

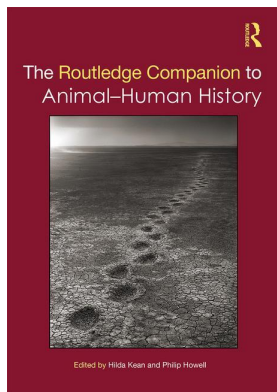
This article was downloaded by: 10.3.97.143

On: 03 Dec 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



The Routledge Companion to Animal–Human History

Hilda Kean, Philip Howell

Representing animals in the literature of Victorian Britain

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429468933-10>

Jennifer McDonell

Published online on: 03 Sep 2018

How to cite :- Jennifer McDonell. 03 Sep 2018, *Representing animals in the literature of Victorian Britain from: The Routledge Companion to Animal–Human History* Routledge

Accessed on: 03 Dec 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429468933-10>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

10

REPRESENTING ANIMALS IN THE LITERATURE OF VICTORIAN BRITAIN

Jennifer McDonell

I begin with two iconic images of the Victorian era (Figure 10.1, Figure 10.2). The first is a photograph of Queen Victoria with one of her favourite border collies, Sharp (1866–79), who is seated on a gothic chair resembling a throne and leaning into his dour mistress’s breast. The second is of the celebrity elephant Jumbo, who tragically died after being hit by a freight locomotive, a death that is all too neatly emblematic of nineteenth-century industrialisation. As they merge into each other, Sharp and his mistress embody Victorian domesticity in all its glaring contradictions, with Sharp standing in as a confidante and honorary royal and as a model of the obedient and loyal subject, an emblem of how good breeding anchors the bourgeois home.¹ Born around 1861 in what is now Eritrea, Jumbo was violently separated from his mother by hunters and sent to the Jardin des Plantes in Paris before being relocated to the London Zoo, where he was tortured by night for seventeen years to make him docile by day. When Jumbo became violent in middle age, he was bought by P.T. Barnum and emerged as one of the most lucrative circus acts of Barnum’s ‘Greatest Show on Earth’, that is, until 1885 when he wandered onto a railway track in Ontario, Canada. Jumbo’s body was subsequently dissected, with its parts attaining historical and cultural afterlife as museum specimens and taxidermied exhibits.² The real animals in these images represent extremes of sentiment and violence, the homely and the exotic, sympathetic interdependence with, and instrumental use of animals by humans that was in many ways characteristic of Victorian Britain.

The burgeoning field of Animal Studies (alternatively Human Animal Studies) is a vibrant, varied domain of methodological convergences and divergences, united by a shared concern with studying the species interdependence of human and animal lives. This chapter will attempt to provide an overview of significant developments and preoccupations in Animal Studies in so far as these have influenced research in Victorian literature, while also suggesting some possible future directions the field may take. Animal Studies scholarship in recent decades has rightly attempted to challenge long-unquestioned habits of constructing the ‘human’ in opposition to the homogenous category of ‘the Animal’. The philosopher Jacques Derrida designates that category with a capital ‘A’ in the general singular, enclosed



Figure 10.1 Queen Victoria and Sharp, Balmoral Castle, 1866.

Courtesy W. and D. Downey / Stringer / Getty Images.

by the definite article to foreground the abstracted nature of a concept that allows humans to characterise members of particular nonhuman species as biological and transcultural constants.³ In light of this long-standing dichotomy, one of the ongoing challenges for Animal Studies and literary analysis is how to think about animals *as animals* rather than simply as symbols or metaphors to explain primarily human concerns.

A remarkable menagerie of creatures can be found across all Victorian literary genres, a ubiquity that is in part traceable to the visibility of a wide range of animal species – especially domestic animals – in the everyday lives of the Victorians as raw material, labour, transport, food, clothing, entertainment, companionship, and scientific knowledge produced through animal observation and experimentation. The cities, towns and villages in which Victorian writers were born and bred were as much spaces occupied by animals as by people in a way that is alien to much contemporary experience. London and other major British cities were in every sense anthrozootic cities: urban environments defined by the interaction and interdependency of humans

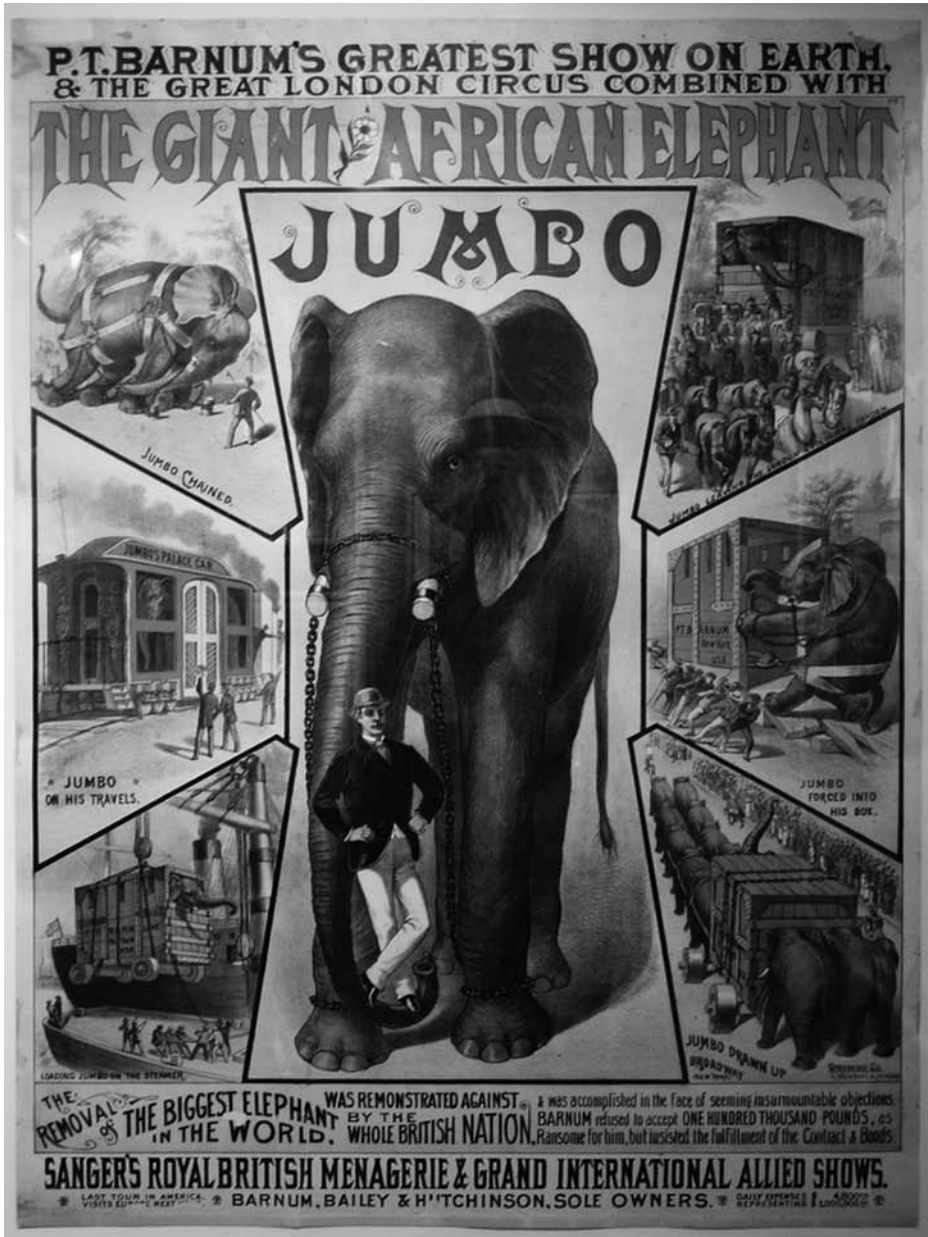


Figure 10.2 Jumbo and his keeper Matthew Scott. Barnum poster, c. 1882.

Courtesy of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art.

and other animals.⁴ Yet as George Levine observes of Victorian literature ‘one looks hard to find encounters with animals that register the integrity of the animal itself.’⁵ This is related to a broader problem which Levine and others have identified: the difficulty of representing nonhuman animals in human language, shaped by human

intentions and attitudes. In this sense, what commentators have identified as ‘the animal turn’ in recent humanities and social sciences scholarship evinces how ‘non human animals have become a limit case for theories of difference, otherness, and power’.⁶

Within contemporary theory, new materialists and animal theorists share, to use Rosi Braidotti’s term, a ‘post-anthropocentric’ approach to matter and life.⁷ For instance, in their introduction to *The Multispecies Salon*, Eben Kirksey, Craig Schuetz, and Stefan Helmreich question Bruno Latour’s proposal to bring nonhumans into the democratic political process by assigning human ‘spokespeople’ to represent them. Citing historian Timothy Mitchell’s playful reformulation of Gayatri Spivak’s famous question ‘Can the subaltern speak?’ as ‘Can the mosquito speak?’, they compare the difficulties of speaking for and with other species to those we face when representing other people and cultures.⁸ In view of these problems of representation, Kirksey and Helmreich suggest that researchers in the field attend less to trying to speak for nonhumans, and more to examining what it means for humans to live with them.⁹ Taking inspiration from cultural critic Donna Haraway’s theorisations of living with nonhumans in *The Companion Species Manifesto* and *When Species Meet*, the emerging discourse of multispecies ethnography has proposed not simply a recognition of nonhuman agents still on the margins of discourses of animality – whether plants, microorganisms, or reviled and loathed species – but also an understanding of the intricate, continually fluctuating relationships and interdependencies of humans and nonhumans across multiple species, usually in highly variable cultures and ecosystems.¹⁰

Accordingly, one of the most persistently used rhetorical figures in Animal Studies scholarship is ‘entanglement’. The term is usually used to convey the idea that all species are unavoidably connected and interdependent with many others.¹¹ The value of the term lies in its emphasis on non-essentialist, non-anthropocentric relationality. In Anna Tsing’s oft-quoted words, ‘*Human nature is an interspecies relationship*’.¹² Entanglement also contains within its range of meanings the idea of ensnarement or confusion, and can conceivably be extended to include the condition of captivity and captivity experienced by so many creatures represented in nineteenth-century literary texts. We are yet to see what insights a more robust dialogue between the nineteenth-century literary field and the ethnographic field might produce. Once we are done deconstructing the human–animal distinction and deploying new rhetorical figures to describe complex interconnectedness, it is often difficult to determine how exactly to proceed to a literary criticism that ‘begins with relationships rather than with an essence of the actors’.¹³

The literature of Victorian Britain is vast, and this chapter is not intended to be a comprehensive overview of animals in the writing of the period. Rather, I will focus on three key problems that have preoccupied literary Animal Studies scholarship over the past three decades: representation, in particular the relationship between anthropomorphism and anthropocentrism; the role of animals as historical agents – as active, significant, and sometimes purposeful creatures worthy of sustained analytical attention; and the place of emotion and feeling in literary analysis, particularly in relation to sentimentality, an affective structure that is almost axiomatically Victorian and that is commonly associated with human–pet relationships. I will take my examples

primarily from the popular Victorian genre of animal autobiography, Lewis Carroll's Alice books, and from the writing of Charles Dickens, whose name is almost synonymous with Victorian London.¹⁴ An assumption that underpins this chapter is that understanding Victorian perceptions of animals is inseparable from understanding human self-conception in the same period, and that the impact of animals on Victorian Britain's imagination and artistic practices has significant implications for an understanding of its social and cultural life, and vice versa.

Thinking seriously about human–animal relations in Victorian writing also raises questions about interdisciplinarity. Current animal-focused research in Victorian literary studies has drawn on sources not only from such cognate disciplines as history, philosophy, or feminism but also from scientific disciplines including biology, zoology, primatology, ethology, ecology, and comparative psychology. The interdisciplinarity that has long been associated with Victorian literature – especially in its evolution as 'Victorian studies' and 'Victorian literature and culture' – derives from the sense of the uncontainability of the history of ideas and social and cultural life within the constraints of analytic singularity. This interdisciplinarity also finds a precedent in the Victorian period: George Henry Lewes, John Ruskin, John Stuart Mill, and Leslie Stephen, among others, wrote as authoritatively and prolifically about literature and art as of science and politics, while periodicals such as the *Cornhill*, the *Fortnightly*, the *Strand* and more short-lived journals, such as Dickens' *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, in many ways anticipate the multidisciplinary research environment in which we now find ourselves. If the work of literary criticism consists in making visible what was previously invisible, audible what was inaudible, perceptible what was imperceptible, then the animals who are everywhere present in Victorian writing, but largely occluded in the history of literary criticism, have a claim to be taken seriously as literary subjects and as agents in historical processes.¹⁵

In this sense there is a close connection between noticing what is chronically overlooked and pursuing social justice, which in turn has implications for the way we as Victorianists pursue research and the kind of sources we consider relevant. For instance, the deployment of animal metaphor and symbol can lead us back to human concerns or, alternatively, to consider the materiality of animals in relation to situated knowledges and practices (in place, time, and social relations) that otherwise may remain invisible. In Dickens' *Bleak House*, for instance, the bird-like Miss Flite, former ward of the state, keeps symbolic caged birds with names including 'Hope', 'Youth', 'Waste', 'Cunning', 'Sheepskin', 'Wigs' and 'Jargon', who are liberated only a few lines after the judgement in *Jarndyce vs Jarndyce* is announced.¹⁶ Among the man-made objects and abstract nouns which lend their names to Miss Flite's birds are a number of animal materials: 'Sheepskin', as the narrator often reminds us, is the material upon which legal documents are written, while 'Wigs' were often made of horsehair. The circulation of things deriving from animal bodies in Victorian fiction, including decorative and consumer goods, suggests intersections between Animal Studies and 'thing theory' or 'object-oriented inquiry', which might be explored in future research.¹⁷ Models may be found in Katherine Grier's work on nineteenth-century American pet-keeping and Kathleen Kete's on pet-keeping in nineteenth-century Paris, which identify a wide range of potentially relevant sources, from newspaper reports and pet-keeping guidebooks to postcards and taxidermy, as well as pet accessories.¹⁸

A consideration of Dickens' extensive exploitation of the structural and behavioural characteristics of barnacles in *Little Dorrit* (1857) to satirise – through the Barnacle family and the figure of the Circumlocution Office – governmental nepotism and mismanagement might lead us to Darwin's *Monograph* (1851–54) on living barnacles (*Cirripedia*). The *Little Dorrit* narrator explains that having mastered the bureaucratic art of How Not To Do It, all the Barnacle family needed do was: '[s]tick on to the national ship as long as they could' and ensure that the Barnacle sinecure multiplies across the globe. *Little Dorrit* and Darwin's *Monograph* were both published in the 1850s at a time when market demand for popular books on seaside natural history had increased, largely because railroad development in the preceding decades put seaside visits within the reach of many Britons.¹⁹

Literal and figurative representations of animals in literary texts, however, are not easily disentangled. Dickens' satire of scientific education in *Hard Times* (1854) adopts a combative stance in relation to scientific nomenclature, and in doing so highlights the inherently unstable relationship between 'real' animals and their significations, the literal and the figurative, the connotative and denotative. In the opening chapter, the schoolmaster Thomas Gradgrind asks Sissy Jupe, who has grown up with horses in Sleary's circus, to define a horse. When she cannot, Gradgrind addresses the question to his more fact-minded student, Bitzer, who readily produces a lifeless definition:

'Quadruped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the spring; in marshy countries, sheds hoofs, too. Hoofs hard, but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth.' Thus (and much more) Bitzer.

'Now girl number twenty,' said Mr Gradgrind. 'You know what a horse is.'²⁰

Later in the novel, however, Bitzer proves no match for a real live dog and dancing horse, exposing the arrogance of Gradgrind's approving remark that Bitzer 'know[s] what a horse is'.²¹ The real horses and dogs in Sleary's circus, with whom Sissy and others have emotionally and professionally meaningful affective relationships, are of course, figurative. The reader is meant to understand, however, that the scientific definition produced by Bitzer is a linguistic construct and the circus animals denote the 'real', the connotative value of a sign being context-dependent.

Dichotomies of reason and feeling, fact and fancy were commonplace in Victorian literature and print culture. The slipperiness of language evident in such dichotomies extends to the conventional, culturally entrenched opposition of 'human' and 'animal'. During the visit of the Ghost of Christmas Present in Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* (1843), Scrooge observes his nephew, Fred, entertain his sister and friends with a series of parlour games. They include a pared-down version of the guessing game Twenty Questions, in which it is elicited from Fred that he is 'thinking of an animal', which is:

... rather a disagreeable animal, a savage animal, an animal that growled and grunted sometimes, and talked sometimes, and lived in London, and walked about the streets, and wasn't made a show of, and wasn't led by anybody, and didn't live in a menagerie, and was never killed in a market, and was not a horse, or an ass, or a cow, or a bull, or a tiger, or a dog, or a pig, or a cat, or a bear.²²

At last Fred's sister guesses that the 'animal' in question is none other than Fred's uncle Scrooge. The Victorian enthusiasm for such games as Twenty Questions and its variant, Animal, Vegetable or Mineral which assumed straightforward divisions between the animal, vegetable or mineral kingdoms, suggests a confidence in such eighteenth-century taxonomies of the natural world as Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae* of 1735 that insisted on distinct differences of kind between the human and nonhuman animals. The Twenty Questions sequence in *A Christmas Carol*, however, reminds readers that even in so seemingly hallowed a domesticated space as the Victorian middle-class home, and on such a quintessentially Dickensian occasion as Christmas, the boundaries separating humans, animals, and things are porous and unstable.

While nineteenth-century naturalists, comparative anatomists, and zoologists differed on various aspects of zoological classification and hierarchisation, humankind occupied an uncontested position at the apex of the animal kingdom. In this respect, nineteenth-century zoology – including works as different in intent and publication date as Thomas Bewick's *General History of Quadrupeds* (1790), Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) or Arabella B. Buckley's popular zoological work for children, *The Winners in Life's Race, or The Great Backboned Family* (1883) – confirmed the unstated assumptions underpinning eighteenth-century systems of classification. These, as Harriet Ritvo points out, ranked animals not according to size, use, geography, or arbitrary factors such as alphabetical order but according to taxonomical hierarchies which confirmed 'the hegemonic relation of people to the rest of animate nature' as well as 'the relations between human groups'. The same system, which placed humankind at the apex of the animal kingdom, was used to construct and naturalise hierarchical social distinctions, including divisions between men and women and those between races.²³

The Rambles of a Rat (1857) by Charlotte Maria Tucker (who wrote under the pseudonym A.L.O.E. ['A Lady of England']), explicitly aims to dispel prejudices against a largely unloved species, and remain true to the animal's habitat-influenced behaviour and species-specific disposition. However, under pressure of the author's evangelical beliefs, this popular story both reinforces and challenges dominant or 'hegemonic' middle-class values and prevailing social hierarchies in which rats remain 'the lowest forms of creation'.²⁴ An example of the popular genre of fictionalised animal autobiography, discussed further on, the story is narrated in the first person by Ratto, one of seven black rats born in a shed on the Thames, which he shares with a group of brown Norwegian rats and two abject, orphaned human children, one of whom is lame. As the author states in the 'Preface': 'I have indeed made rats talk, feel, and reflect, as those little creatures certainly never did; but the courage, presence of mind, fidelity, and kindness which I have attributed to my heroes, have been shown by real rats'.²⁵ The claim to facticity – the representation of 'real' rats and their mentalisms and emotional dispositions – is underpinned by the story's avowed dependence on a natural history bibliographic essay entitled 'Rats', which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* the same year *Rambles* was published. This aspiration to objectivity is undercut, however, by the author's admission that the most sensational passages of her declared source had to be omitted, a decision that suggests the difficulty of incorporating a loathed, feared and boundary-breaking species such as *rattus*, fully into human societies, both from a material and a conceptual point of view.

Tucker's polemical novel, in its blend of story and biological fact, illustrates the two-way cultural traffic that Gillian Beer has influentially argued was characteristic of Victorian science and literature: 'metaphors, myths and narrative patterns could move rapidly and freely to and fro between scientists and non-scientists'.²⁶ This observation requires some qualification. 'Amateur' natural history was perceived to be closer to literature in its reliance on affect and anecdote than it was to its more powerful rival, the rising field of biological sciences whose authority, it was hoped, would be grounded in the apparatus of rational and institutional knowledge.²⁷ Cannon Schmitt's discussion of the Victorian fascination with beetles provides one example of the shift from the study of nature being 'an amateur pursuit driven by affective attachments to being part of the apparatus of rational and institutional knowledge production'.²⁸ Furthermore, while the sciences and the humanities may have been on better speaking terms than they are today, recent scholarship has suggested that they were not only porous to each other's influence but were simultaneously defining their boundaries.²⁹

The impact of evolution, especially Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection, on the literature and culture of Britain in the nineteenth century has been almost exhaustively examined.³⁰ Darwin's anti-teleological insights about evolution, common descent, and natural selection challenged powerful religious and secular dismissals of humans' organic relationship with animals and assumptions underpinning inherited mythologies, discourses, and narrative orders. *On the Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* presented a new balance between likeness and variability in natural history. While Darwin proposed that the human mind had evolved from animal forbears, he nonetheless asserted an 'immense' divergence in intellectual power between humans and other animals. Darwin's account itself evolved in relation to the work of other naturalists who recognised similarities between human and nonhuman animals, including Erasmus Darwin, Alfred Russell Wallace, 'the sponge philosopher' Robert Grant, and Robert Chambers, whose bestseller on transmutationism, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844), provoked fierce partisan debate at the time of its publication.³¹ While some writers, such as John Ruskin, objected to the 'filthy heraldries which record the relation of humanity to the ascidian and the crocodile' the scientific fascination with human similarities to, and differences from, animals influenced many others.³² That influence bred literary human-animal hybrids that trouble biological and social taxonomies: Robert Browning's man-beast Caliban, Rudyard Kipling's feral child Mowgli, H.G. Wells' 'Beast People' and Robert Louis Stevenson's simianised Mr Hyde. No other Victorian writer took this post-Lyellian, post-Darwinian understanding of the fragility of the categories 'human' and 'self' under the pressure of scientific knowledge and nomenclature more to the heart of his fictional universe than Lewis Carroll. Conceived in the 1860s, in the wake of *On the Origin of Species*, Alice finds herself in *Wonderland*, not in the benignly designed universe of natural theology but in a struggle for survival in which her body transforms in response to environmental stimuli. Confused by her morphological changes, she is unable to distinguish herself from other little girls nor as discrete from other animals. While she does not permanently change from child to beast, like Tom in Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*, Alice in her meetings with Pigeon, the Caterpillar, white rabbit, Bill the lizard, the Cheshire cat and the enormous puppy who 'might be hungry', comes

to understand herself as a clever animal in relation to other species, against whom she must defend herself, even aggressively if necessary.³³

The ethical and moral dimensions of human–animal relations were also being examined in new ways in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Jeremy Bentham famously raised the ethical duty of humans to animals as early as 1780: ‘the question is not, Can they *reason*? nor, Can they *talk*? but, Can they *suffer*?’³⁴ In the Utilitarian tradition Henry Sidgwick included animals in his ethics, concluding that it was ‘arbitrary and unreasonable’ to exclude from the ends of happiness ‘the pleasure of any sentient being’.³⁵ In the mid-nineteenth century when animal slaughter was being brought under principles of instrumental rationality and bureaucratic control, Bentham’s calculation of social goods and his social evils model proposed that, if all pain is an evil, then the pain and suffering caused to an animal by a human must also be an evil, regardless of the animal’s capacity for reason. Reformers such as Richard Martin and William Wilberforce, leaders of the abolitionist movement, had begun to address animal abuse and neglect, leading to the passage of legislation such as Martin’s Act (1822) to ‘prevent the cruel and improper treatment of cattle’ – the world’s first animal welfare legislation – and the founding of protection societies such as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA, later the RSPCA) in 1824.³⁶ Utilitarianism was part of a transformation in general attitudes towards animals in the nineteenth century that saw increasing legislative control over the treatment of animals, and by the mid-nineteenth century the expression of violence towards animals was more regulated than ever before: laws forbade century-old sports such as bear-baiting, cockfighting, and dog-fighting. These developments did not, however, lead to the alleviation of suffering for the majority of animal species. Rather, the ruthless exploitation of animals in industry and transport, and the mass carnage of big game hunting and the increasing use of domestic animals, particularly dogs, in scientific experimentation, actually increased throughout the Victorian period. Meanwhile, the growth of empire and of commerce in such luxury trades as the import of ornamental feathers had a huge influence on animal destruction, as Robin Doughty and Nicholas Daly have shown.³⁷ There was also a rapid rise in unregulated pet-keeping and breeding of animals for show, the emergence of the first zoos and ‘acclimatisation’ programmes, and the development of the natural history museum using taxidermied specimens to offer crowd-pleasing dioramas (re)producing particular versions of the relationship between culture and nature.

Beginning in the 1870s, animal experimentation came to be more widely practised in British physiological laboratories, bringing into conflict scientific and humanitarian interests in the animal, as anti-vivisectionists and advocates of animal research debated their right to speak for the nonhuman animal. The practice of vivisection assumed a likeness between human and animal bodies while differentiating humans and animals based on ideas of soul or mind. Responses as diverse as Ouida’s (pseudonym of Louise de la Ramé) anti-vivisection polemic *The New Priesthood: A Protest Against Vivisection* (1897) and H.G. Wells’ *The Island of Dr Moreau* (1896), about a mad vivisectionist who works to surgically transform animals into humans, suggest the extent to which scientific discourse as it affected the welfare of animals was subjected to aesthetic and ethical scrutiny. Of interest to scholars in a variety of fields have been the vivisection debates of the later nineteenth century, with a strand of scholarship

focusing on the 'Brown Dog Riots' of 1907 (about the treatment of a brown dog in a medical laboratory).³⁸

Attitudes towards the killing of animals shifted in the Victorian period not only as a result of ethical concern for animal suffering but also because animal cruelty was believed to dehumanise humans.³⁹ The desire to prevent the sight of cruelty to animals motivated the ban on dog carts, the removal of slaughterhouses from public view, the 1857 bill that prevented children under 14 from witnessing slaughterhouse activities, the 1835 Act that made malicious and wanton cruelty to animals illegal, and the 1867 ban on public demonstrations of vivisection. Even such rescue projects as the Home for Lost and Starving Dogs – initiated in 1860 and established in Battersea in 1871 – represented an uneasy reconciliation between the humanitarianism that the Victorians were thought to have virtually invented with an instrumentalist ethos of how to deal with large numbers of unwanted animals on the streets.⁴⁰ The concern that witnessing animal cruelty would brutalise humans is evident not only in Dickens' representations of Smithfield market in *Oliver Twist* (1838), *Bleak House* (1853), *Great Expectations* (1861) and other novels, but also in his non-fiction writings about animal slaughter, such as the ironically titled, 'A monument of French folly' (1851), in which Dickens documents his inspection of Parisian abattoirs and praises their humane and efficient operations, but laments such cruel practices as the binding of calves' legs, which he attributes to peasant superstition.⁴¹ In the co-written or 'composite' article (as Dickens called such collaborations), 'The heart of mid-London' (1851), cruelty towards animals is identified as a propensity of the lower classes. Dickens and Wills' spokesperson, the aptly named Mr Bovington, reports that drovers engage in such cruelties as dropping burning pitch on the backs of frantic livestock, and implies that their behaviour is akin to that of natives from the 'darkest' parts of the expanding British empire: they 'raved, shouted, screamed, swore, whooped, whistled, danced like savages'.⁴² In 'A monument of French folly' Dickens notes that cruelty to animals has a negative effect on the formation of character: 'Hard by Snow Hill and Warwick Lane, you shall see the little children, inured to sights of brutality from their birth, trotting along alleys, mingled with troops of horribly busy pigs, up to their ankles in blood'.⁴³ Dickens' various representations of Smithfield, taken together, imply that what was at stake in the 'abomination of Smithfield' was the notion of civilisation itself. What appears to have most disturbed Dickens and many of his progressive contemporaries about drovers and urban butchers, is not the sacrifice of an animal for human consumption as such, but that human and beast appeared to have swapped roles: animal abusers and those who deal in nefarious trades associated with the slaughter of animals take on bestial, brutish characteristics attributed to animals such as bloodthirsty violence and uncontrollable instincts.

The *Smithfield Removal Act* predated by sixteen years the *Capital Punishment Amendment Act* 1868 which put an end to public executions in the United Kingdom. An idea of progressive 'civilisation' figured prominently in the reform arguments against public execution of humans and of animals, and was an important element in the interpretation of these changes. The Act, however, did not so much work to transform or eliminate practices of animal slaughter as to sequester them from view. Moreover, those who performed this work were often stigmatised as less than human,

and were subjected to what Foucault identified as ‘continuous and permanent systems of surveillance’.⁴⁴ Central to this process is the ‘politics of sight’, the term Timothy Pachirat uses to describe the dynamics by which two seemingly contradictory characteristics of the relationship between sight and power relate in practice. Drawing on the ideas of Norbert Elias, Pachirat argues that power operates through the creation of distance and concealment, and that our ideas of progress and civilisation are inseparable from, and perhaps even synonymous with, the concealment of what is rendered physically and morally repugnant.⁴⁵ For example, what once occurred in the open – sexual acts, spitting, defecating, killing animals, displaying animal parts such as whole animal heads at table – without provoking reactions of moral or physical disgust, has been increasing segregated, confined, and hidden from sight. Using Western etiquette manuals, among other evidence, Elias adduces manners surrounding the eating of meat as particular historical evidence: table portions as well as utensils have grown smaller and methods of preparation and carving have changed to ensure that ‘while eating, one is scarcely reminded of its origin’.⁴⁶

Elias’s and Pachirat’s observations are evidenced not only in the removal from sight of large-scale animal slaughter in mid-Victorian London, but also at the dinner table, as Dickens demonstrates in one of the most sinister Christmas dinners in Victorian fiction. In one of two dramatic sequences which turn on the consumption of pork in *Great Expectations*, the distance conventionally maintained between the meat on the table and its origins is erased. Wopsle and Pumblechook set Pip an exercise in counterfactual thinking, asking him to imagine what his life would be like as a ‘four-footed Squeaker’, with Pumblechook vividly evoking how ‘the butcher would have come up to you as you lay in your straw . . . and he would have shed your blood and had your life’.⁴⁷ Pip, the human pig who ought to be grateful for Christmas dinner, is conflated with the animal pig who *is* Christmas dinner. This metaphorical transformation resonates with a later scene in which the bills clerk, Wemmick, serves up sausages made from a pig Pip has met on his hobby farm, impressing upon Pip that the meat he had eaten was ‘a little bit of *him*. That sausage you toasted was his . . . Do try him if it is only for old acquaintance sake’.⁴⁸ The insertion of the personal pronouns ‘him’ and ‘his’ (emphasised by Dickens’ italicisation) erases the distinctions that conventionally separate the domesticated animal as an individual ‘acquaintance’ from the animal as foodstuff destined for human consumption. In so doing, it further confuses the domestic sentiment associated with private space and the instrumental reason associated with public space, a division already allegorised in the sharp contrast between the character traits and values John Wemmick displays at home and in the professional world. The conflation of ‘pig as pet or personage’ with ‘pig as pork’ exposes public and private as inseparable, as interconnecting zones of circulation. It is as if an aspect of Smithfield market in the centre of London, which Pip encounters on his arrival in the city, has penetrated the domestic idyll of the ‘castle’. In *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, Carol J. Adams explains that

Behind every meal of meat is an absence: the death of the animal whose place the meat takes The function of the absent referent is to keep our “meat” separated from any idea that she or he was once an animal . . . to keep *something* from being seen as having been someone.⁴⁹

While Dickens, in *Great Expectations*, is hardly recommending feminist vegetarianism of the kind Adams advocates, these passages not only underline the violence committed against the food animal in turning her or him into meat, but also draw attention to the unsettling idea that the consumption of a piece of sausage is the consumption of a being, and the consumption of the meaning of that being's death, thus altering the referent point of the meat.

As these examples suggest, the 'discourse of animality' was often used in Victorian writing as efficient shorthand for othering individuals and peoples – the poor, women, non-white or non-British subjects – and therefore authorising the oppression of humans by other humans. It is not surprising then that critics and theorists working in feminist, postcolonial, indigenous, queer, and critical race studies have concentrated on the use of zoological language to bestialise individuals and particular groups of people. As already pointed out, Victorian zoology and natural history operated to construct and naturalise racial, gender and class distinctions, and animals frequently served as figures of racial difference, social marginality, loss of identity and exploitation of women. Recent work in Victorian studies that brings renewed attention to intersections between race, species, and empire includes John Miller's *Empire and the Animal Body: Violence, Identity and Ecology in Victorian Adventure Fiction* (2012) and Shefali Rajamannar's *Reading the Animal in the Literature of the British Raj* (2012).⁵⁰ Miller focuses on ideologies of empire, hunting, and environmental destruction in the period 1860–1910 with an emphasis on exotic animals and imperial conquest in West Africa in the adventure fiction of R.M. Ballantyne, G.A. Henty, G.M. Fenn, Paul du Chaillu, H. Rider Haggard, and (beyond the Victorian period) John Buchan. Rajamannar's examination of animal narratives in the literature of the Raj covers a longer historical sweep and includes Kipling's *Jungle Book* and lesser known hunting narratives. Both Miller and Rajamannar highlight the interrelationship between biological and social categories: because the human/animal binary is unstable, textual representation can reinforce or undermine the ideological structures of imperial rule. These approaches continue the postcolonial dismantling of empire's logic of domination, while Miller's work also develops the recentring of the nonhuman in environmentally focused postcolonial criticism.

To counter essentialising views of cultures, we might consider that species difference is always in the process of being made, and that this process is not haphazard but is produced as an effect of power relationships. The dualisms that form such forceful undercurrents in Western culture – master and slave, male and female, white and non-white, reason and feeling, culture and nature, civilisation and savagery, subject and object, and human and animal – form an 'interlocking structure'.⁵¹ The animal, therefore, is constituted not only through the human/animal dualism but by other pairs as well, including those relating to gender norms.⁵² Drawing upon Animal Studies and queer theory, Monica Flegel, in *Pets and Domesticity in Victorian Literature and Culture: Animality, Queer Relations, and the Victorian Family* (2015), stresses the importance of the domestic pet in elucidating normative sexuality and (re)productivity within the familial home, and reveals how the family pet operates as a means of identifying aberrant, failed, or perverse familial and gender performances.⁵³ Flegel draws on texts by both canonical and non-canonical writers such as Clara Balfour, Juliana Horatia Ewing, E. Burrows, Bessie Rayner Parkes, Anne Brontë, George Eliot,

Frederick Marryat, and Charles Dickens, who speak to the centrality of the domestic pet to negotiations of gender, power, and sexuality within the home that both reify and challenge the imaginary structure known as the natural family in the Victorian period. Also focused on intersections of gender and animals, Josephine Donovan and other proponents of the feminist care tradition of animal ethics (among them Carol J. Adams, Marti Kheel and Val Plumwood) have resiled from the enlightenment tradition of seeking universal principles through abstract reasoning in favour of a contextual ethics, allowing for a narrative understanding of the particulars of a situation or a question. These approaches resist the ‘logic of domination’ that operates to reinforce sexism, racism, and speciesism alike, and have emphasised attention, compassion, and emotion in their analyses.⁵⁴ In this vein, Donovan’s ‘aesthetics of care’ – based on the tradition of ‘care ethics’ in feminist theory – has produced sustained engagement with literary concepts such as *mimesis* and *katharis*, as well as readings of animals in nineteenth-century literary texts such as Tolstoy’s *Anna Karenina* (1877). Donovan reads Tolstoy’s famous essay ‘What is Art?’ as invoking ‘vegetarian discourse’, endorsing an ‘ethics of care’, and in his fiction, an empathetic and sensitive engagement with animals that challenges speciesist ideologies that view animals as merely objects for human use.⁵⁵

To return to questions of agency raised in this chapter’s opening, Dickens’ engagement with Smithfield and with the killing and consumption of animals foregrounds instabilities inherent in the way the law of culture hierarchically arranges its species significations and values. As the only major Victorian author to represent human and animal relations at Smithfield market, his fiction and journalism on this subject reminds us that live animals, animal matter (or things), and human animals are co-constituted and function as a rapport of interconnecting forces, whether through cooperation or resistance; and that the ‘humane’ ideology espoused by Dickens and other reformers not only indexes generalised fears about degeneration and international competition but also, paradoxically, highlights the important role played by animal agents in human history. While there is not the space here to rehearse, in full, the range of positions on nonhuman agency, the argument that animals are agents is becoming ever more commonplace and forms part of a wider post-anthropocentric intellectual project that reconsiders the power and role of nonhuman forces in both the past and the present.⁵⁶ Mobilising a concept of animal agency in literary interpretation need not require that an animal consciously wills any specific change in the narrative. Indeed, the conventional understanding of agency as a capacity to effect change, which combines rational thought with conscious intention itself derives from an anthropocentric paradigm of enlightenment humanism.⁵⁷ As such, agency is a conception that is deeply embedded in humanist and Christian conceptions of human exceptionalism.

In resisting the classic understanding of agency as rational, intentional, and pre-meditated, Vinciane Despret explicates the concepts of interagency and *agencement*, the latter naming the rapport of forces that produces agency.⁵⁸ As well as considering Darwin’s account of the reciprocity between orchids and their animal pollinators, Despret uses the example of animal resistance to illustrate

... that an animal resisting indeed appears as the very subject of the action, but it is not the same process as the one by which he/she becomes an agent.

“Agenting” (as well as “acting”) is a relational verb that connects and articulates narratives (and needs “articulations”), beings of different species, things and contexts. There is no agency that is not interagency. There is no agency without *agencement*, a rapport of forces.⁵⁹

Philip Armstrong has argued that Samuel Butler’s insistence on the presence of ‘mind’ throughout the organic world in his utopian novels set in New Zealand – *Erewhon* (1872) and the revised and extended edition of *Erewhon* (1901) – which included two additional chapters that specifically focus on the question of whether the lives of animals have meaning or value beyond their use by human culture and agriculture – can be seen as an attempt to formulate a theory of networked agency *avant la lettre*.⁶⁰ Butler’s unstable satiric structure disrupts accepted distinctions between conscious and unconscious behaviour, and proposes ‘anthropomorphic accounts of various kinds of “mind” (consciousness, knowledge, desire, volition, choice, memory) and activity (poisoning, trapping, manufacturing, deceiving, hiding, showing off) at work amongst animals and plants’.⁶¹ The same applies to the actions of many human characters in Victorian fiction – no more consistently than the animals do they exhibit rational agency in the classical sense. Dickens’ London with its bad weather, crowding, noise, dirt, and danger, no less than the Brontës’ fictionalised West Riding of Yorkshire, Thomas Hardy’s Dorset, or Butler’s New Zealand can be understood as interdependent networks of objects, animals, and humans responding to the exigencies of environment and the pressures of conflicting agencies. Butler’s experience as a pastoralist in New Zealand, Armstrong writes,

... taught him that the relationship between humans and non-human nature is a field of possibilities in which agency emerges from interactions amongst a network of actors and events: the mindful decision-making of a single sheep; the co-operative social will of the flock; the barking of dogs; human behaviour that includes barking like dogs; the current of the river; the topography and vegetation of the riverbanks; and the delivery by the wind of attractive or aversive smells and sounds to the sheep.⁶²

While not all Victorian literary texts offer relational and situated accounts of animal agency, many display a self-reflexivity about the pitfalls and potential of anthropomorphism, about the way in which common zoological metaphors appropriate animals as ciphers and alibis for human concerns. Lewis Carroll achieves this through nonsense and parody when, for example, Alice down the rabbit hole, attempts to recite a familiar poem, Isaac Watt’s moral homily, ‘Against Idleness and Mischief’ (1715), which begins ‘How doth the little busy bee’. Instead she recites a parody which retains some of Watt’s original wording but omits the two stanzas about the application to human affairs of the bee’s busy industry: ‘How doth the little crocodile . . . How cheerfully he seems to grin/How neatly he spreads his claws,/And welcomes little fishes in,/With gently smiling jaws’.⁶³ As one of many parodies of Victorian pedagogy (here recitation) and evolution in the Alice books, the noble insect is transformed into reptilian predation in a palimpsest that ironically draws attention to related but non-identical forms in a way that resembles evolution.⁶⁴

When Boffin in Dickens' *Our Mutual Friend*, a work influenced by Darwinian naturalism, recommends bees as models of industry to the congenitally idle Eugene Wrayburn, he protests:

I object on principle, as a two-footed creature, to being constantly referred to insects and four-footed creatures. I object to being required to model my proceedings according to the proceedings of the bee, or the dog, or the spider, or the camel.⁶⁵

Instead of automatically dismissing anthropocentrism as a form of anthropomorphism, we might consider the potential for anthropomorphism to challenge the rigid distinctions we make between animal and human life.⁶⁶ In philosophy, for example, Jane Bennett uses biocentric anthropomorphism to discuss the materiality of nonhuman experience while Tess Cosslett in literary studies demonstrates how anthropomorphism in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century children's writing effectively created a sympathetic equivalence between human and animal suffering.⁶⁷ Among the most popular narrative forms in the nineteenth century were novels and fictional autobiographies with animal narrators – some, like Tucker's *The Rambles of a Rat*, aimed at children – a genre that focuses the question of anthropomorphism in an historically distinctive form. While many cultures have long-standing traditions of animals speaking and writing, in light of the Animal Studies project what, we may well ask, are the implications of human–animal ventriloquism for animals. Do nineteenth-century animal narrators reflect human consciousness, particularly that of marginal, disadvantaged human persons – women, children, servants, slaves, the elderly – or animal consciousness? Looking at a broad historical span of animal autobiography that goes back to earlier texts, Margo DeMello suggests that the genre demonstrates 'a new awareness of animal subjectivity, and a desire on the part of many animal lovers to give that subjectivity a voice'.⁶⁸ Taking a similar view, Marion Copeland maintains that animal autobiographies of horses dating back to *Black Beauty: The Autobiography of a Horse* (1877) 'make a claim not only for the sentience of the other-than-human animal but for its self-awareness, intelligence, grasp of past and future, as well as present, and understanding of the worlds, cultural and biological, in which it lives'.⁶⁹ There is no consensus on this point. Dog autobiographies such as Caroline Elizabeth Grey's *The Autobiography of Frank; the Happiest Dog that Ever Lived* (1861), Frances Power Cobbe's *Confessions of a Lost Dog* (1867), and Mrs E. Burrows' *Neptune, or the Autobiography of a New Foundland Dog* (1869) are ideologically contradictory tales that elicit sympathy for suffering individual canines and contribute to the humane movement while at the same time affirming the necessity of human power. Monica Flegel argues that while 'animal autobiographies can allow for a sympathetic imagining of victimization', these texts 'revel in the pleasure that can be produced by exerting control over the animal', thus allowing their female authors to align themselves with both the subjection of the animal and the power of the mistress-master.⁷⁰

No less than *The Rambles of a Rat* or the dog autobiographies of Grey, Power Cobbe or Burrows, Anna Sewell's equine-centric blockbuster, *Black Beauty*, possibly the most famous animal narrative of the Victorian era, upholds 'systemic inequalities,

be these speciesism, racism, classism, or sexism'.⁷¹ This story of an ageing horse recalling his cruel past draws on the protest genre of the slave narrative to critique violence against animals and evoke sympathy for the suffering of horses exploited in urban employments such as drawing cabs and carts, and also the use of such devices as the curb bit and bearing rein (two popular harnessing devices which held the horse's head tightly erect, causing much pain to the animal) as a fashion accoutrement. Gina Dorré has discussed horse bodies as sites for the negotiation of hegemonic ideologies of class and gender, including the way both equine and female bodies are constrained by prevailing discourses of beauty in *Black Beauty*.⁷² In contrast, Teresa Mangum points out how Sewell situates her speaking horses in the temporalities of the bildungsroman so that the animal is not absorbed into the human.⁷³ To read dog or horse autobiographies for how both animal and human lives are shaped through relations with animals is to subtly shift interpretation onto relationality rather than solely human concerns and preoccupations. If we resist the temptations of metonymy, and read an animal, such as Beauty as exceeding analogical reading, we open ourselves to modes of connection that acknowledge our shared bodily and temporal vulnerability or creatureliness.⁷⁴

Vulnerability and risk are themes as central to queer, feminist, and disability studies as to Animal Studies. In *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* and *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*, Judith Butler argues that mourning is a way of making connections, of establishing kinship, and of recognising the vulnerability and finitude of others.⁷⁵ These works insist that questions about who is entitled to mourn, and who is mournable, are at the heart of social intelligibility. As James Stanescu argues, disavowing mourning disavows the life of the other and cedes the one you care for as well as part of yourself into social unintelligibility.⁷⁶ Addressing in these works such human actions as war and racial profiling Butler has had little to say on the question of the animal. Nonetheless, her Levinasian-inspired ethics of interdependence, embodiment, vulnerability, and mourning provides a compelling incentive for thinking about the lives not only of humans, but also of animals.⁷⁷ Mourning the lives of animals can be a political act that produces communities of feeling, or we can forbid mourning and justify inflicting violence on vulnerable beings who cannot speak for themselves (at least in human language). The life of a beloved pet, a subject deemed to lead a trivial life, is definitionally considered less mournable than the life of a human animal. In this sense, I would argue that one of the most powerful forms of cultural disavowal for bereaved pet owners in the nineteenth century was the gendered construction of sentimentality.

Elegies, sonnets, short stories, and eulogies lamenting the death of pets proliferated throughout the nineteenth century, with even so unlikely a candidate as Matthew Arnold writing elegies on the deaths of his dachshunds, Geist and Kaiser, and a canary, Matthias ('Geist's Grave' [1881], 'Poor Matthias' [1882], and 'Kaiser Dead' [1887]). The writings of Jane Carlyle, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Ouida and Michael Field, among others, provide situated accounts in which the expression of intense feelings, such as love or bereavement for a particular pet, is shadowed by a fear of being thought sentimental.⁷⁸ As a 'structure of feeling', sentimentality from the early nineteenth century onwards, as the voluminous literature on the topic shows, has been associated with the least authoritative expressions of cultural life: femininity,

simple-mindedness, childishness, ‘fancy’, and idealism.⁷⁹ As Nicola Bown states, ‘[S]entimentality is excessive feeling evoked by unworthy objects; it is falsely idealising; it simplifies and sanitises; it is vulgar; it leads to cynicism; it is feeling on the cheap; it’s predictable; it’s meretricious.’ Bown borrows these terms used in the denunciation of sentimentality from a range of literary critics including I.A. Richards, F.R. Leavis, Mary Midgley, Michael Tanner, and Aldous Huxley, making it difficult not to conclude that the word sentimentality has lost its historical validity and hence its analytic value.⁸⁰

In light of common literary understandings of sentimentality, the idea that mourning for an animal is inherently sentimental in a pejorative sense rests on the speciesist assumption that passionate, individualised feeling towards nonhuman animals involves inappropriate or excessive feeling bestowed upon unworthy objects. This insight can be brought to bear on the way in which the discourse of sentimentality has functioned to disavow mourning for animal lives. As a term of approbation, sentimentality was not confined to companionate human and pet relationships. In nineteenth-century England the relationship that was established between women and irrational sentiment towards animals emerged at a time when the independent women’s movement had managed to gain ground and women became increasingly active in the spheres of both animal advocacy and suffrage. Periodicals that covered the vivisection debate suggested, for example, that female opposition to animal experimentation was motivated by emotion, hysteria, sentimentalism or ignorance, all of which were opposed to rational science.⁸¹ The resurgence of interest in the history of the emotions, including the place of sentiment and sentimentality in Victorian literature and culture, has begun to produce more historically nuanced critiques of the traditional scholarly tendency to conflate such categories as ‘emotion’, and ‘sentimentality’ and such actions as crying and tearfulness. Furthermore, in recent decades literary historians have argued that sentimental texts are atypically self-conscious about their ambition to ‘radically reconceive civil relationships and collective obligations by disclosing the voices and interests of marginalised social subjects’.⁸² These reconsiderations have not generally included animals, even though ‘the engulfment of pets in the elaborate rituals and commodities unique to nineteenth-century mourning together signal a profound shift in human–animal relations during the nineteenth century’.⁸³

Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s correspondence on the subject of her dog Flush, Jane Carlyle’s on the death of her Maltese half-cross Nero, Ouida’s children’s novel *A Dog of Flanders* (1872), and Michael Field’s sonnet sequence on the death of the beloved pet Chow in the thirty poems of *Whym Chow: Flame of Love* (1914; written in 1906) can be cited as examples of texts that both reinforce and disrupt the cultural work attributed to sentimentality. Strong feelings of love and grief for their animal companions tip over into defiance of authority – of patriarchal norms, and into the adoption of unorthodox religious beliefs or the rejection of them altogether. John Ruskin had written to Katharine Bradley (or Michael Field) in December 1877 about her inordinate affection for a pet dog and her corresponding disaffection with Victorian religion: ‘I don’t care how much pain you are in – but that you should be such a fool as coolly to write to me that you had ceased to believe in God – and had found some comfort in a dog – this is deadly’ (emphasis

in the original).⁸⁴ Following upon the death of Nero, in 1860, Jane Welsh Carlyle speculates about his immortality and is grateful to her aunt, Grace Welsh, who ‘gave me a reference to certain verses in Romans which seemed to warrant my belief in the immortality of animal life as well as human’.⁸⁵ Carlyle may have been clutching at straws in seeking Christian affirmation of species equality in the after-life, but as numerous epitaphs in the Hyde Park Pet Cemetery show, she was not alone among bereaved Victorian pet owners, for whom the old question of the immortality of animal souls is sustained by a raft of unorthodox theological and spiritual speculation.⁸⁶

Attention to such literary–historical case studies of human–animal relations discloses a nuanced vocabulary of feeling as a resource for an ethos of care towards animals: devotion, love, compassion, gratitude, melancholy, anxiety, grief, fear, guilt, desolation, shame, joy, and delight. In this respect the contemporary reassessment of the place of feeling and sentiment by philosophers and literary critics has an important application for the study of human–animal relations, and may serve as a corrective to the tendency to regard affects such as pity, sympathy, fondness, adoration, and compassion for animals not as mere ‘inclinations’ and sentiments but as an essential part of the substance of ethics itself.⁸⁷ There can, however, be no unproblematic ethics of care between humans and domestic dogs, and this tension can be traced in the Carlyle, Barrett Browning, and Field canine histories. The contradictions inherent in Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s attitudes to pet-keeping, are evidenced in her sympathy for Flush’s ‘unnatural’ situation as a sporting breed dog confined to an invalid’s sick room as opposed to her representation of him as a refined, aristocratic fur baby who has repudiated the carnivorous virility of other animals, including her brother’s Cuban bloodhound and Mastiff, and dogs of his own breed.⁸⁸ Memorialisation of the kind found in *Whym Chow: Flame of Love*, and in the Barrett Browning correspondence, involves idealising and isolating the beloved pet as a being apart from the animal world of stray dogs, hunted animals, work animals, and food animals.

Keith Thomas concludes his influential study of animals and society in England to 1800 by noting that the conflict between ‘new sensibilities’ towards the natural world, including animals, and the material realities of society with its growing cities and growing population, was not resolved: ‘A mixture of compromise and concealment has so far prevented this conflict from having to be fully resolved. But the issue cannot be completely evaded and it can be relied upon to recur. It is one of the contradictions upon which modern civilization may be said to rest. About its ultimate consequences we can only speculate’.⁸⁹ Thomas might have made the same observation about England in 1837, the year Victoria ascended the throne, or 1901, the year of her death, although the forms that those compromises and concealments took are historically specific. Hazarding a generalisation, we might conclude that Victorian writing reveals the paradoxical mix of care, sentiment, indifference, and violence that might be said to typify relationships between humans and animals in a society profoundly uneasy about the distinct nature of humanity. The Victorians were what we have become: the compromises and concealments that characterised their often–contradictory attitudes towards animals are an important aspect of their legacy to globalising modernity.

Notes

- 1 See Adrienne Munich's analysis of domesticity and Queen Victoria's dogs in *Queen Victoria's Secrets*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, 127–155.
- 2 See P. Chambers, *Jumbo: the Greatest Elephant in the World*, London: André Deutsche, 2007 and J. Sutherland, *Jumbo: the Unauthorised Biography of a Victorian Sensation*, London: Aurum Press, 2014.
- 3 See J. Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, ed. M.-L. Mallett, trans. D. Wills, New York: Fordham University Press, 2008, 34. For simplicity's sake, I will use 'animal' to mean 'nonhuman animal'. Animal Studies is used in its broadest, contemporary sense, to designate the multidisciplinary field known as Human–Animal Studies (HAS) – sometimes called anthrozoology – which is not to be confused with the scientific usage which refers to laboratory studies involving animals. Sometimes the related term, Critical Animal Studies, is used in Animal Studies scholarship, although CAS distinguishes itself from much mainstream human–animal studies by virtue of its commitment to an advocacy agenda. For a fuller discussion of the relationship between critical animal studies and human–animal studies see N. Taylor, *Humans, Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human–Animal Studies*, New York: Lantern Books, 2013, 155–169.
- 4 For an explanation of the 'anthrozootic city' see S.A. Miltenberger, 'Viewing the anthrozootic city: humans, domesticated animals, and the making of early nineteenth-century New York', in S. Nance (ed.), *The Historical Animal*, Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 2015, 261–271, 262–263. The population of London doubled from 1800 to 1850, and the urban middle classes were exposed increasingly to the real and perceived dirt and disease associated with large numbers of animals confined in overcrowded spaces. As Ritvo states, the number of urban horses in Britain increased from about 350,000 in the 1830s to 1,200,000 at the beginning of the twentieth century, most of whom were used to haul omnibuses and other heavy vehicles in the growing towns: H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987, 311 n.1. On the numbers of horses see *Parliamentary Papers* 1873 (325) xiv, 3, 34. Railways temporarily increased the demand for horse transport; see H.J. Dyos and D.H. Aldcroft, *British Transport: An Economic History from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969, 213. In 1870 England, Wales, and Scotland contained 1,064,621 licensed dogs, with the number of unlicensed dogs being inestimably large (*Parliamentary Papers* 1877 (163) xlix, 1). See also B. Harrison, 'Animals and the state in nineteenth-century England', in *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982, 83. In 1850 there were around 13,000 cows in London; and in 1841 some 2,764 'milk-sellers and cow keepers'. Enormous numbers of wild birds were snared and sold in the streets as pets – linnets, finches, larks (which were eaten), jackdaws, nightingales, sparrows, and starlings – some of which were subjected to cruel practices such as blinding and tongue splitting (N. Daly, *The Demographic Imagination and the Nineteenth-Century City: Paris, London, New York*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 151, 156).
- 5 G. Levine, *Realism, Ethics and Secularism: Essays on Victorian Literature and Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 251.
- 6 K. Weil, *Thinking Animals: Why Animal Studies Now?* New York: Columbia University Press, 2012, 5.
- 7 See R. Braidotti, *The Posthuman*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013, esp. 57–104.
- 8 E. Kirksey (ed.), 'Introduction', *The Multispecies Salon*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2014, 3–5.
- 9 E. Kirksey and S. Helmreich, 'The emergence of multispecies ethnography', *Cultural Anthropology* 25, 4 (2010): 545–576.

- 10 D.J. Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People and Significant Otherness*, Chicago IL: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003, and *When Species Meet*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- 11 For example, Karen Barad's concept of 'agential realism' introduces the idea of 'intra-action', as distinct from interaction, to express an already entangled state of agency: "'intra-action" signifies the mutual constitution of entangled agencies': K. Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2007, 33, emphasis in original.
- 12 A. Tsing, 'Unruly edges: mushrooms as companion species', *Environmental Humanities* 1, 1 (2012): 141–154, 144, emphasis in original. See also D.J. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008, 19.
- 13 D. Lestel, 'Like the fingers of the hand: thinking the human in the texture of animality', in L. Mackenzie and S. Posthumus (eds.), *French Thinking about Animals*, trans. M. Chrulew and J. Bussolini, East Lansing MI: Michigan State University Press, 2015, 61–73, 64. French philosopher Dominique Lestel's work on ethology is productive to read together with multispecies ethnography, partly because of the emphasis both place on personhood as 'a relational narrative process' in which multispecies interactions are fundamentally constitutive (Lestel, 'Fingers of the Hand', 64). An important figure in what Brett Buchanan, Jeffrey Bussolini, and Matthew Chrulew have called an 'ethological revolution', along with Vinciane Despret, Isabelle Stengers, and Roberto Marchesini, Lestel's revisionist writing on animality and multispecies relationality is beginning to reach Anglophone readers. See B. Buchanan, J. Bussolini, and M. Chrulew, 'General introduction: philosophical ethology', *Philosophical Ethology I: Dominique Lestel*, special issue of *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities*, 19, 3 (2014): 1–3.
- 14 For a detailed discussion of dogs in Dickens' fiction and journalism see B. Gray, *The Dog in the Dickensian Imagination*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014, and P. Howell, 'Dogs in Dickensland: at home and astray with the Landseer of fiction' in *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015, 25–49.
- 15 Jacques Rancière diagnoses the distribution of the perceptible as a political process in 'The Politics of Literature', in *The Politics of Literature*, trans. J. Rose, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011, 4. For further discussion of this point in relation to literature see M. Ortiz-Robles, *Literature and Animal Studies*, London, Routledge, 2016, 144–145.
- 16 C. Dickens, *Bleak House*, ed. G. Ford and S. Monod, Norton critical edition, New York: W.W. Norton, 1977, 235.
- 17 See E. Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel*, Chicago IL: Chicago University Press, 2009, and S. Amato, *Beastly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture*, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2015.
- 18 See K.C. Grier, *Pets in America: A History*, Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005, and K. Kete, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1994.
- 19 See Jonathan Smith's discussion of these contexts in *Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 64–68.
- 20 C. Dickens, *Hard Times*, Norton critical edition, third edition, eds. F. Kaplan and S. Monod, New York: Norton, 2001, ch. 2, 7–8.
- 21 Dickens, *Hard Times*, 8.
- 22 C. Dickens, *A Christmas Carol*, in *A Christmas Carol and Other Christmas Stories*, Oxford World Classics, ed. R. Douglas-Fairhurst, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, 60.
- 23 Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 15.
- 24 'Preface' to C. Tucker, *The Rambles of a Rat*, London: T. Nelson, 1857, v.

- 25 'Preface' to Tucker, *The Rambles of a Rat*, v.
- 26 G. Beer, *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, third edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 5.
- 27 For a discussion of Tucker's use of anecdote see J.A. Smith, 'Representing animal minds in early animal autobiography: Charlotte Tucker's *The Rambles of a Rat* and nineteenth-century natural history', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43, 4 (2015): 725–744, 737–741. The popularity of natural history among the middle classes in the first half of the nineteenth century and its increasing decline in the face of the ascendance of professional biology has been documented by several historians of science. See Smith, 'Representing animal minds', 737–739; L.L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989; D.E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History*, second edition, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994; L. Barber, *The Heyday of Natural History, 1820–1870*, Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1980; J. Camerini, 'Remains of the day: early Victorians in the field', in B. Lightman (ed.), *Victorian Science in Context*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997, 354–377.
- 28 C. Schmitt, 'Victorian beetlemania', in D.D. Morse and M.A. Danahay (eds.), *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 35–51, 36.
- 29 Jessica Straley, for example, has discussed the children's literature of Margaret Gatty, Charles Kingsley, Lewis Carroll, Kipling, and Frances Hodgson Burnett in the contexts of the animal child recapitulating the course of human evolution and Victorian pedagogy. 'Victorian children's texts', Straley states, 'made literary experience the pivotal mechanism of human evolution, capable of teaching the child how to retract his bestial "tail" and how to enter instead into a higher, distinctly human world of extraordinary, edifying, and imaginative "tales": see J. Straley, *Evolution and Imagination in Victorian Children's Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, 25–26. For challenges to the 'one culture' model of Beer and Levine see G. Dawson, *Darwin, Literature and Victorian Respectability*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, and A. deWitt, *Moral Authority, Men of Science, and the Victorian Novel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. The 'one culture' model is discussed in G. Levine (ed.), *One Culture: Essays in Science and Literature*, Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
- 30 The scholarship on Darwin, evolution and Victorian literature is too extensive to list here. Some works I have in mind include C. Kenyon-Jones, 'Evolutionary animals: science and imagination between the Darwins' in *Kindred Brutes: Animals in Romantic-Period Writing*, Aldershot: Ashgate Press, 2001, 165–201; W. Abberley, *English Fiction and the Evolution of Language 1850–1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015; S.G. Alter, *Darwinism and the Linguistic Image: Language, Race and Natural Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999; D. Ospovat, *The Development of Darwin's Theory: Natural History, Natural Theology, and Natural Selection, 1838–1859*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, and J. Carroll, *Literary Darwinism: Evolution, Human Nature, and Literature*, London: Routledge, 2004.
- 31 See J.A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001. On Darwin's precursors, see R. Stott, *Darwin's Ghosts: In Search of the First Evolutionists*, London: Bloomsbury, 2012.
- 32 J. Ruskin, *Love's Meinie*, Keston: Kent, 1873, 59.
- 33 For an overview of the literature on *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking Glass, and What Alice Found There* (1872) and evolutionary theory see Straley, *Evolution and Imagination in Victorian Children's Literature*, 86–89. For extensive analysis of how Lewis Carroll's Alice books engage with the ideas of Charles Darwin and Thomas

- Henry Huxley, among other thinkers, see G. Beer, *Alice in Space: The Sideways Victorian World of Lewis Carroll*, Chicago IL: Chicago University Press, 2016.
- 34 See J. Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1823 [first printed 1780, first published 1780], reprint 1907, ch. 17, n. 122.
- 35 H. Sidgwick, *The Methods of Ethics*, seventh edition, London: Macmillan, 1907, 414.
- 36 The history of animal protection and its literature in the nineteenth century has been told by a number of scholars: see for example, H. Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain Since 1800*, London: Reaktion, 1998; J. Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain and Humanity in the Victorian Mind*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980; and K. Kete, 'Introduction: animals and human empire' in K. Kete (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, Oxford: Berg, 2007, 1–24.
- 37 See R. Doughty, *Feather Fashions and Bird Preservation: A Study in Nature Protection*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1975; and N. Daly, 'Fur and feathers: animals and the city in the anthropocene era' in Daly, *Demographic Imagination*, 148–188.
- 38 See C. Lansbury, *The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers, and Vivisection in Edwardian England*, Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985; and P. Mason, *The Brown Dog Affair*, London: Two Sevens Publishing, 1997.
- 39 See Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 135.
- 40 Philip Howell has analysed the way in which the domestic image of Battersea Dogs' Home 'helped paper over its normal functions of policing, incarceration, and execution'. He also demonstrates how 'the discursive tropes regarding the *human* vagrant' were mapped onto street dogs at an 'important juncture for Victorian social policy'. See P. Howell, *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015, 100, 83.
- 41 C. Dickens, 'A monument of French folly', *Household Words* 2, 50 (8 March 1851): 553–558, 555. For a more detailed discussion of Dickens' representation of Smithfield markets in his fiction see J. McDonell, 'Dickens and animal studies', in J. Jordan, R. Patten, and C. Waters (eds.), *Oxford Handbook to Charles Dickens*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2018. For a discussion of how Dickens and other *Household Words* contributors writing on the subject of Smithfield 'both utilize and challenge standard humane rhetoric of the day' see R.D. Morrison, 'Household Words and the Smithfield controversy at the time of the Great Exhibition', in L.W. Mazzeno and R.D. Morrison (eds.), *Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture: Contexts for Criticism*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 41–63, 59.
- 42 C. Dickens and W.H. Wills, 'The heart of mid-London', *Household Words* 1, 6 (4 May 1850): 121–125, 122.
- 43 Dickens, 'Monument of French folly', 554.
- 44 M. Foucault, 'Two lectures', in C. Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–77*, New York: Pantheon, 1980, 78–108, 105. See also M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan, New York: Vintage, 1977.
- 45 T. Pachirat, *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight*, Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2011, 9–19.
- 46 See N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, first published 1939, 102.
- 47 C. Dickens, *Great Expectations*, ed. M. Cardwell, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993, 27–28.
- 48 Dickens, *Great Expectations*, 371.
- 49 See C.J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*, 25th Anniversary Edition, London: Bloomsbury, 2015, xxiv.
- 50 J. Miller, *Empire and the Animal Body: Violence, Identity and Ecology in Victorian Adventure Fiction*, London: Anthem Press, 2012, and S. Rajamannar, *Reading the Animal in the Literature of the British Raj*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- 51 V. Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*, London: Routledge, 1993, 43.

- 52 See, for example, C.J. Adams, *Neither Man nor Beast: Feminism and the Defense of Animals*, New York: Continuum, 1994; S. Kappeler, 'Speciesism, racism, nationalism . . . or the power of scientific subjectivity', in C.J. Adams and J. Donovan (eds.), *Animals and Women: Feminist Theoretical Explorations*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1995, 320–352; and D.J. Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*, New York: Routledge, 1989.
- 53 See M. Flegel, *Pets and Domesticity in Victorian Literature and Culture: Animality, Queer Relations, and the Victorian Family*, London: Routledge, 2015.
- 54 For further analysis of this position see Adams and Donovan, *Animals and Women*.
- 55 See J. Donovan, *The Aesthetics of Care: On the Literary Treatment of Animals*, London: Bloomsbury, 2016, 128.
- 56 See S.E. McFarland and R. Hediger (eds.), *Animals and Agency: An Interdisciplinary Exploration*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009; and P. Howell, 'Animals, agency, and history' in this volume.
- 57 See P. Armstrong, *What Animals Mean in the Fictions of Modernity*, London: Routledge, 2008, 3. For a discussion of nonhuman agency in relation to place and space, see C. Philo and C. Wilbert, 'Animal spaces, beastly spaces: an introduction', in C. Philo and C. Wilbert (eds.), *Animal Spaces, Beastly Spaces: New Geographies of Human–Animal Relations*, London: Routledge, 2000, 1–34, 5.
- 58 V. Despret, 'From secret agents to interagency', *History and Theory*, 52, 4 (2013): 29–44. Despret is drawing on Deleuze, who had developed von Uexküll's notion of *umwelt*, which allows for the animal 'point of view', how an animal perceives according to what has meaning in its own world. See G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. B. Massumi, Minneapolis MN: Minnesota University Press, 1987, 260, 321, and von Uexküll, 1934, cited in Despret, 'From secret agents to interagency', 31, 37.
- 59 Despret, 'From secret agents to interagency', 44.
- 60 P. Armstrong, 'Samuel Butler's sheep', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17, 4 (2012): 442–453, 452.
- 61 Armstrong, 'Samuel Butler's sheep', 451.
- 62 Armstrong, 'Samuel Butler's sheep', 453.
- 63 L. Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, ed. P. Hunt, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 19.
- 64 Straley, *Evolution and Imagination in Victorian Children's Literature*, 101.
- 65 C. Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*, ed. M. Cotsell, Oxford World's Classics edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989, 93.
- 66 On the relationship between anthropocentrism and anthropomorphism see L. Daston, 'Intelligences: angelic, animal, human', in L. Daston and G. Mitman (eds.), *Thinking with Animals: New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2005, 37–58, 53; D. Ryan, *Animal Theory: An Introduction*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015, 36–49.
- 67 J. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010, 99. See T. Cosslett, *Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction, 1786–1814*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2006.
- 68 M. DeMello, 'Introduction', in M. DeMello (ed.), *Speaking for Animals: Animal Autobiographical Writing*, London: Routledge, 2013, 1–14, 4.
- 69 M. Copeland, "'Straight from the horse's mouth": equine memoirs and autobiographies', in DeMello (ed.), *Speaking for Animals*, 179–191, 180.
- 70 See M. Flegel, 'Mistresses as masters: voicing female power through the subject animal in two nineteenth-century animal autobiographies', in DeMello (ed.), *Speaking for Animals*, 89–101, 89–90.

- 71 N.C. Hansen, 'Horse talk: horses and human(e) discourses', in DeMello (ed.), *Speaking for Animals*, 207–229, 223.
- 72 G. Dorré, *Victorian Fiction and the Cult of the Horse*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- 73 T. Mangum, 'Narrative dominion or the animals write back? Animal genres in literature and the arts', in K. Kete (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, Oxford: Berg, 2007, 153–173, 161.
- 74 Anat Pick uses the term 'creaturely' to name practices and poetics that are attentive to 'the material, temporal, and vulnerable', and the embodied: see A. Pick, *Creaturely Poetics: Animality and Vulnerability in Literature and Film*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, 5.
- 75 See J. Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*, London: Verso, 2009, and *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, London: Verso, 2004.
- 76 See J. Stanescu, 'Species trouble: Judith Butler, mourning, and the precarious lives of animals', *Hypatia* 27, 3 (2012): 569–582, 567.
- 77 See C. Taylor, 'The precarious lives of animals: Butler, Coetzee, and animal ethics', *Philosophy Today* 52, 1 (2008): 60–72, and Stanescu, 'Species trouble'.
- 78 Michael Field was the pseudonym of Katharine Harris Bradley (1846–1914) and Edith Emma Cooper (1862–1913), celebrity authors and celebrity dog owners who, as poets, playwrights and diarists, lived and wrote together during the final decades of the nineteenth century up to World War I.
- 79 For Raymond Williams, literature provides 'often the only fully available articulation . . . of structures of feeling which as living processes are much more widely experienced': *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, 133). Philip Armstrong has used Williams' concept of 'structures of feeling', referring to 'lived' or 'practical consciousness' prior to its ideological codification, to clarify how intimately the emergence of dispositions such as sympathy, sentimentalism, and nostalgia for nature have been tied up with human–animal relations in specific historical contexts and mediated through texts: see Armstrong, *What Animals Mean in the Fictions of Modernity*, 4. For a discussion of Philip Fisher's understanding of sentimentality as 'a politically radical technique' see Armstrong, *What Animals Mean in the Fictions of Modernity*, 165–167. See also F. Kaplan, *Sacred Tears: Sentimentality in Victorian Literature*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987; G. Stedman, *Stemming the Torrent: Expression and Control in Victorian Discourses on Emotion 1830–1872*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002; N. Bown (ed.), 'Rethinking Victorian sentimentality,' in *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 4 (2007); C. Burdett, 'New agenda: sentimentalities: introduction', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16, 2 (2011): 187–194; and B. Carney and C. Waters (eds.), 'Introduction: "Mr Popular Sentiment": Dickens and feeling', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 14 (2012).
- 80 N. Bown, 'Introduction: crying over Little Nell', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 4 (2007).
- 81 Claire Molloy has argued this case by demonstrating the way in which the vivisection debate was constructed in the media in England and the US from the mid-nineteenth century as a gendered issue whereby emotion and sentiment were configured in opposition to science and reason (*Popular Media and Animals*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 27–28).
- 82 T. Menely, 'Zoöphilpsychosis: why animals are what's wrong with sentimentality', *Symplek* 15, 1–2 (2007): 244–267, 246. Also see J. Mason, *Civilized Creatures: Urban Animals, Sentimental Culture and American Literature 1850–1900*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- 83 See T. Mangum, 'Animal angst: Victorians memorialise their pets', in D.D. Morse and M.A. Danahay (eds.), *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 15–34, 17.

- 84 John Ruskin to Katharine Bradley, 30 December 1877, cited in K. Bradley and E. Cooper, *Michael Field, the Poet: Published and Manuscript Materials*, edited by M. Thain and A.P. Parejo Vadillo, Peterborough ON: Broadview Press, 2009, 27, 308.
- 85 T. Holme, *The Carlyles at Home*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965, 139.
- 86 See P. Howell, 'A place for the animal dead: pets, pet cemeteries and animal ethics in late Victorian Britain', *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 5, 1 (2002): 5–22.
- 87 Robert C. Solomon has made a case for regarding 'sentimental' emotions, both in response to literature and art, and in life more generally, as 'the precondition for ethical engagement': R.C. Solomon, *In Defense of Sentimentality*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, 4.
- 88 See J. McDonell, "'Ladies' pets" and the politics of affect: Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Jane Welsh Carlyle', *Australian Literary Studies* 25, 2 (2010): 17–34.
- 89 K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983, 303.

References

- Abberley, W. *English Fiction and the Evolution of Language 1850–1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Adams, C.J. *Neither Man nor Beast: Feminism and the Defense of Animals*, New York: Continuum, 1994.
- Adams, C.J. *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*, 25th anniversary edition, London: Bloomsbury, 2015.
- Adams, C.J. and Donovan, J. *Animals and Women: Feminist Theoretical Explorations*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Allen, D.E. *The Naturalist in Britain: A Social History*, second edition, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Alter, S.G. *Darwinism and the Linguistic Image: Language, Race and Natural Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- Amato, S. *Beastly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture*, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2015.
- Armstrong, P. *What Animals Mean in the Fictions of Modernity*, London: Routledge, 2008.
- Armstrong, P. 'Samuel Butler's sheep', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17, 4 (2012): 442–453.
- Barad, K. *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Barber, L. *The Heyday of Natural History, 1820–1870*, Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1980.
- Beer, G. *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, third edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Beer, G. *Alice in Space: The Sideways Victorian World of Lewis Carroll*, Chicago IL: Chicago University Press, 2016.
- Bennett, J. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Bentham, J. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1823 [first printed 1780, first published 1789], reprint 1907.
- Bown, N. 'Introduction: crying over Little Nell', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 4 (2007).
- Bown, N. (ed.) 'Rethinking Victorian sentimentality', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 4 (2007).
- Bradley, K. and Cooper, E. *Michael Field, the Poet: Published and Manuscript Materials*, edited by M. Thain and A.P. Parejo Vadillo, Peterborough ON: Broadview Press, 2009.
- Braidotti, R. *The Posthuman*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013.

- British Parliamentary Papers* 1873 (325).
British Parliamentary Papers 1877 (163).
 Buchanan, B., Bussolini, J., and Chrulew, M. 'General introduction: philosophical ethology', *Philosophical Ethology I: Dominique Lestel*, Special issue of *Angelaki: Journal of the Theoretical Humanities* 19, 3 (2014): 1–3.
 Burdett, C. 'New agenda sentimentalities: introduction', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16, 2 (2011): 187–194.
 Butler, J. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, London: Verso, 2004.
 Butler, J. *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*, London: Verso, 2009.
 Camerini, J. 'Remains of the day: early Victorians in the field', in B. Lightman (ed.), *Victorian Science in Context*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997, 354–377.
 Carney, B. and Waters, C. 'Introduction: "Mr Popular Sentiment": Dickens and feeling', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 14 (2012).
 Carroll, J. *Literary Darwinism: Evolution, Human Nature, and Literature*, London: Routledge, 2004.
 Carroll, L. *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, ed. P. Hunt, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
 Chambers, P. *Jumbo: the Greatest Elephant in the World*, London: André Deutsch, 2007.
 Copeland, M. "'Straight from the horse's mouth": equine memoirs and autobiographies', in M. DeMello (ed.), *Speaking for Animals: Animal Autobiographical Writing*, London: Routledge, 2013, 179–191.
 Cosslett, T. *Talking Animals in British Children's Fiction, 1786–1814*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
 Daly, N. *The Demographic Imagination and the Nineteenth-Century City: Paris, London, New York*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
 Daston, L. 'Intelligences: angelic, animal, human', in L. Daston and G. Mitman (eds.), *Thinking with Animals: New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2005, 37–58.
 Dawson, G. *Darwin, Literature and Victorian Respectability*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
 Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. B. Massumi, Minneapolis MN: Minnesota University Press, 1987.
 DeMello, M. (ed.) *Speaking for Animals: Animal Autobiographical Writing*, London: Routledge, 2013.
 Derrida, J. *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, trans. D. Wills, New York: Fordham University Press, 2008.
 Despret, V. 'From secret agents to interagency', *History and Theory* 52, 4 (2013): 29–44.
 deWitt, A. *Moral Authority, Men of Science, and the Victorian Novel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
 Dickens, C. and Wills, W.H. 'The heart of mid-London', *Household Words* 1, 6 (4 May 1850): 121–125.
 Dickens, C. 'A monument of French folly', *Household Words* 2, 50 (8 March 1851): 553–558.
 Dickens, C. *Bleak House*, ed. G. Ford and S. Monod, Norton critical edition, New York: W.W. Norton, 1977.
 Dickens, C. *Our Mutual Friend*, ed. M. Cotsell, Oxford World's Classics Edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
 Dickens, C. *Great Expectations*, ed. M. Cardwell, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
 Dickens, C. *Hard Times*, Norton critical edition, third edition, eds. F. Kaplan and S. Monod, New York: W.W. Norton, 2001.
 Dickens, C. *A Christmas Carol and Other Christmas Stories*, ed. R. Douglas-Fairhurst, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

- Donovan, J. *The Aesthetics of Care: On the Literary Treatment of Animals*, London: Bloomsbury, 2016.
- Dorré, G. *Victorian Fiction and the Cult of the Horse*, London: Routledge, 2006.
- Doughty, R. *Feather Fashions and Bird Preservation: A Study in Nature Protection*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1975.
- Dyos, H.J. and Aldcroft, D.H. *British Transport: An Economic History from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969.
- Elias, N. *The Civilizing Process*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, first published 1939.
- Flegel, M. 'Mistresses as masters: voicing female power through the subject animal in two nineteenth-century animal autobiographies', in M. DeMello (ed.), *Speaking for Animals: Animal Autobiographical Writing*, London: Routledge, 2013, 89–101.
- Flegel, M. *Pets and Domesticity in Victorian Literature and Culture: Animality, Queer Relations, and the Victorian Family*, London: Routledge, 2015.
- Foucault, M. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. A. Sheridan, New York: Vintage, 1977.
- Foucault, M. 'Two lectures', in C. Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–77*, New York: Pantheon, 1980, 78–108.
- Freedgood, E. *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel*, Chicago IL: Chicago University Press, 2009.
- Gray, B. *The Dog in the Dickensian Imagination*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2014.
- Grier, K.C. *Pets in America: A History*, Chapel Hill NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005.
- Hansen, N.C. 'Horse talk: horses and human(e) discourses', in M. DeMello (ed.), *Speaking for Animals: Animal Autobiographical Writing*, London: Routledge, 2013, 207–229.
- Haraway, D.J. *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science*, New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Haraway, D.J. *When Species Meet*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Haraway, D.J. *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People and Significant Otherness*, Chicago IL: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003.
- Harrison, B. *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
- Holme, T. *The Carlyles at Home*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Howell, P. 'A place for the animal dead: pets, pet cemeteries and animal ethics in late Victorian Britain', *Ethics, Place and Environment* 5, 1 (2002): 5–22.
- Howell, P. *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015.
- Kaplan, F. *Sacred Tears: Sentimentality in Victorian Literature*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Kappeler, S. 'Speciesism, racism, nationalism . . . or the power of scientific subjectivity', in C.J. Adams and J. Donovan (eds.), *Animals and Women: Feminist Theoretical Explorations*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1995, 320–352.
- Kean, H. *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain Since 1800*, London: Reaktion, 1998.
- Kenyon-Jones, C. *Kindred Brutes: Animals in Romantic-Period Writing*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Kete, K. *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1994.
- Kete, K. 'Introduction: Animals and Human Empire', in K. Kete (ed.) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, Oxford: Berg, 2007, 1–24.
- Kirksey, E. (ed.) *The Multispecies Salon*, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2014.

- Kirksey, E. and Helmreich, S. 'The emergence of multispecies ethnography', *Cultural Anthropology* 25, 4 (2010): 545–576.
- Lansbury, C. *The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers, and Vivisection in Edwardian England*, Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.
- Lestel, D. 'Like the fingers of the hand: thinking the human in the texture of animality', in L. Mackenzie and S. Posthumus (eds.), *French Thinking about Animals*, trans. M. Chrulew and J. Bussolini, East Lansing MI: Michigan State University Press, 2015, 61–73.
- Levine, G. (ed.) *One Culture: Essays in Science and Literature*, Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.
- Levine, G. *Realism, Ethics and Secularism: Essays on Victorian Literature and Science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- McDonell, J. "'Ladies' pets" and the politics of affect: Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Jane Welsh Carlyle', *Australian Literary Studies* 25, 2 (2010): 17–34.
- McDonell, J. 'Dickens and animal studies', in J. Jordan, R. Patten, and C. Waters (eds.), *Oxford Handbook to Charles Dickens*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, (forthcoming 2018).
- McFarland, S.E. and Hediger, R. (eds.) *Animals and Agency: An Interdisciplinary Exploration*, Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Mangum, T. 'Animal angst: Victorians memorialise their pets', in D.D. Morse and M.A. Danahay (eds.), *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 15–34.
- Mangum, T. 'Narrative dominion or the animals write back? Animal genres in literature and the arts', in K. Kete (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, Oxford: Berg, 2007, 153–173.
- Mason, J. *Civilized Creatures: Urban Animals, Sentimental Culture and American Literature 1850–1900*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- Mason, P. *The Brown Dog Affair*, London: Two Sevens Publishing, 1997.
- Menely, T. 'Zoöphilpsychois: why animals are what's wrong with sentimentality', *Symploke* 15, 1–2 (2007): 244–267.
- Merrill, L.L. *The Romance of Victorian Natural History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Miller, J. *Empire and the Animal Body: Violence, Identity and Ecology in Victorian Adventure Fiction*, London: Anthem Press, 2012.
- Miltenberger, S.A. 'Viewing the anthrozootic city: humans, domesticated animals, and the making of early nineteenth-century New York', in S. Nance (ed.), *The Historical Animal*, Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 2015, 261–271.
- Molloy, C. *Popular Media and Animals*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Morrison, R.D. 'Household Words and the Smithfield controversy at the time of the great exhibition', in L.W. Mazzeno and R.D. Morrison (eds.) *Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture: Contexts for Criticism*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 41–65.
- Munich, A. *Queen Victoria's Secrets*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Ortiz-Robles, M. *Literature and Animal Studies*, London: Routledge, 2016.
- Ospovat, D. *The Development of Darwin's Theory: Natural History, Natural Theology, and Natural Selection, 1838–1859*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Pachirat, T. *Every Twelve Seconds: Industrialized Slaughter and the Politics of Sight*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2011.
- Philo, C. and Wilbert, C. 'Animal spaces, beastly spaces: an introduction', in C. Philo and C. Wilbert (eds.), *Animal Spaces, Beastly Spaces: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*, London: Routledge, 2000, 1–34.
- Pick, A. *Creaturely Poetics: Animality and Vulnerability in Literature and Film*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

- Plumwood, V. *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*, London: Routledge, 1993.
- Rajamannar, S. *Reading the Animal in the Literature of the British Raj*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Rancière, J. *The Politics of Literature*, trans. J. Rose, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.
- Ritvo, H. *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Ruskin, J. *Love's Meinie*, Keston: Kent, 1873.
- Ryan, D. *Animal Theory: An Introduction*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.
- Schmitt, C. 'Victorian beetlemania' in D.D. Morse and M.A. Danahay (eds.), *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 35–51.
- Secord, J.A. *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Sidgwick, H. *The Methods of Ethics*, seventh edition, London: Macmillan, 1907.
- Smith, J. *Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Smith, J.A. 'Representing animal minds in early animal autobiography: Charlotte Tucker's *The Rambles of a Rat* and nineteenth-century natural history', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43, 4 (2015): 725–744.
- Solomon, R.C. *In Defense of Sentimentality*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Stanescu, J. 'Species trouble: Judith Butler, mourning, and the precarious lives of animals', *Hyppatia* 27, 3 (2012): 567–582.
- Stedman, G. *Stemming the Torrent: Expression and Control in Victorian Discourses on Emotion 1830–1872*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Stott, R. *Darwin's Ghosts: In Search of the First Evolutionists*, London: Bloomsbury, 2012.
- Straley, J. *Evolution and Imagination in Victorian Children's Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Sutherland, J. *Jumbo: The Unauthorized Biography of a Victorian Sensation*, London: Aurum Press, 2014.
- Taylor, C. 'The precarious lives of animals: Butler, Coetzee, and animal ethics', *Philosophy Today* 52, 1 (2008): 60–72.
- Taylor, N. *Humans, Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human–Animal Studies*, New York: Lantern Books, 2013.
- Thomas, K. *Man and the Natural World*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983.
- Tsing, A. 'Unruly edges: mushrooms as companion species', *Environmental Humanities* 1, 1 (2012): 141–154.
- Tucker, C. *The Rambles of a Rat*, London: T. Nelson, 1857.
- Turner, J. *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain and Humanity in the Victorian Mind*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Weil, K. *Thinking Animals: Why Animal Studies Now?*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Williams, R. *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.