

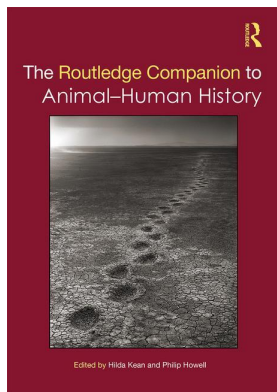
This article was downloaded by: 10.3.97.143

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

Topologies of Tenderness and Violence

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429468933-14>

Carl Griffin

Published online on: 03 Sep 2018

How to cite :- Carl Griffin. 03 Sep 2018, *Topologies of Tenderness and Violence from: The Routledge Companion to Animal–Human History* Routledge

Accessed on: 03 Dec 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780429468933-14>

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.

14

TOPOLOGIES OF TENDERNESS AND VIOLENCE

Human–animal relations in Georgian England

Carl Griffin

Introduction

First shown at the Royal Academy in 1853, William Holman Hunt's Pre-Raphaelite oil-on-canvas masterpiece *Our English Coasts* (Figure 14.1) depicts a flock of sheep perched perilously close to the edge of the cliffs at Fairlight Glen, Sussex. Notwithstanding that it was commissioned by Charles Theobald Maud on having been impressed by Hunt's representation of sheep in his 1851 painting *The Hireling Shepherd*, the sheep are at once the figurative stars of *Our English Coasts* and yet absent. It was read as a satire of the supposedly defenceless English coastline against a feared invasion from despotic, expansionist Napoleon III, the sheep visual metaphors for feebleness, English lambs to the French slaughter. The original frame also bore the inscription 'The Lost Sheep', and when exhibited in Paris in 1855 the painting was retitled *Strayed Sheep*, both explicit biblical allusions. Other critics saw not metaphor, nor sheep, but were wowed by Hunt's treatment of light. As Ruskin saw it, 'for the first time in the history of art [it depicted], the absolutely faithful balances of colour and shade by which actual sunlight might be transposed'.¹

Whatever Maud's admiration of Hunt's way with sheep on canvas, we can read Hunt's most famous work as mirroring conventional historical tellings of the place of sheep – and most other animals – in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England: implicitly everywhere and entwined in all things, and yet at best marginal and at worst entirely written out of our histories. If ploughs and cows were once the marker of agrarian histories, the cows (and other ungulates, equines, poultry, fowl, cats, dogs, and 'vermin') tended to be written as things on which capital operated, no more and no less than the ploughs (and other inanimate things). If this is to paint with a broad brush – Edith Whetham's 1977 essay on pedigree livestock notes for instance the different values attached to breeds by different cattle and sheep societies – the point still holds.² It is also ironic that the shift in the early 1990s towards more



Figure 14.1 William Holman Hunt, 'Our English Coasts' ('Strayed Sheep'), 1852, Tate Gallery, London.

Courtesy Tate Gallery, London.

culturally informed, *Annales*-style approaches, typified and led by the Cambridge University Press journal *Rural History*, tended, albeit unconsciously, to overlook animals altogether.³ None of this is to say that such approaches deliberately intended to confer that animals were automata, mere fleshy machines on which the human will operated. Rather, past writings of the rural reflect established and pervasive trends of intellectual purification that have the humanities and social sciences in opposition to the natural and life sciences, the one writing culture the other nature.⁴

As with Hunt's *Our English Coasts*, animals have both been present by proxy but in other ways absent in studies of our rural pasts. And yet, the fact that Hunt chose to paint sheep and shepherding scenes speaks not only to the symbolic potency of pastoralism in English cultural politics and national identity but also to the literal fact that rural life was not reducible to the social but rather was co-constituted by the animal. Cattle, pigs and sheep, amongst other livestock, alongside working animals such as dogs, horses and oxen were at once workers' charges, companions and co-workers, while wild animals provided both income, sustenance, sport and pleasure.⁵

It is the contention of this chapter that 'being with' takes many forms. When species meet (to use Donna Haraway's formula), the companionships that follow do not stop at faithful friend, beautiful beast, but extend to an infinite web in which are folded love, affection, indifference and violent enmity.⁶ Drawing on foundational work in the animal studies movement, cultural and historical geography, and in environmental history, as well as some more recent work in rural history that has been attentive to more-than-human histories, this chapter explores the different contours of 'being with' in our histories.⁷ Given that animals only exist in the archive

by virtue of human interventions and representations – whether in the form of documents, the zooarchaeological record, paintings, prose or preservation – any such study is necessarily reliant on, and therefore limited by, the happenstance of record. Even, as Pearson and Weismantel have suggested, to ‘move beyond’ the conventional archive and to ‘draw upon techniques derived from ethnography, oral history, [and] literary studies’ is still to be in thrall to human interpretations and framings.⁸ But it is not the intention of this chapter to write a history of animals in rural England on their own terms. Rather, alert to archival framings and limitations, it considers the ways in which being with was expressed through both violence and its linguistic antonym, tenderness. The frame is eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century rural England, the context in which, as Harriet Ritvo has stated, rapid capitalist and social change was enacting new forms of human–animal.⁹ In this, it draws upon both Haraway’s inspiring work on the comings together between humans and dogs, as well as Sarah Whatmore’s conception of complex, intertwined more-than-human worlds as fluid and relational, hence the ‘topology’ metaphor.¹⁰ Before analysing these topologies of tenderness and violence, the chapter begins with a brief consideration of existing understandings of how rural human–animal relations have hitherto been written and represented.

Being with

As Phil Howell has asserted, the history of changing human attitudes to animals (and their welfare) is often writ in spatial terms, and in particular in relation to theories of spatial proximity.¹¹ Until recently our understanding was as follows. As J. Carter Wood has put it, the pervasive belief in early modern England was that violence and ‘visible “cruelty”’ was a ‘generally assumed part of daily life’ and ‘shared among all social ranks’. Parallel to the decline in violent crime, and especially homicide, changing attitudes in the early nineteenth century to cruelty against animals reflected a culture of rising ‘civility’ and ‘respectability’.¹² Further, animals became more removed from everyday life for an increasing proportion of the population living in towns and cities. This was not only a process of material separation but also, as John Berger has argued, one of cultural separation, as animals became present symbolically in representations rather than the flesh.¹³ Being apart, being distanced, with animals increasingly enclosed – in oil on canvas, in cages in zoos, or in the parlour as domestic trophies – was a necessary spatial precondition for the emergence of new middle-class sensibilities towards animals. Livestock were banished to the canvas, wild animals either removed as vermin or placed in cages as specimens of scientific and cultural curiosity, and domestic pets were those that were left as the proper object of affection and care. This shifting sensibility extended, though in a distinctly modulated way, to working animals who should not be subjected to the brutal impulses of the brutish working class.¹⁴

The idea that by the early nineteenth century English cities were neatly purified, excluding nature as culture’s other, is wide of the mark though. Not only were English towns home to large numbers of domestic pets – with all the problems and dedicated spaces that their existence necessitated, but working animals and livestock also helped to inscribe urban space and urban social relations. Pig-keeping remained

an important practice of poor urban residents, something bolstered in places such as Manchester by Irish migrants but also by butchers and ‘porkers’ keeping large herds of pigs on small plots of land to help meet rising demand for pork from growing urban populations. Even in London as late as 1850 there were thought to be some 3,000 pigs in North Kensington alone, these fed on the food waste of the affluent residents in neighbouring districts of the capital.¹⁵ Poultry-keeping was also common, not just on a small domestic scale but also in the practice of keeping chickens in vast lofts.¹⁶ Such dedicated spaces and technologies for the keeping of animals, and the rendering of them as food, as Richie Nimmo notes, brought humans and animals together in the city but were also expressions of the way in which ideas of purification were developed and materially expressed.¹⁷

Persistences of ‘being with’ animals and animality in urban England into the early nineteenth century speak to the importance of *proximity*, as opposed to distance, in changing popular conceptions of animal welfare. Indeed, to Rob Boddice it was the making of England as an urban nation with ‘animals and humans [brought] closer, on a grand scale, than they had been before’ that was central to the emergence of new ways of thinking about human–animal relations and, relatedly, firing activism against animal cruelty.¹⁸ Boddice’s claims echo the earlier analysis by Keith Thomas in his genre-defining 1983 book *Man and the Natural World*, specifically, that the philosophical roots of changing human–animal relations could be found much earlier but that rapid urbanisation helped to develop the political conditions for animal activism. Thomas’s analysis, in turn, mirrored those made by Dix Harwood in his pioneering but now obscure *Love for Animals and How it Developed in Great Britain*, first published in 1928.¹⁹

If by the late eighteenth century, English travellers, by way of asserting English cultural and moral superiority, frequently expressed their surprise and distaste at how animals in other European countries were treated, England was no paragon of saintly virtue in its treatment of animals.²⁰ Bull-baiting, cock- and dog-fighting, and hunting all rested upon human, and specifically male, amusement and glee in animal suffering and the sport of being denied life. As the famed naturalist the Reverend Gilbert White of Selborne noted of Woolmer and Alice Holt forests in the late eighteenth century, it was a rite of passage for local boys to chase and hunt the deer in the forest, a marker of masculinity, of becoming a man, and this notwithstanding that deer-stealing was a felony.²¹ But in such acts there was also wonder at the strength and guile of the brute creation, and in cock- and dog-fighting a degree of perverse admiration for the level of bloody desperation that cocks and dogs showed in their self-defence. There is no escaping though that there were ‘stylised and formal’ methods of torment. And, in turn, they were mirrored by the ‘informal’ modes of cruelty practised in children’s games and given cultural currency in nursery rhymes.²² Whatever the rising tide of philosophical and physiological understanding of animal suffering and animal activism, for large parts of the population the abuse of animals was a key cultural form in Hanoverian England.

What of rural England? What of those places where the rhythms of everyday life were most strongly linked to animal lives? In some ways Thomas’s superb book represented, at least at first, a cul-de-sac in our understandings of ‘human attitudes’ to flora and fauna. So wide-ranging and detailed, and so absolutely different in terms of

focus and argument to prevailing trends in the historiography of early modern England, it was easy to admire Thomas's study but not to attempt a follow-up. As Malcolm Chase noted in 1992, while Thomas's book 'radically changed perceptions of the relationship between humankind and nature in past time', '[British] historical scholarship has remained largely impervious to "green" issues'.²³ Indeed, there are striking parallels between the development and status of environmental histories and animal histories in British academe. Notwithstanding the pioneering work of British historical geographers on biophysical landscape change (note, such studies did not use the term environment in the context later used by environmental historians) and representational politics of landscape, it was not until the turn of the current century that environmental history gained real intellectual traction amongst UK scholars.²⁴ If work on environmental histories of rural England has subsequently assumed a higher profile – this best attested by the large number of sessions with an explicitly rural focus at the 'environments'-themed 79th Anglo American Conference of Historians and that 'Landscape and Environment' was one of the recent major research programmes of the Arts and Humanities Research Council – work on human–animal relations in the English countryside remains little studied.²⁵

This is not to say that the rural has not figured strongly in works on philosophical and theological conceptions of what separated humans and animals, for example Erica Fudge's superb study of early modern England, or in otherwise urban-centric analyses of the 'rise' of human concerns with animal welfare in the modern age.²⁶ Studies of poaching and hunting remain shibboleths of rural history, though outside of Emma Griffin's culturally nuanced studies, explicit concerns with the relationship between animals and humans have not figured.²⁷ The critical post-*Man and the Natural World* exception to this rule is Ritvo's *The Animal Estate*, which while not a history of the countryside per se offered several suggestive and richly detailed accounts of differing ways in which animals were immersed in complex cultural worlds in Victorian Britain.²⁸ An honourable mention must also be made to Stephen Caunce's oral history of the 'horselads' of the Wolds and Holderness in East Yorkshire, though it focuses only on horses – and in one particular context – not the wider relationship between humans and animals.²⁹

Yet despite the rise of environmental history and the parallel rise of the animal studies movement – of which important historical works include Fudge's and Howell's aforementioned studies, as well as influential work by James Serpell – considerations of being-with and the hybridity of nature and culture in rural Britain are few.³⁰ Cultural geographers David Matless and Hayden Lorimer, drawing on these influences as well as wider intellectual currents in the social sciences and post-structuralist philosophy, have also considered different ways in which humans and animals come together in making rural worlds, albeit focused on the recent past.³¹ Yet as Lorimer has noted, there is much to be gained even for those interested in the present to gain from 'revisiting . . . unlikely rural pasts'.³²

If 'traditional' agrarian histories and *Annales*-style rural histories alike had long since failed to place animal–human relations centre stage, in the past decade the situation has started to change. Recent studies in the journal *Rural History* have included analyses of the cultures of hunting and poaching, changing ways in which animal welfare is represented, and the role of animals in recreation and sport.³³ The rest of

this chapter seeks to extend these understandings through the dual focus of violence and tenderness. First, it explores the ways in which agrarian capital framed the relationship between rural residents and animals. Second, it looks at the ways in which co-existence ('getting by') shaped animal-human relations. Third, and finally, it looks at expressions of love, affection and attachment between animals and their humans.

'Rubbing down': capital and status

'Barons of Beef': not a hipster restaurant, but the first chapter in Ritvo's *The Animal Estate*. While agrarian historians had previously considered the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century craze for improved livestock, Ritvo's chapter places the mania for improvement into its wider cultural and socio-political context. To Ritvo, early nineteenth-century English society viewed animals, distinct from the way in which their laws viewed animals, as something other than just property.³⁴ If all animals were understood as being goods (or conversely as being antithetical to property, vermin), relationships with, and attitudes towards, animals were shaped by a range of sentiments that were not limited to political economy. Ritvo starts her analysis with the example of the Durham Ox. It had 'no special skills' while in appearance 'it resembled other shorthorned cattle', but on one day alone in 1802, admission fees to see the beast in London totalled £97. Nor was that day a one-off. Starting in 1801 it toured England and Scotland for six years, 'drawing crowds of admirers' wherever it went. This was a huge, fat beast of impressive breeding, a prize-specimen that captured not only the agriculturalists' imagination but also that of the public. It was a trophy, a testament to improvement rather than just a fat ox. If the value of the Durham Ox increased dramatically, this reflected its bovine celebrity and crowd pulling-power rather than its breed value. But after failing to recover from an injury to its hip on alighting from its specially constructed, four horse-drawn carriage at Oxford in early 1807, it was slaughtered. The ox's reported dead weight of '30 score per quarter' (1,200 kg) was undoubtedly freakishly prodigious, but its flesh, hide and bone entered the very same circuits of rendering and consumption as other cows. Here was an animal that at once was inscribed in circuits of capital, though these were decidedly more-than-agricultural, and yet whose complex animal-human relations – value, pride, awe, sentiment, status, identity, improvement – transcended being mere fleshy capital.³⁵

In bovine terms, the case of the Durham Ox is arguably unusual, for most cattle were neither famed and feted nor primped and preened. And yet, the example demonstrates the ways in which even the most lumpen of livestock assumed multiple meanings and attachments. Prize cattle were only a few inches in height and girth and a few stones distanced from the typical denizens of the farmyard and field. As Michael Quinn notes, the development of breed standards, or specifically what the cow in the yard and field should *look* like, in the nineteenth century was in large part facilitated by the circulation of representations (and even bodies) of beasts like the Durham Ox, the idealised becoming the yardstick. The production of such representations also became a defining feature of British painting, and not just for the drawing rooms of grandees. John Boulton's painting of the Durham Ox – one of several of that famous

animal – was produced as a print that became a lucrative bestseller. While prints were not accessible to all, it is telling that public houses were often named after either generic animals of the countryside (whether agrarian such as the Red Cow or the Bull's Head, or of the hunt, such as the White Hart or Red Fox) or famed animals. The Durham Ox remains immortalised in countless pub names (and subsequently represented in their pub signs) throughout England.

The Durham Ox was both magnificent and, because it was relatively of the field, yard, market, and slaughterhouse, mundane. Indeed, it is in this decidedly mundane essence that the most interesting facet of all prize animals was manifest: people, whether urban dweller or rural worker, related to livestock. This was in part because of the obvious link to subsistence and consuming pleasures, and of political connotations – not least in relation to the patriotic dish of roast beef, that great culinary totem of English identity – but it also spoke to a profound sense of connection through the shared spaces of everyday life. By working with them, by being seen (and thus being not just a symbol but also being part of the material fabric of being and the living landscape), through inhabiting and shaping shared spaces, and the sense of one's destiny being conjoined with the other, livestock meant more than just capital.³⁶

Racehorses arguably provide a more obvious example of the ways in which animals transcended being fleshy capital. If cows becoming status symbols helped to develop a significant artistic sub-genre – the Kent artist Thomas Sidney Cooper becoming known as 'Cow Cooper' as a result of his expertise in painting bovine beauties – equine paintings were, and continue as, a genre in their own right.³⁷ This was emphatically attested to not only by the fame of the most prolific 'horse artist' George Stubbs but also by the 2012 British Museum exhibition 'The horse from Arabia to Royal Ascot'.³⁸ If crowds flocked to see the Durham Ox because of its vast size, the patronage of horse racing was decidedly more aristocratic, most individuals connecting not with the horse per se but rather with the spectacle of racing, both materially and increasingly at a distance through sports reports and the emergent sporting press.³⁹ And yet, because of the shared love of racing, (successful) racehorses assumed a level of status that did not simply reflect their sporting value but rather their celebrity and repute. The example of one of Stubbs' best-known paintings perfectly exemplifies this dynamic. A bay colt foaled at John Hutchinson's North Yorkshire stables in 1792, Hambletonian (named after the local Hambleton Hills) proved a hugely successful racehorse. Passing through the hands of several owners, on 25 March 1799 it took part in what became a famous two-horse race at Newmarket. Beyond the drama of the race – Hambletonian won by a neck having supposedly covered 21 feet in the final stride to the line – the fact that owner Sir Henry Vane-Tempest had wagered 3,000 guineas on the result ensured notoriety. Henry duly commissioned Stubbs to record Hambletonian's victory on canvas. The painting (*Hambletonian, Rubbing Down*, Figure 14.2) depicted an exhausted Hambletonian (minus the wounds inflicted during the race) being held by Henry's groom, and being tenderly and affectionately rubbed down by a stable boy. That the race was recorded speaks more about the stake placed, and the wish to revel in the reflected glory, than the equine feat. But the actual painting is more complex in portraying animal-human relations. It speaks only of patronage in that it exists, and through depicting the care of the stable hand tending selflessly to the clearly distressed



Figure 14.2 George Stubbs, 'Hambletonian, Rubbing Down', 1799–1800, Mount Stewart Collection, County Down.

Courtesy National Trust.

Hambletonian, it tells of a world where the relationship between worker and animal could transcend capital.⁴⁰

More-than-capital value was also invested in animals other than horses and cattle. As is well established, hunting animals was an ancient way in which status was performed, claimed and earned in rural England. The same was also true for the consumption of certain animals of the chase and freshwater fish.⁴¹ Sheep could also become symbols of status and thus not reducible just to the logic of capital. Certain livestock breeds could imply a certain social status on the estate or farmer. Thus while in the early nineteenth century the keeping of regional livestock breeds was the norm, the development of new and improved breeds fed a demand amongst 'gentleman' farmers to not only experiment and 'improve' their farms but also stock their paddocks with the latest, most fashionable breeds. As Gavin Bowie has noted of the Southdown breed, 'owning a flock of Southdowns implied a certain social status'; a paper in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* on the farming of Hampshire reported that Southdown sheep were 'in favour with gentlemen farming their own estates, for the finer quality of the mutton'.⁴² Similarly, agricultural commentator William Marshall asserted that Leicester sheep were not suited to the farms of Norfolk but 'may not be unfitted to "the paddocks of a gentleman"'.⁴³

As with the Durham Ox, Hambletonian and gentlemen farmers' Southdowns, all animals when enrolled as capital required human labour: to feed, to protect, to care for. Purely in terms of the wage-labour nexus, this relationship was defined by the bargain struck between employer and employee. Rural workers and other people's animals were thereby locked in a decidedly uneven relationship: the one cared for;

the other the hired care. From the mid-eighteenth century, farmworkers' wages were, in real terms, in long-term decline, while, especially in the period before 1815, farmers' incomes were rising. Their contrasting fortunes engendered tension and fed a rising tide of protest.⁴⁴ Given the symbolic importance of forms of property as capital in the relationship, these protests often took the form of incendiarism and malicious attacks on buildings, dead-stock and livestock. Though not as frequently practised as arson, malicious attacks on animals ('animal maiming') were an important weapon of the weak. Indeed, that so many cases of animal maiming were motivated by revenge against an (ex)employer – or as in the case of a Lincolnshire labourer found guilty of maiming three mares in revenge for the owner having dismissed his mother and sister from his service – it made sense to symbolically attack the capital of the male-factor.⁴⁵ Of course, many farmworkers were familiar with working with animals and therefore knew how to handle and therefore hurt them, from the administering of poisons, to the docking of tails, the cutting-off of ears and genitals, to practices mimetic of butchery.⁴⁶

Acts of animal maiming often went beyond such seemingly straightforward motivations. The case of the poisoning of 198 sheep in the Wiltshire parish of Berwick St. James belonging to 'gentleman farmer' Erlysmen Charles Pinkney in January 1848 is instructive. Labourer James Blanchard had been dismissed in 1840 from Pinkney's employment, on which occasion Blanchard threatened 'to do for' Pinkney. The threat was not carried out, but when he was refused work with Pinkney in July 1847 later he again said he would have to shoot the farmer and poison his sheep. On being challenged by Pinkney's steward, the labourer countered: 'If I live, and you live, you will see; there will be mutton enough for many'. Duly arrested and only freed when he apologised to Pinkney, it later transpired that while in custody he confessed to a fellow inmate that when released he would poison hundreds of sheep. After the poisoning, Blanchard was again arrested and committed to trial. The evidence only being circumstantial, Blanchard was subsequently acquitted at the Wiltshire Assizes. This, then, was quite different from most acts of animal maiming which tended to target one or two mammals. This mass killing was not just about targeting Pinkney where it hurt, in his account book, but also through the bloodletting attacking his body by proxy – and here the repeated *threats* against his person are critical – and it makes a profound statement about the role of animals in rural England. Animals were not to make money for the rich but to provide food for the poor, to give 'mutton enough for many'.⁴⁷

'Pretty piggy': getting by

Haraway's delineation of the situations in which species meet offers an extraordinary range of the ways in which human and animal (and especially dog) lives are intertwined, from the co-constituted spaces of the home, laboratory and sportsfield as well as in terms of food, breed book, film and technoculture. While all of Haraway's analyses are rooted in the understanding of 'being with', whether materially or virtually, ranging from the tender to the violent, what does not figure are the ways in which animals are employed to act against humans. The obvious example, and one that played out in powerful ways in rural England, was that of dogs set to guard

property. Of course, such dogs were so enrolled to guard against the actions of the poor, and in this way became symbols of class oppression. Guard dogs belonging to the clergy were particularly subject to attacks by animal maimers. Two Hampshire clergymen had their Newfoundland dogs – not naturally aggressive but large and intimidating and easily trained to guard property – maimed in Hampshire in the 1820s. While that belonging to the Reverend Richards at Newport on the Isle of Wight survived being shot, Bramshott clergyman, the Reverend Monkhouse's died from being poisoned. So fond was Monkhouse of his dog that he even satirically left the assailant a shilling in his will.⁴⁸ Domestic pets acting to defend their territory against intruders could also be so treated. In August 1817 a 'house dog' of farmer Phillman of Nunton (Wiltshire) had its throat cut after it started barking at three would-be burglars.⁴⁹

Such attacks on dogs were not just motivated by malice against the dog – the result of fear, and the fear of being found on the premises – but also against the avarice and pride of the owner. Guard dogs not only 'defended' property but also defended status and policed class difference. To keep a dog was a privilege allowed only to those above the status of rural workers. That dogs featured in so many portraits of the nobility and gentry, and were even the *subject* of many paintings, profoundly attests not just the strong attachments of many rural elites to their dogs but also the social cache attached to canines. If Mr. and Mrs. Andrews, the subjects of the famous eponymous painting by Thomas Gainsborough (c.1750), were allowed an 'obedient hound at heel and the promise of good shooting ahead' the poor were not.⁵⁰ As the rulers of rural England saw it, the only animals the poor were allowed to keep were those they might turn onto the common – if they were lucky enough to live somewhere that had not been subject to enclosure – or keep in their gardens and yards.⁵¹ The function of animals in the domestic spaces of the poor was to provide flesh and milk rather than companionship or to hunt. In cultural hegemonic terms, dogs were absolutely off-limits. This is not to say that rural workers did not keep dogs (and ferrets) to go poaching with, and perhaps as company, but otherwise to keep a dog was to be held in constant suspicion – and surveillance – as a lawbreaker. The proliferation of so-called game acts in eighteenth-century England placed ever-greater restrictions on the use of dogs, with the Black Act of 1723 empowering magistrates to seize and kill the dogs of poachers. As E.P. Thompson notes: 'No power provoked fiercer resentment than this. A good greyhound or lurcher was a substantial investment . . . and its training – no less than that of an expert sheep-dog – may have occupied months'. And when such powers were used by magistrates, the killing of the dog often sparked an act of protest or revenge. When a greyhound belonging to Buckinghamshire labourer William Cooke was seized in 1727, 'he threatened that unless the dog was returned within a fortnight, he would come, with twenty or thirty companions, cut down the pales of a gentleman's park and drive out the deer'. The threat was carried out.⁵²

The ownership of dogs by the rural poor was also a social policy battleground and used to justify the non-payment of poor relief. For instance, the vestry of Preston Candover (Hampshire) resolved in May 1827 that those who kept dogs would from then on be refused relief. Thatcham (Berkshire) vestry went further, dictating two years previously that not only those with dogs, with the exception of shepherds, but

those who kept pigs and cows would likewise in future be denied any support from the parish.⁵³ Of course, such policy pronouncements in part rested on the suspicion that dog ownership was evidence of poaching rather than working for a living, in other words not being subject to the strictures of agrarian capitalism. But in practical terms they also spoke to the belief that if someone could afford to keep a dog they could also afford to feed themselves and had no need for relief. When a Southampton ‘out pauper’ – someone ‘settled’ to a parish and thus able to claim poor relief from that parish but resident elsewhere – had her weekly relief stopped because she owned a dog, she promptly killed the animal and carried it to a meeting of the Southampton ‘Court of Guardians’ so that her relief could be reinstated.⁵⁴ Such resentments about dog ownership were even a discourse in the Swing quasi-insurrection of 1830. In late October 1830, a highly mobile gang of Swing activists led by a politicised London shoemaker called Robert Price, called on genteel Charlotte Stacey at Stockbury (Kent). In the group’s parley with Stacey, Price, amongst other critiques and demands, angrily stated that: ‘I understand you keep a great dog to bark at beggars’.⁵⁵

It is important to note though that it was not always the way in which dogs were socially enrolled that made canines the subject of attack. William Butler, a ‘considerable paper-maker’, and William Coglan were tried at the Berkshire Assizes in July 1789 on a civil charge of having shot a mastiff belonging to Elizabeth Banks of Thatcham. During the previous summer, Butler had ‘undeservedly taken an antipathy against the dog’ and had ‘flung stones at it at different times’ and declared that ‘he would take an early opportunity of destroying the dog’. Then on returning from a shoot on 23 December 1788, Butler and Coglan made good the threat by shooting the dog in the throat. Supposedly, so they argued in their defence, the dog was ‘ferocious’, but could not attest this on oath. Instead, the court heard, the mastiff was ‘quite an inoffensive animal’. The case was found in Banks’ favour, and Butler and Coglan ordered to pay her costs and £20 in damages. This was no case of an impoverished labourer attacking a rich man’s dog but an act born of a yet more complex set of relations, an inability to get by with, an antipathy not to animals per se but a bitter aversion to some animals’ being and character. Indeed, this was no simple case of cruelty – as in the case of two dogs killed in the marketplace at nearby Reading earlier that year by having oil of vitriol thrown on them – in which the dog is a thing for the amusement of the perpetrator, but rather an act of anti-conviviality.⁵⁶

Pigs were enrolled in a no less complex set of relations than dogs. The history of the use of ‘pig’ as a term of personal insult goes back to at least the mid-sixteenth century, the allusion being to unpleasantness, unattractiveness, and greediness. Infamously, in his response to the French Revolution of 1789, Edmund Burke referred to the populace at large as the ‘swinish multitude’, though English Jacobins were quick to reappropriate Burke’s porcine pejorative into a pennant of popular pride. By the beginning of the nineteenth century ‘pig’ was also being used pejoratively to refer to Bow Street Runners, those London police officers sent into the provinces to investigate crimes. The use of the word swine had an even longer history as a term of abuse, it being used since the time of Chaucer as a reference to degraded habits.⁵⁷ If the precise genesis of these uses is open to conjecture, the allusion made to those living in dirty, close conditions is obvious.⁵⁸ These long-standing popular understandings carried through into perceptions of those poor members of society who

lived closely with pigs. As Bob Malcolmson and Stephanos Mastoris note, the pig was closely associated with Irish migrants, a group racially framed and represented in terms of bestial characteristics and manners. The Irish migrant in England, according to Fredrick Engels, 'builds a pig-sty against the house wall as he did at home [in rural Ireland], and if he is prevented from doing this, he lets the pig sleep in the room with himself'. Notwithstanding that the 'domestic' pig was kept to be fattened, slaughtered and eaten, Irish migrants, so Engels continued, still ate, slept and played with their pigs. Their pigs were truly companion animals, but companion animals that were always destined to be killed and consumed.⁵⁹

While Engels in his investigation of rapidly growing Manchester in the early 1840s considered the pig to be a companion, and problem, of the Irish, living with pigs (and other livestock) was not confined to immigrants. Nor was it a recent phenomenon. The practice of living in the same quarters with one's animals goes back to the point at which animals were first domesticated, some 15,000 years ago, though animals were probably first admitted into human spaces somewhere between 60,000 and 125,000 years ago. As Tim Ingold has put it, in these ways animals became 'domestic familiars'.⁶⁰ Such human-animal cohabitation arrangements persisted in a variety of contexts: from the byre-dwellings of Cumbria and parts of south-west England, to the shared human-dog-lamb space of the mobile shepherd's hut, and in other similar spaces in systems of transhumance. It was also true of the forced proximity of the peasants' or labourers' domestic space which was often shared with pigs and cattle.⁶¹ In this, pigs were especially important in rural England, given that for the rural poor so much was tied up in their being, both economically and socially. In areas with remnant commons and wastes, pig-keeping was especially important, pigs being the only animal to get by on the poorest of soils.⁶² For rural radical and self-styled friend of the rural poor, William Cobbett, the pig was the 'national animal', the pig promoting 'peace, goodwill, and happiness in a way that nothing else could'. This revered status was not simply a function of porcine culinary versatility or hogs' ability to convert waste into flesh and fat but also a reflection of the metaphysical awe in which pigs were held. If a 'couple of flitches of bacon' were worth 'fifty thousand methodist sermons and religious tracts', alive pigs were 'great softeners of the temper and promoters of domestic harmony. They are a blessing'. The cottage pig-keeper's discourse would start, so Cobbett claimed all 'rural philosophers' knew, with 'd-d hog' but soon ran to 'pretty piggy' as the hog made itself part of domestic life, becoming a porcine member of the wider family. More than any other animal in rural England, pigs truly assumed a position as, after Whatmore and Thorne, 'strange persons'. As such, the day of porcicide was thus at once a fleshy harvest yet also a day of, as Ian Dyck has put it, 'nervous anticipation'.⁶³ The infamous pig-killing scene in Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* depicts a day of misgivings, anxiety, fear, argument, guilt, anguish and tears.⁶⁴

'Neighbours and playmates': tenderness

As one might expect with an animal that became a part of the family, until the day of unbearable angst, pigs could be shown a considerable amount of tenderness. According to Engels, the children of piggy families 'play with it, ride upon it, roll in

the dirt with it'.⁶⁵ As Flora Thompson recalled in *Lark Rise to Candleford*, the poor family's pig would become the subject of wider affection too: 'Men callers on Sunday afternoons came, not to see the [human] family, but the pig, and would lounge with its owner against the pigsty door for an hour, scratching the piggy's back'. That 'callers' visited and paid attention to the pig was in part predicated on the understanding that when slaughtered there would be a 'pig feast', calling by way of getting an invitation. The affection and tenderness shown to the pig was real enough; it just assumed a (to us) paradoxical position juxtaposing love and the inevitable final act of violence, the giving up of meat itself an act of paradoxical love.⁶⁶

This conjunction between tenderness and violence played out in a variety of contexts involving attacks on animals by those employed to look after them. In many cases of animal maiming it was the very person engaged in their care that was found to be, or suspected of being, the culprit. In May 1830, a boy was charged with thrusting a whip down the throat of his employer's horse at Basingstoke (Hampshire), an act the local press described as a 'wanton act of barbarity'. The practice of cutting the manes and tails of horses was also common. No doubt some such acts were theft, the culprits selling the valuable hair, but many other acts were deliberate inversions of the care normally shown to the animal. It was an act of revenge against masters and mistresses, well-groomed manes and tails the work of greatest care and tenderness but also the most obvious visual symbol of the pride invested by the rulers of rural England in their animals.⁶⁷ The inversion was not just practised against horses but also against other animals of the field and yard too. Sussex shepherd Rollason was arrested in the summer of 1849 on suspicion of cutting the throats and otherwise mutilating six lambs belonging to his master, farmer Akers of Hellingly. A 'diabolical' letter received by Akers subsequently confirmed that the motive was revenge, 'rejoic[ing]' in the act and threatening 'further harm by setting fire to the premises'.⁶⁸ In an even more blood-curdling act, a 10-year-old boy employed to look after the lambs on a farm at Idmiston (Wiltshire) confessed to killing twenty-one lambs with an iron bar. Three weeks previously his master had struck him, the boy's revenge being the striking of the lambs in his care.⁶⁹

The line between care and affection and cruelty and violence was arguably most profoundly expressed in the relationship between rural workers and wild animals. If Cobbett claimed that only toads and adders came second to the hatred labourers had for rich, self-aggrandising farmers, other wild animals provided not only food (through poaching) and sport for the rural poor but also enchantment.⁷⁰ The poems of 'peasant poet' John Clare are not only replete with references to the natural world; arguably, the fact of his being at one with the wider creation (as he saw it) defined his oeuvre. This went far beyond the work of the romantic poets in that Clare both demonstrated a far greater understanding of the natural world, and wrote of it from the perspective of his everyday life working in the Northamptonshire countryside. Yet, as David Perkins has noted, even the 'nature poet' Clare wrote 'stock celebrations' of hunting.⁷¹ W.H. Hudson's semi-fictional autobiography *A Shepherd's Life* also vividly relates the apparently contradictory positions of rural workers in relation to wild animals. In Hudson's account, shepherd Caleb Bawcombe (thought to represent real-life James Lawes) was reported as being so enchanted 'with the pretty sight of all these little foxes, neighbours and playmates' that he spent evening after evening

with them, sitting for ‘an hour or longer watching them’. Caleb later took the tenant farmer, whose land the foxes’ burrows were on, to the spot. He too ‘enjoyed the sight’ but was determined to get rid of the foxes ‘in the usual way exploding a small quantity of gunpowder in the burrows’.⁷²

The strongest bond was between that of ‘horselads’ – agricultural workers employed to tend to and work with working horses – and their equine charges. If, as Hudson related, farmers were decidedly unsentimental when horses came to the end of their working lives, ‘worn out’ horses being sold to the hunt and fed to the hounds, those that worked most closely with them developed deep, affective engagements.⁷³ Such relations were reciprocal. John Lawrence in an 1802 treatise on the *Moral Duties of Man Towards the Brute Creation* noted that humans and horses alike showed affection to one another, while, as Keith Thomas detailed, Gervase Markham in his 1644 guide to horse care asserted that horses felt love, hatred, sorrow and joy, something they showed to their humans.⁷⁴ Getting at the way in which those who worked most closely with horses felt about their equine charges is harder for the simple reason that such horselads had no great reason to record their feelings. As Katherine and Melanie Giles’ analysis of graffiti in extant nineteenth-century farm buildings in the Yorkshire Wolds attests, however, some lads thought enough of their animal charges to represent them in graffiti.⁷⁵

Our most detailed understanding of the relationship comes from Counce’s oral histories of East Yorkshire horselads. While Counce’s study relates to experiences in the first half of the twentieth century, the horse–human relations detailed essentially remained unaltered from the turn of the nineteenth century. Several aspects are particularly striking. There was a decisive geography as to who was responsible for cleaning and grooming the farm’s horses. In the Vale of York it was the job of the waggoner, the most senior member of the horse team, whereas elsewhere in the East Riding it was the job of a lad who would feed, clean and groom up to four horses.⁷⁶ It was the acts of feeding and grooming, so Counce’s respondents related, that built up a close relation and partnership between horse and human, something that ‘was essential if the work was to be done without a struggle’. The bond was further deepened by the competition between the lads as to who could turn out the glossiest and fattest horses, while during the winter when the horses were kept in the stables the lads responsible would often spend their spare time with them taking advantage of the heat they gave off.⁷⁷ Not only was this all considered to be the work of men, but there was even a gendered hierarchy based on strength: the strongest lads would care for the stallions, the less powerful lads the geldings and the mares. Not too surprisingly, the horselads – this colloquial name in itself a reference to the men becoming horsey – tended to anthropomorphise their equine co-workers. ‘[Y]ou used to get some nice horses, a nice type of horse . . . When I was at Ruston Parva we had twin sisters, by – talk about them moving! They used to go overfast for me!’⁷⁸ Of course, the practice of breaking a horse was to make it not only yield to command but also to make it attentive to human being and presence, it was to make the horse more human. Certainly, there was a strong sense that Counce’s respondents believed that the horses became emotionally attached to their lads – and in return ‘most horselads were very fond of their teams and to be severed from them . . . was a wrench’.⁷⁹

Conclusion

Together, the foregoing cases do not constitute *the* history of human–animal relations in rural England. Elsewhere, in other places and times, no doubt other dynamics pertained. But the examples speak to a set of important humanimal dynamics and the ways in which not only were animals central to all ways of being in rural England but also fundamentally shaped rural worlds. Central to these unfurling topologies, the relations constantly changing over time and according to spatial contexts, was the profound connection between, on the one hand, love and affection, and on the other hand, violence. We know that some animals were thought to be fair game for hunting, killing and torture, Cobbett’s adders and toads amongst them, and normalised and given cultural sanction in nursery rhymes and the many forms of highly stylised forms of violence (hunting; cockfighting). The passage of ‘Humanity’ Martin’s Act (3 Geo. IV c. 71) in 1822 – the first dedicated legislation anywhere in the world that specifically prohibited cruelty to animals in consideration of their suffering – speaks to both the persistence of a culture of violence against animals as well as a stiffening of resolve to reform such attitudes. And even then we should not read too much into the passage of Martin’s Act, for it only related to cattle, horses and sheep. It was not until the 1835 Cruelty to Animals Act (5 & 6 Will. 4, c. 59) that protection was also offered to dogs, goats and sheep, and bear-baiting and cockfighting were prohibited throughout England and Wales.⁸⁰

Hitherto the emphasis on the emergence of new conceptions of animal rights and changing attitudes towards animal cruelty have tended to mask the ways in which companionship and interspecies affection, even something approaching love, were important in determining relations between humans and animals in rural England. It is clear that in a variety of contexts humans and animals came together in ways that were determined not just by the workings of capital or the logics of domestication and captivity but by care and respect. It is telling that some acts of violence – for instance the cutting of hair or the maiming of lambs – were parodies and bitter satires of care, tenderness towards animals positioned as the other of human suffering. As ‘being with’ took many forms, so tenderness and violence should not be understood as being diametrically opposed. After all, the cottagers’ hog was at once pretty piggy and future food, it was never just a pet or just flesh. Gentlemen’s horses were sold to the hunt, walked into the woods, shot, and the skin removed before being devoured by the hounds. Even the famed and feted Durham Ox ended up nourishing human bodies.

To return to Hunt’s *Our English Coasts*. Beyond (re)thinking through human–animal relations in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century rural England, this chapter also serves as a plea to economic and social historians to put animals back in their place (and into their studies). The animal studies movement, allied to work in cultural studies and cognate disciplines, has transformed the role of animals in academic study, while work by intellectual and urban historians (and historical geographers) has begun to critically engage with animals as something more than just fleshy things. To acknowledge, then, that animals are important in studying rural pasts is a start. To think of animals as more than numbers on inventories and rolls, as there but not there, as more than things that simply existed in fields and yards while the real stuff

of (purely) human life went on, requires a far greater shift in how we conceptualise the rural and how we do history. The moments, the cases, examined in this chapter offer one possible way of writing such a new more-than-human rural history.

Notes

- 1 William Holman Hunt, *Our English Coasts* ('Strayed Sheep'), 1852: Tate Gallery, London. See: www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/hunt-our-english-coasts-1852-strayed-sheep-n05665, last accessed 23 March 2017; E. Pretteljohn, *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites*, London: Tate Publishing, 2000, 177–178; L. Parris (ed.), *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exhibition catalogue, London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1984, 108. Tellingly, *The Hireling Shepherd* was received in similar ways, critics commenting not on the sheep but taking offence at the 'flushed and rubicund' shepherd in suggestive repose with a flame-haired country girl: *Athenaeum*, 22 May 1853, 581–583. That the precise setting of Hunt's later painting was at a place in Fairlight Glen known as The Lover's Seat might be a reference to the controversial themes of *The Hireling Shepherd* or a simple coincidence.
- 2 E.H. Whetham, 'The trade in pedigree livestock 1850–1910', *Agricultural History Review* 27, 1 (1979): 47–50. For the classic exposition of this approach see J.D. Chambers and G.E. Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750–1880*, London: Batsford, 1966.
- 3 L. Bellamy, K.D.M. Snell and T. Williamson, 'Rural history: the prospect before us', *Rural History* 1, 1 (1990): 1–4.
- 4 On the outcome of such acts of intellectual purification see S. Whatmore, *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*, London: Sage, 2002, ch.1.
- 5 C.J. Griffin, "'Some inhuman wretch": animal maiming and the ambivalent relationship between rural workers and animals', *Rural History* 25, 2 (2014): 133–160.
- 6 See D.J. Haraway, *When Species Meet*, Minneapolis MN: Minnesota University Press, 2008.
- 7 I deliberately use the term movement for, as Nigel Rothfels notes, such scholarship is 'embedded in ethics and activism', thus constituting something with shared aims and objectives which transcends the academy and seeks political and cultural change: N. Rothfels, 'Foreword', in J. Costlow and A. Nelson (eds.), *Other Animals: Beyond the Human in Russian Culture and History*, Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010, x.
- 8 S.J. Pearson and M. Weismantel, 'Does "the animal" exist? Toward a theory of social life with animals', in D. Brantz (ed.) *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans, and the Study of History*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010, 17–37, 22.
- 9 H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- 10 Haraway, *When Species Meet*; Whatmore, *Hybrid Geographies*; S. Whatmore and L. Thorne, 'Wild(er)ness: reconfiguring the geographies of wildlife', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23, 4 (1988): 435–454.
- 11 P. Howell, *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015, introduction.
- 12 J.C. Wood, *Violence and Crime in Nineteenth-Century England: The Shadow of our Refinement*, London: Routledge, 2004, 28.
- 13 J. Berger, *Why Look At Animals?*, London: Penguin, 2009, cited in Howell, *At Home and Astray*, 187.
- 14 On these dynamics see: H. Buller and C. Morris, 'Farm animal welfare: a new repertoire of nature–society relations or modernism re-embedded?', *Sociologia Ruralis* 43, 3 (2003): 216–237; M. Watts, 'Afterword: enclosure', in C. Philo and C. Wilbert (eds.), *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human–Animal Relations*, London: Routledge, 2000, 292–304.

- 15 R. Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770–1870*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, 38–39; R. Malcolmson and S. Mastoris, *The English Pig: A History*, London: Hambledon, 2001, 43.
- 16 B. Short, “‘The art and craft of chicken cramming’”: poultry in the Weald of Sussex 1850–1950’, *Agricultural History Review* 30, 1 (1982): 17–30.
- 17 R. Nimmo, *Milk, Modernity and the Making of the Human: Purifying the Social*, London: Routledge, 2010. Also see: P. Atkins (ed.), *Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- 18 R. Boddice, *History of Attitudes and Behaviours Towards Animals in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain: Anthropocentrism and the Emergence of Animals*, Lewiston NY: Edward Mellen Press, 2008, 84.
- 19 K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800*, London: Penguin, 1983; D. Harwood, *Love for Animals and How it Developed in Great Britain*, New York NY: Columbia University Press, 1928.
- 20 Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 143.
- 21 G. White, *The Natural History of Selborne*, ed. A. Secord, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 18.
- 22 Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 147, 150–160.
- 23 On the reception of Thomas’s study see: M. Chase, ‘Can history be green? A prognosis’, *Rural History* 3, 2 (1992): 243–254, 248.
- 24 For instance see: H.C. Darby, *The Draining of the Fens*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940; M. Williams, *Drainage of the Somerset Levels*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970; D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- 25 Anglo-American Conference Programme, www.history.ac.uk/aac2010/schedule; the Landscape and Environment Programme, 2006–2012, www.landscape.ac.uk/landscape/index.aspx, both last accessed 23 May 2016.
- 26 E. Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality and Humanity in Early Modern England*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2006; J. Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980; H. Kean, *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain Since 1800*, London: Reaktion, 1998. For important US parallels see: D. Beers, *For the Prevention of Cruelty: The History and Legacy of Animal Rights Activism in the United States*, Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2006.
- 27 E. Griffin, *Blood Sport: A History of Hunting in Britain*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007; E. Griffin, *England’s Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660–1800*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. On excellent recent studies of poaching but that do not frame their analyses in terms of human–animal relations see: H. Osborne and M. Winstanley, ‘Rural and urban poaching in Victorian England’, *Rural History* 17, 2 (2006): 187–212; H. Osborne, “‘Unwomanly practices’”: poaching crime, gender and the female offender in nineteenth-century Britain’, *Rural History* 27, 2 (2016): 149–168.
- 28 Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, (*passim*).
- 29 S. Caunce, *Amongst Farm Horses: The Horseslads of East Yorkshire*, Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991.
- 30 Fudge, *Brutal Reasoning*; P. Howell, ‘Flush and the banditti: dog-stealing in Victorian London’, in C. Philo and C. Wilbert (eds.), *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human–Animal Relations*, London: Routledge, 2000, 35–55; Howell, *At Home and Astray*; J. Serpell, *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human–Animal Relationships*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

- 31 D. Matless, 'Versions of animal-human: Broadland, 1945-70', in C. Philo and C. Wilbert (eds.), *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*, London: Routledge, 2000, 115-140; H. Lorimer, 'Herding memories of humans and animals', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24, 4 (2006): 497-518. For ways in which ideas of nature and culture have been critically reworked in cultural geography see: Whatmore, *Hybrid Geographies*; Whatmore and Thorne, 'Wild(er)ness'.
- 32 Lorimer, 'Herding memories', 517.
- 33 Griffin, 'Some inhuman wretch', 135.
- 34 Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, 2.
- 35 *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 18 April 1807; *Derby Mercury*, 30 April 1807.
- 36 M. Quinn, 'Corpulent cattle and milk machines: nature, art and the ideal type', *Society & Animals* 1, 2 (1993): 145-157; B. Rogers, *Beef and Liberty*, London: Vintage, 2004; R.S. Metcalfe, *Meat, Commerce and the City: The London Food Market, 1800-1855*, London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012.
- 37 On Cooper see: S. Sartin, *Thomas Sidney Cooper, C.V.O., R.A., 1803-1902*, Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1976.
- 38 R. Blake, *George Stubbs and the Wide Creation: Animals, People and Places in the Life of George Stubbs, 1724-1806*, London: Chatto and Windus, 2005; 'The Horse: from Arabia to Royal Ascot', available at www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on/past_exhibitions/2012/the_horse.aspx, last accessed 8 June 2016.
- 39 On this, see A. Harvey's excellent *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850*, London: Ashgate, 2004.
- 40 See www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1220985, last accessed 23 March 2017.
- 41 Griffin, *Blood Sport (passim)*; M. De Belin, *From the Deer to the Fox: the Hunting Transition and the Landscape, 1600-1850*, Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2013; N.J. Sykes, 'The impact of the Normans on hunting practices in England', in C.M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds.), *Food in Medieval England: History and Archaeology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 162-175; N.J. Sykes, 'The dynamics of status symbols: wildfowl exploitation in England, AD 410-1550', *Archaeological Journal* 161, 1 (2004): 82-105; C.M. Woolgar, *The Culture of Food in England, 1200-1500*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2016.
- 42 G.G.S. Bowie, 'New sheep for old - changes in sheep farming in Hampshire, 1792-1879', *Agricultural History Review* 35, 1 (1987): 15-24, 17. On the development of Southdown sheep see: S. Farrant, 'John Ellman of Glynde in Sussex', *Agricultural History Review* 26, 2 (1978): 77-88.
- 43 S.W. Martins, 'From black-face to white-face - an aspect of the agricultural revolution in Norfolk', *Agricultural History Review* 41, 1 (1993): 20-30, 20.
- 44 On these dynamics see: C.J. Griffin, *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700-1850*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014, especially ch. 2; R. Wells, 'Social protest, class, conflict, and consciousness in the English countryside, 1700-1880', in R. Wells and M. Reed (eds.), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside, 1700-1880*, London: Frank Cass, 121-214.
- 45 *Leeds Intelligencer*, 15 August 1808.
- 46 J.E. Archer, "'A fiendish outrage'? A study of animal maiming in East Anglia: 1830-1870", *Agricultural History Review* 33, 2 (1985): 147-157; Griffin, 'Some inhuman wretch', 133-160.
- 47 *Hampshire Advertiser*, 20 May and 19 August 1848; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 19 August 1848.
- 48 *Hampshire Advertiser*, 1 December 1827; *Portsmouth, Portsea & Gosport Herald*, 21 November 1830.
- 49 *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 11 August 1817.

- 50 Thomas Gainsborough, Mr. and Mrs. Andrews, c.1750, National Gallery, London: see www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/thomas-gainsborough-mr-and-mrs-andrews, last accessed 23 March 2017; H. Prince, 'Art and agrarian change, 1710–1815', in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 98–118, 103.
- 51 On these dynamics see J. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700–1820*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, especially ch.1.
- 52 E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origins of the Black Act*, London: Penguin, 1977, 63 and n.3.
- 53 Hampshire County Record Office, 49M69 PV1, Preston Candover Vestry Minute, 11 May 1827; Berkshire County Record Office, DP13081, Thatcham Vestry Minute, 28 February 1825.
- 54 *Southampton Herald*, 31 May 1824.
- 55 Centre for Kentish Studies, Q/SBW/124/9, Deposition of Charlotte Stacey, Stockbury, 19 November 1830.
- 56 *Reading Mercury*, 12 May 1788 and 27 July 1789. On the idea of interspecies conviviality see: S. Hincliffe and S. Whatmore, 'Living cities: towards a politics of conviviality', *Science as Culture* 15, 2 (2006): 123–138.
- 57 swine, n. OED Online, Oxford University Press. www.oed.com/view/Entry/195871?redirectedFrom=swine, last accessed 13 June 2016; M. Davis, 'The British Jacobins: folk devils in the age of counter-revolution?', in D. Lemmings and C. Walker (eds), *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009, 221–244, 237.
- 58 Malcolmson and Mastoris, *The English Pig*, xiii.
- 59 Malcolmson and Mastoris, *The English Pig*, 42–43. On British conceptions of the Irish rural poor see: D. Nally, *Human Encumbrances: Political Violence and the Great Irish Famine*, Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011, especially ch. 5.
- 60 A. Sabloff, *Reordering the Natural World: Humans and Animals in the City*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001, 54; T. Ingold, *What is an Animal?* London: Routledge, 1994, 1.
- 61 J. Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume 4, 1500–1640, Part 2*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, 710–711; J. McDonnell, 'The role of transhumance in northern England', *Northern History*, 24, 1 (1988): 1–17.
- 62 Malcolmson and Mastoris, *The English Pig*, 45.
- 63 W. Cobbett, *Cottage Economy*, London: C. Clement, 1822, 112; *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 13 October 1827; Whatmore and Thorne, 'Wild(er)ness', 451; I. Dyck, *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 115–116.
- 64 T. Hardy, *Jude the Obscure*, London: Penguin, 1998 [1895], 64.
- 65 Cited in Malcolmson and Mastoris, *The English Pig*, 43.
- 66 F. Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford: A Trilogy*, Boston MA: Nonpareil, 2009 [1939], 11–13.
- 67 *Southampton Mercury*, 1 May 1830. On the cutting of tails and manes see: Archer, 'A fiendish outrage?', 150.
- 68 *Sussex Agricultural Express*, 18 August and 1 September 1849; *Sussex Advertiser*, 21 August 1849.
- 69 *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 14 June and 16 August 1824; *Southampton County Chronicle*, 19 June 1824.
- 70 *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, 11 September 1824.
- 71 J. Bate, *John Clare: A Biography*, New York NY: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2003; D. Perkins, *Romanticism and Animal Rights*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 75.
- 72 W. Hudson, *The Illustrated Shepherd's Life*, London: Bodley Head, 1987 [1910], 81.

- 73 Hudson, *The Illustrated Shepherd's Life*, 84.
- 74 J. Lawrence, *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses and on the Moral Duties of Man Towards the Brute Creation*, Volume 1, London: H.D. Symonds, 1802; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 101.
- 75 K. Giles and M. Giles, 'Signs of the times: nineteenth–twentieth century graffiti in the farms of the Yorkshire Wolds', in J. Oliver and T. Neal (eds.), *Wild Signs: Graffiti in Archaeology and History*, Studies in Contemporary and Historical Archaeology 6 (British Archaeological Reports), Oxford, 2010, 47–59.
- 76 Caunce, *Amongst Farm Horses*, 48.
- 77 Caunce, *Amongst Farm Horses*, 96, 97.
- 78 Caunce, *Amongst Farm Horses*, 124.
- 79 Caunce, *Amongst Farm Horses*, 48.
- 80 Kean, *Animal Rights*, 33–35; C. Sherry, *Animal Rights: A Reference Handbook*, Santa Barbara CA: ABC-Clio, 2009, 110.

Bibliography

- Archer, J.E. "'A fiendish outrage'": A study of animal maiming in East Anglia: 1830–1870', *Agricultural History Review* 33, 2 (1985): 147–157.
- Atkins, P. (ed.), *Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- Bate, J. *John Clare: A Biography*, New York NY: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2003.
- Beers, D. *For the Prevention of Cruelty: The History and Legacy of Animal Rights Activism in the United States*, Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2006.
- Bellamy, L., Snell, K.D.M., and Williamson, T. 'Rural history: the prospect before us', *Rural History* 1, 1 (1990): 1–4.
- Berger, J. *Why Look At Animals?* London: Penguin, 2009.
- Blake, R. *George Stubbs and the Wide Creation: Animals, People and Places in the Life of George Stubbs, 1724–1806*, London: Chatto and Windus, 2005.
- Boddice, R. *History of Attitudes and Behaviours Towards Animals in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain: Anthropocentrism and the Emergence of Animals*, Lewiston NY: Edward Mellen Press, 2008, 84.
- Bowie, G.G.S. 'New sheep for old – changes in sheep farming in Hampshire, 1792–1879', *Agricultural History Review* 35, 1 (1987): 15–24.
- Buller, H. and Morris, C. 'Farm animal welfare: a new repertoire of nature–society relations or modernism re-embedded?', *Sociologia Ruralis* 43, 3 (2003): 216–237.
- Caunce, S. *Amongst Farm Horses: The Horselads of East Yorkshire*, Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991.
- Chambers, J.D. and Mingay, G.E. *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750–1880*, London: Batsford, 1966.
- Chase, M. 'Can history be green? A prognosis', *Rural History* 3, 2 (1992): 243–254.
- Cobbett, W. *Cottage Economy*, London: C. Clement, 1822.
- Cosgrove, D. and Daniels, S. (eds.), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Darby, H.C. *The Draining of the Fens*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940.
- Davis, M. 'The British Jacobins: folk devils in the age of counter-revolution?', in D. Lemmings and C. Walker (eds.), *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2009, 221–244, 237.
- De Belin, M. *From the Deer to the Fox: the Hunting Transition and the Landscape, 1600–1850*, Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2013.
- Dyck, I. *William Cobbett and Rural Popular Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 115–116.

- Farrant, S. 'John Ellman of Glynde in Sussex', *Agricultural History Review* 26, 2 (1978): 77–88.
- Fudge, E. *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality and Humanity in Early Modern England*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Giles, K. and Giles, M. 'Signs of the times: nineteenth–twentieth century graffiti in the farms of the Yorkshire Wolds', in J. Oliver and T. Neal (eds.), *Wild Signs: Graffiti in Archaeology and History*, Studies in Contemporary and Historical Archaeology 6 (British Archaeological Reports), Oxford, 2010, 47–59.
- Griffin, C.J. "'Some inhuman wretch": animal maiming and the ambivalent relationship between rural workers and animals', *Rural History* 25, 2 (2014): 133–160.
- Griffin, C.J. *Protest, Politics and Work in Rural England, 1700–1850*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014.
- Griffin, E. *England's Revelry: A History of Popular Sports and Pastimes, 1660–1800*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Griffin, E. *Blood Sport: A History of Hunting in Britain*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Haraway, D.J. *When Species Meet*, Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Hardy, T. *Jude the Obscure*, London: Penguin, 1998 [1895].
- Harvey, A. *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793–1850*, London: Ashgate, 2004.
- Harwood, D. *Love for Animals and How It Developed in Great Britain*, New York NY: Columbia University Press, 1928.
- Hinchliffe, S. and Whatmore, S. 'Living cities: towards a politics of conviviality', *Science as Culture* 15, 2 (2006): 123–138.
- Howell, P. 'Flush and the *banditti*: dog-stealing in Victorian London', in C. Philo and C. Wilbert (eds.), *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*, London: Routledge, 2000, 35–55.
- Howell, H. *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015.
- Hudson, W. *The Illustrated Shepherd's Life*, London: Bodley Head, 1987 [1910].
- Ingold, T. *What is an Animal?* London: Routledge, 1994.
- Kean, H. *Animal Rights: Political and Social Change in Britain Since 1800*, London: Reaktion, 1998.
- Lawrence, J. *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses and on the Moral Duties of Man Towards the Brute Creation*, Volume 1, London: H.D. Symonds, 1802.
- Lorimer, H. 'Herding memories of humans and animals', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 24, 4 (2006): 497–518.
- McDonnel, J. 'The role of transhumance in northern England', *Northern History* 24, 1 (1988): 1–17.
- Malcolmson, R. and Mastoris, S. *The English Pig: A History*, London: Hambledon, 2001.
- Martins, S.W. 'From black-face to white-face – an aspect of the agricultural revolution in Norfolk', *Agricultural History Review* 41, 1 (1993): 20–30.
- Matless, D. 'Versions of animal-human: Broadland, 1945–70', in C. Philo and C. Wilbert (eds.), *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*, London: Routledge, 2000, 115–140.
- Metcalf, R.S. *Meat, Commerce and the City: The London Food Market, 1800–1855*, London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012.
- Nally, D. *Human Encumbrances: Political Violence and the Great Irish Famine*, Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011.
- Neeson, J. *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700–1820*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

- Nimmo, R. *Milk, Modernity and the Making of the Human: Purifying the Social*, London: Routledge, 2010.
- Osborne, H. and Winstanley, M. 'Rural and urban poaching in Victorian England', *Rural History* 17, 2 (2006): 187–212.
- Osborne, H. "'Unwomanly practices": poaching crime, gender and the female offender in nineteenth-century Britain', *Rural History* 27, 2 (2016): 149–168.
- Parris, L. (ed.) *The Pre-Raphaelites*, exhibition catalogue, London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1984.
- Pearson, S.J. and Weismantel, M. 'Does "the animal" exist? Toward a theory of social life with animals', in D. Brantz (ed.), *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans, and the Study of History*, Charlottesville VA: University of Virginia Press, 2010, 17–37.
- Perkins, D. *Romanticism and Animal Rights*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Prettlejohn, E. *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites*, London: Tate Publishing, 2000.
- Prince, H. 'Art and agrarian change, 1710–1815', in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (eds.), *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 98–118.
- Quinn, M. 'Corpulent cattle and milk machines: nature, art and the ideal type', *Society & Animals* 1, 2 (1993): 145–157.
- Ritvo, H. *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Rogers, B. *Beef and Liberty*, London: Vintage, 2004.
- Rothfels, N. 'Foreword', in J. Costlow and A. Nelson (eds.), *Other Animals: Beyond the Human in Russian Culture and History*, Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010.
- Sabloff, A. *Reordering the Natural World: Humans and Animals in the City*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Sartin, S. *Thomas Sidney Cooper, C.V.O., R.A., 1803–1902*, Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1976.
- Scola, R. *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770–1870*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Serpell, J. *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human-Animal Relationships*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Sherry, C. *Animal Rights: A Reference Handbook*, Santa Barbara CA: ABC-Clio, 2009.
- Short, B. "'The art and craft of chicken cramming": poultry in the Weald of Sussex 1850–1950', *Agricultural History Review* 30, 1 (1982): 17–30.
- Sykes, N.J. 'The dynamics of status symbols: wildfowl exploitation in England, AD 410–1550', *Archaeological Journal* 161, 1 (2004): 82–105.
- Sykes, N.J. 'The impact of the Normans on hunting practices in England', in C.M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds.), *Food in Medieval England: History and Archaeology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 162–175.
- Thirsk, J. *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume 4, 1500–1640, Part 2*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- Thomas, K. *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800*, London: Penguin, 1983.
- Thompson, E.P. *Whigs and Hunters: The Origins of the Black Act*, London: Penguin, 1977.
- Thompson, F. *Lark Rise to Candleford: A Trilogy*, Boston MA: Nonpareil, 2009 [1939].
- Turner, J. *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind*, Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Watts, M. 'Afterword: enclosure', in C. Philo and C. Wilbert (eds.), *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*, London: Routledge, 2000, 292–304.

- Wells, R. 'Social protest, class, conflict, and consciousness in the English countryside, 1700–1880', in R. Wells and M. Reed (eds.), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside, 1700–1880*, London: Frank Cass, 121–214.
- Whatmore, S. *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*, London: Sage, 2002.
- Whatmore, S. and L. Thorne, 'Wild(er)ness: reconfiguring the geographies of wildlife', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23, 4 (1988): 435–454.
- Whetham, E.H. 'The trade in pedigree livestock 1850–1910', *Agricultural History Review* 27, 1 (1979): 47–50.
- White, G. *The Natural History of Selborne*, ed. A. Secord, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Williams, M. *Drainage of the Somerset Levels*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Wood, J.C. *Violence and Crime in Nineteenth-Century England: The Shadow of our Refinement*, London: Routledge, 2004.
- Woolgar, C.M. *The Culture of Food in England, 1200–1500*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2016.