

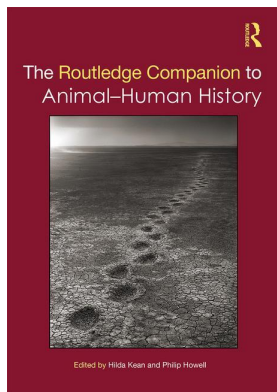
This article was downloaded by: 10.3.97.143

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

Exhibiting animals

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429468933-13>

Helen Cowie

Published online on: 03 Sep 2018

How to cite :- Helen Cowie. 03 Sep 2018, *Exhibiting animals from:* The Routledge Companion to Animal–Human History Routledge

Accessed on: 03 Dec 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429468933-13>

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.

13

EXHIBITING ANIMALS

Zoos, menageries and circuses

Helen Cowie

Introduction

Exotic animals have long fascinated human beings. For thousands of years they have been collected and exhibited in menageries and zoological gardens. They have been paraded, studied and trained to perform, functioning by turns as symbols of monarchical or imperial power, items of trade, subjects for scientific enquiry and sources of entertainment.¹

In the twenty-first century, zoos and menageries are often the focus of criticism. Zoos justify their continued existence by stressing their contributions to animal conservation and public education. Animal welfare organisations contest these claims, suggesting that keeping animals in captivity is cruel and that zoos in fact contribute little to the survival of endangered species. Conditions for animals in travelling circuses are generally assumed to be even worse, with various undercover investigations revealing the abuse of animals in training. In Britain there was a public outcry when video footage was released showing an elephant named Anne being brutally beaten by her keeper at Bobby Roberts Circus, intensifying calls for a ban on the use of wild animals in circuses.² These ongoing debates about the current status of exotic animal exhibitions have shaped the study of zoos and menageries in the past, influencing the kinds of histories that have been written about them.

Why study the history of exotic animal collections, and what kinds of questions have historians asked about zoos? Until relatively recently, most zoo histories were institutional biographies, often written by zoo professionals. These works charted the development of particular zoos or circuses and tended to tell a story of gradual progress over time, with larger enclosures and improved architecture leading to better conditions for captive animals.³ In more recent years, critical studies of zoos have appeared, challenging the Whiggish narrative of these earlier histories. Some of these are explicitly anti-zoo in their approach, influenced by the growing animal rights movement.⁴ Others are less overtly political, posing new questions about zoological institutions and situating them within broader historical fields, from the history of empire to the history of leisure.⁵ The zoo has thus become a prism through which to

study wider aspects of human culture, attracting the attention of historians of empire, social and cultural historians and historians of science.

In what follows, I outline some of the most important historical approaches to the study of zoos and menageries and situate these within the wider history of animals. I begin by exploring the role of zoos as symbols of power and sources of knowledge, before going on to consider the particular place of zoos within broader debates over animal welfare. The chapter concludes with a discussion of animal agency, and the specific ways in which zoo animals might inform this debate.

Power

A recurrent theme in the history of zoos and menageries has been the relationship between exotic animals and different forms of power. Historians have seen zoos as symbols, on the one hand, of human control over the natural world, and, on the other, of control over other humans, be they European subjects or colonial peoples.⁶ Though the form and content of menageries has changed over time, these functions have remained to the fore, mediating interactions with exotic animals. As Randy Malamud observes, 'Founding and operating a zoo involves both real and metaphorical appropriative control of the earth: of nature, land and habitat, and of animals taken from natural habitats, subjugated and recontextualized in a way that upholds the captors' self-serving ideologies'.⁷

In the medieval and early modern periods, exotic animals often functioned as diplomatic currency. Embodying the novel and the rare, they were exchanged between monarchs as symbols of deference or allegiance, serving as valued gifts alongside spices, perfumes and precious metals. In 1235, for instance, the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, presented Henry III of England with three leopards for his Tower of London menagerie.⁸ In 1515, the Sultan of Cambay gifted a rhinoceros to the Governor of Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque, which he in turn presented to Manuel I of Portugal.⁹ The association of these animals with distant and little-known places contributed heavily to their attraction, while the sheer difficulty of transporting them alive to Europe further enhanced their appeal. An elephant sent to Charles III of Spain by the Governor of the Philippines in 1773 required a daily ration of '85 quartillos of water, 24 pounds of rice, 6 pounds of sugar, 2 rations of wine, 2 and a half ordinary rations of bread and 4 servings of bananas' during its six-month voyage to Cádiz – a diet few but royalty could have afforded.¹⁰

If the ability to acquire such coveted species attested to the power of monarchs and nobles, their potency was further underlined by the settings in which they showcased their living possessions. As evidence of their control over the natural world – and, by extension, their subjects – some princes used their exotic animals in grandiose processions or deployed them in bloody baits for the entertainment of their courts. James I of England, for example, organised fights between the lions in the Tower of London and several English mastiffs.¹¹ Manuel I ordered his newly arrived rhino to be pitted against an elephant in Lisbon's Terreiro do Paço to test out the long-held belief that the two species were enemies.¹² As the seventeenth century wore on, such visceral displays of power became less common, and well-stocked menageries came

to form part of the theatre of power for ambitious European monarchs. The novel semi-circular layout of Louis XIV's large menagerie at Versailles permitted the viewer to survey all of the animals at once from a central tower, showcasing the power and glory of the Sun King.¹³

The early nineteenth century witnessed a shift in focus from monarchical to national power. This shift began in 1793, when French revolutionaries transferred the surviving animals from Louis XVI's menagerie at Versailles to a new national menagerie in the Paris Jardin des Plantes. It was consolidated in 1828 with the establishment of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London (the future London Zoo) and the creation of a large number of municipal zoos in cities such as Dublin (1831), Bristol (1835), Berlin (1844), Marseilles (1854), Budapest (1865) and Philadelphia (1874).¹⁴ Accessible to the general public (though not without restrictions), zoos acted as symbols of national potency and commercial strength, and often competed with one another for the most novel and coveted animals. They also functioned as expressions of civic pride, forging close links with local communities. In 1914 the *Boston Post* ran a campaign to raise money to buy three ex-circus elephants for the recently opened Franklin Zoo, appealing specifically to the city's children for donations.¹⁵

At the same time as zoological gardens were appearing across Europe and North America, we also see the emergence of the first travelling menageries – the forerunners of the modern circus. Though primarily commercial enterprises, prioritising entertainment over education, menageries merit attention as the places where most people probably got their first glimpse of exotic beasts (Figure 13.1). Writing in 1858, the *Bristol Mercury* remarked that

even in these days, although Bristol and a handful of the leading towns can boast of their Zoological Gardens, there are scores of communities, many of them large communities, who would never see a lion, an elephant or a rhinoceros if these menageries were driven off the road.¹⁶

Where zoos emphasised the 'civilisation' of wild animals under human control, menageries were more explicitly geared towards sensation, appealing to a voyeuristic desire for cheap thrills and playing up the ferocity of their animals. Historians have started to pay increasing attention to travelling animal shows, using guidebooks, handbills and contemporary newspaper reports to reconstruct their itineraries, contents and reception.¹⁷

Though different in emphasis, both zoos and menageries have been perceived by historians as emblems of imperial power, and key sites for transmitting the achievements of empire to domestic populations.¹⁸ On the one hand, many of the animals exhibited in nineteenth-century zoos had been acquired through the actions of diplomats, soldiers and merchants overseas. A Bactrian camel displayed at Dublin Zoological Garden in 1856, for example, was taken 'in the flank search after the battle of Alma' in the Crimean War, and presented to the Zoo by Dr William Carte, 'having served with the British army until the close of the war'.¹⁹ On the other hand, by gathering hundreds of different species in a single locale, zoos made empire tangible to metropolitan audiences, enabling spectators to visualise distant colonial



Figure 13.1 Robertson's Royal Menagerie, 9 The Strand, c.1820.

Courtesy State Library of New South Wales – ML 1354.

settings and to make an association between certain animals and specific agents of empire or theatres of imperial action. Writing in 1885, the *Glasgow Herald* speculated that 'the two camels' in Bostock's Menagerie, then visiting the city, 'will give the youthful portion of our citizens some idea of the chargers on which the camel corps in the Soudan are mounted' – a reference to General Gordon's ill-fated campaign against the Mahdi.²⁰ The exotic histories of these animals added to their symbolic value, converting them into living embodiments of empire and vehicles for imperial propaganda. The fact that many animals were exhibited against a backdrop of oriental architecture added yet further to their exoticism, associating exotic species with humans in distant lands.²¹

While empire has dominated the history of zoological attractions, some more recent scholarship has challenged this focus, suggesting that the relationship between zoos and imperial culture needs nuancing. Firstly, there is the question of the contents of zoological exhibitions, which did not necessarily emanate purely from colonial possessions. London Zoo, for instance, contained many South American animals – notably a giant anteater in 1853 – yet South America was never formally colonised by Britain.²² What was being exhibited was therefore, a fascination with a generic 'exotic', rather than an explicit evocation of empire – at least in some cases. Another perhaps more significant issue is how far the imperial message was really absorbed by those who visited zoos. Empire undoubtedly featured heavily in the propaganda for zoos and menageries, but it is possible that many people visited zoos to feed the bears or ride on the elephant, without giving too much thought to these broader representations of power.²³ Even when they did, the conclusions they drew could be complex and troubling and did not necessarily reaffirm imperial potency; the exhibition of a 'white' elephant, Toung Taloung at London Zoo in 1884, for instance, 'seemed

to challenge fixed categories of racial distinction and white superiority' by suggesting that whiteness was not immutable.²⁴ The relationship between zoos and empire thus requires more careful probing, particularly in relation to popular imperialism and visitor reception.

The days of empire are now over, and zoos no longer function as overt symbols of monarchical, national or imperial power. This does not mean, however, that power-relations are absent from the modern zoo. On the contrary, they are central to its management practices, shaping both how animals are perceived by the visiting public and how they exist on a day-to-day basis. Firstly, as scholars such as Randy Malamud have argued, zoo animals can be seen as participating (involuntarily) in a global consumer culture, in which zoos encourage the visiting public 'to savor its participation in the thriving Western commercial culture of the late twentieth century'.²⁵ Animals are converted into commodities which can be marketed and consumed. The most iconic or appealing among them appear on fridge magnets, postcards and soft toys, gracing the shelves of zoo gift shops. In 1968, London Zoo's new polar bear cub Pipaluk generated a range of bear-themed souvenirs, including 'a comic strip, two toys, a book of coloured photographs and cut-out activity books' (Figure 13.2).²⁶

Secondly, modern zoos exercise a form of stewardship over their animals which Irus Braverman describes as 'pastoral power'. This stewardship extends beyond zoo inmates to their counterparts in the wild and forms part of a wider drive to protect and conserve endangered species. It entails close control and surveillance of zoo animals and involves what Braverman identifies as 'seven interrelated technologies of animal governance; naturalizing, classifying, seeing, naming, registering, regulating and . . . collectively reproducing zoo animals'.²⁷ While zoo professionals perceive these activities as necessary and benign, they nonetheless constitute a form of power over animals, who are microchipped, filmed, transferred to other zoos and contracepted in order to regulate their reproduction. Power thus remains central to the modern zoo, even if its outward expressions and meanings have changed.

Knowledge

Another important function of the zoo has been as a venue for the production and dissemination of knowledge. Like the museum, the laboratory or the botanical garden, the menagerie has provided a space for the study of the natural world, and also, in some instances, for its control and exploitation. How effectively it has fulfilled this role, however, remains subject to debate.

Firstly, zoos and menageries have provided a place for scholars to study exotic animals and learn about their anatomy and physiology. When the first hippopotamus arrived at London Zoo in 1850, comparative anatomist Richard Owen scrutinised the young pachyderm closely, noting his 'short and small milk tusks', 'prominent eyes' and 'glistening' skin.²⁸ Six years later, Yorkshire naturalist Charles Waterton 'passed two hours in company with [Mrs Wombwell's] chimpanzee at Scarborough, deducing from the fact that it walked on 'the knuckles of the toes' that it was an arboreal animal.²⁹ Studying animal behaviour in zoos has always had limitations, given the unnatural habits induced by prolonged confinement, but exotic animal collections have nonetheless provided sites for various forms of zoological research,



Figure 13.2 Keeper Sam Morton weighs the young Pipaluk, from *Pipaluk, 'The Little One'*, Amsterdam: Lutterworth Press, 1968.

Author's collection.

from species classification to debates over evolution.³⁰ Perhaps more importantly, scholars have enhanced their knowledge of animal anatomy by dissecting dead menagerie inmates, of which there was always a steady supply. In 1681, for instance, Joseph Guichard Duverney dissected an African elephant from Louis XIV's menagerie, learning more about the animal's skin, trunk and skeleton.³¹

In the nineteenth century, zoological gardens contributed to another branch of contemporary science: the acclimatisation of exotic animals. Seen as a way of appropriating 'useful' species for consumption or aesthetic pleasure, acclimatisation constituted the central mission of a number of zoological institutions and was closely linked to wider economic ambitions. In France, an acclimatisation garden was established in the Bois de Boulogne in 1860, with the specific aim of breeding exotic animals.³² In Britain, acclimatisation was part of the original remit of the Zoological

Society of London, whose founder, Sir Stamford Raffles, prioritised ‘the introduction of new varieties, breeds and races of animals, for the purpose of domestication, or for stocking our farmyards, woods, pleasure gardens and wastes’.³³ The aim of acclimatisation was to find new species that could be ridden, shorn or eaten, enhancing a nation’s economic prospects. Prime candidates for the process included the alpaca, valued for its silky wool, and the South African eland, said to taste like veal with ‘a *soupeçon* of the pheasant flavour’.³⁴

More recently, the rise of environmentalism from the 1960s has seen the emphasis of most Western zoos shift from acclimatisation to conservation. Modern zoos have established breeding programmes to preserve endangered species and international stud books have been created to facilitate the exchange of animals for mating purposes. Zoo animals also act as ambassadors for their counterparts in the wild and occasionally assist directly in *in situ* conservation projects. In 1989, for instance, an African elephant in Whipsnade Zoo tested out a satellite transmitter collar which would later be used to monitor wild elephants in Kenya’s Tsavo National Park.³⁵ While these contributions are important, serious questions remain over the contribution of zoos towards conservation. Is there any value in breeding animals who will probably never be reintroduced to the wild? Have zoos tended to prioritise the breeding of attractive and popular animals (such as the panda), over less cuddly species such as reptiles and amphibians? Would artificially bred animals survive in the wild, even if they were released, and what should happen to surplus animals, whose genetics make them unsuitable for breeding? There was widespread outrage in 2014 when Copenhagen Zoo announced that a healthy male giraffe named Marius was to be shot and publicly fed to the institution’s lions, but culling zoo animals is, in fact, common practice in Northern European zoos and considered necessary to prevent inbreeding or overcrowding.³⁶ Zoos’ genuine value as conservation centres is thus open to question, and seen by some as insufficient justification for their continued existence.

A final way in which zoos and menageries have sought to contribute to knowledge is through public education. In the nineteenth century, this focused primarily on conveying the names, origins and distinguishing features of exotic animals, information transmitted through guidebooks and reinforced by the layout of many zoological gardens, which reflected the latest thinking in classification.³⁷ Today, by contrast, the conservation message generally takes centre stage, with signage and guidebooks typically highlighting the endangered status of many of their animals and the measures being taken to protect them. Education is one of the key ways in which zoos have differentiated themselves from menageries and circuses, and remains central to their ethos. As with conservation, however, there are significant question marks over the zoos’ effectiveness as educators, and a constant tension between education and entertainment. Observing the behaviour of twentieth-century zoo visitors, for instance, Mullan and Marvin argue that

unless there is some particular activity in a cage or enclosure, or unless the animal is a special favourite, it seems that, for the majority of people, watching consists of merely registering that they have seen something as they quickly move past it.³⁸

Writing over a century earlier, one Victorian commentator complained of the ‘vapid curiosity’ and ‘stupid wonder’ exhibited by some of his fellow zoo-goers, suggesting a similar lack of engagement with the animals on display.³⁹ Exotic animal collections appear, throughout history, to have been visited primarily for recreation, and there is limited evidence that those who visit zoos today have a better knowledge of animals than those who do not.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, zoos have provided opportunities for various forms of human–animal interactions, from feeding buns to the bears to stroking a llama, and their supporters have argued that these kinds of sensory interactions generate both interest in, and empathy for, animals.⁴¹ Public reception of menageries is a particularly fruitful area of research for historians of animals, though one often complicated by the paucity and class biases of surviving sources.

Animal welfare

Zoos, menageries and circuses have also been studied from an animal welfare perspective. As sites where multiple wild animals are held captive, and, in some instances, forcibly trained to perform, menageries present a number of distinct concerns when it comes to animal cruelty. Institutional zoo histories tend to present a narrative of gradual improvement in welfare, culminating in the carefully designed, naturalistic enclosures of the modern zoo. While there are elements of truth to this argument, such a narrative is overly simplistic and conceals both the shortcomings of the present and the achievements of earlier generations. Moreover, as Nigel Rothfels has argued, it is questionable whether humans or animals have benefited most from shifting modes of display. Have these ‘improvements’ been introduced to make the animals happy or, as Rothfels suggests, to make human viewers believe that they are happy?⁴²

Welfare concerns in relation to zoos and circuses date back to at least the early nineteenth century and have typically centred on two key issues: physical violence towards exotic animals and inappropriate living conditions. The former, often connected to training and performance, was most prevalent in some of the earliest critiques of zoos and, in particular, travelling menageries. The latter, though a constant source of criticism, became more prominent in the twentieth century, as the needs and behaviours of different species began to be better understood. Less often criticised, but nonetheless a major concern, have been the impact of the exotic animal trade, and the hidden cruelty inflicted on animals out of public view.

In the nineteenth century, the most vocal critics of zoos and menageries focused on the physical abuse of their inmates, a phenomenon that was sadly all too common in contemporary shows. In 1825 the *Liverpool Mercury* condemned menagerist George Wombwell for staging a fight between his docile lion, Nero, and six bull dogs.⁴³ In 1870 the RSPCA’s secretary John Colam brought charges against a German named Otto Herman for ‘striking the paws’ of a ‘blind and emaciated bear’ with a stick.⁴⁴ In 1874, magistrates in Nottingham fined showmen John Day and T. Rayner 21 shillings each for making an elephant travel with a swollen foot, while in 1888 the Society secured convictions for ‘beating, kicking, stabbing’ a monkey and a dromedary.⁴⁵ The emphasis in all of these cases was on the physical pain inflicted upon the animals in question, either through baiting or excessive labour. The Nottingham

elephant was described as enduring protracted suffering that ‘amounted to positive torture’ – language reminiscent of contemporary anti-vivisection campaigns.⁴⁶

While the abuses inflicted on menagerie inmates differed little from assaults on more common animals, they did raise some specific issues. Firstly, there were questions as to the legal status of exotic species. According to the Animal Cruelty Act of 1835, it was forbidden to mistreat ‘any horse, mare, gelding, bull, ox, cow, heifer, steer and pig or any other domestic animal’.⁴⁷ This left the status of zoo and menagerie inmates unclear, for though they were confined, they could hardly be considered domestic. The problems posed by this legal lacuna were clearly illustrated in 1874, when the RSPCA attempted to prosecute keeper Frederick Hewitt for making hyenas jump through a burning hoop. The prosecution, keen to secure a conviction, argued that the hyenas ‘might now legally be regarded as domestic animals’ as ‘they were deprived of their freedom, shut in from their usual mode of life, and dependent entirely upon their owner and keeper for their food’. The defence, however, contended that ‘such animals as tigers and hyenas were never contemplated within the act’, and that ‘naturalists say that it is impossible to tame a hyena’. Though convinced that cruelty had taken place, the magistrate reluctantly agreed with the defence and dismissed the case, concluding that ‘if you asked anybody who understood the English language, and who was not a lawyer, what was a domestic animal, the answer would not include a lion, or a panther, or a hyena’.⁴⁸ The abuse of exotic animals thus raised important questions about how different animals should be classified, and what exactly was meant by ‘domestication’.⁴⁹

A second issue surrounding the physical abuse of exotic animals was that it was often a very public affair. This not only increased the likelihood of complaints, but elicited wider concerns about the effect that witnessing such cruelty was likely to have upon human spectators. The Warwick lion fight was seen as encouraging depravity among those who saw it, with one newspaper describing the incident as symptomatic of ‘that ferocious and unchristian spirit which appears to be alarmingly on the increase in this country’.⁵⁰ Later in the century, the RSPCA campaigned vociferously (though unsuccessfully) against another, more insidious abuse – the feeding of live prey to the snakes at London Zoo. In an article in the Society’s monthly magazine, *The Animal World*, an opponent of the practice recited horror stories of ‘screaming’ frogs, ‘squeaking’ guinea pigs and suffocating pigeons, all victims of the snakes’ voracity. As well as dwelling on the time it took for the prey animals to expire, the author devoted particular attention to the reactions of the large crowds who gathered to watch the spectacle, evidently horrified that some spectators appeared to enjoy it. One visitor ‘counted twenty-six women, thirteen girls, twelve boys and thirty men’ among the viewers and recorded ‘the eagerness of the women to indulge their morbid curiosity at the cages where [a] duck and pigeon . . . were being killed’. Another described how, while ‘many of the spectators turned away overcome’, many others ‘seemed to gloat over the sufferings [of a duck] and tried by waving their hats and handkerchiefs to drive [its] still unhurt [companion] within the other python’s reach to satisfy their still unquenched thirst for sanguinary exhibitions’. Indeed, they ‘seemed to revel in a downright morbid curiosity in the same manner that they would witness the execution of a fellow-man, or a bull fight’.⁵¹ As this last comment makes clear, contemporaries drew a direct correlation between cruelty to

animals and potential cruelty to humans, deprecating the more lurid exhibitions of the menagerie – or even, in this case, of the otherwise respectable London Zoo.

If physical (and public) abuse has generated the most dramatic headlines, living conditions have presented a more chronic concern for zoos and menageries. Though less obviously cruel than direct violence, claustrophobic cages, poor feeding regimes and sickly animals have all tainted the viewing experience, giving rise to calls for change. In 1776, for instance, a man wrote to *The Public Advertiser* to protest at the mistreatment of two ‘poor elephants’, who were housed in ‘a miserable, old, ruinous Hovel’ and appeared ‘to be in the last Stage of Consumption’.⁵² In 1878, meanwhile, a correspondent in *The Animal World* expressed his sorrow for a seal in an Edinburgh aquarium who ‘had not water enough to half cover his body’ and was forced to live in a ‘fancy grotto, lit by gas [and] played to by horrid pianos’.⁵³ Improvements to enclosures in the first half of the twentieth century went some way towards addressing these issues, but campaigners in the 1960s and 70s were still complaining about empty, sterile cages and inadequate animal husbandry. Writing in 1976, Peter Batten described the dire conditions in many dilapidated US zoos, where anteaters bruised their knuckles on concrete floors (Figure 13.3), big cats paced incessantly in cramped cages and sea lions grew fungus on their bodies in dirty, non-saline water.⁵⁴

While Batten requested improvements to living conditions rather than the abolition of zoos, other twentieth-century critics have gone further, suggesting that



Figure 13.3 An anteater paces on an unsuitable concrete surface, Audubon Zoo, New Orleans, 1952. *The Times Picayune* 1 October 1952. Photographer O.J. Valetton.

Author's collection.

captivity per se is a cause of suffering. The contributors to *The Great Ape Project*, for example, assert that humans' closest living relatives, the chimpanzee, orang-utan and gorilla, should enjoy several fundamental rights currently extended only to humans, among these, the right 'not to be arbitrarily deprived of their liberty'.⁵⁵ Jeffrey Masson and Susan McCarthy contend similarly that 'No cage is big enough for a polar bear or a cougar' and ask whether 'freedom to choose [is not] inextricably tied into the very notion of what it means to be happy?'⁵⁶ For these writers, freedom is a moral right, and not even the best zoos can ever fully replicate the native environments of their inmates. Such claims are supported by recent research in the field of animal behaviour science, which suggests that certain species at least fare badly in zoos and live shorter lives than their counterparts in the wild; zoo-born Asian elephants, for instance, live for an average of 18.9 years, while their counterparts born in Burmese timber camps (themselves not ideal conditions) live for an average of 41.7 years.⁵⁷ While defenders of zoos tend to distinguish between good zoos and bad zoos, therefore, animal liberationists regard all zoos as cruel and call for their closure.

The mistreatment of animals in zoos and menageries was very visible, and, consequently, often criticised. Less frequently discussed, but equally (if not more) devastating, have been the cruelties perpetrated by the wild animal trade. In the nineteenth century – and indeed, well into the twentieth – many animals perished for every one that made it to the zoo, with animal catchers routinely killing mothers to secure their young and many captive animals succumbing to accident, trauma or disease during the long journey to Europe or America. The baby hippo Obaysch, for instance, was only taken after his mother had been 'mortally wounded'.⁵⁸ In 1882, meanwhile, an account of the collection of 'elephants, giraffes, ostriches, lions, hippopotami, apes and baboons' for New York dealer Charles Reiche stated that 'plenty of animals were killed' in Abyssinia, 'while the young ones were captured' and 'carried in cages on the backs of camels' to the Red Sea port of Suakin.⁵⁹ The continual losses sustained by wild populations not only entailed considerable cruelty, but threatened the very survival of particular species, many of which were already targeted by big game hunters and commercial killers. Because they were not immediately visible to metropolitan viewers, however, these losses were easily concealed, eliciting little comment. Indeed, even when descriptions of deaths were published, as in the above cases, they were often reported in a neutral, matter-of-fact manner and rarely explicitly condemned; the article on Charles Reiche, for example, appeared in the RSPCA's monthly magazine, not, as one might expect, as an instance of cruelty, but simply as an entertaining vignette.

Also largely ignored by the public, because generally unseen, has been the cruelty that occurs behind the scenes at zoos and menageries. Visible cruelty has often provoked strong responses, particularly animal baiting, unsuitable living conditions or, in earlier centuries, the feeding of live prey. Behind-the-scenes abuse, however, has caused less of an outcry, and has tended to be tolerated or excused. When, in 1886, an elephant known as 'Aston Jumbo' was subjected to 'severe castigation' by digging hooks into her ears and trunk, there were few protests, for the punishment happened while the menagerie was closed.⁶⁰ Conversely, when the gorilla Harambe was shot dead at Cincinnati Zoo in 2016 after a young boy climbed into his enclosure, there

was widespread sorrow and anger.⁶¹ Though these differing reactions may be attributed in part to the different social contexts in which they took place, a clear distinction can nonetheless be drawn between public and private forms of cruelty, with the former attracting more attention than the latter. Indeed, this public/private distinction is particularly notable in modern zoos, where sickly animals are generally screened from public view, and pain in all forms carefully concealed.⁶²

Animal agency

A growing concern in Animal Studies is the issue of animal agency. This issue is perhaps particularly visible within an exhibition context, where animals interact on a regular basis with humans in a highly visible setting and are sometimes trained to perform. In the final part of this chapter, I explore the question of animal agency as it relates to zoos, menageries and circuses. I concentrate on three case studies: the celebrity animal, the deviant animal and the performing animal.

Celebrity animals exhibited agency insofar as their fame brought them to public notice. Repeated interactions with iconic beasts at the menagerie or the zoo often fostered a sense of intimacy and rapport which sometimes created the illusion of genuine friendship. This gave way, on the one hand, to intense anthropomorphism, but also to a sense that the animals themselves were active participants in these interactions and capable of human actions and emotions. Writing shortly after the famous elephant Chuneé was killed in 1826, for instance, one contemporary recounted, in mournful verse, how he would frequently visit the elephant and offer him food: 'And many an apple to thy den I've brought, / And many a nod of thanks received from you'.⁶³ Some sixty-five years later, following the death of another popular favourite, the chimpanzee Sally at London Zoo, a writer for the RSPCA's monthly magazine expatiated on her very human qualities, even going so far as to speculate on whether she possessed a soul:

It is not safe or scientific any longer to affirm that animals have no souls . . . Sally had learned to love, as nobody could doubt who saw her shamle out from her straw when her keeper appeared, and greet him with a hideous but obviously affectionate kiss. She had also learned the great lesson of self-control, which many human beings never attain at all. If she had a passion, it was . . . for sliced apples; but when her keeper laid the most tempting tit-bits upon her cage-rail she would wait with an absolute patience and obedience until he had notified her that she was at liberty to devour the delicious morsels.⁶⁴

Famous animals were thus imputed with quasi-human manners, feelings and moral impulses and could, in turn, be sincerely mourned when they died – something that rarely happened with less high profile zoo inmates.

A particularly illuminating instance of the ways in which fame could confer agency is the case of Jumbo the African elephant. Acquired by London Zoo from the Jardin des Plantes in 1865, Jumbo remained at the zoo for another seventeen years and forged a close bond with the British public. When Jumbo was sold to the American

showman P.T. Barnum in 1882 his projected departure elicited a wave of protest from his admirers, who deluged the Zoological Society with angry letters, signed petitions for his retention at the Zoo and inundated the elephant himself with gifts of ‘oysters, wedding cake and champagne’.⁶⁵ While the public response to Jumbo’s departure was in many ways hysterical and overblown, a notable feature of the arguments made in the elephant’s defence is the degree to which some of those individuals accorded Jumbo an active role on the saga of his expatriation and presented him as a conscious actor in the drama, capable of resistance, comprehension and emotional suffering.⁶⁶ Jumbo’s refusal to enter the box in which he was to be transported to the docks, for instance, was interpreted as evidence of the elephant’s patriotism and loyalty to his British supporters (Figure 13.4). The elephant’s apparent awareness of his own fate, meanwhile, was noted by several visitors, who ascribed to the animal the very human emotions of loss and sadness. A group of ladies visiting the elephant house in the weeks leading up to Jumbo’s removal even claimed that they ‘detected grief upon [Jumbo’s] very countenance, and thought it wonderful that the animal should seem to have the gift of fore-knowledge as to its doom’ (though it turned out they were in fact looking at the Asian elephant and not at Jumbo!).⁶⁷ Jumbo was thus conceived as a wise, faithful and wilful animal who, though ultimately forced to bow to human control, succeeded at least in delaying his departure for several weeks.

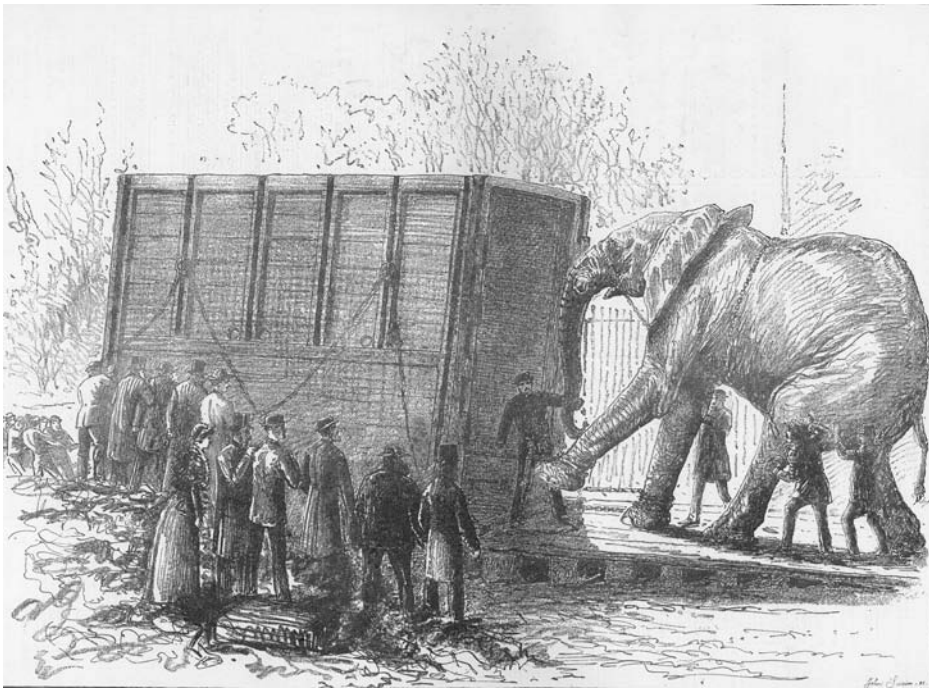


Figure 13.4 ‘Attempt to remove Jumbo, the great elephant, from the Zoological Gardens’, *Illustrated London News*, 25 February 1882, 200.

Author’s collection.

One letter, addressed directly to Jumbo, encouraged the elephant to ‘Hold out bravely, old fellow! Don’t budge an inch! Every child wants you to stay, and will bless you for your courage as he grows up’.⁶⁸

While fame thus earned some zoo animals a place in the hearts of the public, it is questionable to what degree they exerted genuine agency. Fame may have made people look at particular creatures more closely than they would otherwise have done, but we should note that what was being celebrated about those animals was frequently their fulfilment of a particular moral purpose or their ability to further contemporary human concerns. Often, for example, certain animals were seen to embody desirable human qualities, such as fidelity, intelligence or gratitude, and were consequently praised for their subservience rather than their independence. This is especially evident in the eulogy to Sally, which above all admired her ‘self-control’ and affection for her keeper and marvelled at ‘her extraordinary intellectual and moral evolution at one remove only from the ethics and comprehension of the jungle’.⁶⁹ What was being praised here was clearly not Sally’s animality, but her ‘apeing’ of human behaviour, and, in that sense, her assimilation into human (specifically Western) society.

A second reason why we should be cautious in assessing the link between agency and fame is that the latter was often fleeting. A few beasts like Jumbo achieved lasting celebrity, but others were in the public eye for only a short time before they were supplanted by newer, more unusual zoological stars. Newly imported exotic beasts lost their wonder after a season in the spotlight, while cute cubs lost their appeal when they entered adolescence. An article in *The Times* in 1968 advised the latest sensation, the newborn polar bear, Pipaluk, to enjoy his summer of fame, for ‘before he knows where he is he will be a 1.600lb white bear with a broad head and a bad temper, frightening the children with his teeth’.⁷⁰ Celebrity was thus only temporary and when this faded, so did agency and interest. Moreover, the animals themselves had no control over this process; their fame was constructed by humans for humans and often served to obscure the experiences of other, less famous animals. As Susan Nance remarks of Jumbo, ‘His life, lived in public, and the resulting celebrity status . . . actually distracted consumers from the issue of declining wild animal populations’, for while people cried and protested at the sufferings of this individual elephant they turned a blind eye to the wholesale slaughter of wild African elephants for their ivory.⁷¹

If the agency of ‘celebrity’ animals was thus somewhat questionable, perhaps a more authentic expression of agency is offered by our second category: the deviant animal. While many zoo and menagerie inmates endured their captivity without visible opposition, a sizeable minority actively resisted their incarceration, either by escaping or by attacking members of the public (usually following provocation). In 1835 a tiger in Wombwell’s menagerie mauled a man named John Newbolt, who ‘had the audacity to take hold of [the] animal’s ear’.⁷² More recently, we have the cases of Tyke the elephant, who escaped from a circus in Honolulu in 1994 after killing her keeper, and the orca, Tilikum, who drowned his trainer, Dawn Brancheau during a performance at Sea World, Orlando in 2010.⁷³ Assessing the significance of such behaviour, some historians have interpreted escapes and attacks not as random acts of aggression, but as conscious responses to oppression, explicitly equating their

resistance with that of other subjugated groups. Jason Hribal, perhaps the strongest advocate of this position, asserts that

These animals . . . are rebelling with knowledge and purpose. They have a conception of freedom and a desire for it. They have agency.⁷⁴

Jeffrey St Clair, writing in the foreword to Hribal's book, declares, likewise, that 'Tilikum is the Nat Turner of the captives of Sea', likening the whale to the African-American slave who led a violent rebellion against his white masters in 1831.⁷⁵

Whether or not we agree with this view, it is certainly the case that deviant animals have often been described in highly anthropomorphised terms and written about in language that suggests a level of conscious action and rational decision-making. In that sense, Hribal's humanising accounts of animal resistance have their precursors at least as far back as the nineteenth century. Take the case of an elephant named Jim, who escaped from George Sanger's circus in 1893 and went on a four-and-a-half hour rampage through north London. Recounting the drama, a report in *The Animal World* described how Jim, the 'monster bull elephant' had broken away from his keeper while walking down St Anne's Road and begun a destructive march through the city, breaking into the stable of a fishmonger, 'refreshing himself with a drink of water' in a river and marching through the grounds of Upper Clapton Cricket Club, where he lifted a 'stout iron gate from its hinges'. While the text of the report clearly played up some of Jim's exploits for entertainment purposes, there is also a clear sense that the elephant was acting with rationality and not simply engaged in random vandalism. Reflecting on the cause of Jim's actions, for instance, the author observed that 'the elephant had evidently ideas of his own, and from the peculiar manner in which he looked about he was evidently making for some place only known to himself. This theory was apparently proven correct when the elephant ended his journey 'on the St Loys estate, near Bruce Grove Station, where, it is said, he was encamped with other elephants some years ago'.⁷⁶ So in this instance the elephant was seen as acting with intentionality, heading for a specific location that had historic meaning for him.

Deviant animals (deviant, at least, in human eyes) therefore drew attention to their agency in vivid and memorable ways, and seemingly did have the power to shape the course of their own lives, or even potentially the lives of their fellow captives. Attacks and escapes could expose abuse or unsuitable conditions and sometimes force changes in the ways in which animals were treated. They could also earn particular animals a degree of notoriety, especially in the nineteenth century, when showmen often capitalised on the media attention surrounding a break-out or death to attract voyeuristic spectators to their menageries. A lion named Jim, whose 'remarkable . . . career' resulted in the deaths of 'one man and thirteen different animals', was hailed as 'A Hero with a History', receiving a lengthy newspaper obituary following his own death in 1875.⁷⁷

While we can perhaps see zoo animals as resisting oppression when they escaped or killed human associates, the effectiveness of such resistance might well be questioned, for aggressors and escapees were (and are) more likely to die in a hail of bullets than to secure their freedom. Nineteenth-century menagerists might have

kept some transgressors alive as a source of ghoulish publicity, but many others have been destroyed, either shot in the street, like Tyke, or subjected to more macabre human forms of retribution like the elephant Topsy, who was electrocuted in 1903 after she killed three different handlers (a spectacle captured on film by the executioner, Thomas Edison).⁷⁸ Those animals that survived, moreover, rather than being freed, were often confined to isolation and assigned epithets such as ‘wild’, ‘savage’ or ‘barbarous’, which had the effect of relegating their acts of resistance to unthinking brutality, the product of instinct rather than reason. Of the lion Jim, for example, it was said that ‘his savage nature [was] apparent even in his last moments’, and that ‘his ferocity made him a great attraction’.⁷⁹ While famous animals like Sally won praise and recognition through renouncing their animal natures, therefore, reprobates like Jim exerted agency at the cost of their perceived humanity, and, often, of their lives. As with celebrity animals, moreover, we are reliant on human accounts when studying animal actions in the past, so what we are really learning about are human *perceptions* of animal agency, rather than animal agency per se – though the former is, in itself, a worthy topic of study.

What about our final category: performing animals? Here we are looking at a different relationship between humans and animals, one (usually) of inter-species collaboration rather than conflict. From the inception of menageries in the late eighteenth century, exotic captives have been taught to perform tricks, from leaping through hoops to firing pistols. The range and complexity of these performances increased significantly from the 1890s, with the rise of the circus, and training methods grew more sophisticated. Lions have been coaxed onto pedestals, bears trained to ride bicycles and elephants to dance ballet. In 1879 the Westminster Aquarium advertised the feats of a sea lion called Toby, who fired a rifle, smoked a pipe and strummed a banjo.⁸⁰ While cruelty was (and is) often present in the training regimes of performing animals, teaching wild beasts to do tricks also entailed a high level of intimacy between the animal and its trainer and a substantial degree of interspecies communication. Persuasion and patience were crucial attributes of a successful tamer, who could not simply bludgeon his charges into submission, but had to work closely and repeatedly with his pupil to perfect a particular act. As Peta Tait has shown, moreover, trainers needed to be able to accurately read the body language of their animals and even to interpret their emotions, forging a close bond with the creatures they worked with.⁸¹

A couple of examples from the early twentieth century demonstrate this close relationship between keeper and animal. Firstly, we have the testimony of a lion tamer, Frank Bostock. Writing in 1903, in a manual on how to train wild animals, Bostock emphasised the key attributes of a successful trainer, who must be sober, agile, brave and in possession of an excellent ‘knowledge of animal nature’. This last quality was crucial, for ‘upon the trainer’s knowledge of the idiosyncrasies of his charges depends his success, and very often his life’.⁸² Bostock insisted that different animals, even of the same species, learned differently, for ‘each is a study, alone and complete in itself, and each animal has its distinct individuality’.⁸³ He claimed, furthermore, that some of his animals actively enjoyed performing, citing the case of a young brown bear, trained to climb a ladder and unfurl the American flag, who was ‘so proud . . . of his accomplishment that whenever anyone is looking on, he will go

through the whole performance by himself, evidently simply for the pleasure of doing it'.⁸⁴ Bostock had a vested interest in relating such examples, for he was writing at a time when wild beast taming was being criticised by humanitarians on the grounds of cruelty (he pointed out, in one chapter, that he never used hot irons to subdue dangerous animals, because 'it is an extremely cruel expedient, and seldom effectual as a remedy for the attacks of wild beasts').⁸⁵ Biased as he may have been, however, the tamer clearly understood the animals he trained, and, without romanticising them, saw them as equal partners in the performing enterprise. Training thus required a close, if exploitative, relationship between human and non-human animals, in which the latter were viewed as individuals and exerted a degree of agency over their performances.

Our second example comes from an *Animal Care Journal* produced by keepers at the BelleVue Zoo, Manchester between 1908 and 1913. Written by hand, this interesting document describes the lives, and (all too often) the deaths of the various inmates of the zoo during this period, detailing the food they were given, their habits and mating attempts and the illnesses from which they suffered. Though intended



Figure 13.5 'A tame ocelot', W.S. Berridge, 'The wooing of the wild', *The Animal World* Volume II (New Series), January 1907, 230–232.

Author's collection.

primarily as a record of events, the contents of the book go beyond mere practicalities and clearly reveal the keepers' affection for their animals, as well as their curiosity about their abilities. One entry, for instance, states that 'the tapir can show quite a glorious smile when tickled in the ear – and he will lie down to be scratched for long enough'. Another reads: 'The Giraffe's knee seems stiffer. I worked it for some time, apparently to the Giraffe's pleasure, as he put his head down to caress me'. A third entry records how one keeper, Woodward, 'taught one of the 5 sea lions to balance the ball – process: keep rubbing it on and about the nose; pat him for a successful effort and fish occasionally for a transcendent improvement'.⁸⁶ Here we again see animals being treated as emotionally intelligent individuals who interact closely with their keepers. It is notable, moreover, how often the authors of the care book describe their charges in highly anthropomorphic language, endowing them with distinctly human qualities; the orang-utan is 'too tubby to my mind', the elephant moves about 'nervously and vindictively' and the giraffe is 'an importunate beggar'.⁸⁷

As these examples illustrate, training exotic animals, or even just caring for them, could engender a close cross-species relationship that most humans do not experience. Zoo and menagerie keepers might sometimes have abused the animals they looked after, but many also developed genuine affection for their charges and exhibited curiosity as to their mental and physical abilities (Figure 13.5). More than anyone else, keepers knew their animals' diet, habits and routines, and could tell when they were sick, anxious or angry. While some may have remained detached from the creatures they worked with, others forged a close bond with their animals, viewing them as capable of human-like desires and emotions. Those who knew exotic animals best were thus often those most likely to accord them agency, and drawing on their accounts may offer new insights for historians of zoos and menageries.

Conclusion

Humans have exhibited exotic animals for thousands of years. Over that time, royal menageries have evolved into national zoos, bare cages into landscape immersion, and former plunderers of the natural world into self-styled hubs of conservation. At the same time, however, some things have remained the same. Entertainment, education, knowledge and power – in varying proportions – have undergirded animal exhibition from the Roman Empire to the present day, and questions regarding animal welfare have been raised since at least the eighteenth century. Despite a growing emphasis on conservation, the majority of zoos today exhibit the same iconic specimens that were coveted in the nineteenth century and the majority of zoo visitors come primarily for recreation. As the animal rights movement gains ground and animal behavioural science advances, the future of zoos is coming increasingly into question.

Whatever our views on the ethics of modern zoos, studying their history can be enlightening. Zoological collections have functioned as a window onto royal and imperial display, civic pride and shifting social dynamics, attracting the attention of historians of leisure, empire and science. As places where people went explicitly to see and (often) feed, ride or touch animals, they are also an excellent site for the study of human–animal relationships in the past. While earlier studies have focused

predominantly on the most famous zoological institutions – notably London Zoo – increased attention is now being paid to provincial zoos, touring menageries and circuses, broadening our understanding of the geographies and social dynamics of exotic animal exhibition. Historians are also looking more closely at issues such as visitor reception, keeper–animal interaction and animal agency, moving beyond the symbolic resonances of zoos to uncover the experiences of real animals and the people who went to see them.

Notes

- 1 For a synopsis of the zoo's changing form and meaning in different societies see R.J. Hoage and W.A. Deiss, *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- 2 'Circus owner found guilty of mistreating elephant', *The Telegraph*, 23 November 2012. The use of animals in circuses has to date been banned in Austria, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, El Salvador, Greece, Israel, Malta, Mexico, The Netherlands, Paraguay, Peru, Singapore and Slovenia.
- 3 See, for example, J. Barrington-Johnson, *The Story of London Zoo*, London: Robert Hale, 2005.
- 4 For a critical take on zoos, see R. Malamud, *Reading Zoos: Representations of Animals in Captivity*, New York: New York University Press, 1998; and 'Display, performance and sport' in M. DeMello, *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human–Animal Studies*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012, 99–125.
- 5 See, for example, E. Baratay and E. Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo: A History of Zoological Gardens in the West*, London: Reaktion Books, 2002; N. Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002; and E. Hanson, *Animal Attractions: Nature on Display in American Zoos*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- 6 See 'Exotic captives' in H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987, 205–242; R. Acampora, 'Extinction by exhibition: looking at and in the zoo', *Research in Human Ecology* 5, 1 (1998), 1–4; and K. Anderson, 'Culture and nature at the Adelaide Zoo: at the frontiers of "human" geography', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20, 3 (1995): 275–294.
- 7 Malamud, *Reading Zoos*, 64.
- 8 C. Grigson, *Menagerie: The History of Exotic Animals in England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 1.
- 9 J. Pimentel, *The Rhinoceros and the Megatherium: An Essay in Natural History*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2017, 21.
- 10 'Noticia del elefante remitido de Manila para el Rey nuestro Señor en la fragata nombrada Venus, que regresó de Philipinas en 22 de Julio de este año, según una papeleta remitida de Cádiz', in *Descripción del Elefante, de su Alimento, Costumbres, Enemigos e Instinto*, Madrid: Imprenta de Andrés Ramírez, 1773, 31.
- 11 Grigson, *Menagerie*, 16–17.
- 12 Pimentel, *The Rhinoceros*, 45–50.
- 13 See 'The Royal Menagerie', in L. Robbins, *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002, 37–67. For a discussion of menageries in contemporary Britain, see C. Plumb, *The Georgian Menagerie*, London: IB Tauris, 2015.

- 14 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 80–81 and 99.
- 15 Hanson, *Animal Attractions*, 61–67. Lisa Uddin has traced connections between zoo improvement and urban redevelopment in the 1960s and 70s, while Andrew Flack has shown how Bristol Zoo has developed close ties to the local community since its foundation in 1836. Helen Cowie has examined the relationship between zoological collections, urban improvement and civic identity in early nineteenth-century Britain. See L. Uddin, *Zoo Renewal: White Flight and the Animal Ghetto*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2015; A. Flack, *The Natures of the Beasts: An Animal History of Bristol Zoo Gardens since 1835* (PhD Dissertation, University of Bristol, 2013); and H. Cowie, “An attractive and improving place of resort”: zoo, community and civic pride in nineteenth-century Britain, *Social and Cultural History* 12, 3 (2015): 365–384.
- 16 ‘The Lions in a Fix’, *Bristol Mercury*, 30 January 1858.
- 17 See, for example, S. Nance, *Entertaining Elephants: Animal Agency and the Business of the American Circus*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013, and H. Cowie, *Exhibiting Animals in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Empathy, Education, Entertainment*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- 18 See, for example: See Ritvo, ‘Exotic captives’; R. Jones, “‘The sight of creatures strange to our clime’”: London Zoo and the consumption of the exotic’, *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2, 1 (1997): 1–26; and T. Ito, *London Zoo and the Victorians, 1828–1859*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014.
- 19 ‘Crimea’, *Belfast Newsletter*, 27 October 1856.
- 20 ‘Bostock’s Menagerie’, *Glasgow Herald*, 13 February 1885.
- 21 The elephant house at Berlin Zoo, for instance, was designed to resemble a Hindu temple. B. Mullan and G. Marvin, *Zoo Culture*, Chicago IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987, 48–49.
- 22 ‘Zoological Society of London’, *The Times*, 7 October 1853; Mullan and Marvin, *Zoo Culture*, 49–50.
- 23 B. Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: What the British Really Thought about Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 88. Ann Colley argues similarly that ‘the gathering, arranging, transporting and labelling of skins from foreign territories’ represented not British power, but, ‘the messiness of empire’: see A. Colley, *Animal Skins in Victorian Britain: Zoos, Collections, Portraits and Maps*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, 4.
- 24 S. Amato, *Bestly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015, 60–61.
- 25 Malamud, *Reading Zoos*, 92.
- 26 ‘Pipaluk awaits his Debut’, *The Times*, 11 March 1968.
- 27 I. Braverman, *Zooland: The Institution of Captivity*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2013, 187–188.
- 28 ‘The hippopotamus at the Zoological Gardens’, *The Times*, 6 June 1850.
- 29 ‘Wombwell’s No. 1 and Royal Monster Menagerie’, *Preston Guardian*, 12 January, 1856.
- 30 For a discussion of the different forms of knowledge in play at the zoo, see O. Hochadel, ‘Watching exotic animals next door: “scientific” observations at the zoo (ca. 1870–1910)’, *Science in Context* 24, 2 (2011): 183–214.
- 31 A. Guerrini, *The Courtiers’ Anatomists: Animals and Humans in Louis XIV’s Paris*, Chicago IL: Chicago University Press, 2015, 202–204.
- 32 M. Osborne, *Nature, the Exotic and the Science of French Colonialism*, Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1994, 11.
- 33 T. Allen, *A Guide to the Zoological Gardens and Museum*, London: Cowie and Strange, 1829, 5.
- 34 W. Walton, *A Memoir addressed to Proprietors of Mountain and other Waste Lands and Agriculturalists of the United Kingdom, on the Naturalisation of the Alpaca*, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1841; *Essex Standard*, 2 February 1859.

- 35 'London Zoo will track elephants by satellite', *The Times*, 12 September 1989.
- 36 'Why did Copenhagen Zoo decide to kill Marius the giraffe?', *The Guardian*, 9 February 2014. A recent BBC documentary reported that between 3,000 and 5,000 healthy animals are culled in European zoos every year. BBC, *Horizon: Should we Close our Zoos?*, first broadcast 17 April 2016. American Zoos use contraception rather than culling to control unwanted breeding. See Braverman, *Zooland*, 174–177.
- 37 H. Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800*, London: Reaktion Books, 1998, 44–46.
- 38 Mullan and Marvin, *Zoo Culture*, 133.
- 39 'Natural History', *Morning Chronicle*, 4 September 1849.
- 40 S. Kellert, *Kinship to Mastery: Biophilia in Human Evolution and Development*, Washington DC: Island Press, 1997, 99.
- 41 See, for example, 'Education in zoos' in S. Bostock, *Zoos and Animal Rights: The Ethics of Keeping Animals*, London: Routledge, 1993, 168–176.
- 42 Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 201–202.
- 43 'Fight between Mr Wombwell's lions and six bull dogs', *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 July 1825.
- 44 'Cruelty to ferae naturae', *The Animal World*, December 1870, 40.
- 45 'Cruelty to an elephant', *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 27 November, 1874; *The Animal World*, August 1888, 116.
- 46 'Cruelty to an elephant', *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 27 November, 1874.
- 47 Great Britain Parliament, *Cruelty to Animals Act (1835)* [5 & 6 William IV c. 59].
- 48 'Singular Charge of Cruelty in a Menagerie', *Leeds Mercury*, 5 December 1874.
- 49 Only in 1900 were 'wild' and 'captive' animals formally protected by British law, and only in 1925 was a law passed specifically to regulate the treatment of performing animals. See Great Britain Parliament, *Wild Animals in Captivity Protection Act (1900)* [63 & 64 Victoria c. 33]; and Great Britain Parliament, *Performing Animals (Regulation) Act (1925)*, [15 & 16 c.5].
- 50 'Fight between Mr Wombwell's lions and six bull dogs', *Liverpool Mercury*, 29 July 1825.
- 51 'Serpents and serpent feeding III', *The Animal World*, April 1881, 49–52.
- 52 'To the printer of the *Public Advertiser*', *Public Advertiser*, 16 February 1776.
- 53 'Seals in a Scotch aquarium', *The Animal World*, December 1878, 183.
- 54 'Animal Husbandry' in P. Batten, *Living Trophies*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976, 39–72.
- 55 P. Cavalieri and P. Singer, *The Great Ape Project: Equality Beyond Humanity*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1993, 4.
- 56 J. Masson and S. McCarthy, *When Elephants Weep: The Emotional Lives of Animals*, London: Vintage: 1996, 147.
- 57 R. Clubb *et al.*, 'Compromised survivorship in zoo elephants', *Science* 322, 5908 (2008), 1649. For a discussion of how different species fare in a zoo environment, see G. Mason, 'Species differences in responses to captivity: stress, welfare and the comparative method', *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 25, 12 (2010): 713–721.
- 58 'The hippopotamus in the Zoological Gardens', *Glasgow Herald*, 10 June 1850.
- 59 'Traffic in wild animals', *The Animal World*, July 1882, 103.
- 60 'A fight with an elephant at Birmingham', *North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 6 May 1886.
- 61 'Family of boy who entered gorilla enclosure under investigation', *The Guardian*, 31 May 2016.
- 62 Malamud, *Reading Zoos*, 179.
- 63 'Chuny the elephant', *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Fashion*, 22 April 1826, 249.
- 64 'Sally the bald chimpanzee', *The Animal World*, November 1891, 164–165. For a discussion of the parallel rise of pet cemeteries in this period, see 'A place for the animal dead: animal souls, pet cemeteries and the heavenly home' in P. Howell, *At Home and*

- Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia University Press, 2015, 125–149.
- 65 ‘Jumbo’, *The Animal World*, March 1884, 34.
- 66 On the public reaction to the sale of Jumbo, see Cowie, *Exhibiting Animals*, 142–153; and ‘Jumbo: sentient animal celebrity’ in S. Nance, *Animal Modernity: Jumbo the Elephant and the Human Dilemma*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 9–39.
- 67 ‘Jumbo’, *Daily News*, 6 March 1882.
- 68 ‘Jumbo’, *The Animal World*, March 1884, 34.
- 69 ‘Sally the bald chimpanzee’, *The Animal World*, November 1891, 164–165.
- 70 ‘Pipaluk awaits his debut’, *The Times*, 11 March 1968.
- 71 Nance, *Animal Modernity*, 84.
- 72 ‘Serious accident’, *Caledonian Mercury*, 28 April 1836.
- 73 J. Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet: The Hidden History of Animal Resistance*, Oakland CA: AK Press, 2010, 55–61, 149–153. In March 2016 Sea World announced that it was ending the breeding of orca whales at its parks, a response, in part, to growing public pressure: see ‘Sea World decides to stop killer whale breeding programme’, *The Guardian*, 17 March 2016.
- 74 Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet*, 26.
- 75 Hribal, *Fear of the Animal Planet*, 18.
- 76 ‘The extraordinary freak of an elephant’, *The Animal World*, October 1893, 159.
- 77 ‘A hero with a history’, *Dundee Courier*, 20 April 1875.
- 78 On the execution of Topsy and other elephants, see A.L. Wood, ‘“Killing the elephant”: murderous beasts and the thrill of retribution, 1885–1930’, *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 11, 3 (2012): 405–444.
- 79 ‘A hero with a History’, *Dundee Courier*, 20 April 1875.
- 80 ‘The performing seal at the Royal Aquarium’, *Illustrated London News*, 26 July 1879.
- 81 P. Tait, *Wild and Dangerous Performances: Animals, Emotions, Circus*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. On the inter-species bonds forged through training and familiarity, see also L. Birke and J. Hockenhull, ‘Journeys together: horses and humans in partnership’, *Society & Animals* 23, 1 (2015): 81–100.
- 82 F. Bostock, *The Training of Wild Animals*, New York: The Century Co., 1903, 214.
- 83 Bostock, *Training of Wild Animals*, 193.
- 84 Bostock, *Training of Wild Animals*, 160.
- 85 Bostock, *Training of Wild Animals*, 162.
- 86 *Animal Care Journal*, Belle Vue Gardens, Jennison Collection, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, F.5.04, 27 July 1910; 28 December 1912; and 22 March 1910.
- 87 *Animal Care Journal*, 9 July 1909; 2 June 1912; and 25 September 1910.

Bibliography

- Acampora, R. ‘Extinction by exhibition: looking at and in the zoo’, *Research in Human Ecology* 5, 1 (1998): 1–4.
- Allen, T. *A Guide to the Zoological Gardens and Museum*, London: Cowie and Strange, 1829.
- Amato, S. *Beastly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.
- Anderson, K. ‘Culture and nature at the Adelaide Zoo: at the frontiers of “human” geography’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 20, 3 (1995): 275–294.
- Animal Care Journal*, Belle Vue Gardens, Jennison Collection, Chetham’s Library, Manchester, F.5.04.
- Baratay, E. and Hardouin-Fugier, E. *Zoo: A History of Zoological Gardens in the West*, London: Reaktion Books, 2002.

- Barrington-Johnson, J. *The Story of London Zoo*, London: Robert Hale, 2005.
- Batten, P. *Living Trophies*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976.
- Birke, L. and Hockenhull, J. 'Journeys together: horses and humans in partnership', *Society & Animals* 23, 1 (2015): 81–100.
- Bostock, F. *The Training of Wild Animals*, New York: The Century Co., 1903.
- Bostock, S. *Zoos and Animal Rights: The Ethics of Keeping Animals*, London: Routledge, 1993.
- Braverman, I. *Zooland: The Institution of Captivity*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2013.
- Cavaleri, P. and Singer, P. *The Great Ape Project: Equality Beyond Humanity*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1993.
- Clubb, R., Rowcliffe, M., Lee, P., Mar, K.U., Moss, C., and Mason, G.J. 'Compromised survivorship in zoo elephants', *Science* 322, 5908 (2008): 1649.
- Colley, A. *Animal Skins in Victorian Britain: Zoos, Collections, Portraits and Maps*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, 4.
- Cowie, H., *Exhibiting Animals in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Empathy, Education, Entertainment*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Cowie, H. "'An attractive and improving place of resort": zoo, community and civic pride in nineteenth-century Britain', *Social and Cultural History* 12, 3 (2015): 365–384.
- DeMello, M. *Animals and Society: An Introduction to Human–Animal Studies*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- Flack, A. *The Natures of the Beasts: An Animal History of Bristol Zoo Gardens since 1835*, PhD dissertation, University of Bristol, 2013.
- Grigson, C. *Menagerie: The History of Exotic Animals in England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Guerrini, A. *The Courtiers' Anatomists: Animals and Humans in Louis XIV's Paris*, Chicago IL: Chicago University Press, 2015.
- Hanson, E. *Animal Attractions: Nature on Display in American Zoos*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Hoage, R.J. and Deiss, W.A. *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Hochadel, O. 'Watching exotic animals next door: "scientific" observations at the zoo (ca. 1870–1910)', *Science in Context* 24, 2 (2011): 183–214.
- Howell, P. *At Home and Astry: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia University Press, 2015.
- Hribal, J. *Fear of the Animal Planet: The Hidden History of Animal Resistance*, Oakland CA: AK Press, 2010.
- Ito, T. *London Zoo and the Victorians, 1828–1859*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014.
- Jones, R. "'The sight of creatures strange to our clime": London Zoo and the consumption of the exotic', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 2, 1 (1997): 1–26.
- Kean, H. *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800*, London: Reaktion Books, 1998.
- Kellert, S. *Kinship to Mastery: Biophilia in Human Evolution and Development*, Washington DC: Island Press, 1997.
- Malamud, R. *Reading Zoos: Representations of Animals in Captivity*, New York: New York University Press, 1998.
- Mason, G. 'Species differences in responses to captivity: stress, welfare and the comparative method', *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 25, 12 (2010): 713–721.
- Masson, J. and McCarthy, S. *When Elephants Weep: The Emotional Lives of Animals*, London: Vintage, 1996.
- Mullan, B. and Marvin, G. *Zoo Culture*, Chicago IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

- Nance, S. *Entertaining Elephants: Animal Agency and the Business of the American Circus*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.
- Nance, S. *Animal Modernity: Jumbo the Elephant and the Human Dilemma*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Osborne, M. *Nature, the Exotic and the Science of French Colonialism*, Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Pimentel, J. *The Rhinoceros and the Megatherium: An Essay in Natural History*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2017.
- Plumb, C. *The Georgian Menagerie*, London: IB Tauris, 2015.
- Porter, B. *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: What the British Really Thought about Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Ritvo, H. *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Robbins, L. *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Rothfels, N. *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Tait, P. *Wild and Dangerous Performances: Animals, Emotions, Circus*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Uddin, L. *Zoo Renewal: White Flight and the Animal Ghetto*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2015.
- Walton, W. *A Memoir Addressed to Proprietors of Mountain and Other Waste Lands and Agriculturalists of the United Kingdom, on the Naturalisation of the Alpaca*, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1841.
- Wood, A.L. “‘Killing the elephant’: murderous beasts and the thrill of retribution, 1885–1930”, *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 11, 3 (2012): 405–444.