

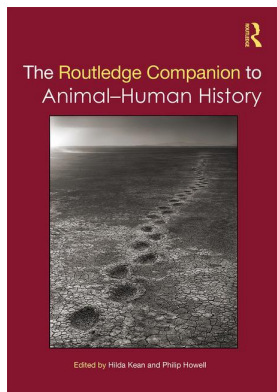
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The Routledge Companion to Animal–Human History

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Writing in animals in history

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WRITING IN ANIMALS IN HISTORY

Philip Howell and Hilda Kean

Introduction

This *Routledge Companion* adds to the emerging literature on animal–human history, and aims to be a guide and resource for current and prospective historians. One of its distinctive aims is that of approaching both visual *and* written histories of animals and animal–human relations, to re–present and underscore the role of nonhuman animals as historical actors. Our argument is illustrated on the cover of this book. The image of the traces of an elephant’s passing is taken from the work of the leading animal artist Nick Brandt. The relationship between humans and animals is a central part of Brandt’s photographic work, rightly identified by Peter Singer as an essay in environmental ethics.¹ Brandt has written that for between ten and twenty years he has driven through countless areas where there had once been abundant animal life, life which ‘now has been relentlessly wiped up’.² His response has been not only to create new photographic presences but also to contribute to our understanding of *their* place in *our* world. As he comments, ‘I took the pictures of the animals in these books in an attempt to capture them as sentient creatures not so different from us. I have sought to photograph them not in action, but simply in a state of *being*’.³

He has portrayed the visual impression of animals because ‘I wanted to show these animals as individual spirits, sentient creatures equally as worthy as life as us’.⁴

Brandt’s discussion of his personal experiences is reflected in several accounts that tend to draw upon both artistic and historical perspectives on animals.⁵ Steve Baker has recently concluded that ‘The look of the animal, the visual representation of the animal, still matters, still figures, and it’s the thing that art . . . can handle most persuasively’.⁶ This is not just a contemporary project: it is strikingly obvious that written works can be analysed with due regard to the relationship between animals and artists as they have existed in the past. As Diana Donald notes in her perceptive work:

Landseer’s concept of nature was wholly antithetical to that of earlier sporting painters, with their paradisaical, verdant landscapes: his concept suggested an

overwhelming pessimism, a loss of belief in the benign governance of the universe. Man, like his animal victims, was condemned to a harsh struggle for survival, and perhaps to a lonely end.⁷

This focus on animal–human relationships in recent approaches to animals in the visual field forms a certain contrast with previous, explicitly *historical* discussions of animals that do not focus on photographic or print material. Often cited is the influential account provided by Keith Thomas, whose magisterial *Man and the Natural World* is tellingly described by the author as a ‘mixture of compromise and concealment’.⁸ In his introduction Thomas referred to a ‘devotion to rural pursuits . . . characteristic of the English upper classes’, ‘common to many members of the first industrial nation’ and a more recent ‘profoundly anti-urban bias’.⁹ Thomas recognises that ‘the animal and vegetable world has, after all, been a basic precondition of human history’.¹⁰ Just as significantly, Thomas argued that the subject had much to offer historians but also that ‘it is impossible to disentangle what the people of the past thought about plants and animals from what they thought about themselves’.¹¹ Here we are presented in many ways with an account of a past era of history, now long gone. This strikes out rather differently to the explicit imagery of elephants in Brandt’s encounter with the recent past. These animals are currently, as Brandt writes, engaged in ‘being’, as ‘sentient creatures’. We can still *see* them, if we look hard enough. Now it is true that Thomas’s pioneering book did draw upon prints of animals (the publisher Allen Lane sourced thirty historic images), but their analysis was minimal compared to the attention given to the written word. To some extent this reflects the historian’s method. In a reflective mood in the *London Review of Books*, Thomas has admitted that ‘My notes are voluminous because my interests have never been very narrowly focused’.¹² For all that Thomas contributed to the emergence of animal–human history, enlarging the scope of historical concern, this concern with *writing* limits our ability to make animals visible. Thomas accepts that ‘diverse topics . . . can’t be investigated in a single archive or repository of information. Progress depends on building up a picture from a mass of casual and unpredictable references accumulated over a long period’.¹³ Despite this, like subsequent historians, Thomas tended overwhelmingly to rely on literary sources and archives, with the result that the animals’ presence is often virtual.¹⁴

This is not the only way forward. As many of the contributions in this volume suggest, there is an explicit relationship between the *physical* presences of cultural animals and the function of historical or heritage works. Take for example, in fairly conventional terms, the recent Berlin-based project of artists and historical commentators articulated in the project entitled *Animal Lovers*, explicitly embarking on a search for emancipated human–animal relationships.¹⁵ From 2010–2011 the Berlin artist Anselmo Fox reimagined the 1873 Victory Column located at the Großer Stern (Great Star) central square in Berlin’s Tiergarten by showing bees flying in and out of the damaged parts of the bronze sculpture of Victory herself, revealing the monument as a flawed allegory for war, destruction and nationalistic delusion, but showing as it does so that the animals follow the line and path of a way of seeing despite the obstacle in front of them, penetrating it and revealing its fragility.¹⁶

Part of the point here is to ask the question to what extent animals are involved as agents in social processes, and to explore the relationship between artistic practice and quasi-historical features. Such an approach has been common to the work of a number of writers today in explaining the specific impact of animals in existing countries. Accounts in this book relate both to the existing presence of current *and* historical animals as well as to the conventional historical analysis of written descriptions. We do not have to choose between them. As we note subsequently, several contributors refer to past and present archival material but at the same time have acknowledged the role of animals themselves in making an animal- and human-history. So we accept the mixture of 'compromise and concealment' but we also construct an explicit exposition of the way in which the 'sentience' of creatures becomes part of an historical method.

The nature of animal-human history

This may be jumping too far ahead for those who cannot find any meaning in the juxtaposition of 'animal' and 'history'. We do not have to look very far, or very far back, even in academia, to find statements as categorical as this, from David and Ann James Premack: 'While a vast number of histories have been written about human beings, one could not write a history of the chimpanzee, nor of any other animal'.¹⁷ Outside of the charmed circle of academia, we can quite easily be reassured that while all animals have an evolutionary past, 'Only humans make history'.¹⁸ Challenging these ideas is never easy, as it depends of course on what we mean by 'history'. The Premacks defined history as 'a sequence of changes through which a species passes while remaining biologically stable'; and since for them 'animals have not undergone significant change while remaining biologically stable', ergo they can have no history as such.¹⁹ This still leaves plenty of room ('perhaps', say the more cautious Premacks) for writing about the history of humans' attitudes to animals, and their treatment of animals – and indeed historians have long since accepted that a history of relationships with the natural world, with the 'environment', and even with a range of nonhuman animals is not only possible but valuable too. There is no real difficulty conceding this point, even if we up the ante to claim that history requires a consciousness of history, and a means of transmitting this on to future generations of a species. This is the familiar idea that 'Man is an historical animal, with a deep sense of his own past'.²⁰ But Dorothee Brantz observes that 'even if animals live without a sense of the past, is it logical to conclude that they have played no role in the development of human societies?'²¹ We would in fact have to search hard for historians who believe that 'only humans make history' in the most restrictive sense – the conceit that other animals do not participate in human history at all – even if 'Too often such animals become written out of the actual processes of history'.²² Questions of consciousness are for many a bridge too far – taking us into philosophical debates and ethological theories for which historians have no great claim to expertise. But even here, the most categorical statements may be given some nuance. Mahesh Rangajaran, for instance, in a recent discussion of lions in the Gujarat from ancient times to modern, suggests that changing relationships with people reflect not just human practices or beliefs or representations of animals, but something like the

‘culture’ and the ‘memory’ of those lions themselves; and while he is tentative on the question of historical consciousness, this need not debar nonhuman animals, as animals, from what we conventionally recognise as history:

It is surely going too far to endow lions with a sense of history such as humans have or historians imagine, a sense in which the past is re-imagined in multiple, contested ways to debate how the present came to be. Nevertheless, there is a complex tapestry of human–animal relations, and within that, the idea that animals too evolve, not only in simple biological terms but also in terms of patterns of behavior, deserves consideration.²³

This focus on relationships, and on milieu, is something that animal–human historians have been particularly strong in promoting – even if there are special problems of access and interpretation to be considered. Here, we may remark that an aversion to ‘animal history’ seems particularly absurd if we consult our cousins in archaeology and anthropology, for whom the idea that people are entangled with animals, and with their environments and all sorts of ‘things’ is hardly news.²⁴ History presents specific problems, for sure, which go beyond the discipline’s traditional reliance on written sources, or the difficulties in terms of access to archives that are often not part of the public domain of historical memory, and which are often guarded by institutions wary of criticism, scholarly or otherwise.²⁵ Nor is it only because archives and other records are themselves anthropocentric artefacts (‘The current paucity of traces for the hunter–historian to follow is neither accidental nor innocent. It is a product of the history we want to tell’).²⁶ Beyond these issues lies the way in which human history and culture is seen as somehow separate from the natural world. Again, at the very least we need to unsettle the antithesis between nature and culture that animates so much modern, Western thinking, our understanding of history included. Thus David Gary Shaw notes that ‘we also want to theorize the animal in history because it helps us think even harder about who, these days, the “we” of history is’.²⁷ So long as we divide the world into nature on the one hand, all other animals of all shapes and natures rudely herded into this corral, and ‘culture’ on the other, as the work of humans alone, we are not likely to get very far beyond the history of human attitudes, beliefs, and practices towards animals, useful as this is. To go further, to fully open up history to the animal presence that we invoked earlier, we have to escape the gravitational pull of anthropocentrism. In this regard, the theoretical and methodological insights of scholars who have refused to accept the nature–culture dualism are absolutely vital. A famous example: the sociologist Michel Callon described the ways in which the humble scallop, the Brittany fishermen who harvested them, and a series of scientific researchers, some of them interested in conserving stocks, acted together in relationships that are impossible to capture by labelling some things natural and other things social; instead, it is the process in which some things are included (as identities or actors for instance), and others excluded or silenced, which he found essential.²⁸ Therefore, instead of starting with a proposition – animals cannot have agency, for example – Callon prefers to follow what happens, notably the power relationships that exist between different types of ‘actors’ whether they be human or nonhuman. In other words, nonhumans might be considered on the same

footing, history-wise, at least at the beginning of our research. It is a matter of what these writers have termed ‘generalised symmetry’, not privileging one or other ‘actor’ in a priori reasoning.

Now in summary form, this kind of argument is familiar in many circles, so that more apologies are in order; but the point of raising it here, even so briefly, is merely to place the emphasis on *methodology* rather than on the kinds of a priori and blatantly *parti pris* arguments that one sometimes encounters when the history of animals is raised. The methodological issues should never be confused with those of principle, or ontology. We want in this *Companion* to encourage students and readers of animal–human history to resist the seemingly inarguable ‘common sense’ exemplified above – the ideas, for instance, that animals, other animals, simply *do not* have ‘agency’, ‘consciousness’, ‘history’, and so on. Whether they take the form of wheedling blandishments or categorical imperatives these ideas have been used to dismiss even the possibility that nonhuman animals are worthy of our attention as historians. The question, as ever, is what we *mean* when we argue such things – and whether they indeed stand up to scrutiny. In this volume we try to provide resources for historians, especially those encountering this range of arguments for the first time. Our intention is not to close down debate – our contributors indeed provide different answers from different perspectives, and we are aware that plenty of excellent historical work can be done without swallowing the corpus of critical theory whole. At this juncture in the development of animal–human history – we prefer this formulation to the alternatives of ‘animal history’ or ‘human–animal history’ – diversity rather than consistency is more noticeable, and it deserves to be celebrated as much as condemned. We already have something like a canon – the classics of our young field that are required reading and which quite quickly mapped out its contours; and there are also collections that illustrate the kinds of work that historians have accomplished. But we intend this volume to be both survey and sourcebook, something that represents the state of the art, and at the same time can be consulted for up-to-date discussions of the key themes and arguments in the discipline.

The practice of animal–human history

We start by considering the practice of history, thinking of where animal–human history may contribute to established paradigms, such as political history. In our first substantial chapter, Sandra Swart traces the connections between animals and nationalism, and specifically the role of nonhuman animals in the propagation of ‘national’ histories. It may seem puzzling to begin our survey of animal–human history with the political, and with the Herderian understanding of nationalism, given that the status of man as a ‘political animal’ (Aristotle’s *zoon politikon* or Aquinas’s *animal civile*) is one of those qualities that supposedly elevate the human being over his animal counterparts. Yet these presumptions to human exclusiveness, even with the supposed ‘naturalness’ of the nation-state, generate objections aplenty. To the evolutionary biologist of a certain stripe, it might be supposed that the nature of evolutionary competition, aggression, and territoriality implies a certain continuity between human ‘tribalism’ and animals’ group identities – as in the once influential popular accounts of Robert Ardrey.²⁹ These views trace a kind of ‘animal

nationalism' in nature, in basic biological drives and forms of animal association. This is a not quite outdated approach, its dynamism recognisably ahistorical, insofar as it confuses territoriality with territory; as the geographer Stuart Elden notes,

The problem with this is that while it can tell us something about human behavior in space, it is not at all clear that it can tell us something about "territory". In part this is due to the obvious point that human social organization has changed more rapidly than biological drives.³⁰

On the other hand, an 'eco-cosmopolitan' framing might look to nonhuman animals lending their agency to the politics of nationalism, as 'other citizens' who despite their lack of interest in demarcating and respecting human political boundaries, nevertheless form 'nations' of different kinds.³¹ As a provocation, this promotion of a multispecies transnational politics serves at the very least to destabilise the 'national' basis of conventional histories. But animals are also conscripted as an element of banal nationalism, and Swart illustrates just how commonly the animal – or rather, specific animals – become proxies for the imagined community of the nation and for its projects of exclusion and othering (in the most extreme cases, Tiago Saraiva has recently reminded us that nonhuman animals were mobilised in the performance of fascist modernities).³² Here, Swart's observations confirm the fact that anthropocentrism does not always, or even typically, entail speciesism, because the invocation of animal others is a way of avoiding either our common humanity or the supposedly inclusive political citizenship we imagine when we speak of nations. She points us nevertheless towards a political history of a more-than-human kind.

These themes are picked up by Mieke Roscher, who explores in her contribution the opportunities for animal-human historians opened up by the rise of the 'new political history' and a cultural history of politics, while being at the same time cautious about the challenges that lie ahead – challenges that derive from the familiar constraints of traditional political history but also the anthropocentric presumptions of these new approaches. It is as well to leave behind the former, with (at the risk of caricature) its focus on high politics and conventional political actors, on events and 'great men'. A turn to the everyday and the ordinary, as well as to discourses and representations, mentalities and symbolic systems, is far more amenable to animal-human historians interested in a more-than-human political history. Yet here there are further problems. Roscher notes in passing the counterargument to extending our conception of political history, which goes that if politics is now everywhere it is also nowhere, and that more specifically if we include nonhuman animals, or even things, matter, bodies of all sorts, then the basis for defining the 'political' as a separate sphere is lost. Roscher emphasises however the contrast between the symbolic and the real animal, for the interest in culture risks reducing the political history of non-human animals to their representation merely – as in Swart's 'national animals'. A pure culturalism of this sort appears to ignore the material reality and presence of the political animal. Roscher argues that we need not be caught upon the horns of this dilemma, having to choose between real and symbolic animals: she turns to a conception of politics based not on political actors, however constituted, but on a relational account of agency, with the focus on practices and performances. Here she

insists that we can have our representations of animals as political actors in history (she calls this the political historiography of animals) and at the same time an account of the ways in which real animals (for Roscher, ‘political animals’) enter into the ‘meaning-making’ of political action through their encounters with human beings and their cultural/political systems. This sounds forbiddingly abstract – and Roscher draws upon performativity theory, Science and Technology Studies, ‘praxiography’ and ‘body history’ to make her points – but she illustrates this with examples from the animal–human history of the Third Reich, a specific, extreme, tragic animal–human constellation that nevertheless serves as a case study of how nonhumans *co-produce* political history.

These contributions lead neatly enough into Hilda Kean’s overview of the role of animals in ‘public history’. However troublesome that term is to define, we recognise that much of the running in the representation of animal–human histories has taken place outside of the academy, in the kinds of exhibitions and monuments and memorials that Kean examines here. Public history has included animals in these ‘more-than-human’ histories without the kind of high theory or conceptual jargon regularly to be encountered in academic animal–human history, and which is almost by definition off-limits to non-specialists. Nor do we see replicated an emphasis on the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake – for as museums and other institutions struggle to connect with wider and more diverse audiences, they situate themselves in very different social and political contexts, where buzzwords such as participation and inclusivity are prominent. Of course, we can and should be critical about the turn to public history, especially where ‘heritage’ and the narration of ‘national identity’ are concerned – but we might also see opportunities in the collaborative process of *history-making* that is at the heart of public history. Kean shows us both sides of this debate, considering, with a focus on Australia, how animals and their histories have been enrolled in the presentation of national (if not necessarily nationalist) stories – but viewing them as positive starting-off points for an animal–human history that is not confined to the seminar room. Sometimes this has been at the expense of a certain academic rigour, but even so we can still appreciate the presence and agency of nonhuman animals as participants in the process of making history. Kean reminds us that ‘animal–human historians’ – at least, those of us who are employed in institutions of higher education and evaluated on our academic research – do not *on our own* produce ‘history’. If we are to bring nonhuman animals back into history, we need to accept and even celebrate, if never uncritically, the diverse histories that are at work in the world.

Drawing on vital work in memory studies, Jan-Erik Steinkrüger follows the lead of the previous chapter in arguing that history-making is an ongoing, dynamic process, and that animals are an integral part of this form of public history. Steinkrüger takes up Kean’s themes of animal memorialisation, but heads in a different direction, considering the ways in which animal conservation might be interpreted as a form of cultural memory, and thus a practice of making history. As he suggests, animal conservation projects of all kinds are not a matter of ‘nature’ distinct from ‘culture’. They typically invoke the latter in the terms of history and heritage, especially in the powerful ideal of preserving (or reintroducing) animals as a living patrimony or collective property, handed down from historical past through threatened present to hoped-for future. The concept and practice of national parks, where the historical

existence of animals is often bought at the expense of remembering human histories, exemplifies this kind of animal–human political history. Steinkrüger focuses in this chapter on the business of collective memory, or rather more precisely *cultural memory*, asking which animals (including humans) are remembered, which animals (including humans) forgotten, and why. His examples of animal conservation in Africa demonstrate that historiography is a critical form of cultural memory–work, especially so in a postcolonial frame. The power of media – not academic history – is emphasised throughout, as with Kean’s chapter. Steinkrüger aims to show how wildlife conservation is inextricably entangled with animal–human history – and his worked example of efforts to save central Asia’s Przewalski’s horse bears this out. This is an important lesson for animal–human historians who tend to approach their topics from the direction of cultural history, and with a pronounced focus on the modern, urban West. Steinkrüger demonstrates the narrowness of our optic, and the limitations of our own historiographical habits.

Turning to an historiography that all too quickly sequesters questions of culture from those of ‘science’, Robert Kirk takes a similarly critical stance. Looking at the transformation of animals and animal bodies into the collective ‘experimental animal’, Kirk points out the limitations of an historiography that sees controversies about experimentation and vivisection in particular, as somehow *really* about human concerns, not about animals at all. He argues that the history of animal experimentation struggles as a result with the animal as anything more than a symbol. Kirk looks instead at the potential of the history of science as an alternative to an anthropocentric ‘social’ history where taking animals seriously is concerned, and though he notes the advantages of such approaches in terms of rich descriptive accounts, he identifies a disabling lack of interest in normative questions. That the two concerns, the empirical and the ethical, might at least partially be reconciled is exemplified through the development history of animal welfare science – yet here again the full import of animal–human relations, including the nature of emotional and affective attachments, remains unrecognised. Kirk’s purpose here is to argue for the integration of moral values and ethical concerns in the production of scientific knowledge and the material practices upon which it depends). This means taking seriously the emotions of nonhuman animals as well as those of humans, and confronting the history of our empathy with other species – not as part of a congratulatory narrative of care and animal welfare within the scientific community, but as part of what Kirk calls here a ‘moral ecology of science’.

Abigail Woods’ account of the divergence and convergence of animal and human medicine is also placed here because of what it tells us about the disciplinary process by which animal and human histories are quarantined. Woods’ theme is medical and veterinary history, but the conclusions are scalable out and up. The disconnect between medical history/veterinary history and animal–human history is puzzling, notes Woods, particularly insofar as nonhuman animals have left far more obvious traces in the historical record here than in other fields. If any subdiscipline should afford opportunities for an integrated history, then the history of medicine and veterinary science should be it, yet historians in this field have for Woods been largely guided by anthropocentric assumptions and concepts, and it is probably fair to say that it has been relatively resistant, until quite recently, to the theoretical insights provided by Science and Technology Studies and allied perspectives. Lest this

account seem too carping, we should recognise as Woods does that the problem is not just on that side of the fence: for animal–human historians have typically focused on wild and companion animals, largely neglecting those animals whose lives or bodies have contributed to medical science; by contrast, experimental animals, and the specific topics of vivisection, zoonotic and contagious diseases, have been quite well covered by medical and social historians, as she herself shows in some detail, with a very useful summary of key contributions and an assessment of their significance. The lessons here include an awareness of the limits placed on the biological control of animals, including ourselves: the British BSE/vCJD crisis of the late 1990s is not now a part of students’ memories – it has thus become ‘historical’ – but it and a host of other phenomena form a reminder that animal–human relations are a critical part of contemporary ‘risk society’.³³ Woods notes that historians are influenced by the present and its particular concerns, though it is just as important for contemporary scholars to be aware of the historical precedents. But Woods is surely right to look to identify the dominant human-centred perspective as the major barrier to a truly animal history of medicine, and she is right too to fly the flag for the ‘One Health’ movement and what it portends.

Woods notes in her chapter the privileging of the symbolic over the material in animal–human history. Liv Emma Thorsen’s chapter, by contrast, explores the question of why animals’ materiality really matters. In its concern for the display of animal remains in museum collections it belongs with the business of public history. But it also forms a bridge between these questions of historical praxis and the issues of theory and methodology that are collected in the following section, under the rubric ‘problems and paradigms’. Thorsen sets her sights on the material as well as the animal turn, demonstrating that even after death, animals exhibit agency. She considers the role of animal remains in provoking affective or emotional responses, by attracting various interested parties, actors, or ‘friends’, and also by constructing meaning for us through particular sets of relations in specific contexts, networks or assemblages. That this means the production of what we understand as history is evident from the fact that animal remains become exhibits in *historical* narratives – and not just in ‘natural history’ museums. Thorsen shows, through her intriguing examples, how dynamic and contingent are ‘nature’ and ‘culture’: a hippopotamus, an exotic exile in Renaissance Florence, travels after death from spectacular individuality to being the representative of the species, as the Medici collections are purified in the Age of Enlightenment into the products of culture and nature respectively (and then only provisionally). In Oslo, by contrast, in the Romantic Age, a poet’s dog is gifted to science before being reunited with her owner’s *geist* in the modern celebration of genius and *genus loci*, thus reclaimed from ‘science’ and returned to ‘culture’. These histories of taxidermied animals (along with Thorsen’s many other examples) show us that the meaning of life and death, persons and things, essences and relations, is far from clear-cut. Animal–human history is inherently material, and inherently messy as well.

Historiographical challenges

We move in the second section of this book to considering key historiographical problems. In the initial chapter in this section Philip Howell tries to lay out as clearly

as possible the genealogy of the conception of ‘agency’, and in particular the problems involved in suggesting that humans have distinctive attributes that gives them an ‘agency’ or power that all other animals signally lack. We arrogate to ourselves the position of an imperial race, and, as the neglected eighteenth-century English philosopher Abraham Tucker puts it, ‘delighting to draw comparisons between ourselves and the irrational tribes, or studying to exaggerate our own nobility and pre-eminence of privileges above them’.³⁴ Howell also notes the connections to social theory and social history, where the idea of agency has been important in recovering the lives and experiences of the less privileged, the subordinated, and the exploited. Animals as historical subjects are confronted with an unwelcome choice in this regard – waiting to be the beneficiary of this ethical extensionism, but as a distant cousin of the historical family the last cohort to be considered worthy of being included in a ‘social’ history; or else relegated to evolutionary or environmental history, to the matter of things and Nature. Howell suggests that we might want to replace ‘history from below’, with its hierarchical presumptions, with the fact that animals are beside us, and that these relationships with other animals are part of what we like to think of as ‘our’ agency. In this relational conception of agency there is no distinction between now and the historical past, save that there are special issues in research and writing about animals’ agency. Howell finishes therefore by considering three paradigms in histories of animal agency: ascribed agency, proactive agency, and (his preference is obvious enough) ‘assembled agency’. Being precise as to what we mean when we write about agency is a necessary first step towards writing more convincing more-than-human histories.

This hardly exhausts the issue, of course. Jennifer McDonell’s chapter on animals in Victorian literature tackles a number of pertinent themes – that of animals’ agency, the possibility of writing a history of emotions that includes other animals, and the problem, above all, of representation itself. We locate her contribution in this second section principally because of this issue of representation: we might feel that in the field of literature, at the heart of the humanities, so to speak, we are about as far away from real animals as we are ever likely to get. Classic debates in animal studies indeed revolve around this question of ‘representation’, with the early and powerful insistence that animals disappear when they become the matter of culture now matched by more nuanced assessments and indeed increasingly voluble counterarguments.³⁵ Looking for the traces of animals in texts is sometimes bracingly straightforward, however – we are thinking of the marvellous example of the Deventer cat who one night in or around the year 1420 pissed on a medieval manuscript, much to the annoyance of the monk who came to resume his work the morning later:

Hic non defectus est, sed cattus minxit desuper nocte quadam. Confundatur pessimus cattus qui minxit super librum istum in nocte Daventrie, et consimiliter omnes alii propter illum. Et cavendum valde ne permittantur libri aperti per noctem ubi cattie venire possunt.

(Here is nothing missing, but a cat urinated on this during a certain night. Cursed be the pesty cat that urinated over this book during the night in Deventer and because of it many others [other cats] too. And beware well not to leave open books at night where cats can come.)³⁶

We need to think carefully, however, about the ways in which culture is co-produced by human and other animals. In McDonell's examples, for instance, we have a veritable carnival of animals, including the monstrously or whimsically transmogrified chimera, not only in marginal texts – children's literature, say, or genre fiction – but also in the most canonical and popular texts. McDonell argues that Victorian literary texts offer, if not uniquely then certainly in an exemplary form, accounts of relational and situated animal agency that tally very well with contemporary conceptions. In one sense, for sure, we have a discourse of animality that reduces some people, some types of people, to mere animals – particularly in the racial and imperial registers – but we also, in this enlarged sympathy sense not only an acknowledgement too of our shared creatureliness but also (and we raise this tentatively) a recognition of the ways in which oppression of animals intersects with other forms of oppression.³⁷ We may dismiss this strain as a no more than sentimental surplus, a form of allyship (to borrow the associated term) that oppressed animals might well do without.³⁸ but the provocation in human beings of anxiety and unease, in the highest expressions of art and culture, surely confirms Philip Armstrong's argument that animals are 'central to the mission of modernity'.³⁹

Keri Cronin accomplishes for the visual arts what Jennifer McDonell does for literature. Part of her argument is emphatically methodological, a plea for animal-human historians to be creative and diligent in their use of visual material, and to be equally careful to assess content according to context. Images are no less complex than textual material, and teasing out layers of meaning is far from straightforward, as Cronin shows using images associated with nineteenth-century animal advocacy, and tacking between the reality of animals' lives, the production of artworks, and the subsequent circulation of prints and adaptations. Cronin asks, however, what would *art history* look like if we took animals seriously? Like McDonell, she is not convinced that all we see, all we can see, is our human world. Acknowledging the importance that animal advocacy groups gave to the visual arts in enlarging human sympathy towards nonhuman animals, Cronin addresses the problem of representation by refusing to see this imagery as a kind of anthropocentric cul-de-sac or echo chamber; instead, she asks how representing animals might be a guide not only for how people lived with animals in the past, but also how we might live with animals in the present and the future. So in addition to her methodological guidance, Cronin offers a case for seeing nonhuman animals as a part of the production of visual art, through their material substance and by being embraced by visual technologies, but perhaps more importantly as an inextricably element of visual regimes that are caught up with a variety of animal-human relationships.

Boria Sax tackles the central question of anthropomorphism in his chapter, beginning with the painful but instructive history of the zoological exhibition of 'primitive' humans and 'civilised' apes. The easy interchangeability, for spectators, of pygmy and chimpanzee, as Sax argues, points to the confusion at the heart of the concept of anthropocentrism, its dependence on its shadowy sister, zoomorphism, and the seemingly incessant production of anthropomorphic hybrids. This in general terms is a familiar argument. But Sax notes that the anthropocentrism alternately accepted or critiqued today should be understood as a very selective revival of attitudes both antique and antic, a continuing conversation that is especially dependent on spiritual

and theological perspectives on the nature of humans versus other animals. The Judeo-Christian tradition, for instance, is still routinely castigated for its endorsement of anthropocentric reason and lack of environmental awareness, but of course, as in the classical myths, the divinity makes use of animal avatars as well as the man of sorrows. Sax's chapter is essential reading in that he reminds us that zoomorphism not only survived Descartes, Linnaeus, and Darwin but that their ideas prompted and provoked anthropological anxiety. Sax puts forward the monkey or ape as the troublemaker in the Garden of Eden, and sees anthropomorphism reaching an apogee in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In short, zoomorphism, like the indomitable Lilith, continues to vex the happy family of Adam and Eve, and their children's hegemony over the Earth and all its creatures.

Sax's chapter leads straight into the question of exhibition, a prominent theme in the history and the historiography of animals, and a particularly provocative one given the antipathy towards zoos and the other popular animal entertainments of our own day. All attempts to rebrand zoos and safari parks at the heart of contemporary wildlife conservation have failed to blunt the force of criticism from animal welfarists and animal rights activists.⁴⁰ The question of what we are doing when we make a spectacle of nonhuman animals has been on the table at least since the art critic John Berger's influential essay, 'Why look at animals?'⁴¹ Berger's bleak assessment was that the real animal is fated only to disappear with the rise of these exhibitionary complexes built for viewing.⁴² Others quickly joined him – too quickly – in asserting that in zoos and their like the animal is already virtual, and has nothing much any more to do with 'nature'. The history of zoos indeed suggests a rather more complex story, something that Helen Cowie takes up in her chapter, looking at the variety of ways in which animals were exhibited in the past, and what this history means for us. For Cowie the exhibition of 'exotic' animals in zoos, menageries, circuses and other animal performances, is certainly about power, but this is not just the familiar business of human dominion over animals or over nature, or even the impress of imperialism and the colonial monopoly of knowledge, though it surely is these things.⁴³ Exhibiting animals in these widely different ways also takes us into the history of national and civic pride, and also that of class, for the casual visitors and audiences at animal shows have found themselves as much under observation as the animals themselves. Cowie also reminds us that concerns over welfare, the definition and distribution of cruelty and care, and the agency of animals themselves all have a distinctive historical pedigree. Whatever we think now of animal spectacles, whether we stress the 'clownishness' or conservation, we should all attend to this history lesson.⁴⁴

Carl Griffin notes in his chapter that when species meet, the result is not always pretty. 'Being with' other animals means companionship and affection, but also violence and – to use that resonant word – 'brutality'. As with Karl Steel's later contribution, we cannot quarantine such violence to the distant and unreformed past, to the supposedly nasty brutishness of the middle ages, for instance, nor to the world of the countryside or of the working classes – all of these familiar shorthands in the reassuring reasoning of moral improvement, but poor guides in themselves for the animal-human historian save as indexes of ideology. Griffin argues how little consideration the treatment of animals in rural settings has received until recently, either from environmental or animal-human historians. This may sound surprising given

the centrality of animals in agrarian capitalism, but those histories have arguably neglected the affective relationships involved in favour of their status as things, as property, as capital. The main theme indeed has been the domination of animals, the invention of Nature with a capital N as something to be mastered, with emotion involved perhaps only as a matter of scientific, national, and human pride in such mastery.⁴⁵ Griffin is hardly an apologist for the age, as his studies here and elsewhere of animal maiming and other forms of violence towards animals suggest, all in the context of the rapid proletarianisation of farm labour. But the existence of attitudes that are associated with, but are not exhausted by, the production of fleshy capital is something that Griffin is at pains to emphasise here – and for which the humble pig, the companion of the cottager and slum-dweller alike, is particularly emblematic. Affection for animals, even those destined for slaughter, needs to be recognised as a central part of the fateful process by which animal bodies and human labour became commodities in the modern age. An environmental or a rural history that registers only the blood and the brutality, particularly in the context of cultural self-congratulation, will fail to show how nonhuman animals shaped our past.

These ideas are picked up by Ingrid Tague, who rightly reminds us that emotional attachments to animals are far older than the familiar narrative, of ‘pets’ filling an absence produced by the development of urban and industrial society, suggests.⁴⁶ Tague does not universalise pet-keeping, which would deprive it of anything but the deepest of deep histories, instead insisting that we can and should historicise these feelings for animal companions, and consider nonhuman animals within what is known now as the history of emotions. The problem of ‘doing emotions history’ *with animals* is raised here very explicitly, however. This constitutes a major methodological problem, which justifies placing Tague’s important contribution at this point in the volume, along with her honourable reservations about what animal–human historians can reasonably achieve. Tague argues that imposing a human understanding of ‘emotion’ upon other species, and a contemporary and provisional understanding at that, risks ignoring the rich experiential world of other animals that is no less important for being effectively beyond the grasp of humankind. Tague’s expertise leads her to focus not on animals’ emotions themselves as with the contexts and regimes by which emotions are recognised and valorised. As an avowedly ‘traditional’ cultural historian, whose interest is principally on the cultural construction of ‘emotion’, Tague is extremely well placed to examine the changing perceptions of animals’ emotions and emotions about animals in the early modern period. She revisits a series of savants, not to idly cheer Montaigne or hiss Descartes, but to show that reciprocal emotional bonds were centrally on the agenda for philosophers and scientists concerned with reason, morality, and society itself. Emotional attachments to animals were not dismissed herein as expressions of vulgar ‘sentiment’, but understood rather as part of a shared culture of *sensibility* that allowed animals to inveigle their way into the human emotional world, and via a concept of natural *sympathy* that explained society’s ties as emotional connections with various others, including nonhuman ones.

Tague sees where we are now, with regard to emotions, history, and animals as at an impasse. But ‘Rethinking animals as subjects makes us remap human–animal boundaries in emotive as much as ecological terms’, and there are plausible ways

forward.⁴⁷ A vital contribution is made by Michael Guida, for though the subject – birdsong in early twentieth-century Britain – sounds as relatively niche in appeal as twitching, this chapter explores the role of emotion and sentiment in animal–human history. Guida resolutely avoids being bullied out of a consideration of ‘sentiment’, as mere sentimentality, say, something for poets rather than scientists, or (in a more modern guise) simply a matter of social construction, another version of the idea that animals disappear in modernity. But the role of *birdsong* is a recognition of the continuing presence of birds in humans’ lives, and, more importantly, a register of the agency of birds in broadcasting their ‘songs’ (for whatever reason) and the agency or affect of these ‘songs’ beyond their bodies. It is both charming and sobering to reflect that these sounds were thought fit for humans to broadcast, over the airwaves, to an avid radio audience, particularly in times of national stress and anxiety: firstly and more generally in the context of worries about the wrong kind of ‘signals’ being ‘received’ in people’s newly porous homes – here the positive, natural, and transcendent quality of birdsong might drown out the hubbub threatened by technological modernity – and secondly under the specific challenges of the wartime Home Front and the struggles to maintain ‘morale’. Singing then of arms and the songbird Guida shows not only that the sound of birds resonated in British national life, but more generally that animals are an inseparable part of the history of emotions, hitherto almost exclusively an anthropocentric enterprise.⁴⁸ The birdsong that Guida takes as his focus can be understood, from one angle, as an expression of animal ‘emotion’, but perhaps more significantly he shows how this was bundled up with humans and machines in distinctive emotional regimes.⁴⁹

Larger themes and big histories

The final set of chapters take on the larger themes in the history of animal–human relations. Neil Pemberton, Julie-Marie Strange and Michael Worboys first take as their theme the practice of animal breeding, and with it the cryptic and troublesome concept of ‘breed’. These are obviously connected, but they are far from inseparable: the latter is a latecomer, a relatively recent concept, certainly compared with the long history of human intervention in the sexual reproduction of nonhuman animals. Even where we narrow our focus to the scientific or selective breeding that is such a familiar feature of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth-century ‘age of improvement’, it is the variety of practices that are wrapped up in the single idea of breeding that we should emphasise, not just the undifferentiated domination of animals by humanity. ‘Breeding’ is, as the authors point out, an umbrella term, taking in both livestock and ‘fancy’ animals, breeding for utility or for whimsy – and even this distinction is not as secure as it might seem at first sight. The development of cattle, racehorses, pigeons, poultry, and dogs, covered in this chapter, bear out this complex history of genetic manipulation. We can also note that the abstract scientific understanding of breeding – the idea of ‘artificial selection’, most famously – derives in part from these practical considerations but also distorts our understanding of what breeders actually did and how they themselves understood what they were doing.⁵⁰ Lastly, with the rise of ‘pedigree’ dog breeding in the later nineteenth century further troublesome complexities are introduced, the notion of dog ‘breeds’ promoting ideal-type

'standards' while acknowledging the plasticity of canine bodies. Pemberton, Strange and Worboys argue that a 'breed' is an artefact of the imagination rather than a fact of nature, a way of thinking, a word (we might even say, a speech act). A breed is no more, and no less, than a 'brand', a manipulation of consumer tastes as much as of DNA. The invention of breeds is a fateful one: because it acknowledges the entanglement of animals and humans over the longest term, the power of people to alter the very nature of what an animal *is*; but also because it imposes a certain rationalisation of breeding and a vision of nature moreover that threatens to bleed over into the concepts of 'race' and rank ('good stock'), culture and civility ('good breeding'), that are used still to separate the human sheep from the human goats.

In his wide-ranging chapter, running from the grieving horses of Homer's Achaeans to the weaponised animals of contemporary conflicts, Gervase Phillips tackles the history of nonhumans in war. He reminds us of the essentially continuous exploitation of animals as tools of war, on the battlefield as mounted units, and in the supply chains as beasts of burden, and points to the significance of animals not only in specific military struggles but also in the long-run history of empires, cultures and civilisations. The importance of nonhuman animals in the campaigning history that is the meat and drink of military historians has not been wholly neglected – but the fruits of this research are the work of a cadre of specialists typically marginalised from the historical mainstream. The 'big histories' of war and conflict, and of violence have, by contrast, proved less amenable to taking on board the significance of animals.⁵¹ The point is that there is a critical need for joined-up thinking in understanding the history of war, bringing together the insights of military specialists and animal-human historians. For Phillips, there are nevertheless real opportunities to forward an animal-human history through an engagement with a military history that was never as obtuse as its critics make out: there are interesting comparisons to be made, for instance, between the recovery of soldiers' experiences and those of the animals who accompanied them to battle, and fought alongside them in battle. All the same, the clear need is to weigh up an awareness of animals as military materiel with an engaged awareness of their affective or emotional states as combatants and as they were caught up in conflicts. After all, humans and other animals share an evolutionary history; some of the effects of war hardly discriminate between animal and human bodies, including the effects on the mind and the psyche. The pity of war must have something of the animal in it, not least the reduction of people to a creaturely life. But taking the animal standpoint is not merely a guide to human suffering: Phillips reminds us not only of the need to attend to the specifics of animals in and at war, but also of the co-specifics involved, particularly in his sobering concluding discussion of humans and dogs as 'co-belligerents' sharing a history of violence.

In his own chapter on hunting, Philip Howell contrasts the incommensurability of hunting histories deriving from contemporary science and the politics of hunting. To some, hunting is natural, authorised by the violent, carnivorous record of our prehistoric ancestors, and thereby right: the idea that hunting/meat-eating made us, and continues to make us, human. The 'hunting hypothesis' that underwrote these ideas in post-war paleoanthropology has, by now, attained 'mythic' status, but it is no less influential for all that: despite decades of criticism, hunting and humanity are

indelibly associated. We cannot deny the prehistoric record out of hand, but neither can we use this to divert attention away from the extremely varied histories of hunting in recorded history, and what it tells us – which is often not about meat per se than about power and privilege, or about very complex social relations rather than some spuriously homogeneous ‘humanity’, or about the appropriation of nature by a relatively recent capitalist regime. Howell uses this chapter not to survey the entire field of hunting in history but instead to emphasise this diversity, and to undercut competing attempts to sum up what hunting *is*: that it is about pursuing ‘wild’ animals in ‘wild’ places, for instance, in a kind of violent enmity or even a ‘war’ against ‘nature’. Few of these broad characterisations hold water, even if they can be readily mobilised for contemporary political purposes. All the same, perhaps as historians we should be most on our guard against the enduring idea of ‘Man the hunter’, ‘the Man-making tale of the hunter on the quest to kill and bring back the terrible bounty’.⁵² We might prefer the advice of the writer Ursula K. Le Guin: that ‘story-telling might pick up diverse things of meaning and value and gather them together, like a forager rather than a hunter waiting for the big kill’.⁵³

Chris Otter considers the theme of meat eating in a similarly wide-ranging and complementary contribution, noting the deep history of eating animals alongside a concern for the transformations ushered in by the modern era of historical capitalism, and the dramatic changes brought in in the space of a human lifetime – along with what this ‘Great Acceleration’ presages. Otter is concerned here to explore the importance of ancient domestication alongside more recent phenomena such as scientific breeding. He turns specific attention to the ‘big three’ of contemporary commercial farming – cattle, first, and some way ahead, vying for first place in terms of numbers and biomass, pigs and chickens. Otter’s work is a model of an holistic history, taking in changes to animals’ bodies together with changes in food preparation and consumption, within a framework that emphasises the role of commodification and appropriation in contemporary capitalism-as-global-ecology. With apologies to the pig, it is the broiler chicken, forty days from cradle to grave, hatchery to butchery, and unlike its competitors wholly unprotected by religious scruples, which is the very icon of our biological control of animals. There are *limits* – in the cultural making of meat the aversion to eating certain animals (horses, say) or indeed to eating meat at all, and in the physical machinery resistance in various forms from the predated – but the most important are the blowbacks of environmental degradation and biosecurity that most obviously threaten the regime of cheap food upon which contemporary capitalism depends. Otter’s chapter takes us far away from the self-congratulatory narratives of dominion – domestication of animals as ‘a triumph of human wit and will’, and puts in their place an awareness of the fragile web of life under late capitalist modernity in which we and the animals we eat are enmeshed.⁵⁴

The substantive chapters in this volume end with Karl Steel’s consideration of animals, violence, and the meaning of the ‘medieval’. Steel first points out that the middle ages are, to us, ‘uncanny’, in that we both inherit its ideas, many of them sophisticated and subtle, some of them short and emphatic in their anthropocentrism, but at the same time we rush to praise ourselves by disavowing the age’s ‘brutality’ towards animals. Steel does not wish to replace a familiar portrait of brutish medieval

with an unfeasibly benign version of the middle ages. Rather, he asks what cruelty to animals meant, to them, and to us. His icon here is the fourteenth/fifteenth century Christian mystic, Margery Kempe, and in particular her beliefs as to the rights and wrongs of eating animals. Characterising her practice as a ‘carnivorous vegetarianism’, Steel is at pains to emphasise how difficult it is to pin someone like Kempe down, in the terms of modern theriophily – and by extension how difficult it is to make sweeping statements about attitudinal changes over the long term. Margery’s intemperate tears and her dog-like devotional howling, affect us oddly, as they should. Steel’s aim then is to restore the *strangeness* of the middle ages, and so to complicate the conventional chronologies of cruelty and violence and compassion. For nonhuman animals – especially, if not exclusively – the politics of time and historical temporality are fraught with their own forms of violence. In animal welfare narratives, time is typically mapped out in space, to accuse others of ‘anachronistic’ behaviour, ‘medieval’ brutality, say, so that questioning these practices serves to puncture the self-regard of Western modernity. In its place we might be tempted to give up on history altogether, or take shelter in either the bromide of ‘progress’ or the perhaps equally pleasurable conviction of declension. But Steel’s work suggests the need for closer readings, but beyond that what he calls historical heterogeneity, something that would not mean, for animal–human history, neat archaeological layers or nicely bounded communities, but a new kind of history altogether.

Conclusions

The concluding reflections attempt to sum up where we are, which is certainly sobering when we consider animals’ lives. As Daniel Bender has recently put it, ‘We exist at a remarkable, if tragic, moment in our human and animal histories’.⁵⁵ Matthew Calarco is more forceful still:

Never before in human history have so many animals been subjected to horrific slaughter, unconscionable abuse, and unthinkable living conditions. The present conditions under which many animals live has a unique history that requires both material and ontological analysis, and it is a history that needs to be attended to in its *specificity* so that we might learn better how to transform it for the present and the future.⁵⁶

Stated as sharply as this we come to the question of what our ethical commitments and political praxis should be, something that defies easy answers. Animal–human history, at least that practised in the academy, may find itself uncomfortably placed here: too ‘contemplative’ for activists for a start – but also figured by some as too conservative a discipline to take on board the kind of presumptions of, for instance, the ‘posthuman’ turn in critical theory. Falling between these stools – too ‘humanist’ for animal studies, too ‘academic’ for animal advocates – may not in fact be as awkward as it first appears, and there is no necessary match up – quite the opposite – between activists and critical philosophers. We can surely fly a flag for what we can think of as the basic research that animal–human historians accomplish; the animal–human historian Louise Robbins noted some time ago that for all of the benefits of

what is now touted as ‘big history’, such ‘wide-angle views smooth over much varied topography’.⁵⁷ So there is no inconsiderable virtue in writing by contrast small histories, properly attendant to context and cultural nuance. The conclusions offer up some ideas about how we might connect these small stories and big stories, those of modern capitalism’s ‘historical nature’ in particular.⁵⁸ We hope that in this collection we have offered up reflections on animal–human histories that achieve precisely that, contributions that map unexpected connections and reveal unexpected connections:

As animals migrate from the margins of history to its main stage, they reveal paths hidden beneath the routes blazed previously by historians. Telling stories through and with animals will untangle historiography, showing how ideas, processes, and actors can be pulled apart in new ways – making audible historical subjects long relegated to our silenced wilderness.⁵⁹

This is no longer as controversial as it once seemed. We should be wary of talking of the ‘triumph’ of animal–human history, but most mainstream historians would now accept that a wider range of ‘actors’ contribute to the making of history, including (though not only) nonhuman animals.⁶⁰ As Frederick Brown argues, ‘Nonhuman animals have witnessed the same history humans saw, looked for opportunities to thrive, aided humans in countless ways, and thwarted human plans’.⁶¹ But perhaps we should insist more strongly, more bolshily even, that ‘history-making extends beyond what humans do’.⁶² The anthropologist Anna Tsing reminds us that storytelling – including writing ‘history’ – is something that we do *with* other animals, a point that we raised right at the start, and whose purport is so beautifully illustrated by the work of Nick Brandt on the cover of this book:

‘History’ is both a human storytelling practice and that set of remainders from the past that we turn into stories. Conventionally, historians look only at human remainders, such as archives and diaries, but there is no reason not to spread our attention to the tracks and traces of nonhumans, as these contribute to our common landscapes. Such tracks and traces speak to cross-species entanglements in contingency and conjuncture, the components of ‘historical’ time. To participate in such entanglement, one does not have to make history in just one way. Whether or not other organisms ‘tell stories’, they contribute to the overlapping tracks and traces that we grasp as history. History, then, is the record of many trajectories of world making, human and not human.⁶³

History (with the capital H) is itself a way of being in the world. Saying that we as humans have History, and other animals do not, is one story, one way of making the world. But it isn’t the only one. The question we are now concerned with is what happens to ‘history’ when we recognise that, then as now, we live in the world with animal others? The remaking of history is a task still to be accomplished – but we hope that this collection has suggested some answers to a question that is central not just to animal–human history but to the meaning of history itself.

We leave the final word to Harriet Ritvo, whose pioneering work in animal–human history has long been a personal and professional inspiration. Ritvo’s contributions have ranged from the detailed, scholarly investigation of the place of nonhuman animals in Victorian Britain, where animal–human history, natural history, and environmental history mingle and merge, to the methodological and conceptual understanding of what animal–human history is, and what it might be.⁶⁴ Ritvo’s reflections on this collection return us to the persistent problem of how to make the past and continuing presence of animals visible in our histories. She points to the pros and cons of diversity and interdisciplinarity, noting that opportunities are always accompanied by costs. But in her characteristic generosity Ritvo emphasises the work that remains to be done, and in exactly this spirit we see this *Companion to Animal–Human History* as an invitation to a shared enterprise.

Notes

- 1 N. Brandt, *Inherit the Dust*, New York: Edwynn Houk Editions, 2016; and also see foreword by P. Singer in N. Brandt, *A Shadow Falls*, New York: Abrams, 2009, available at <http://nickbrandt.com/UserImages/11/11129/file/A%20SHADOW%20FALLS%20FOREWORD%20PETER%20SINGER.pdf>, last accessed 24 September 2017.
- 2 Brandt, *Inherit the Dust*, 7.
- 3 N. Brandt, *Across the Ravaged Land*, volume 3, New York: Abrams, 2013, 13.
- 4 Brandt, *Across the Ravaged Land*, 14.
- 5 See for example S. Nance (ed.) *The Historical Animal*, Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 2015, especially introduction, 1–4, and D. Brantz (ed.), *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans, and the Study of History*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010.
- 6 S. Baker, *Artist/Animal*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013, 228.
- 7 D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750–1850*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007, 305.
- 8 K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800*, London: Allen Lane, 1983, 303.
- 9 Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 13 and 14.
- 10 Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 16.
- 11 Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 16.
- 12 K. Thomas, ‘Diary’, *London Review of Books* 32, 11 (10 June 2010): 36–37, available at www.lrb.co.uk/v32/n11/keith-thomas/diary; last accessed 24 September 2017.
- 13 Thomas, ‘Diary’.
- 14 Thomas, ‘Diary’. Thus the influence in such history-making should apparently relate to those human absences that are referenced in Thomas’s statement that ‘They may not have much sense of world geography and probably can’t even draw a map. But if you want to know how to get somewhere, they are the ones to take you’.
- 15 Artists in this exhibition ‘encourage us to consider non-human animals as our equals’: see M. Antlfinger, A. Holck, U. Horner, M. Maage, F. Schmitz, *Animal Lovers*, Berlin: nGbK, 2016, 4. See also <https://archiv.ngbk.de/en/projekte/animal-lovers/>, last accessed 24 September 2017.
- 16 A. Fox, *Habitats 11*, 2011–2016: see Antlfinger *et al.*, *Animal Lovers*, 20, and <http://anselmofox.eu/werk/habitate-ii/>, last accessed 24 September 2017. The Victory Column was designed by Heinrich Drake to mark the Prussian defeat of the Danes in 1864, but by the time of its inauguration in 1873 victories over Austria and France were also commemorated.

- The German sculptor Friedrich Drake added the bronze sculpture of Victoria, subsequently used by Soviet soldiers for target practice during World War II.
- 17 D. Premack and A.J. Premack, 'Why animals have neither culture nor history', in T. Ingold (ed.), *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, London: Routledge, 1994, 350–365, 350.
 - 18 K. Malik, Pandaemonium blog post, 26 October 2011, available at <https://kenanmalik.wordpress.com/2011/10/26/all-animals-have-an-evolutionary-past-only-humans-make-history/>, last accessed 6 April 2017.
 - 19 Premack and Premack, 'Why animals have neither culture nor history', 350.
 - 20 G. Barraclough, quoted by J. Tosh and S. Lang, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods, and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, fourth edition, London: Pearson Longman, 2006, 50.
 - 21 D. Brantz, 'Introduction', in D. Brantz (ed.), *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans, and the Study of History*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010, 1–13, 2.
 - 22 H. Kean, *The Great Cat and Dog Massacre: The Real Story of World War II's Unknown Tragedy*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018, 7.
 - 23 M. Rangajaran, 'Animals with rich histories: the case of the lions of Gir Forest, Gujarat, India', *History and Theory* 52, 4 (2013): 109–127, 125.
 - 24 This is not to say that incorporating nonhuman animals has been consistent or wholly uncontroversial. For some contemporary arguments, see C. Watts (ed.), *Relational Archaeologies: Humans, Animals, Things*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, and P. Descola, *Beyond Nature and Culture*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
 - 25 For some discussion of problems, see D.E. Bender, 'On zoo sources', in *The Animal Game: Searching for Wildness at the American Zoo*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2016: 373–375; see also Kean, *Great Cat and Dog Massacre*, 168–169.
 - 26 E. Benson, 'Animal writes: historiography, disciplinarity, and the animal trace', in L. Kalof and G.M. Montgomery (eds.), *Making Animal Meaning*, East Lansing MI: Michigan State University Press, 2011, 3–16, 11.
 - 27 D.G. Shaw, 'A way with animals', *History and Theory* 52, 4 (2013): 1–12, 11.
 - 28 M. Callon, 'Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay', *The Sociological Review* 32, S1 (1984): 196–233. This can also be found in J. Law (ed.), *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986, 196–233.
 - 29 See R. Ardrey, *The Territorial Imperative: A Personal Inquiry into the Animal Origins of Property and Nations*, New York: Atheneum, 1966.
 - 30 S. Elden, *The Birth of Territory*, Chicago IL: Chicago University Press, 2013, 4.
 - 31 As in Neels Ahuja's example of 'cetacean nations': see N. Ahuja, 'Species in a planetary frame: eco-cosmopolitanism, nationalism, and "The Cove"', *Tamkang Review* 42, 2 (2012): 13–32. The concept of a cetacean nation or nations has a rather longer history, for which see J. Nottman, 'Interspecies: welcome to the cetacean nation', 1994, available at www.interspecies.com/pages/cet_%20nat.html, last accessed 7 April 2017.
 - 32 T. Saraiva, *Fascist Pigs: Technoscientific Organisms and the History of Fascism*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2016.
 - 33 See S. Hinchliffe, 'Indeterminacy in-decisions: science, policy and politics in the BSE (Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy) crisis', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26, 2 (2001): 182–204. A wider treatment is provided in S. Hinchliffe, N. Bingham, and S. Carter, *Pathological Lives: Disease, Space, and Biopolitics*, Hoboken NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016, especially Ch. 6, 'Attending to meat'. For the need for historical perspective on such issues, see P. Atkins, 'Fear of animal foods: a century of zoonotics', *Appetite* 51, 1 (2008): 18–21.
 - 34 A. Tucker, *The Light of Nature Pursued, Volume III*, London: W. Oliver, 1777, 5.

- 35 M. Scholtmeijer, *Animal Victims in Modern Fiction: From Sanctity to Sacrifice*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, 5 and 92, invokes the eternal ‘quarrel between culture and the animal’, arguing that ‘Culture knows animals best in their role as victims’. P. Armstrong, *Animals in the Fiction of Modernity*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2008, 2, insists that ‘animals mean whatever culture means by them’. But rather than see animals as at best merely good to think with, we might consider the presence of animals in literature, and in the structures of feeling that underwrite it.
- 36 T. Porck, ‘Paws, pee and mice: cats among medieval manuscripts’, *Medieval Fragments* blog, 22 February 2013, available at <https://medievalfragments.wordpress.com/2013/02/22/paws-pee-and-mice-cats-among-medieval-manuscripts/>, last accessed 7 April 2017, translation by Thijs Porck, used with permission. See also M.H. Porck and H.J. Porck, ‘Eight guidelines on book preservation from 1527: how one should preserve all books to last eternally’, *Journal of Paper Conservation: IADA Reports – Mitteilungen der IADA* 13, 2 (2012): 17–25, 20.
- 37 Debates over intersectionality are discussed in the conclusion to N. Taylor, *Humans, Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human-Animal Studies*, New York: Lantern Books, 2013. For the difficulties translating the language and politics of intersectionality to animal rights, see Earthling Liberation Collective, ‘Why animal rights fails at intersectionality’, available at <https://humanrightsareanimalrights.com/blog/oppression/why-animal-rights-fails-at-intersectionality/>, last accessed 7 April 2017.
- 38 Consider Scholtmeijer, *Animal Victims*, 297: ‘In their very being, animals repudiate our efforts to subjugate them to cultural purposes’.
- 39 Armstrong, *Animals in the Fiction of Modernity*, 1.
- 40 See the film *Blackfish*, directed by G. Cowperthwaite, and produced by CNN Films, released in 2013.
- 41 The latest edition of this classic essay and its themes is J. Berger, *Why Look at Animals?*, London, Penguin, 2009. A recent and pertinent companion piece is provided by S. O’Brien, ‘Why look at dead animals?’, *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media* 57, 1 (2016): 32–57.
- 42 Zoos are ‘built for viewing’: S. Willis, ‘Looking at the zoo’, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 98, 4 (1999): 669–687, 675.
- 43 Vinciane Despret makes the point that animals in laboratories should also be regarded as exhibits, on show, and the claims made for pure and precise science judged accordingly: V. Despret, *What Would Animals Say if We Asked Them the Right Questions?*, trans. B. Buchanan, Minneapolis MN: Minnesota University Press, 2016.
- 44 Willis, ‘Looking at the zoo’, 680.
- 45 See for instance Nathaniel Wolloch’s plangent thesis on early modern anthropocentrism and the scarcity of pro-animal sentiment to be found: N. Wolloch, *Subjugated Animals: Animals and Anthropocentrism in Early Modern Culture*, Amherst NY: Humanity Books, 2006.
- 46 Louise Robbins, who like Griffin sees that ‘tenderness existed side by side with brutality and indifference’, is notably cautious when it comes to these affective questions and comparisons: ‘Whether people feel the same range of emotions about animals today as they did in the past is impossible to know’ is Robbins’ concluding sentiment: L.E. Robbins, *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002, 232, 234.
- 47 Rangajaran, ‘Animals with rich histories’, 110.
- 48 The field as presently constructed is more aggressively anthropocentric than Guida suggests. A recent survey is J. Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

- 49 This is an example of ‘the hybridisation of animal–human–machine’, that Andy Flack has explored in a comparable context. See A.J.P. Flack, ‘Lions loose on a gentleman’s lawn: animality, authenticity and automobility in the emergence of the English safari park’, *Journal of Historical Geography* 54 (2016): 38–49, 40.
- 50 See P. Howell, *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015, Ch. 4.
- 51 We are thinking of Steven Pinker’s Pollyanna-ish *The Better Angels of Our Nature: A History of Violence and Humanity*, which considers animal welfare as an index of the decline of violence, and would surely account for the decline in numbers of animals dying in state-based armed conflict (if Pinker had thought of it) in the same way; but this decline of violence is as absurd as his statistical illiteracy when it comes to human combatant deaths when we think of the so-called ‘war against animals’ promoted by the agro-industrial complex. See S. Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: A History of Violence and Humanity*, London: Penguin, 2012. An obvious exception to the lack of discussion of animality and animals in big picture accounts of war and violence is B. Ehrenreich, *Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War*, London: Virago, 1997.
- 52 D.J. Haraway, ‘Sowing worlds: a seed bag for terraforming with Earth others’, in M. Grebowicz and H. Merrick, with a ‘seed bag’ by D. Haraway, *Beyond the Cyborg: Adventures with Donna Haraway*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2013, 137–145, 137–138. This essay is reprinted in D.J. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2016, 116–125.
- 53 As cited in A.L. Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World: On the Possibility of Life in Capitalist Ruins*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015, 287.
- 54 A.J. Toynbee, *A Study of History: Abridgement of Vols 1-VI by D.C. Somervell*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, 168.
- 55 Bender, *The Animal Game*, 9.
- 56 M. Calarco, *Zoographies: The Question of the Animal from Heidegger to Derrida*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, 76.
- 57 Robbins, *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots*, 4.
- 58 We might consider Donna Haraway’s recent suggestion (following James Clifford) that what we need should not be regarded as ‘big’ or ‘small’, but stories rather ‘just big enough to gather up the complexities and keep the edges open and greedy for surprising new and old connections’. See: D.J. Haraway, ‘Anthropocene, capitalocene, plantationocene, chthulucene: making kin’, *Environmental Humanities* 6, 1 (2015): 159–165, 160. See also Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 185 n.54.
- 59 D. Vandersommers, ‘Narrating animal history from the crags: a turn-of-the-century tale about mountain sheep, resistance, and a nation’, *Journal of American Studies* 1–27 (17 November 2016): 2–3, available at <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002187581600133X>, last accessed 23 March 2017. Similar sentiments are expressed by E.S. Benson, ‘The urban upwelling’, *The American Historian* 6 (2015): 40–44.
- 60 See J. Specht, ‘Animal history after its triumph: unexpected animals, evolutionary approaches, and the animal lens’, *History Compass* 14, 7 (2016): 326–336.
- 61 F.L. Brown, *The City is More than Human: An Animal History of Seattle*, Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2016, 244.
- 62 Tsing, *Mushroom at the End of the World*, 173.
- 63 Tsing, *Mushroom at the End of the World*, 168.
- 64 The classic substantive work is: H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987. But animal–human historians should also turn to her collection *Noble Cows and Hybrid Zebras: Essays on Animals and History*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010.

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PART I

Animals and the practice of history



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