 1878), and the *Zoophilist*, which first appeared in 1881 as the journal of the Victoria Street Society, which was founded by Frances Power Cobbe in 1875. These publications were significantly different from the *IPN* in their tone, format, readership, and dissemination of antivivisectionist

ideas. Hamilton is the only scholar to have carried out a sustained study of these two journals, and the following comparison with the *IPN* is indebted to her research.

The *Zoophilist* was a monthly publication that was aimed at a more intellectual audience than the *Home Chronicler*. It originally cost six pence, but reduced its price to three pence at the beginning of 1883 in the hope that this and the introduction of more varied and less purely scientific content would encourage a more general readership. Up until that time, the price, alongside advertisements for scientific paraphernalia such as phials and dispensing bottles, indicated a learned and affluent readership. Another indicator of the class of reader the *Zoophilist* enjoyed is a notice that appeared in their August 1882 edition requesting that readers 'travelling abroad this summer … furnish themselves at the office with the various papers of the Society in the languages of the countries they intend to visit' ("Special Notice" 125) so that they might promote the antivivisectionist cause overseas. Furthermore, every issue featured a list of the Victoria Street Society's honorary members and executives, which consisted of a number of eminent men and women in British society, from earls and bishops to MPs and poets (Tennyson and Browning were vice-presidents). As Hamilton notes, 'The display of political and cultural power that such names represent … was one way in which the society asserted the authority and legitimacy of its critique of science' (*Animal Welfare* xxxviii). From the outset, the *Zoophilist* sought to cement its position as a serious journal of scientific, literary, and political import, thus challenging the characterisation of antivivisectionists as irrational and sentimental.

In its prospectus, the *Zoophilist* noted its objection to vivisection on three grounds: its cruelty, its detrimental effect on morality, and because, in their view, it was an 'unsound and delusive method of scientific research' ("Prospectus" 1). They hoped to reach out to 'the Man of Science' and so 'redeem Science from confusion and disgrace' (ibid). The evocation of "redemption" is apt here, as the *Zoophilist* was a markedly Christian publication. On the front page of their inaugural issue on 2 May, 1881, alongside advertisements for the other publications of the Victoria Street Society and for the London Anti-Vivisection Society, was one for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and their book series titled "The Humanity Series of School Books" (1). On the second page, an advertisement for Thomas Carlyle's essay "The Darwin Craze. A Gospel of Dirt" also featured, alongside another for a text titled "The Paradise of the Soul: A Hand-Book of Devotion for the Sons and Daughters of the Church" (2).

Religious and moral ideas extend to the journal's editorial content. A review of the Italian physician Mantegazza's *The Art of Measuring Pain* detailed the experiments and findings of each chapter and concluded by wondering 'How many human bodies ought [vivisection] to free from disease to counterbalance the leprosy of the vivisector's soul?' ("Review" 4).

Such language was frequently used in the reviews, petitions, correspondence, and editorials that comprised the bulk of the 16-page journal's content. In the editorial of their May 1882 issue, the *Zoophilist* made clear that their understanding of human-animal relations was founded upon Christian and humanist notions of hierarchy:

> The zoophilist in his humble way labours side by side in God's field with every genuine philanthropist; nay he is himself in the truest sense a philanthropist also, and may no less hope that he is living out as best he may the prayer that the Divine Kingdom of love and justice may come – to the souls of men as well as to the bodies of the brutes. ("The Zoophilist" 17)

Here, the implication is that while souls of scientists were in danger of corruption from practicing vivisection, the "lower animals", as they were referred to elsewhere in the journal, were without souls. And although it would be misleading to suggest that the *Zoophilist* was more concerned with saving the immortal souls of men than protecting animals from harm, it is clear that these concerns were at least of equal standing in their overall agenda. While the *IPN*'s illustrations show us that it to some extent believed in the shared emotional lives of humans and animals, the *Zoophilist*'s notion of human-animal relations was that the two spheres were distinctly separate, as ordained by God.

The pronounced religious leanings of the *Zoophilist* contrast sharply with the *IPN*, which features scant references to God or morality in its discussions of vivisection; in general, religion was not a pronounced feature of the *IPN*'s content. When the *IPN* did refer to religion, as it did in an article on 24 August, 1878 titled "A Dog Vivisected. Dissected Alive and Tortured – No Anaesthetics", it again suggested animals and humans to be equally deserving of liberty and compassion. Having listed the details of vivisection and the arguments of its scientific defenders and critics at length, the *IPN* wrote:

> We might go on quoting the assertions of one learned experimenter and the denial of it by another for a hundred pages more, for so extensive is the evidence; but we pause in this history of outrages and infamies on God's beautiful creatures, which He assuredly did not create with such sensitive frames to be cut, torn with pincers, and racked and scorched with terrific chemicals and caustics; but to enjoy

> their lives as much as we do – to enjoy the rights which, says the *Lancet*, "they possess as entirely and sacredly as man himself." ("A Dog Vivisected …" 2)

The *IPN* here stated a firm belief in the rights of animals as individuals, and its antivivisectionism was based on an understanding that they should not be made to suffer. In contrast, the *Zoophilist*'s antivivisectionism rested on a reading of Christianity that placed upon humanity a duty of care towards animals and an understanding that cruelty towards them was a failure of human morality. In this sense, the *Zoophilist*'s concerns can be read as being less with animal welfare, and more with the religious and moral instruction of the individual human.

Furthermore, as the *Zoophilist* encouraged and hoped for a scientific readership, constant attacks on the character of scientists were unlikely to endear them to the cause. As such, religion and science were not implied to be incompatible, and the scientist was often portrayed as redeemable. However, this approach does not appear to have been entirely popular with readers. In December 1882, the *Zoophilist* signalled a change of content in the coming year's volume, stating that it intended 'to consult the wishes of the great majority of their subscribers, and provide for them a smaller quantity of purely scientific matter, and a larger one of matters political, social, and moral having reference to the Anti-Vivisection crusade' (""The Zoophilist' of 1883" 197). The most notable change was its inclusion of a short-lived feature titled "The Zoophilist's Playground" at the beginning of 1883. This section typically involved stories of beloved pet dogs, which detailed their range of emotional expression, their bravery, and their selflessness, and inevitably ended with them being in danger at the hands of a vivisector. In "Pompey's Peril", a story written for the *Zoophilist* by a reader named only as Mrs Hoey, the titular and heroically-named puppy is a terrier 'playful of disposition, tender and true of character, and with soft brown eyes' (Hoey 13). When Pompey accidentally runs into the tellingly-named local vivisector Dr Morder, his young owner warns 'I don't want doctors of his sort comin' nigh my dog, there's good and there's bad among 'em; there's God's sort and the devil's sort. Morder belongs to the devil's sort' (ibid 15). Pompey escapes the vivisector's knife when two medical students of "God's sort," now horrified by their mentor, sabotage the doctor's plan to steal him. Here, the medical student is portrayed as a redemptive figure, and the story suggests the potential for compassion in medical and scientific practice. Crucially, while the story indicates the puppy's sentience and

compassion, its conclusion is more concerned with the heroism of the medical students than the fate of the dog.

The *IPN* made no such attempts to appease the scientific community, keeping its focus instead on the suffering of animals and the cruelty of vivisectors and their students. On 12 May, 1877, for example, the *IPN* featured on the front page an illustration captioned "Medical Students Charged with Cruelty" (fig. 54) in which three well-dressed students were shown delightedly setting two dogs upon a cat. The viewer is led to associate their actions as a continuation of vivisection's cruelties by a partially-obscured poster in the background of the image which reads 'The Horrors of Vivisection', though the accompanying article makes no reference to the practice. The illustration indicates the possibility for the cruelties of vivisection to exceed the boundaries of the laboratory, and rather than characterising the medical student as naïve and misguided, as the *Zoophilist* does, the *IPN* suggested the full compliance of medical students in acts of cruelty.

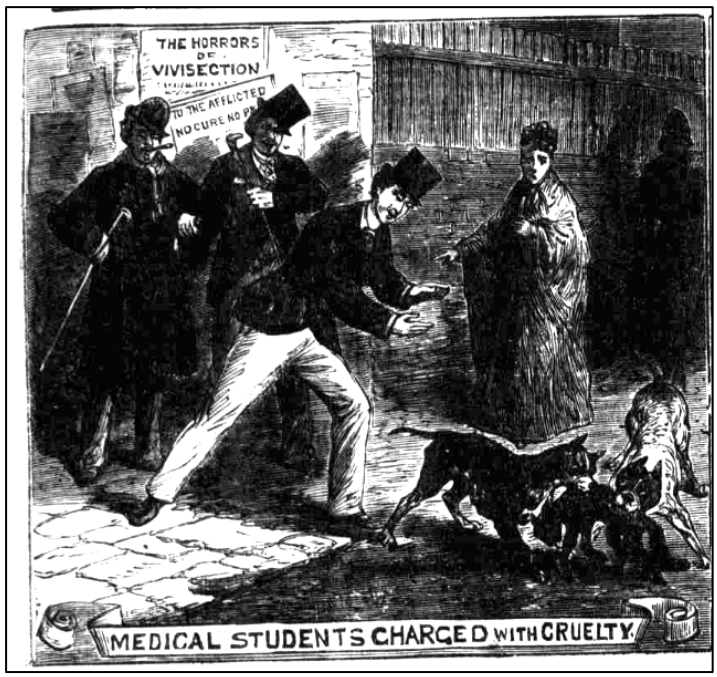


Fig. 54. "Medical Students Charged with Cruelty." *Illustrated Police News,* 12 May 1877, p. 1.

Despite the *IPN* making clear that an alternative method of criticising vivisection was possible, and the journal's awareness of the *IPN*'s campaign (more on that shortly), the content of the *Zoophilist* remained largely consistent throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century, printing details of progress made in the cause, transcripts from

the meetings of various societies, and, increasingly, a greater volume of foreign intelligence, detailing the work of antivivisectionists on the continent and in the United States. It regularly featured special supplements on topical subjects relating to the antivivisectionist cause; for example, when they produced a supplement detailing the names of British vivisectors, the hospital they worked for, and details of their licenses ("Vivisectors at the Hospitals" 223-8). The *Zoophilist* was clearly determined to mobilise its readership, often calling them to action with petitions and articles that listed the actions they could take to help the cause ("Do you wish to stop Vivisection?" 43). However, the one tool the *Zoophilist* did not use to rouse its readership was illustration, and this is a key difference between it and the *Home Chronicler*.

Unlike the *Zoophilist*, the *Home Chronicler* was not affiliated with any institution. It advocated for the total abolition of vivisection, and like the *Zoophilist* it eventually reduced the price of its weekly issues from four to two pence in 1878 'so that all who really are interested … may be able to obtain it at a reasonable rate', thus acknowledging the popular interest in the antivivisectionist cause ("Our Reduction in Price" 41). In its inaugural issue in 1876 the journal outlined its intentions, stating that it endeavoured to reveal the true nature of a practice that had up until then 'been hidden from the general eye' ("Our Intentions" 2). In addition to its focus on vivisection, it also featured articles about gardening, horticultural shows, health, and more general animal-related subjects like agriculture, pet-keeping, horse and dog shows, as well as reports of animal cruelty and stories of animal sagacity. The varied content of the *Home Chronicler* sometimes led to jarring tonal shifts – for example, from prints of vivisected animals copied from scientific books to articles that provide advice on growing fruit ('for no greater mistake can be committed as regards fruit culture than planting too many varieties' ("Selecting Apples and Pears" 214)) – that must have been as confusing for nineteenth-century readers as it is for modern ones, and this perhaps explains why the journal was not wholly successful. And although its inclusion of images of vivisection perhaps suggested a more radical ideology than the *Zoophilist*, in other ways the *Home Chronicler* appeared strikingly conservative. Hamilton tells us that the *Home Chronicler*'s 'women subscribers were advised to use their moral influence quietly in the home and immediate social circles,' while in contrast the *Zoophilist* featured Cobbe's writings and reported on her activism regularly (*Animal Welfare* xli).

In light of these contradictions, it is unclear who the intended reader of the *Home Chronicle*r was. Its vague title, along with its varied content, provides little to distinguish a demographic. The evocation of the home in the title and its more general editorial content would suggest it is a journal to be read at leisure, but the antivivisectionist content would certainly not have constituted light reading. One explanation for the collision of these seemingly disparate genres is that vivisection was thought to be a threat to domestic ideals in its use of companion animals in experimentation, and so it would have been in the interest of a domestically-orientated journal to oppose vivisection. In any case, the editor, A.P. Childs, recognised that the journal lacked coherence and specificity, and in July 1877 changed the journal's subtitle to read *A Journal Advocating the Total Abolition of Vivisection*. What followed was a tumultuous period for the journal, with further changes indicating a falling readership. In November 1878 the title was amended again to *The Anti-Vivisectionist*, alongside a return to the original price of four pence but with no great editorial changes. Towards the end of its four-year run the price was raised again to six pence and issues were published more erratically, going from weekly to monthly to bi-monthly in quick succession with long periods of absence due to the editor's failing health, before publication unceremoniously ceased in May 1882, just a year after Childs' death.

Throughout its changes in price, format and title, the *Home Chronicler*'s dedication to showing vivisection truthfully and accurately was consistent. Visibility was an issue of central importance to the journal, and from its first edition it made clear the role it believed illustrations played in making the realities of the horror known and – crucially – felt by the public:

> … we believe that when the public has been thus accurately informed of what goes on, and when the facts have been thus graphically brought to the public apprehension, a general feeling will arise which will make it possible to secure satisfactory legislation in reference to Vivisection. ("Our Intentions" 2)

Here, the key themes and concerns of the antivivisectionist movement are evoked, including visibility and accuracy. But for the *Home Chronicler*, the sight of vivisection is indicated to influence not only feeling, but also action. Hamilton has produced the only sustained study of the *Home Chronicler*, which she compares to the *Zoophilist* in her essay on genre and social action in the Victorian antivivisection press (2015). In relation to the *Home Chronicler's* illustrations (figs. 55 and 56), she offers an insightful commentary. As she notes, in 1878 the journal adopted a new approach to illustrations that would endure

throughout the journal's run. Its illustrations were always placed on the journal's second and third pages, and in response to some complaints from readers upset by the graphic depictions of vivisection, the publication gave its readers the option of 'leaving the first two leaves of the journal uncut' ("Our Engravings" 548). A notice reprinted in each issue advised readers that although those horrified by the sight of the illustrations could choose not to look at them, they were, in the view of the *Home Chronicler*, crucial to promoting the abolition of vivisection. It held that once those unfamiliar with the practice saw it for themselves, there would be 'no need of further argument to produce conviction' (ibid). Hamilton notes that this method ingeniously exploited the print form:

> Both confronting and enticing the reader to "know" the reality of vivisection, the format also allows the weekly to present itself as protecting those delicate feelings. In other words, the journal allows for the perpetual suspension of its readers between knowing and not knowing as the very condition of handling the journal. ("Genre" 154-5)

THE

HOME CHRONICLER,

With which is incorporated "The Health Chronicle."

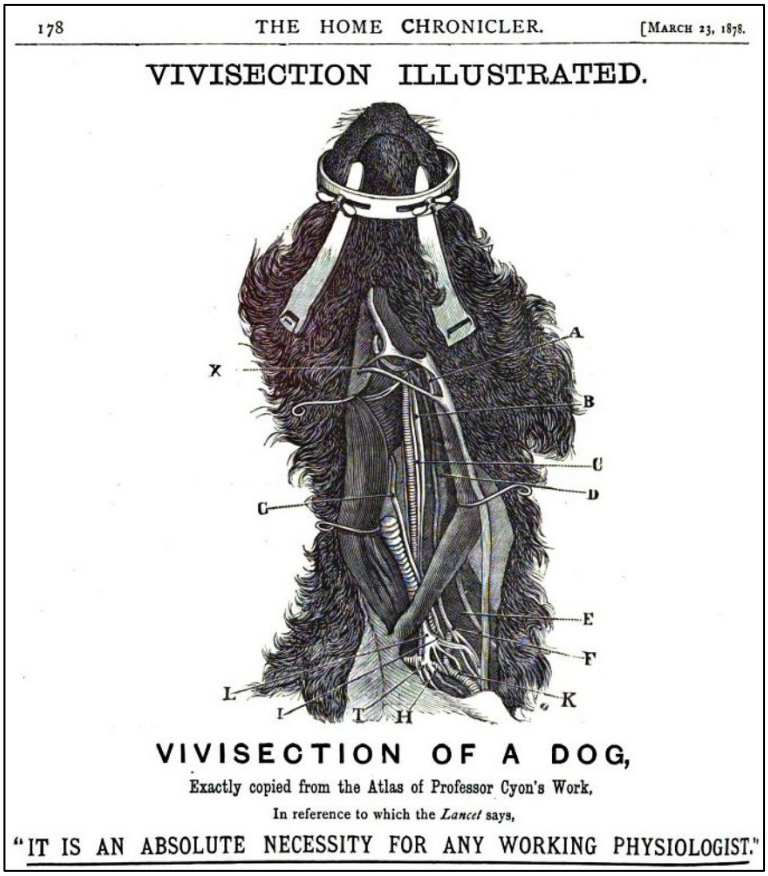
No. 1. [illegible] SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1878. [illegible] Price 4d.

VIVISECTION.—ILLUSTRATION

COPIED FROM THE "ATLAS ZUR METHODIK DER PHYSIOLOGISCHEN EXPERIMENTE UND VIVISECTIONEN, VON R. STOHR."

IT is difficult to convey in a name the character of such a journal as THE HOME CHRONICLER is intended to be. This is a disadvantage under which we must be content to labour, until, as we trust will soon be the case, our journal shall have become widely known, and public favour have set upon it the seal of its approval.

Fig. 55. "Vivisection. – Illustration." *Home Chronicler,* 24 June 1878, p. 1.


178 THE HOME CHRONICLER. [MARCH 23, 1878.

VIVISECTION ILLUSTRATED.

VIVISECTION OF A DOG,

Exactly copied from the Atlas of Professor Cyon's Work,

In reference to which the *Lancet* says,

"IT IS AN ABSOLUTE NECESSITY FOR ANY WORKING PHYSIOLOGIST."

Fig. 56. "Vivisection Illustrated." *Home Chronicler,* 23 Mar. 1878, p. 178.

This technique thus allowed the *Home Chronicler* to continue printing the images it believed were key to conveying its message without alienating its readership and, more pertinently, transformed the illustrations of vivisection from something upsetting and shocking to something morbidly alluring. In doing so the journal took a hidden practice and made it potentially accessible and knowable while, paradoxically, offering to hide it.

Because the illustrations found in the *Home Chronicler* were always reprinted from medical texts, rather than original engravings like the *IPN*'s, the journal was able to argue that they were not sensational but rather faithful representations of the experiments of vivisectors from their own textbooks. The gaze of these illustrations, then, is a distinctly scientific one. The facial features and expressions of the animals are not represented, and the focus is on the anatomy of the animals – for example, their exposed ligaments and organs. While they would have shocked and upset contemporary viewers, the illustrations do not imply a sense of the animal's subjectivity – what we see is a specimen, rather than an individual animal.

The *IPN*'s illustrations were obviously very different. Rather than simply printing diagrams of vivisected animals, they depicted animals about to be vivisected, with fear and sorrow etched upon their faces, as discussed in relation to the dog in figure 53. The key difference between the *Home Chronicler*'s use of illustration and the *IPN*'s is thus that while the former encouraged the viewer to sympathise with the animal, the latter's illustrations more effectively prompted empathy. Indeed, empathy is an idea that was being explored at the very moment the *IPN* was addressing vivisection.

The term "empathy" came to the English language in 1909, translated from the German *Einfühlung*, which was conceptualised by philosophers Robert Vischer and Theodor Lipps in the 1870s. For Vischer and Lipps empathy was closely related to sympathy, but while sympathy was defined as 'a process for sharing feeling … *Einfühlung* collapses the boundary between subject and object' (Greiner 417-8). In this sense, sympathy 'denies what empathy most highly prizes, namely the fusion of self with other' (ibid 418). In their removal of boundaries that prevent recognition, the *IPN*'s illustrations were able to question the seemingly absolute nature of the border between human and animal that vivisection relies on (except when marginalised individuals are substituted) through its emphasis on legible and meaningful animal expression. For example, if we return to the triptych of illustrations discussed at the beginning of the chapter titled "More Vivisection Horrors" (fig. 50), the image of 'A Pet Dog Begging For Mercy' is effective because the viewer recognises the animal's behaviour. Rather than begging for a treat, though, the dog is here suggested to be begging for its life. The illustration makes the dog's behaviour legible, and this understanding creates space for empathy. It is notable that the viewer is not invited to recognise humanity in any of the ghoulish medical spectators. While the *Home Chronicler* wanted its readership to see vivisection, the *IPN* more effectively revealed the experience of the animal.

Both the *Zoophilist* and the *Home Chronicler*, then, evoked different kinds of sympathy with animals. The *Zoophilist*'s Christian assertion of human dominion over animals, whereby humans have a duty of care to the creatures below them, encouraged a hierarchical sympathy, but not empathetic recognition. And while the *Home Chronicle*r was less fervent in its assertion of hierarchical human-animal relations, its illustrations recalled specimens rather than individual animals, making empathy, as opposed to sympathy, difficult. Despite these differences, both the *Home Chronicler* and the *Zoophilist* responded briefly and positively to the *IPN*'s illustrations. The *Home Chronicler* applauded their

representation of vivisection, writing that 'The *Police News* of last week had a full-page illustration of the horrors, – authentic, not invented horrors of Vivisection', and added that 'we have good reason to believe that these illustrations, though not of any artistic merit, have been most serviceable in drawing public attention to the subject, and really instructing it' ("Illustrations of Vivisection" 892). The *Zoophilist*, too, reprinted a letter published in the *Spectator* in which the author delighted in the fact that the *IPN* was able to rouse a response from an illustrious physiologist with its 'clever though somewhat rough' illustrations, and to draw crowds in the shop windows of east London newsagents, where it was a regular source of attraction ("M. de Cyon and Vivisection" 89). Though the *IPN*'s illustrations were gently mocked for their crudeness, both journals could see the value of what the *IPN* was doing. Arguably, these antivivisectionist journals' own depictions of vivisection failed to capture public attention and feeling in the same manner.

Criminal Science: Lombroso and the Representation of the Vivisector in the *Illustrated Police News*

While perhaps not as sophisticated as the *Home Chronicler's* method of simultaneously shielding and revealing vivisection, the tactics employed by the *IPN* in reporting the practice are comparable. In its issue of 30 June, 1877, the back page of the *IPN* featured a notice that read:

All Purchasers of the

ILLUSTRATED POLICE NEWS

Of Next Saturday, July 7, will be Presented

Gratis with Full Page Illustrations depicting

The Horrors of Vivisection.

This Sheet of Engravings is taken from the best authorities and cannot fail to be acceptable to the general public.

("Important Notice to Newsagents" 4)

The *IPN* advertised itself in this way on only a few occasions. Such notices were reserved either for advertising the paper's progressing format, for example its "Permanent Enlargement" (4) in April 1868, or for promoting extensive coverage of a prominent crime, such as in the notice in the issue of 28 May, 1870 that promised several illustrations relating to 'Seven Persons Brutally Murdered' in the next edition ("Notice to Newsagents"

4). In this sense, the *IPN* aligned its reportage on vivisection with that of the most sensational crime stories of the day, and advertising future content in this way was clearly an opportunist business move that capitalised on its readership's appetite for the sensational. The *IPN*'s advertisement of its vivisection reportage relied on revelation, suspense and temptation, and employed a technique similar to that used by the *Home Chronicler*. But rather than attempting to shield sensitive viewers to the practice, the *IPN*'s notice assumed that its readership would be as enticed by the illustrations as they were by lurid images of terrible crimes; that is, they knew that their readers were unlikely to be sensitive or offended by illustrations of vivisection.

By conflating vivisection with the crimes usually reported by the paper, the *IPN*, unlike other antivivisectionist papers, posited physicians as criminals. Some antivivisectionist rhetoric had already implied the potential criminality of physicians; for example, in an 1875 article for the *Fortnightly Review*, the author and antivivisectionist Charles Dodgson, writing pseudonymously as Lewis Carroll, argued that vivisection could compromise the humanity of the physician, as well as the spectators of vivisection. In a particularly vivid passage, he indicated the potential criminality of a vivisector desensitised to cruelty:

> It is a humiliating but an undeniable truth that man has something of the wild beast in him, that a thirst for blood can be aroused in him by witnessing a scene of carnage, and that the infliction of torture, when the first instincts of horror have been deadened by familiarity, may become, first, a matter of indifference, then a subject of morbid interest, then a positive pleasure, then a ghastly and ferocious delight. (Carroll 851)

Carroll suggests that vivisectors came to be increasingly fascinated by their subjects and obsessed by the desire for knowledge. He implied that there was an inherent recalcitrance and beastliness within humanity that could be roused by what they were exposed to, an idea that writers exploited in their fictional accounts of vivisection, with their depictions of grotesque scientists whose unquenchable thirst for knowledge precipitates their downfall. Monstrous vivisectors abound in late-nineteenth century fiction, with notable examples including Wilkie Collins' ghoulish Dr Benjulia in *Heart and Science* (1883) and Wells' sinister Dr Moreau, as I will discuss presently. But the *IPN* was the only newspaper to present illustrations of vivisectors that implied their beastliness. Physicians did not take kindly to this characterisation, as we have seen in the case of Wilks who claimed that a

penny illustrated paper which 'panders to the vilest and lowest feelings of the mob by delineating in detail all the circumstances of brutal crimes, did good service to the anti-vivisectionists by its false and abominable prints' (944). Here, Wilks evoked the *IPN*'s reputation as a lurid publication in order to discredit its antivivisectionist message. But by unwittingly conflating the *IPN*'s focus on crime with its discussion of vivisection, Wilks drew attention to the paper's suggestion that vivisectors were criminals.

By portraying vivisection as a criminal act, the *IPN* transposed the immorality, brutality, and degeneracy that accompanied other forms of cruelty onto scientists. However, the characterisation of the vivisecting physician as barbaric presented a problem for nineteenth-century animal welfare advocates during the vivisection debate. Harriet Ritvo argues that while acts of cruelty such as dog-fighting, rat-killing and other blood sports were perceived to be the preoccupations of the lower classes of Victorian society (though upper-class men were also frequently to be found in fighting pits), 'vivisection was the exclusive prerogative of the responsible and highly educated' (157). Rather than cabmen and drovers, who were often fined or imprisoned for abusing working animals in the city streets, here it was the eminent men of science that were under scrutiny. Animal cruelty, she notes, 'was supposed to characterize the most dangerous members of society, not those on whose responsible shoulders the social structure rested' (ibid 156). Antivivisectionism thus meant opposing influential and eminent men of science, the social peers of many middle-class animal welfare advocates. As such, the RSPCA, which Hilda Kean notes was 'essentially a London middle-class body defining itself against the lowest classes who tortured animals for sport', hesitated to involve itself too forcefully with antivivisectionism, taking a moderate position on the issue (*Animal Rights* 36). Writing in its journal *The Animal World*, the organisation maintained that the 1876 Act would provide adequate protection to laboratory animals, and felt that 'much will have been gained to the cause of humanity' by vivisection when practiced humanely ("The Vivisection Act" 131). But the *IPN* was distinctly critical of scientific professionals, and the depiction of physiologists in the act of vivisection was crucial to the success of their illustrations. While other antivivisectionist journals only included images that represented the animal as a scientific object, the *IPN*'s illustrations portrayed the animal as both subject and victim. The presence of the vivisector, in some cases preparing to operate, lent a greater sense of urgency and reality to these illustrations which, unlike the images

reprinted from medical texts, placed vivisection in the context of a practical setting, bringing them horrifyingly to life.

Fig. 57. "The Horrors of Vivisection." *Illustrated Police News,* 7 July 1877, p. 4.

Fig. 58. Detail of "The Horrors of Vivisection." *Illustrated Police News,* 7 July 1877, p. 4.

This technique is most clearly seen in the issue of 7 July, 1877, in which the entire back page was dedicated to (once again) "The Horrors of Vivisection" (figs. 57 and 58). This signalled a departure from its usual format, as at this time the back page was usually reserved for advertisements and miscellaneous news stories. If the *IPN*'s intention was to draw more attention to its illustrations then it succeeded, as they provoked another response from the scientific community. In the accompanying article, the *IPN* wrote:

> The illustrations connected with this all-important subject are not fanciful sketches, emanating from the fertile imagination of our artist. On the contrary, they are compiled from the best authorities, and are but too painfully true to nature. The majority of persons know little or nothing about the cruel torture inflicted on the lower animals by those who practice vivisection … In the false morality of empiricism, the end justifies the means; and for a prospective, imaginable, or possible good, myriads of enormous cruelties are perpetuated, as disgraceful to the name of science, as they must be criminal to the great Being … ("The Horrors of Vivisection" 2)

The *IPN* here indicated an awareness of its critics when it asserted the accuracy of its illustrations. While some of them were original engravings like those we have seen so far, the *IPN* also featured a number of plates that were attributed to the work of the aforementioned Russian physiologist Elias von Cyon. In an 1883 article in the *Contemporary Review* on antivivisectionism and the 'fools' who support it (498), Cyon refers to 'a placard purporting to contain drawings from my "Physiologische Methodik" as they had appeared in certain illustrated papers' (502).[19] Although Cyon did not refer to the *IPN* by name, it quickly becomes apparent which paper he is referring to:

> … the most shameless thing of all is at the bottom of the placard, where they have put a drawing which is not in my book at all. This design – "The mute appeal of the poor monkey" – is what would be called, in theatrical slang, the "key" of the placard. It represents a monkey fastened upright on the vivisection table, his eyes raised to heaven, and his paws held out in a supplicating attitude. The professor and his pupils, armed with the instruments of torture, stand, with savage faces,

[19] Though Cyon here referred to illustrated papers in the plural, I have not found these illustrations in any other publication, and neither had the commentator in the *Spectator* who responded to Cyon's essay ("M. de Cyon and Vivisection." 89).

> chuckling over their victim. It is unnecessary to remark that the only head in the picture with a human face is that of the monkey. The professor, who is supposed to represent me, is a shabby old man, with a pimpled face and spectacles. I was thirty-two when my book appeared! Moreover, I have never yet experimented on a monkey. (502-3)

Vanity aside, what Cyon was most offended by here was the apparent falsity of the illustration, which he implied was propagandistic. The monkey is depicted in a human-like stance, reaching out to its captor, and, like the dog in the figure 53, its tail is pictured in between its legs. The monkey appears in sharp contrast to the beastly physiologists surrounding it. Their faces are contorted and inhuman, and so the monkey becomes more recognisable to the viewer than the humans depicted. Here, then, the potentially atavistic consequences of vivisection are made visible.

Cyon mocked the *IPN*'s depiction of vivisection and its effect on the humanity of the vivisector, but the *IPN*'s representation of the criminal vivisector was verified by contemporary criminal anthropology and degeneration theory. The concept of degeneration emerged in the late-nineteenth century as the seemingly logical accompaniment to evolutionary theory. If humans could evolve, theorists held that they could just as easily revert back to a savage, animal-like form if they deviated from civilised codes of conduct. For the French psychiatrist and influential proponent of degeneration theory Bénédict Morel, degeneration was a disease that 'produced three categories of symptoms: physical deformity, perversion of the organism and disturbance of the emotional faculties' (Greenslade 16). Similarly, the Italian physician and psychiatrist Cesare Lombroso identified emotional disturbance as one of the hallmarks of the criminal in his *Criminal Man,* originally published as *L'uomo delinquente* in 1876. Although the text was not translated into English until 1911, Lombroso's criminal type captivated late-nineteenth century writers, including Stoker, Stevenson, and, as we shall see, Wells.[20]

Lombroso suggested that the criminal type possessed certain physical characteristics, which included 'jug ears, thick hair, thin beards, pronounced sinuses, protruding chins, and broad cheekbones' (Lombroso 53), as well as abnormal or

[20] For further examinations of the influence of Lombroso and degeneration theory on nineteenth-century literature, see Kelly Hurley's *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, materialism, and degeneration at the* fin de siècle (1996), William Greenslade's *Degeneration, Culture, and the Novel 1880-1940* (1994), and *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle: Identity and Empire* (1996) by Stephen Arata.

asymmetrical skulls (ibid 56). Lombroso also turned his attention to skin, and while it was mostly 'darkened skin' that he identified with the criminal, any abnormality in complexion was described as troublesome, which perhaps explains why the *IPN*'s illustrator opted to depict a pimpled Cyon (ibid 82). But in addition to these physical traits, Lombroso also claimed that the criminal displayed emotional abnormalities:

> criminals exhibit a certain moral insensitivity … The first feeling to disappear is sympathy for the misfortunes of others, an emotion that is, according to some psychologists, profoundly rooted in human nature. (ibid 63)

Additionally, Lombroso stated that criminal types were able to 'commit crimes without feeling any remorse' (ibid 83). The *IPN*'s illustrations of the vivisector, unmoved by the pleas of the monkey or, in an earlier example, the dog 'Begging For Mercy' (fig. 50), are therefore designed to imply their criminal characteristics. While this characterisation was not unique, the *IPN* was the only newspaper to visually represent the criminality of vivisectors.

We have seen that the *IPN*'s particular images of vivisection, with their conception of the vivisector as criminal, were known to antivivisectionists and provivisectionists, and so there was a wide awareness of the paper and its content. Additionally, in its depiction of the vivisector, we can see that the paper might be regarded as not only employing established literary modes like sensation and Gothic, as demonstrated in previous chapters, but also potentially influencing the development of the villainous scientist as a figure of late-Victorian Gothic fiction. In the concluding section of this chapter, I will consider the ways in which the *IPN*'s demonstrably influential narrative might have found its way into the work of H.G. Wells.

Plasticity and Empathy: Deconstructing Human-Animal Boundaries in *The Island of Doctor Moreau*

The *IPN* played a significant cultural role in the characterisation of the criminal vivisector, a figure that comes to the fore in late-Victorian fiction. One such work, H.G. Wells' *The Island of Doctor Moreau* (1896), adopts the rhetorical themes and formal structures of the vivisection debate, playing on tropes such as secrets, revelation and visibility. But in its evocation of the debate as it was discussed in the periodical press, I argue that we can see the parallels between the *IPN*'s unique and influential intervention in the debate and the

ideas that emerge from Wells' novel. Central to the text is the theme of degeneration, as Wells offsets the monstrosity of the vivisector with the "humanness" of the animal in the same manner as the *IPN*. Additionally, Wells shows the degeneration of the novel's human characters as the direct result of a lack of empathy, which is connected to sight throughout the narrative. While *Doctor Moreau* has been examined in the context of, for example, colonialism, Darwinism and degeneration (Rohman 2009; Glendening 2007), I aim to demonstrate here how the novel's portrayal of certain themes and evocation of the periodical press makes the *IPN* particularly useful for understanding Wells' often ambiguous depiction of vivisection.

Doctor Moreau was published in 1896, at which point the tactics of the antivivisectionists were changing. Hamilton tells us that although 'periodicals and the formal organizations that underwrote them continued to play key roles in providing alternate versions of human and animal relations … other forms of political agitation gained prominence' in this period, including processions and protests, culminating in the Brown Dog Riots of 1907 (*Animal Welfare* xliii).[21] Despite the twenty years that separate the passage of the Cruelty to Animals Act and the publication of Wells' novel, vivisection remained a controversial subject.

The contemporary reaction to *Doctor Moreau* has much in common with that enjoyed by the *IPN*. Its vivid and horrific depiction of a taboo subject led to largely unfavourable reviews when it was first published. The *Saturday Review* claimed that 'the author, during the inception of his story, like his own creatures, has tasted blood' (Mitchell 369), while the distinguished cultural journal the *Athenaeum* claimed that its 'horrors have not even the merit of penny-a-lining descriptions of police-court atrocities, for in them there is at least some human interest' ("New Novels" 616). Here, *Doctor Moreau*'s horrific representation of vivisection is aligned with sensational papers, and as we know that the *IPN* was the only newspaper to depict vivisection in this way, it is possible that contemporary critics and readers would have made a connection between Wells' novel and the *IPN*'s treatment of this subject. Like the *IPN*, the novel ignored taboo and conventional modes of representation in order to bring vivisection horrifyingly to life and suggest the fragility of human-animal distinctions.

[21] See Lansbury's *The Old Brown Dog* (1985) for a detailed examination of the riots and their social significance.

We know that Wells was familiar with the *IPN* as he would go on to reference the paper in his semiautobiographical "Condition of England" novel *Tono-Bungay* (1909). That novel's protagonist/narrator is George Ponderevo is the son of the housekeeper of Bladesover House, the Kentish estate he grew up in. When George is banished from the house as a young teenager after fighting with an aristocratic boy, he is forced to live in bleak circumstances with his uncle in Chatham, but finds pleasure in the *IPN*:

> There were neither books nor any seat nor corner in that house where reading was possible, no newspaper ever brought the clash of worldly things into its heavenward seclusion, horror of it all grew in me daily, and whenever I could I escaped into the streets and tramped about Chatham. The news shops appealed to me particularly. One saw there smudgy illustrated sheets, the *Police News* in particular, in which vilely drawn pictures brought home to the dullest intelligence an interminable succession of squalid crimes, women murdered and put into boxes, buried under floor-boards, old men bludgeoned at midnight by robbers, people thrust suddenly out of trains, happy lovers shot, vitrioled, and so forth by rivals. I got my first glimpse of a life of pleasure in foully-drawn pictures of "police raids" on this and that. (*Tono-Bungay* 46-7)

Throughout the novel, reading is a cultural and social marker. Here, Wells indicates the decline and immaturity of his hero in his enjoyment of lowbrow illustrated papers, particularly the *IPN*, and his readership would have recognised and understood the significance of George seeking out such reading materials. Banished from his childhood home and without improving texts, he is adrift and without guidance, with periodicals and novels used throughout the text to indicate class and George's evolving social status. In *Doctor Moreau*, too, Wells refers to wider literary culture and the periodical press, and it is possible that the novel might be making tacit reference to the *IPN* at certain key points. Additionally, while he does not refer to the *IPN* directly, there are instances in which the vivisection debate as it was so uniquely represented in that paper can be traced, for, as we shall soon see, Wells brings the monstrous implications of vivisection to the fore using techniques similar to those we have seen in the *IPN*.

Doctor Moreau takes the form of a first-person account narrated by Edward Prendick, a shipwrecked gentleman scientist who finds himself on a remote island inhabited by the mysterious Moreau, his assistant, and a number of what are revealed to be "Beast Folk", animals vivisected and transformed into semi-humans by Moreau in his

island laboratory. When he first arrives on the island, Prendick recognises the doctor's name, but cannot recall where he has encountered it. Eventually, he remembers 'The Moreau Horrors' as they were so titled by the antivivisectionist publication that exposed Moreau's practices, which, Prendick notes, 'to read made one shiver and creep' (Wells, *Doctor Moreau* 34). We are told that a journalist had infiltrated Moreau's laboratory in the guise of an assistant, and that his 'sensational exposures' led to Moreau being 'howled out of the country' (ibid). Prendick adds that the 'gruesome pamphlet became notorious' after 'a wretched dog, flayed and otherwise mutilated, escaped from Moreau's house' on the day of its publication (ibid). The scandal broke when Prendick was 'a mere lad', and as the events of the novel take place between February 1887 and January 1888, the reader can deduce that Moreau's exposure occurred around the late 1870s or early 1880s, when the vivisection debate was at its height and the *IPN* was writing about it regularly (ibid). Prendick recalls that 'It was silly season, and a prominent editor, a cousin of the temporary laboratory assistant, appealed to the conscience of the nation' (ibid).

By noting the role of the periodical press in the downfall and exiling of Moreau, Wells indicates the unique power of the press in the debate, and like the unnamed publication that exposed Moreau, we know that the *IPN*'s illustrations affected the career of at least one vivisecting scientist. As discussed, the physiologist Elias von Cyon was similarly vilified when the *IPN* printed illustrations from his work and used them as a basis for their own engraving of him. Cyon wrote that the 'violent agitation' of the antivivisectionists and the 'voluminous literature' circulated on the subject, including 'defamatory pamphlets' and 'hair-stirring placards', had led to 'the humiliation of scientific men' (498-9). He went on to say that he would 'never forget the painful impression' he received when an eminent London-based physiologist refused to speak about his book 'on the ground that he was afraid of exasperating public opinion' (ibid 500). The *IPN*, then, had a hand in stunting Cyon's career, and it is not difficult to imagine that Wells was familiar with Cyon's plight, considering his vitriolic attack on the *IPN* and the antivivisectionists was published in the *Contemporary Review*, a prominent literary and cultural journal. In Wells' reference to the exposures of the press, we might read a tacit acknowledgement of the *IPN*'s unique influence on the debate in the novel. Indeed, the connection between Wells' discussion of the vivisection debate and the *IPN*'s is strengthened by the way in which Wells represents the practice itself.

In reading the link between *Doctor Moreau* and the *IPN*, we are able to enhance our understanding of the place of the *IPN* in late-nineteenth century culture, and also see afresh what Wells was attempting to achieve with his depiction of vivisection. The way in which Wells chose to characterise Moreau and his use of vivisection is highly ambiguous, as large sections of Moreau's explanation and his defence of his methods are taken almost word-for-word from Wells' scientific essay "The Limits of Individual Plasticity", which was published anonymously in the *Saturday Review* in 1895. In it, he wrote:

> If we concede the justifications of vivisection, we may imagine as possible in the future, operators, armed with antiseptic surgery and a growing perfection in the knowledge of the laws of growth, taking living creatures and moulding them into the most amazing forms; it may be, even reviving the monsters of mythology, realizing the fantasies of the taxidermist, his mermaids and what-not, in flesh and blood. (Wells, "Limits" 90)

In the novel, Moreau identifies himself as 'the first man to take up this question [of plasticity] armed with antiseptic surgery, and with a really scientific knowledge of the laws of growth' (Wells, *Doctor Moreau* 72). Moreau, then, is the embodiment of the unchecked vivisector, the future Wells himself suggested. But rather than presenting Moreau as the progenitor of a utopian prospect, Wells' vivisector is abominable. Like the *IPN*, Wells brought the horrors of vivisection to the fore of the reader's imagination and indicated the effects of the practice on the scientist. However, Wells was provivisection, so what was the purpose of his horrifying and overwhelmingly negative portrayal of vivisection and the scientist? To answer this question, we might consider that rather than criticising vivisection, Wells was exposing the gruesome potential of unchecked science that is motivated by 'fantasies' and ego.

Central to the horror of Moreau is his lack of empathy. Rather than highlighting the supreme rationality of the scientist as a positive attribute as provivisectionist commentators did, Wells' novel, like the *IPN*, emphasises the potentially monstrous effects of a lack of empathy. When Prendick expresses his disgust at the Beast Folk, Moreau asks him to 'spare [him] those youthful horrors' and speaks 'in the tone of a man supremely bored' (Wells, *Doctor Moreau* 70). Moreau is completely desensitised to vivisection, and goes on to calmly describe his horrific practices and motivations in detail. He tells Prendick 'These creatures you have seen are animals carven and wrought into new shapes. To that – to the study of the plasticity of living forms – my life has been

devoted' (ibid 71). When Prendick asks where the justification lies for all of this pain, Moreau chillingly stabs himself in the leg to demonstrate the subjectivity of pain, and claims that intelligent men rely on their brains, rather than their bodies, to signal danger, and so 'pain gets needless' (ibid 74). Moreau views pain as useless, and believes it will be 'ground out of existence by evolution sooner or later' (ibid). He imagines the body and the mind as separate, and his ultimate aim is to transcend the confines of the human form, beginning with his experiments on animals. He is consumed by his obsession to the point where he is no longer concerned with ethics: 'The study of Nature makes a man as remorseless as Nature' (ibid 75). This view interestingly contrasts with those expressed by the animal trainers discussed in the previous chapter, who saw the process of training as improving both humanity and nature.

Moreau's inability to feel pain, then, makes him unable to recognise and thus empathise with the suffering of others, and this is key to our understanding of him as monstrous. By using his own writing to highlight Moreau's abhorrence, Wells complicates how we might read this novel, but I suggest that while Wells supported vivisection, his novel was intended to be neither pro nor antivivisection. Rather, Wells demonstrated the dangers of unregulated science. On a remote island, the only laws are Moreau's own grotesque social codes. Beyond the reach of the Cruelty to Animals Act and removed the critical gaze of the press and the public, Moreau is free to create his abominable creatures. What the novel suggests, then, is the necessity of scientific accountability, and Wells demonstrated this, as the *IPN* did, by indicating the horrific consequences of a lack of empathy.

Empathy in the form of identification and recognition are used throughout the novel to indicate the development of Prendick's character. Just as the *IPN* recognised the power of illustrations and sight in evoking empathy, which it knew were key to promoting the antivivisectionist cause, Wells' novel is similarly unique in that it – literally – gives animals a voice. Seeing the Beast Folk evokes strong feeling in Prendick, even before he understands their true nature: he continually struggles with his uncanny recognition of them. When he first encounters M'Ling, for example, he is disgusted by his 'misshapen' and 'repulsive' appearance (Wells, *Doctor Moreau* 13; 14), and he fights against the visceral emotional reaction that seeing the Beast Man provokes in him:

> The creature's face was turned for one brief instant out of the dimness of the stern towards this illumination, and I saw that the eyes that glanced at me with a

> pale-green light … The thing came to me as a stark inhumanity. That black figure, with its eyes of fire, struck down through all my adult thoughts and feelings, and for a moment the forgotten horrors of childhood came back to my mind. Then the effect passed as it had come. (ibid 20)

Here, Wells indicates the power of sight, and when Prendick adds that he had 'an odd feeling that in some way I *had* already encountered exactly the features and gestures that now amazed me', he suggests an uncanny recognition of M'Ling's humanity (ibid 14; original emphasis). David Punter has argued that a sense of the uncanny arises when 'the barriers between the known and the unknown are teetering on the brink of collapse' (130). In *Doctor Moreau*, the Beast Folk are both familiar and unfamiliar and serve to demonstrate the fragility of human-animal distinctions.

Again, we are reminded of the *IPN*'s attempts to provoke empathy when it demonstrated the shared emotional and expressive capabilities of humans and animals. The uncanniness of the *IPN*'s illustrations of vivisected animals forced the reader to acknowledge the fluidity of the human-animal boundary, and thus created space for empathy. Similarly, Prendick is forced to confront the 'humanity' of the Leopard-Man when he realises that the 'poor wretch' will have to go back to Moreau's 'House of Pain' for the transgression of eating flesh (Wells, *Doctor Moreau* 93). The Leopard-Man flees Moreau and a pursuit ensues, but when Prendick notices the beast hiding in fear, he kills him before he can be recaptured:

> It may seem a strange contradiction in me – I cannot explain the fact – but now, seeing the creature there in a perfectly animal attitude, with the light gleaming in its eyes, and its imperfectly human face distorted with terror, I realized again the fact of its humanity. In another moment others of its pursuers would see it, and it would be overpowered and captured, to experience once more the horrible tortures of the enclosure. Abruptly I slipped out my revolver, aimed between its terror-struck eyes and fired. (ibid 94)

Moreau is furious with Prendick for killing the Leopard-Man because he 'wanted him' for further experimentation. As discussed, Vischer and Lipps defined empathy as being distinct from sympathy because empathy created 'the fusion of self with other', and in this section we can trace the transformation of Prendick's sympathetic feeling towards the Beast Folk into empathy (Greiner 418). Prendick killed the Leopard-Man in order to spare him further torment, but he then realises that the pain of their existence runs deeper:

> A strange persuasion came upon me that, save for the grossness of the line, the grotesqueness of the forms, I had here before me the whole balance of human life in miniature, the whole interplay of instinct, reason, and fate in its simplest form … I began to see the viler aspect of Moreau's cruelty. I had not thought before of the pain and trouble that came to these poor victims after they had passed from Moreau's hands. I had shivered only at the days of actual torment in the enclosure. But now that seemed to me the lesser part. Before they had been beasts, their instincts fitly adapted to their surroundings, and happy as living things may be. Now they stumbled in the shackles of humanity, lived in a fear that never died, fretted by a law they could not understand; their mock-human existence, begun in an agony, was one long internal struggle, one long dread of Moreau—and for what? It was the wantonness that stirred me. (Wells, *Doctor Moreau* 95)

Here, Prendick recognises the enduring physical and emotional pain and suffering of the Beast Folk, and imagines what their lives must be, suggesting his empathy for them. In comparison, he harbours no such feeling towards Moreau:

> Had Moreau had any intelligible object I could have sympathised at least a little with him. I am not so squeamish about pain as that. I could have forgiven him a little even had his motive been hate. But he was so irresponsible, so utterly careless. His curiosity, his mad, aimless investigations, drove him on, and the things were thrown out to live a year or so, to struggle and blunder and suffer; at last to die painfully. (ibid)

Prendick tellingly implies that it is Moreau's complete lack of feeling that disturbs him. Moreau's lack of conscience, sympathy or empathy allows him to carry out his awful experimentations, which Prendick suggests are aimless in that they only serve Moreau's curiosity. He is not aiming to find a cure for a disease or create a new vaccine with his use of vivisection, as provivisectionists argued contemporary vivisecting scientists were. Moreau is not serving the scientific community or the public with his investigations as he is outside of that community, and so his cruelty has no justification. It is this and his lack of feeling that makes him monstrous.

Unlike the antivivisectionist story we saw from the *Zoophilist*, where a villainous vivisector was thwarted by heroic medical students and the puppy lived happily ever after, Wells does not offer his readers a hero or a happy ending in Prendick, who is traumatised at the end of the novel, and so avoids an anti or provivisectionist conclusion. While the

IPN promoted empathy in order to draw its readership to antivivisectionism, the provivisectionist Wells evoked ideas of empathy and degeneration in a way that created ambiguity and illustrated the chaos of science without the limits placed upon it by society. While we cannot prove that Wells was directly influenced by the *IPN*, in his figuring of the vivisected animal as a subjective and emotional being, Wells applied the concept of empathy to his work in the same manner it was so uniquely and influentially used by the *IPN*. In doing so, his novel imagined the horrifying possibilities of unchecked vivisection and demonstrated the necessity of empathy to humanity and, more pertinently, to science.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have seen how the *IPN*'s depiction of vivisection presented a unique contribution to the vivisection debate of the late-nineteenth century. It took the arguments of the antivivisectionists further than any other publication or institution when it printed original illustrations of animals that placed them within the context of vivisection as it was practised. Rather than scientific diagrams alone, the *IPN* featured illustrations of animals before they were vivisected in order to show their emotional turmoil. Moreover, it offset their suffering with representations of the cruelty of the vivisector, who was also depicted in a manner not seen in any other publication. In doing this, the *IPN* engaged with the intellectual currents of its age, most notably sensationalism and Darwinism. It promoted cross-species empathy, suggested the fragility of human-animal distinctions, and posited the vivisector as a potentially criminal figure, laying the groundwork for future fictional characterisations.

The contribution of the *IPN* to antivivisectionist narratives is significant. While several activist groups and publications knew that the revelation of vivisection to the public was central to mobilising people against the practice, many refrained from printing illustrations they feared would offend, rather than motivate, their readerships. The *IPN* defied convention with its unique illustrations that applied a narrative to the practice of vivisection and transformed laboratory animals from scientific objects to expressive subjects.

This chapter has also further illuminated the *IPN*'s use of genre. While sensational journalism was predominantly viewed as vulgar and gratuitous, the *IPN* used the genre to draw attention to a pertinent political and ethical question via an appeal to the emotions

of its readership. By mobilising its working-class readership by these means, it upset boundaries not only between humans and animals, but between classes as well. In this sense, this chapter has challenged the perception of nineteenth-century animal welfare movements as primarily the concerns of the social elite, as well as prevailing perceptions of the *IPN*'s cultural value.

By examining the *IPN*'s antivivisectionist illustrations, we have seen how this under-studied publication made a unique and significant contribution to the vivisection debate, while the replication of its characterisation of the vivisector and thematic considerations of empathy and degeneration in contemporary fiction further indicates the central position of this paper in Victorian culture.

Conclusion

In the 2016 film *The Limehouse Golem*, the inspector tasked with identifying the murderous Golem imagines one of the suspects, the real-life Victorian music hall performer Dan Leno, reciting an entry from the killer's diary, the key piece of evidence in the case. Looking straight into the camera, Leno tells his audience: 'A new production of Bluebeard opens this weekend, and all of London longs to see the great Dan Leno perform it. But I know they yearn for more potent excitements. This is pantomime in its purest form' (*The Limehouse Golem*). The 'pantomime' he refers to is the Golem's latest murder, as reported by the *Illustrated Police News*, which is held up to the camera, the headline "Scholar Slain by Limehouse Golem" in clear view (fig. 59). Here, the *IPN* is associated with the low characters of the music hall, melodrama, and morbid entertainment.

Fig. 59. Douglas Booth as Dan Leno in *The Limehouse Golem* (2016)

The film is one of a few notable, popular works to use the *IPN*. Peter Ackroyd's 1994 novel *Dan Leno and the Limehouse Golem*, on which the 2016 film is based, features fictional *IPN* inquest reports from the murder trial of its protagonist, Elizabeth Cree, adding realism to the narrative (9; 131-4). When the BBC's usually modern-set adaptation of Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories, *Sherlock*, went back to Victorian England for its 2016 New Year's Day special, *The Abominable Bride,* the titular detective can be seen sifting through *IPN* clippings, searching for information to help solve the case of the bride's mysterious death (fig. 60). In each case, the *IPN* is, again, chosen for its association

with crime, disaster and the sensational, and – in relation to its use in film and television – its bold, stylised headlines and illustrations. As a result, the *IPN* is cemented in the public consciousness only as a lurid, sensational title.

Fig. 60. Benedict Cumberbatch as Sherlock Holmes in *The Abominable Bride* (2016).

Similarly, in academic work the *IPN* is often granted only a fleeting consideration. Susan Squier's *Virginia Woolf and London: The Sexual Politics of the City* (1985) features illustrations from the *IPN* to demonstrate the context of Victorian Whitechapel – where the titular dog of Woolf's 1933 novel *Flush* is taken by dog-stealers – but Squier does not discuss the paper directly (Squier 133). And though the *IPN* is perhaps most notable among historians for its coverage of the Whitechapel Murders, L. Perry Curtis Jnr similarly discusses the paper only in passing in his work *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* (2001). Other works make greater critical use of the paper. For example, Helen Cowie's *Exhibiting Animals in Nineteenth-Century England* (2014), which features in Chapter Two of this thesis, spends some time discussing the *IPN*'s representation of menagerie mishaps, but again characterises the paper as one that 'sought to shock its readers with a weekly dose of blood and gore' (176). Here, the complex and distinct nature of the paper's representation of menagerie accidents is not explored. The only work I have encountered that comprises a substantial critical analysis of the *IPN* is Suzanne Rintoul's *Intimate Violence and Victorian Print Culture* (2015), in which she discusses the paper's classed representation of domestic violence, also discussed in Chapter Two. Again, this analysis (necessarily) only considers one aspect of the *IPN*'s reportage.

The limited use of the *IPN*, then, links popular and scholarly work. The paper is most often employed to give colour or realism to a fictional scene, and in academic work

it is often only briefly acknowledged. In both cases, the particularity, influence, and multifaceted nature of the *IPN*'s reporting is not represented. As this thesis has demonstrated, there is more to the *IPN* than these one-sided depictions and appraisals have allowed for. By examining the paper's varied representation of animals, this thesis has had two key outcomes. Firstly, by exploring this facet of the *IPN*'s reportage, it has illuminated contemporary anxieties surrounding, for example, urbanisation, invasion, and control. Secondly, it has provided the first sustained analysis of the *IPN* and has suggested that the paper is a valuable resource for the study of a popular press that continues to be largely overlooked by periodical studies. Rather than being only concerned with lurid crimes, this thesis has found that the paper was influentially engaged with the antivivisection movement, and more widely concerned with the treatment of animals.

The first chapter examined the paper's representation of a range of animals in the city streets and considered the ways in which the mutable boundary between the street and the home was emphasised by the paper, which expressed contemporary concerns about security. The work of this chapter builds upon that of animal studies scholars such as Hilda Kean in its assertion that animals were central to both urban life and conceptions of it. The organisation of city space – through the Metropolitan Streets Act, for example – depended on the control of animals, and urban studies has historically defined itself against the rural and the natural, with animals included in this category. However, the *IPN* demonstrates that animals were ubiquitous in Victorian cities, and that they constantly breached the boundaries applied to them by urban infrastructure.

These observations are familiar, having been made by animal studies scholars working in a range of fields, from social history to urban studies. However, the key contribution of this thesis to that discussion lies in its use of a unique source. The *IPN* offers an additional lens through which to view Victorian attitudes towards urban animals. Rather than depicting animals uniformly, the paper used a range of representational modes in both text and illustration, in order to express a range of contemporary anxieties, highlight the absurdity and cruelty of certain cultural practices, and suggest animal agency and individuality. It used realist, comic, Gothic, and sensational techniques in its reports, in distinction from papers such as the *Illustrated London News*, which, as we have seen, often presented static and idealised images of animals. The *IPN*'s illustrations – which depicted animals as chaotic, rather than scenic – allowed its readers to see a range of animal experience and expression. These illustrations were clearly popular with the

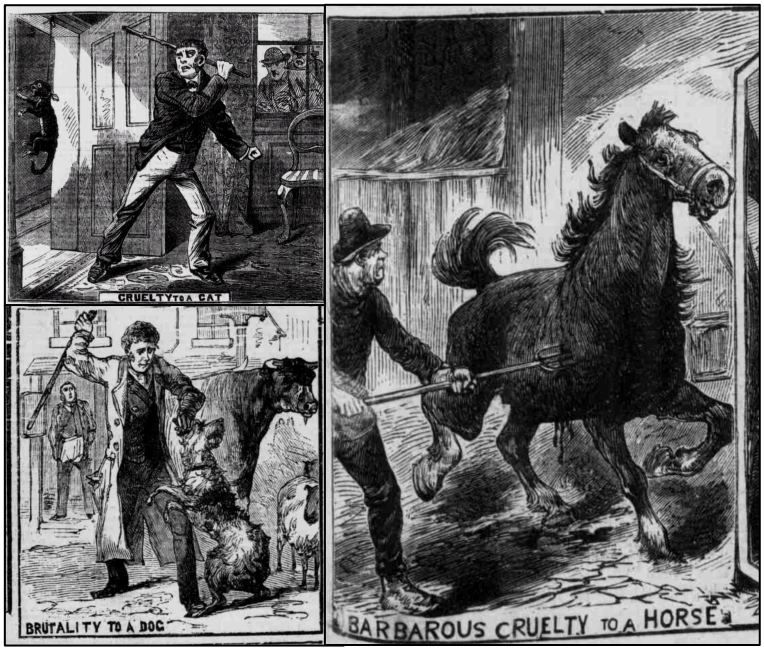
paper's largely working-class readers, and this thesis has theorised that the reasons for this might range from their entertainment value, to their criticism of middle-class culture, and to the moral messages they conveyed. And, as Chapter Four showed, while the *IPN*, like other papers, would have published the front-page illustrations most likely to encourage sales, it is also clear that it wanted its readership to think about the plight of animals in order to motivate them against cruel practices.

As we have seen in Chapters Two and Four, the *IPN* reported regularly on animal cruelty in many forms, from lion taming and vivisection, to more everyday cruelties. The paper's proprietor and editor for the majority of the period of study was George Purkess, who ran the paper from mid-1865 until his death from tuberculosis in December 1892. It was under his editorship that the paper became one that was particularly interested in the welfare of animals; as noted in the Introduction, between 1864 and 1865 a total of 79 stories about animal cruelty appeared, but over two-thirds of these appeared after June 1865, when I suggest Purkess took over. Additionally, almost 20% of the articles in my core sample from 1865-1900 pertain to animal cruelty, though this figure does not account for the many more articles which highlighted cruelty despite not being the report's key concern, such as the inquest report into Sanger's man-killing elephant, Charlie, in Chapter Two ("The Elephant Tragedy …" 5).

The paper's methods of criticising animal cruelty challenges prevailing notions about sensational journalism, too, for the *IPN* used the genre not only to shock its readership, but to highlight cruelty and motivate them to take action. This tactic was particularly influential in the late-nineteenth century vivisection debate, discussed in Chapter Four, as its controversial imagery made a significant and unique contribution to the antivivisection movement. As we have seen, the paper was frequently the subject of articles in elite intellectual journals that condemned its vile and obscene imagery, but its engagement with the vivisection debate is one instance in which the paper was lauded by prominent antivivisection publications.

The *IPN*'s discussion of animal cruelty further complicates one-dimensional depictions of the paper which suggest it was only interested in violent crimes. It also regularly depicted mundane, everyday cruelties against animals (as well as women, children, the mentally ill and other marginalised groups) in front-page illustrations. For example, the front page of the 11 February, 1877 issue featured illustrations of a "Haunted Mill" and a coalmine explosion alongside those of "A Boy Charged with Torturing a

Cock" and of an innkeeper who hung and fatally beat a cat that had been left on his premises (fig. 61). Similarly, the front-page on 30 December, 1881 included depictions of a poisoning case and a fatal factory accident, as well as illustrations of "Brutality to a Dog" (fig. 62) and "Barbarous Cruelty to a Horse" (fig. 63), in which the animal was stabbed with a pitchfork several times. As these examples show, the *IPN*'s focus on brutal crimes often extended to those endured by animals.



Top left: Fig. 61. "Cruelty to a Cat." *Illustrated Police News*, 11 Feb. 1877, p. 1.
Bottom left: Fig. 62. "Brutality to a Dog." *Illustrated Police News*, 30 Dec. 1881, p. 1.
Right: Fig. 63. "Barbarous Cruelty to a Horse." *Illustrated Police News*, 30 Dec. 1881, p. 1.

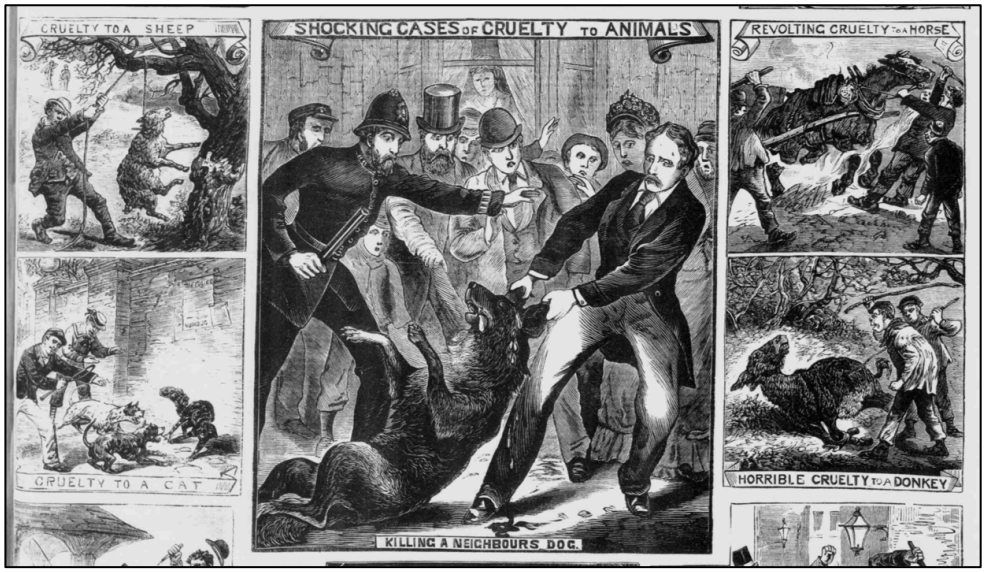


Fig. 64. "Shocking Cases of Cruelty to Animals." *Illustrated Police News*, 8 June 1878, p. 1.

On other occasions, as we saw in the discussion of vivisection in Chapter Four, the paper would dedicate an entire page or its foremost illustrations to animal cruelty. On 8 June, 1878, the centre of the front page was dedicated to five plates depicting "Shocking Cases of Cruelty to Animals" (fig. 64). Interestingly, while the four smaller images referred to working-class and juvenile animal cruelty – we are told that the assaults on the cat, sheep, and donkey were inflicted by young boys, with dustyard workers being held responsible for the torture of the horse – the central and most emphasised illustration here relates the case of a middle-class gentleman shooting his neighbour's dog for trespassing on his private garden. In the accompanying report we learn that the man then called for the police and dragged the dog out to the street, where it was found to be 'alive and in pain' ("Cruelty to a Dog" 2). Despite this, the man refused to put an end to the dog, and the RSPCA attempted to find him guilty of torture by omission, though the case was dismissed. Kean has noted that organisations like the RSPCA tended to criticise only the brutalities of the lower classes, but here (and, as we have seen, elsewhere in this thesis) the *IPN* highlighted middle-class cruelty by making the class of the offender clear in their illustration by his dress (*Animal Rights* 36). Reflecting on the five cases, the *IPN* emphasised its stance:

> Cruelty, like other vices, grows with practice until it becomes inveterate. He who ill-treats a dog or a horse would, were it not that he dreads the strong arm of the law, ill-use women and children. To a great extent, no doubt, society has for some years past become more humanised. A man must be shameless, indeed, to avow publicly that he is partial to cock-fighting or badger-baiting or ratting, and it has ceased to be one of the recommendations of a dog that he should be able to kill a cat. At the same time we have much to learn, and it is to be hoped that in some future session the Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals may be made more stringent, and impose graver penalties for other acts than those technically known as "positive" brutality." ("Cruelty to a Cat" 2)

Here it is clear that the intent of the *IPN*'s illustrations was not to shock for shock's sake. It depicted not only the most lurid crimes of the day, but also the everyday brutalities of Victorian life. The writer here acknowledged that the violence affecting animals was also likely to befall vulnerable humans, which suggests the truth in Purkess' assertion that his paper aimed to 'prevent crime', rather than glamorise it ("The Worst …" 2). The *IPN*'s

reportage thus challenges current understandings of the function and influence of sensational Victorian journalism.

The paper's critique of middle-class cruelty also indicates a wider trend in the paper. It condemned not only the cruelty of the middle-classes, but also, as we have seen in Chapter Two, the decision of some middle-class households to keep unruly pet primates. I have suggested that in these stories we might also read a tacit criticism of middle-class domestic violence. As such, the place of the *IPN* in the growing field of periodical studies has been another key concern of this thesis. It is clear that we can learn much about working-class attitudes to, for example, animal welfare, middle-class domesticity, and scientific experimentation by studying it. Such working-class perspectives are often difficult to access, and if we are to attempt to retrieve and consider them it is important that future scholars look beyond the critical commonplaces about the *IPN* and take it seriously as a historical document that was engaged with the culture it emerged from.

The *IPN*'s engagement with contemporary culture is evident in its use of genre. My approach to the *IPN* has been to treat the newspaper as a literary text, as proposed by work such as that of Matthew Rubery, who suggests in his monograph *The Novelty of Newspapers* (2009) that 'the transformation of news during the nineteenth century profoundly influenced literary narrative in ways that have yet to be recognized' (4). Though he acknowledges the reciprocal relationship between journalism and fiction in this period, Rubery most prominently emphasises the ways in which newspapers influenced the structural and formal devices of Victorian fiction. I have suggested in Chapter Four that the paper contributed to criminal imagery surrounding the vivisector as a villain of late-Victorian Gothic fiction, but this thesis has been concerned more generally with the literary techniques evident in the *IPN*'s style of reporting. H.L. Mansel famously derided the sensational and criminal content of what he called the 'Newspaper Novel', and the influence of the reporting of true crime on Victorian fiction has been discussed in a number of works (501).[22] Comparatively, nineteenth-century critics of the *IPN* identified the paper's supposed appropriation of fictional narratives (its "fake news")

[22] See, for example, Richard D. Altick's *Victorian Studies in Scarlet* (1970), Andrew Mangham's *Violent Women and Sensation Fiction: Crime, Medicine and Victorian Popular Culture* (2007) and Matthew Rubery's *The Novelty of Newspapers: Victorian Fiction After the Invention of the News* (2009).

as evidence of its sensationalism and its desire to appeal to the vile tastes of its readership, as we saw in the *IPN*'s potential theft from Poe's *Murder in the Rue Morgue* in Chapter Two. I have been less concerned with the veracity of the *IPN*'s reports in this thesis. Instead, I have examined the paper's methods of storytelling, and what they can tell us about the paper's place in Victorian culture and about its readership.

The paper told stories about animals using a variety of modes, all of which illuminate the tastes and concerns of its readers. The comic depiction of cows and bulls in Chapter One indicated that the prospective reader of the *IPN* was an urban one who would have recognised the humour in a destructive animal out of place in the Victorian city. Similarly, the realist depiction of urban horses, who were mostly used as background in the paper's illustrations and considered more as dysfunctional machines than individual animals, indicate an urban viewpoint. Horses were rarely the focus of the *IPN*'s reports of urban accidents, but through illustration the impact of these animals on nineteenth-century urban life is nonetheless evident.

The use of Gothic techniques in the depiction of rabid dogs and swarms of rats again indicated the anxieties of urban residents who were fearful of the mutable boundaries between the home and the streets. Images of children attacked by dogs in their homes and by rats in their beds emphasised fears of the lack of security available to the urban poor and working class. The Gothic qualities of the rabid dog were exploited by the paper in order to bring to life the fears of the monstrous other, embodied in the uncanniness of what I have termed the 'un-dog'. Rejected in their rabid states and unable to be reintegrated into society, un-dogs represented fears of degeneration and transgression. Similarly, swarms of urban rats spoke to contemporary anxieties that the city was voracious and insatiable, eating up its urban poor. Despite the apparent civility of London – the heart of the British Empire – swarms of rats suggested the city was a cesspit crawling with vermin. Like Victorian Gothic fiction, the *IPN* repurposed the fears of its readers – about modernity, change and the other – as morbid entertainment.

The crime genre of the paper has also been explored in relation to the *IPN*'s representation of animals, most prominently in Chapter Three which, in part, sought to examine why a crime newspaper reported so frequently on animals. Many of the paper's animal reports were indeed about crime – for example, animal cruelty and cases of stolen animals – but most were more immediately concerned with questions of control and order. As we have seen throughout this thesis, the *IPN* most regularly highlighted the

failure of animal control in a range of situations. The first two chapters focused primarily on the *IPN*'s reports of accidents, chaos, destruction and otherwise calamitous incidents involving animals in the streets, the home and menageries, while the final two considered the paper's discussion of animals and their legal status in controlled spaces. Chapter Three examined the paper's representation of animals in the most orderly of public arenas, the courtroom, in which the control of performing bears was not only a matter of pedestrian safety, but a means of reinforcing xenophobic stereotypes. Additionally, the paper's representation of animals as potential criminals brought questions of animal agency and subjectivity to the fore, as well as questions of order and control, which have been crucial concepts in each chapter of this thesis.

The paper's most favoured genre was sensation, as discussed already in this conclusion in relation to its representation of animal cruelty – from everyday brutalities to lion taming – and vivisection, as well as its critique of middle-class domesticity. An important facet of this representation is the way in which the paper often relished sensational depictions of the failure of human dominance. By depicting the failure of animal control in the home, the zoo, the menagerie and the circus using sensational representational modes, the *IPN* seemed to emphasise and take morbid pleasure in the unsuitability and unnaturalness of these sites as places for the confinement of exotic animals. While it is clear that the sensationalism of the paper was, of course, a lucrative marketing technique, the *IPN*'s overwhelming focus on these kinds of reports suggests it was interested in these stories for a particular reason. Its stories about animals were, more specifically, stories about human-animal encounters in which the civility, dominion and humanity of humankind – embodied, variously, in the city, the lion-tamer, the pet-owner, the animal-trainer and the vivisector – was called into question. This thesis is titled "Beastly Encounters" rather than "Animal Encounters" firstly in acknowledgement of the varied narratives applied to animals in the paper's reports, and secondly because the *IPN* seems to have continually questioned who the beasts were. Were they the crowd that watched a lion tamer being ripped to shreds (fig. 40), or the lions themselves? The dogs flayed on operating tables, or the unsympathetic vivisectors? The *IPN* repeatedly suggested the failure of civility and humanity and the beastliness of the modern world, but through its antivivisectionism, for example, it was nonetheless optimistic that an alternative way of being was possible.

The *IPN*'s use of genre demonstrates that its modes of reportage were more sophisticated than it has been given credit for. This study has aimed to demonstrate the need to consider popular titles and to question how these titles are read; as Rubery's study shows, Victorian periodicals were clearly engaged in a reciprocal relationship with contemporary literature. Additionally, only a few scholars, including Diana Donald and Susan Hamilton, have considered the representation of animals in Victorian periodicals, while the examination of the representation of animals in the popular Victorian press was, until now, non-existent. It is clear that animal studies can be enriched by examining how ideas about animals were disseminated in popular titles in this period, and that there is scope for more work to be done to present a fuller view of human-animal relations in the nineteenth century and beyond.

This thesis has also shown that there is much more to be explored in relation to the Victorian popular press more generally. Throughout I have situated the *IPN* in the context of the nineteenth-century periodical press, with frequent comparisons to, for example, the *Illustrated London News*, the *Examiner*, and the *Saturday Review*. These publications are all well established in periodical studies, but lesser-studied titles mentioned in the thesis, such as *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and *Reynolds's Newspaper*, have received less attention (though still more than the *IPN*). It was not possible to carry out a more thorough comparison with these papers here given my methodological approach and my belief in the value of reading publications in full. However, new technologies and digital methodologies might make a project of such a scale more achievable in future. Since I began this project, the British Newspaper Archive has grown and developed, with text files of articles now available through its website, meaning that these files can be examined in large numbers using digital text analysis tools in order to more easily identify trends and compare publications. However, these text files are not infallible, reliant as they are on optical character recognition (OCR) technology, which can be erratic in its outputs, especially with texts of poor quality. This means that cheap publications like the *IPN*, whose remaining issues are fragile and difficult to read, and are therefore largely incompatible with OCR, are at risk of being forgotten amongst the swathes of digitised periodicals now available online. While new technologies will certainly make work in periodical studies more achievable on a large scale, there is also the risk of some publications being overlooked. Distant reading is also controversial in the field, as discussed in the Introduction, due to some scholars' hostility towards "cherry-picking". I

am also wary of this approach, but am confident that mixing close, sustained reading of periodicals using a robust sampling method alongside distant reading is a useful way of considering what is an unmanageable corpus.

In summary, this study of the *IPN* shows us that it was not only specialist or culturally elite publications which were interested in animals and their welfare, and that it was not only middle-class, educated readers who were interested in such topics. While aspects of the *IPN*'s reportage were certainly lurid, we have also seen that the *IPN*'s use of sensationalism was not one-dimensional and had a critical and political function. We have also seen that far from being marginal to Victorian culture, the *IPN* was being taken seriously by leading intellectual and scientific voices – positively by antivivisectionists such as Frances Power Cobbe, and negatively by scientists like Samuel Wilks and Elias von Cyon. Additionally, it is possible to argue that the *IPN*'s narratives surrounding, for example, the criminal vivisector, as its reportage crucially contributed to the fictional representation of that figure. It is ironic, then, that as Rubery notes, in the nineteenth century, 'a number of writers responded to the growing influence of journalism by attacking its commercial or subliterary qualities' (10). We have seen such attacks on the *IPN* throughout this thesis, and it appears that such views of the paper have been taken at their word by modern scholars since the nineteenth century. The idea of journalism being 'subliterary' seems to be one that is slowly losing hold, as demonstrated by the development of periodical studies; we have seen that even lowbrow publications such as the *IPN* were demonstrably engaged with the literary outputs of their time. This thesis has presented an alternative view of an overlooked paper and contributed to discussions of the relationship between ephemeral texts and literary fiction, while emphasising that the *IPN* is worthy of scholarly examination in its own right. It has also sought to demonstrate that the periodical press was a key site of human-animal encounter and a place where ideas about animals were prominently disseminated. Animal studies can thus be enriched with further examination of the popular Victorian press, and all of its unexplored beastliness.

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