

University of Alberta

*Of Beasts and Men: Identities, Zoos and "Civilization" in Germany,
1858-1914*

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

History and Classics

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Spring, 2013

Edmonton, Alberta

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For my mother, who taught me to love animals;
for John, who taught me what selflessness means; and
for Karsten, who taught me what is important in life.

Abstract

This dissertation uses animals as a lens to examine the forces and changes affecting Germany between approximately 1860 and 1914. It suggests the centrality of animals to the construction of modern German identity, an identity characterized by extremely porous and unstable boundaries forged in relation to the shifting categories of race, class, and species. Although the Cologne Zoo is briefly examined, this study is mainly located in Hamburg, where the city's two zoos formed a nexus of national trends and international trade. Together the city and the zoos unite the various strands of business, industry, politics, science, colonialism and public life that constituted the German middle classes, which formed at the intersection of the transnational and cross-border flows and global transformations associated with "the modern." Close readings of published and archival sources illuminate the practices and discourses of zoo keeping at the Hamburg Zoological Garden and Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* (Animal Park) against the imperialist discourses of several publications (a memoir by Alfred Tetens' memoir and a scientific journal) related to the Hamburg based Godeffroy Shipping Company. In particular, the figure of Carl Hagenbeck reified middle-class German values and ideals and his popularization of humane training (*Zahm Dressur*) for circuses and his innovations in animal display exemplified the dynamics of the ideal imperial-colonial relationship. Also, an analysis of contemporary anthropomorphism shows the relative and constantly shifting nature of class, race and species identities within the context of Darwinism and colonial-

imperialism, which transnational culture brought into focus. These blurred and unstable identities call the fixity and definition of the human identity itself into question.

Acknowledgements

It is with a heart full of gratitude that I write these acknowledgements. The successful completion of my doctoral degree has been an extremely long journey. Along the way I was fortunate to find that I was accompanied by so many kind and supportive people. Without their help I would have never reached my destination.

I should add that many times throughout my graduate career I found that the professional intersected with the personal. For that reason, I do not want to indicate any strict division in my acknowledgements. Suffice it to say that one realm is as important as the other in completing a graduate degree and that I have been blessed to have had wonderful people in my life whenever and wherever I needed them.

My supervisor, Dr. Dennis Sweeney, always provided helpful feedback, good advice, patient understanding, encouragement and tremendous expertise and guidance. He provided me with the freedom to explore and create a project according to my own design and passions. Whatever small merit there may have been in my work, he was always able to draw out the best of it and shape it into something even better. All errors, of course, are my own.

I was also fortunate to have had an equally supportive, helpful and enthusiastic committee: Dr. John-Paul Himka, Dr. Guy Thompson, and Dr. Heather Coleman. Dr. Christine Ferguson's contributions at the early stage of this project and Dr. Nigel Rothfel's insightful and expert reading at the end were also

greatly appreciated. All of these professors exemplify the ideal academic community: all of them are great thinkers, humane, encouraging and committed to the pursuit of knowledge. It has been a privilege to work with you.

I am also grateful to Dr. Astrid Eckert, now at Emory University, for believing in my project at the outset and for providing valuable assistance just when I needed it. Dr. Angelika Schasser and Dr. Barbara Vogel, both at the Universität Hamburg, also took an early interest in my work and Dr. Vogel's seminar provided critical feedback just as my research was beginning to take shape. Similarly, the faculty and students at the University of Calgary were helpful in their responses to my guest presentation.

Thanks are also owed to the various graduate chairs whom I have worked with in the Department of History and Classics at the University of Alberta: Dr. David Johnson, Dr. C. Mackay, Dr. Lesley Cormack, Dr. F. Swyripa and Dr. D. Sweeney, and to the support staff in the Department of History and Classics, especially Lydia Dugbazah.

I also wish to acknowledge the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada, the German Historical Institute (GHI), the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD), the University of Alberta Graduate Students Association, and the University of Alberta.

I have also benefitted from the assistance of the staff at the University of Alberta's International Library Loan Department and their Special Collections Library; the Historisches Archiv der Stad Köln; Landesarchiv Berlin; the

Staatsarchiv Hamburg Hansestadt; the Altona Museum; the library of the Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg; the Museum für Kunst und Kultur an der Elbe (Jenisch House); and the Bibliothek des Ärztlichen Vereins in Hamburg. As my belly expanded – along with my research – into my thirty-second week of pregnancy, the touching attentiveness of the staff at the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, was very much appreciated. I also recall with great fondness the many wintery days spent researching at Hagenbeck's Archive, where Herr Gille proved himself not only to be an extremely able archivist and historian, but also a very pleasant colleague. His helpful suggestions played no small part in my research. It should be added that the family of Carl Hagenbeck and the operators of the *Tierpark* also deserve my thanks for making their materials available for research.

I am also indebted to Sybille Baumbach, Armin Stüwe, Sylvia Harrfeldt and the late Ilse Harrfeldt, who have all contributed their time and knowledge to my project. Along with Dirk and Claudia Rüggeberg, Dr. Basem and Ghada Schoaib and Matthias Reiss, all of these fine friends made John and I feel welcome in a city of strangers; they made Hamburg feel like a home. Likewise, Ljiljana Schlichting and Olaf Schlichting gave us their care and especially their companionship after our arrival in Berlin. Always when we were with them we felt that we were among family.

Here in Edmonton I have been equally blessed with the support and care of such a wonderful community that space considerations make it impossible to list everyone. Although they are not named, they are certainly not forgotten and

no less appreciated. Your kind interest and inquiries provided me with the encouragement I needed to finish. In particular, however, I want to acknowledge the contributions of Wolfgang Kownatzki and Helga Kownatzki, who provided essential and invaluable assistance with language issues and with accommodations in Berlin. Mrs. Sharon Cairns, as well as the staff and principal of Forest Heights School. Mrs. S. Carl, helped me in no small way by giving me a work space and letting me maximize my work time. Dr. Katherine Moore helped with advice, friendship and encouragement. My friend, Dr. Tracene Harvey helped with whatever came up and Peter Tinning never failed to ask about my progress or to listen. I also appreciate the support and/or assistance of Dr. Tanya Henderson, Melissa Casey, and Nicole Nickel-Lane.

Last, but certainly not least, I wish to thank my family for all of their love and support: Antje Espinaco-Virseda, Jr., August Mercer-Espinaco, Ian Mercer, Eva Kluge, Dr. Eike Kluge and my father, Juan Espinaco-Virseda. Above all, my mother, Antje Espinaco-Virseda, Sr., my husband, John Buhler and my son Karsten Buhler-Espinaco have been my strength and my foundation. You have been there in every way for every step of the way. This work is dedicated to you, for everything.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BAVH	Bibliothek des Ärztlichen Vereins, Hamburg
GSta	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
HA	Hagenbeck Archive, Hamburg/Stellingen Tierpark
HASK	Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln
LAB	Landesarchiv Berlin
MVH	Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg
StAHH	Staatsarchiv Hamburg Hansastadt
HMH	Stiftung Historische Museen Hamburg/Altonaer Museum

Introduction

In 1880, in the Hamburg Zoological Garden newspaper, the *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, a small article appeared. The article ridiculed the Berlin Zoo's high-society visitors as they conspicuously showed off their social status – and ostensibly edified themselves by partaking in the scientific and cultural education that the zoo offered:

Berlin can thank the tireless and highly commendable work of the renowned Director Bodinus that its zoological garden not only holds the rarest animal species but also that it has become a popular gathering place for the most interesting and most beautiful specimens of the human race, especially on the so-called concert days, so that here the people as well as the animals can get to know, observe and study the human being.¹

Max Ring, the author, then went on to humorously point out the physical similarities between humans and animals until coming to the conclusion that “In this way, the zoological garden always offers new material for comparative observations and involuntarily lures us to look up the family relations of the animal kingdom and the human world.”²

However, despite the witty comparisons, this article was actually intended to report on a banquet held at the zoo for a gathering of anthropologists. Ring's brief report of the event summarizes the short proceedings and lists the guests in attendance: anthropologists from across Germany (including Rudolf Virchow); various “private exhibitors”; the “official liberal attendance” of the princes and the free states; and the symbolic presence of the Kaiser, who was toasted.³

¹ StaHH A585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten, Max Ring, “Aus dem Zoologischen Garten zu Berlin,” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* nr. 17 (August 1880).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

However, the list also contains some omissions. Not mentioned, but also present would have been the workers who served at the banquet and the zoo animals, which are so drolly described, but which are only present as a reference for characterizing the humans.

Yet, what is remarkable about this article is the way in which it so fully (and unwittingly) points out the way in which the public zoo was the intersection of social, political, scientific, economic and cultural forces in imperial German society. The article illustrates the way in which anthropology and zoology overlapped and also their importance as rising stars of science – science, which was deeply implicated in framing the questions of race that permeated German identity. The article also shows how these fields were intertwined with politics and business. It suggests the importance of science and *Bildung* (education) to Germany's better classes. It also reveals the class striations of German society: the prominent middle classes and the aristocracy, and the invisible working classes. Finally, it locates all of these currents at the zoo, where they converged, and it explicitly describes the importance of animals, whether real or imagined, to understanding German society.

Indeed, Ring's article summarizes the main thesis of this dissertation. I wish to study animals as a prism by which to illuminate the forces and changes affecting Germany between approximately 1860 and 1914 and to suggest the centrality of animals to the construction of the modern German identity. At the same time, this will show not only how unstable both "human" and "animal" identities are, but how unstable all identities are.

My study, which draws from archival sources as well as published texts (especially newspapers and books) and visual materials, such as postcards and cartoons, will focus primarily, although not exclusively, upon zoos in Hamburg: specifically, the Hamburg Zoological Garden, founded in 1863, and Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* (Animal Park), founded in the Hamburg suburb of Stellingen in 1907. As a means of comparison and also to fill in gaps in the archival record I also, to a very limited extent in chapter two, consider the Cologne Zoo, which preceded the building of the Hamburg Zoo by four years.

Uniquely, Hamburg was the site of two different styles of zoo. The original Hamburg Zoo rose to national prominence for its extensive collection of animals. The zoo also benefitted from the concomitant notions of *Bildung* and entertainment that were exemplified at the zoo by its first director, the renowned naturalist and popular author, Dr. Alfred Brehm. On the other hand, the innovations of the internationally famous animal trader and founder of the *Tierpark*, Carl Hagenbeck, were – and still are – celebrated as signalling a new era of zookeeping. Not only did Hagenbeck achieve unsurpassed success in supplying zoos and circuses around the world with animals, but he was also involved with circuses and animal training, through which he popularized a humane approach to taming. In his time and now rather notoriously, Hagenbeck was also an important impresario in the staging of *Völkerschauen* (literally, “people shows”) which featured non-Europeans (and exceptionally, the Sami or “Laplanders” of northern Europe), performing scenes of their “everyday life.” Hagenbeck's crowning achievement, however, was and still is regarded as the

creation of his *Tierpark* in which he displayed acclimatized mixed animal groups in natural-looking outdoor panoramas, rather than in cages behind bars.

I have chosen to study Hamburg and specifically zoos, because both were a nexus of national trends and international trade. Together the city and the zoo bring together the numerous strands of class, public culture and colonialism that constitute my inquiry into the nature of the modern German state. As a free city, Hamburg boasted a visible and active *Bürgertum* (middle class), which was active in both the administration and the development of the city, including the Zoological Garden. As an important port city, it was also a critical point in the network that linked business, industry, politics, science, colonialism and public life to the world outside of Germany's borders. Indeed, the strength of these connections is charted by the emergence of the zoological garden in 1863 (on the wave of fervent zoo-building activity across Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century) and its quick rise to national prominence. By the end of the nineteenth century, Germany boasted a minimum of eleven city zoos, which reflected the vigor with which the European trend was embraced.

By the same token, Hamburg's array of museums, businesses and educational institutions also reflected the city's significant position within Germany and the global network. For example, the city's Museum of Ethnography was founded in 1879 and by 1908 a freestanding building for the museum was under construction. In 1908 the Hamburg Colonial Institute was opened for the purpose of preparing government officials as well as missionaries, scientists, planters, business people and so on, for service in the country's

colonies. Along with the establishment of the Hamburg Scientific foundation the year before, this institute ultimately helped to form the basis of the university that would be built in the city in 1919. Hamburg also hosted countless private museums and collections of naturalia, including the private collection of the Godeffroy Shipping Company – an international firm that also used its overseas business to support scientific research and whose collection later provided the basis for the Hamburg Natural History Museum.

Clearly, Hamburg was an important national and international concern that was deeply engaged with modernizing trends. Thus, a study of zoos in the city of Hamburg, with their overlapping layers of science, colonialism, class and popular culture, is well-situated to capture many of the currents of modernity which streamed through Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and which served to shape the new German nation.

If we use Detlev Peukert's description of "modernity" and "modernization," then we can understand these terms to refer comprehensively to industrialization and the concomitant effects of urbanization and the social and cultural change that accompanied them. According to Peukert's definition, which he asserts also extends to our own time, modernity is characterized by the economic, social, cultural and intellectual changes that emerged with the advent of industrial society in Europe and peaked at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These far-reaching developments impacted nearly every level and aspect of society, from the worker, who was subjected to wage and salary regimes, the specialization of labour, and the demand for greater training and education, to the

predominance of mass media. The trend towards greater industrial infrastructure and rationalization was accompanied by greater access to education and a proclivity for aesthetic experimentation that also created a disjuncture with more traditional creative expressions and forms. In essence and in practical application, modernity is shaped by, although not wholly embraced by, the ascent of western rational thought.⁴

Although Peukert's definition refers to the Weimar Republic, he also notes that the eighteen-nineties and the turn of the century mark important junctures for modernization.⁵ Colonial expansion, the spread of capitalism, the growth of science, changes to the social structure and new forms of public leisure that occurred in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are consistent with the development of German modernity and, indeed, provided the scaffolding for it.

Between approximately 1890 and 1910, Germany experienced a remarkable level of modernization that placed the country at the forefront of many international developments, including the fields of science and medicine, anthropology, public pedagogy and the popular media. For instance, a brief sampling of the country's international achievements shows that in 1901, Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen received the Nobel Prize for Physics for his discovery of x-rays and Emil von Behring was awarded the Noble Prize in Physiology or Medicine for his work on diphtheria. Also in 1901, the Dutchman Jacobus Henricus van't Hoff, working at Berlin University, received the Nobel Prize for Chemistry.

⁴ Detlev Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity*, translated by Richard Deveson (New York: Hill & Wang, 1987), 81-82, 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

In 1905, the same year that the German Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Adolph von Baeyer was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry, and Philipp Eduard Anton von Lenard, working at Kiel University, received the Noble Prize for Physics, the microbiologist Robert Koch was awarded the Nobel Prize in Medicine for his work on tuberculosis bacteria, which he had previously identified. In 1908 another microbiologist, Paul Ehrlich also received the honour for his immunological research.⁶ In addition, Rudolf Virchow, Adolf Bastian and Franz Boas – the last of whom went on to do research in the United States – played a significant role in shaping the emergent field of anthropology, both in Germany and internationally. By the end of the nineteenth century, the German university, founded on the student-centred model of education advocated by Wilhelm von Humboldt, which was based on seminars and research laboratories and on the specialization of scientific disciplines, was emulated throughout Europe. Furthermore, around the turn of the century, Germans enjoyed an unprecedented level of access to print culture. The new mass media was not exclusive. It targeted various demographic groups across German society and Berlin alone had more newspapers than any other city in Europe.⁷

Still, despite these advances, as Detlev Peukert points out both in his studies of the Weimar Republic and of the role of science in the Third Reich, there is nothing inherently progressive about modernity, or its handmaiden, science. Indeed, modernity can be full of internal contradictions and ambiguities.

⁶ “Facts and Lists: All Nobel Prizes by Year,” Nobelprize.org: The Official Website of the Nobel Prize, <http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/lists/year/index.html>, accessed 20 June 2012.

⁷ Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Oxford University Press, 1996), 16.

For example, the science that is harnessed to social policy as a means of benefitting society's disadvantaged or disabled, may equally be used to murder those same people as a means of, ostensibly, benefitting the rest of society.⁸

To be sure, contradictions and ambiguities are present throughout modernity. For example, the effects of modernization and the development of scientific knowledge and public pedagogies, are deeply intertwined with the history of animals and the environment. In his seminal work, *Man and the Natural World*, the historian Keith Thomas argued that between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries there was a shift in English sensibilities towards nature.

Whereas the rise of pet-keeping brought people into more intimate contact with animals, industrialization and the growth of cities, accompanied by the increased cultivation of land and a concomitant decline in wilderness, caused the English to question the anthropocentric view that humans should – and had a right to – subjugate nature.⁹ Increasingly, the killing of (some) animals was seen as morally objectionable and an example of what Thomas argued was an inevitable human dilemma: “how to reconcile the physical requirements of civilization with the new feelings and values which that same civilization had generated.”¹⁰ In this way, Thomas characterized the growing tension between the status of humans and the treatment of animals as an ineluctable condition of modernity.

⁸ Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*; idem, “The Genesis of the ‘Final Solution’ from the Spirit of Science,” in *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, with foreword by Charles S. Maier. Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds. (New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1993), 234-252.

⁹ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London: Penguin Books, 1984), 121, 242-3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 301.

Since then, European historians – particularly of Britain – have continued to examine the relationship between humans and animals as a way of understanding the tensions within modernity. For example, when English suffragettes and workers rioted in Battersea in 1907 in reaction to the actions of medical students who had attacked a statue honoring hundreds of dogs vivisected at a nearby university, their common cause revealed their identification with the victimization of animals.¹¹ Indeed, vivisection has been of ongoing interest to scholars concerned with Victorian England,¹² although their research on animals has not been limited to this topic.

For example, Harriet Ritvo's important study of the human-animal relationship in Victorian England considers a wide range of subjects, revealing a broad spectrum of interactions. In *The Animal Estate*, Ritvo examines everything from animal husbandry and dog breeding to big-game hunting and zoo keeping. In particular, her research highlights the various currents of class and imperialism that shaped these activities.¹³

¹¹ Coral Lansbury, *The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers, and Vivisection in Edwardian England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

¹² Brian Harrison, "Animals and the State in Nineteenth-Century England," in *Peacable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982); Susan Hamilton, "Pets and Scientific Subjects: Constructions of the Animal Body in Victorian Anti-Vivisection Periodicals," in *Literature and the Body* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1992); R.D. French, *Anti-Vivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1975). It has also been studied outside of the nineteenth-century British context. See Nicholaas A. Rupke, ed., *Vivisection in Historical Perspective* (London and New York: Croom Helm, 1987). For the German debates about vivisection see below.

¹³ Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987). For a shorter work dealing mainly with imperialism, see Harriet Ritvo, "The Order of Nature: Constructing the Collections of Victorian Zoos," in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996): 43-50. For other work on class tensions in Britain see Antony Taylor, "'Pig-Sticking Princes': Royal Hunting, Moral Outrage, and the Republican Opposition to Animal Abuse in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Britain," *History* 89 (293) (Jan. 2004): 30-48.

The larger social, cultural and political context of France has also lent itself to more broadly focused research on animals. Parisians' uneasy experience of modernity has been examined by Kathleen Kete in relation to pet keeping, rabies control, and animal protection in nineteenth-century France.¹⁴ On the other hand, rather than focus mainly on dogs and cats as Kete does, Louise Robbins has considered exotic animals in Paris in the eighteenth century, documenting their journey from the time of their capture to their various purposes in entertainment and science and as pets. Robbins also considers the cultural metaphors about exotic animals in contemporary literature, ranging from children's literature to scientific sources, to ultimately argue that their symbolisms enabled the French to examine aspects of their society, such as slavery, which they otherwise could only confront with difficulty.¹⁵

For Germany, however, such broadly themed and contextualized histories of animals and their meaning in modern society have been lacking. Instead, the research has been concentrated on a few main areas.¹⁶ Like their British counterparts, German historians have also considered nineteenth-century vivisection. However, the research has tended to focus specifically on the emergence of anti-vivisection societies and on the animal protection associations

¹⁴ Kathleen Kete, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

¹⁵ Louise E. Robbins, *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Pets: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, *Animals, History, Culture*, ed. Harriet Ritvo (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

¹⁶ For some shorter works on Germany based on a literary perspective see Jennifer Ham, "Taming the Beast: Animality in Wedekind and Nietzsche," in *Animal Acts: Configuring the Human in Western History*, eds. Jennifer Ham and Matthew Senior (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 145-163. See also Marian Scholtmeijer, "What is 'Human'? Metaphysics and Zoontology in Flaubert and Kafka," in *Animal Acts: Configuring the Human in Western History*, eds. Jennifer Ham and Matthew Senior (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 127-143.

themselves, rather than their social and cultural meanings. While some historians have suggested anti-Semitic tendencies in animal protection groups' campaigns against Kosher slaughter,¹⁷ more specifically focused research on groups based in Munich between 1871 and 1914 contradicts this, suggesting that there was no overlap between the membership of animal protection associations and anti-Semitic associations.¹⁸

Still, historians have also related the kosher slaughter debates in Bremen to broader trends relating to the creation of the German nation and to pressures associated with a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society,¹⁹ thereby suggesting a link to modernization. Likewise, Dorothee Brantz' examination of the debates about animal slaughter in general, and kosher slaughter, in particular, has pointed out not only the way these debates were imbedded in questions of modernity, but also, once again, the tensions inherent within modernity, such as whether or not the technology developed for stunning animals prior to slaughter was actually humane and how, exactly, animal slaughter fit in to a supposedly civilized nation.²⁰

In addition to these, there is a wealth of scholarly work relating to zoos, largely centred on the life and work of Carl Hagenbeck,²¹ although recently a

¹⁷ Ulrich Tröhler and Andreas-Holger Maehle, "Anti-vivisection in Nineteenth-century Germany and Switzerland: Motives and Methods," in *Vivisection in Historical Perspective*, ed. Nicolaas A. Rupke (London and New York: Croom Helm, 1987), 127-143.

¹⁸ Miriam Zerbel, *Tierschutz im Kaiserreich: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vereinwesens*, ed. Günter Hockerts and Gerhard A. Ritter (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1993), 134-143.

¹⁹ Robin Judd, "The Politics of Beef: Animal Advocacy and the Kosher Butchering Debates in Germany," *Jewish Social Studies*, New Series 10, no. 1 (Autumn 2003): 117-150.

²⁰ Dorothee Brantz, "Stunning Bodies: Animal Slaughter, Judaism and the Meaning of Humanity in Imperial Germany," *Central European History* vol. 35, no. 2 (2002): 167-194.

²¹ There are also many works relating to zoos outside of a specifically German context. For a literary treatment of zoos, see Randy Malamud. *Reading Zoos: Representations of Animals and*

close reading of Alfred Brehm's *Tierleben* has also been published.²² In particular, Lothar Dittrich's and Annelore Rieke-Müller's biography, *Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913)* was made in co-operation with the privately owned Hagenbeck Archive and provides a detailed account of Hagenbeck's life and work.²³ Also, their book, *Der Löwe brüllt nebenan (The Lion Roars Next Door)*, examines the foundation, practices and personalities associated with the foundation of zoos in Germany and Vienna, as well as projects, such as those in Munich and Stuttgart which failed.²⁴ Nigel Rothfels' treatment of Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* consider the impresario's animal businesses in a broader cultural context. He analyzes the business of animal catching and its changing representations, the role of the *Völkerschauen* in shaping Hagenbeck's animal enterprises, especially the *Tierpark*, and ultimately, how Hagenbeck's innovations contributed to the perception of the zoo as an animal sanctuary and a biblical "paradise."²⁵

Captivity (Washington Square, New York: New York University Press, 1998). In addition, David Hancocks' *A Different Nature: The Paradoxical World of Zoos and their Uncertain Future* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) is a zoo director's examination and critique of the rhetoric of zoos. For an examination of zoo display and viewer responses, see Bob Mullan and Garry Marvin, *Zoo Culture*, 2nd ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999). On American zoos see Elizabeth Hanson, *Animal Attractions: Nature on Display in American Zoos* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002).

²² Andreas Schulze, "*Belehrung und Unterhaltung. Brehms Tierleben im Spannungsfeld von Empire und Fiktion*" (München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2004).

²³ Lothar Dittrich and Annelore Rieke-Müller, *Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913): Tierhandel und Schaustellungen in Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998)

²⁴ Annelore Rieke-Müller and Lothar Dittrich, *Der Löwe brüllt nebenan: die Gründung Zoologischer Gärten im deutschsprachigen Raum 1833 - 1869* (Köln [u.a.]: Böhlau, 1998).

²⁵ Nigel Rothfels *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 2002). In "Immersed with Animals," Rothfels explores the fantasy of modern "immersion" exhibits at zoos, which have their roots in Hagenbeck's innovations (in *Representing Animals*, ed. Nigel Rothfels [Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002], 198-221). The physical structure of the zoo has also been analyzed in Elke von Radziewsky, "'Geh'n wir mal zu Hagenbeck': Auf die Kartoffeläcker vor Hamburgs Toren baute Carl Hagenbeck am Anfang des Jahrhunderts seinen Zoo - einen grandiosen Landschaftsgarten mit

As is evident from Rothfels' work on zoos, the history of Hagenbeck is deeply intertwined with the history of the *Völkerschauen*. These so-called anthropological exhibitions were popularized by Hagenbeck and were part and parcel of his animal businesses. Hagenbeck claims to have hit upon the idea for the *Völkerschauen* when his friend Heinrich Leutemann suggested that he display the "Laplanders" who accompanied the reindeer Hagenbeck had imported from Norway.²⁶ Not only did these shows revive Hagenbeck's ailing enterprise when the animal trade had taken a serious downturn, but they also provided a new venue for imported animals. To be sure, the *Völkerschauen* frequently took place within zoological gardens, where they were contracted to appear in designated show areas.

However, when Hagenbeck built his *Tierpark* not only did he include a large designated show area that permitted spectacularly unparalleled *Völkerschauen*, but he made sure that visitors were set within the "natural" animal panoramas of the park, where they could feel that they were immersed in an exotic fantasy. This immersion, Eric Ames contends, situates Hagenbeck's Animal Park at the forefront of other, contiguous spectacles, such as film, which, in fact, the *Tierpark* was also involved with. Ames shows that in the same way that Buffalo Bill Cody's "Wild West" shows blended fact and fantasy to yield huge commercial success, at Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* performers, animals and visitors collaborated in the performance of an elaborate fantasy. His work adds an

Saurierwiese und Japaninsel, mit Eismeerpanorama und Straußenfarm," *Architektur in Hamburg: Jahrbuch* (1999): 130-137.

²⁶ Carl Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen: Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen* (Leipzig: Paul List, 1908), 93.

important new dimension to our understanding of the phenomena of Hagenbeck's remarkable success and contributes not only to zoos and the history of animals, but to popular culture in general.²⁷

Certainly, Hagenbeck's involvement with the *Völkerschauen* has been a primary focus of historians, often overshadowing his animal businesses. While the Hagenbeck *Tierpark* and animal trade has only been taken seriously by historians for slightly more than a decade (Rothfels), the exact nature and activities of his "people business" have already been researched for several decades.²⁸ Recently, the topic of *Völkerschauen* has even moved beyond the predominant focus on Hagenbeck to include his competitors in the field. Anne Dreesbach's study of the Munich impresario Carl Gabriel and other showmen, also explored new aspects of these enterprises. For example, Dreesbach questioned the imperialistic motivations for the shows, emphasizing instead the commercial aspects. She also examined the racial stereotypes presented by the shows, as well as, most interestingly, their bureaucratic dealings; contemporary critiques of the shows; and the motivation for the Nazis' ultimate outlawing of the shows.²⁹

Dreesbach asserts – not surprisingly – that the Nazis' ban of the *Völkerschauen* was not humanitarian and was motivated by a number of factors, including doubts about the shows' usefulness as colonial propaganda and concerns about the possibility of racial mixing.³⁰ But this observation has an

²⁷ Eric Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008).

²⁸ Hilke Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig um die Welt: die Hagenbeckschen Völkerschauen* (New York: Campus Verlag, 1989).

²⁹ Anne Dreesbach, *Gezähmte Wilde. Die Zurschaustellung "exotischer" Menschen in Deutschland, 1870-1940* (Frankfurt & New York: Campus Verlag, 2005).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 313.

important relevance to the history of animals. The fact that the Nazis also claimed to have abolished vivisection on animals is frequently held-up in popular and scholarly literature as evidence of an inverse (and, perhaps, implicitly universal) relationship: that the Nazis loved animals as much as they hated people.³¹ For example, in her novel, *The Zookeeper's Wife*, Diane Ackerman complains (without attributing a source), that as “ardent animal lovers” the Nazis once disciplined “a leading biologist” for his failure to anaesthetize some worms prior to an experiment.³² And in the foreword to Boria Sax’s *Animals in the Third Reich*, which is intended to explore the animal imagery and mythology within Nazi ideology, Klaus P. Fischer states, “It was a mark of Nazi evil that animals in the Third Reich were treated with a far greater degree of kindness than the ‘biological enemies’ the Nazis had targeted for discrimination, incarceration, and extermination.”³³ Yet if we apply the same glib logic to other situations, we can understand the banning of the *Völkerschauen* as an example of Nazi tolerance and respect for other races, although evidently it was not.³⁴ Clearly, the relationship

³¹ It should be noted that the actual law for the protection of animals is full of so many exceptions and provisions permitting animal experimentation that, in effect, animal research was still very possible under the Nazi regime. For an English translation of the law see Appendix 1 in Boria Sax, *Animals in the Third Reich: Pets, Scapegoats, and the Holocaust*, with a foreword by Klaus P. Fischer (New York & London: Continuum, 2000), 175-179.

³² Diane Ackerman, *The Zookeeper's Wife: A War Story* (New York & London: W. W. Norton and Company, 2007), 86.

³³ Sax, 12. For a critique, see Denise Phillips’ review of *Animals in the Third Reich: Pets, Scapegoats, and the Holocaust*, by Boria Sax, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (January 2003): 479-480. For a rebuke of the pat associations made between nineteenth-century animal protection movements and the rise of Nazism, see the epilogue to Monica Libell, *Morality Beyond Humanity: Schopenhauer, Grysanowski, and Schweitzer on Animal Ethics* (Lund: Lunds Universitet, 2001).

³⁴ On the other hand, one can just as easily argue that the mistreatment of animals *en masse* in factory farms and so on, has roots in slavery and Nazism and other racist antecedents (Charles Patterson, *Eternal Treblinka: Our Treatment of Animals and the Holocaust* [New York: Lantern Books, 2002]). Similar parallels between American slavery and the mistreatment of animals can be found in Marjorie Spiegel, *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery* (New York: Mirror Books, 1988). The smear that links a concern for animals with latent (or overt) Nazism has also resulted in the publication of books refuting Hitler’s supposed vegetarianism (Rynn Berry,

between humans and animals is hardly a simplistic and mutually exclusive binary that opposes a love for animals to a hatred of humans. Rather, as this dissertation shows, these relationships were complex and ambiguous and strongly shaped by the varied contexts and constant processes of negotiation and renegotiation that took place between human and animal identities.³⁵

At any rate, the advancement of science provided an important justification for the existence of the *Völkerschauen*. Beginning in the nineteenth century, science enjoyed a conflicting reputation as offering a kind of unrestricted knowledge available to the masses and a specialized, technical knowledge belonging to a select few.³⁶ Consistent with this characterization, advocates of zoological gardens as well as of the *Völkerschauen* insisted that they fulfilled both a scientific and educational role.

However, these institutions always walked a fine line between *Bildung* (education) and entertainment. For example, despite their efforts to advance a scientific understanding of animals and to build connections with scientific institutions, zoos offered visitors access to various entertainments (e.g. concerts, fine dining) that had nothing to do with animals. In the case of the *Völkerschauen*, when the shows began to breach the borders of class by attaining widespread

Hitler: Neither Vegetarian nor Animal Lover [New York: Pythagorean Publishers, 2004]). Moreover, the issue is further muddied by neo-fascists' attempts to co-opt the environmental movement in support of a reactionary ideology. For a response see Janet Biehl and Peter Staudenmaier, *Ecofascism: Lessons from the German Experience* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1995).

³⁵ To be sure, the *Völkerschauen* are a testament to the importance of historical context in shaping perceptions of both humans and animals. Recently the London Zoo has displayed humans as it does other animals, in order to "demonstrate the basic nature of man and to examine the impact they have on the animal kingdom ("Humans strip bare for zoo exhibit," BBC News, last updated Thursday, 25 August 2005, 13:29 GMT 14:29 UK. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4184466.stm>>, accessed 26 June 2012).

³⁶ Paul Weindling, *Health, race and German politics between national unification and Nazism, 1870-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 2-5.

popularity among the proletariat, who threatened standards of *bürgerliche* propriety, the shows became increasingly regarded as degenerate and sensational.³⁷ Furthermore, there was a common element of gaping and even voyeuristic curiosity shared by the ticket-buying public and the scientists, who visited the spectacle of the *Völkerschauen*.³⁸

On the other hand, this is not to overlook the fact that both the *Völkerschauen* and the zoological garden did impart knowledge to their visitors. As Foucault has shown, objects were ordered in a manner intended to reflect a kind of natural order or self-evident truth that was only possible when it was conceived within a broader system of knowledge or episteme. Despite the inherent assumption of validity behind the practice of ordered display, no particular type of schema was intrinsic.³⁹ That is, order was something that was conceived and imposed rather than inherent. For instance, in the nineteenth century, along with the rise of public museums, artifacts were historicized in a developmental sequence rather than grouped onto display tables based upon categories of similarity or difference of appearance.⁴⁰ In this way, an exhibition could convey different meanings depending on how it was arranged or presented.

³⁷ Sierra A. Bruckner, "Spectacles of (Human) Nature: Commercial Ethnography between Leisure, Learning, and *Schaulust*," in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 127-155.

³⁸ Dreesbach also points out that between the promoters of the *Völkerschauen* and the scientists who endorsed them and displayed their subjects for scientific purposes there was also a common element of exploitation for personal gain (Dreesbach, 8).

³⁹ Without this system, what is perceived as order is perceived as disorder. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, argued Foucault, the modern era broke from the Classical period, so that order began to be organized around function rather than taxonomy (Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* [London: Tavistock Publications, 1974]).

⁴⁰ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 87-90. It should be noted, however, that the Hamburg Zoo did not follow the nineteenth century model. This is not, however, to suggest the displays of animals in zoos conveyed no meanings. This is discussed in Chapter Three.

Moreover, the mounting of a display of objects was also a display of power. That is, it was “a power made manifest . . . by its ability to organize and co-ordinate an order of things and to produce a place for the people in relation to that order.”⁴¹ This power was configured as the power of the people, so that those who visited a museum or exhibition believed themselves to also be on the side of power. At the same time, however, the dynamics of an exhibition also permitted a degree of visibility – a kind of panopticism – that prompted visitors to regulate their own movement and behaviour.⁴² This visibility also contributed to the stratification of the people who visited. Different admission times and prices made class difference salient.⁴³ Taken together, I would suggest, then, that the powers of ordering and of observing permitted visitors to zoos, museums and other exhibitions to also learn about themselves: exhibitions articulated not only the discursive meaning and place of an object in society, but also the visitor’s place in society. The education of the public was, then, about much more than the mere ‘facts’ of the exhibition or display.

The rise of the public museum in Europe coincided roughly with the rise of science. With science on the ascendancy in Germany many fields underwent changes and transformation. Old disciplines changed and new ones emerged. In the first part of the nineteenth century, changes to the fields of morphology and

⁴¹ Ibid., 80.

⁴² Ibid., 82-87.

⁴³ Bennett, 85.

physiology pushed morphology into “scientific zoology” and made physiology, anatomy and zoology into separate fields of study.⁴⁴

Also, as the nineteenth century progressed, Darwinism was popularized as an enlightening and progressive force by such prominent figures as Ernst Haeckel, E.A. Rossmässler, Alfred Brehm (of the Hamburg Zoo) and especially Wilhelm Bölsche (who also wrote about the animals at the Cologne Zoo).⁴⁵ Although within academia the influence of Haeckel and his particular evolutionary approach to animal morphology was limited,⁴⁶ by the eighteen nineties, Darwinism had peaked in Germany.⁴⁷

And the new field of anthropology, which gained impetus from imperialism and colonial contact, increasingly asserted itself as an alternative to the humanistic tradition that had previously dominated science.⁴⁸ However, by the early twentieth century, through the process of ethnographic and anthropological collection, the fields of ethnology and anthropology were gradually fused and transformed into theories about the biology of “race” and eugenics.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Lynn K. Nyhart, *Biology Takes Form: Animal Morphology and the German Universities, 1800-1900* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 28-29.

⁴⁵ Alfred Kelly, *The Descent of Darwin. The Popularization of Darwinism in Germany, 1860-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 5-6.

⁴⁶ Nyhart, 30-31.

⁴⁷ Kelly, 6.

⁴⁸ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

⁴⁹ Anja Laukötter, *Von der “Kultur” zur “Rasse” – vom Objekt zum Körper? Völkerkundemuseen und ihre Wissenschaften zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2007). Andrew D. Evans asserts that a factor in the shift from a liberal anthropology that denied fixed racial distinctions to a racist anthropology, which conflated the concepts of race, ethnicity and nationality, was the examination of Prisoners of War by anthropologists during the First World War. The positioning of anthropologists against the POWs erased the distinctions between Europeans and non-Europeans and, instead, reconfigured the prisoners in terms that reflected the relationships with Germany’s and Austria-Hungary’s allies and enemies (Andrew D. Evans, “Anthropology at War: Racial Studies of POWs during World War I” in *Wordly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003], 198-229).

To be sure, overseas expansion was critical to the development of anthropology and zoology.⁵⁰ Global contact stimulated interest in foreign peoples and animals, but it also gave German scientists readier access to their “research material.” With great fervor anthropologists, especially in Berlin and Hamburg, sought to build their collections of ethnological artifacts and human skeletons. In a quest to understand the common ground of humanity, in the mid-eighteen-eighties, Adolf Bastian, the director of the Berlin *Museum für Völkerkunde* (Museum of Ethnology), rushed to collect as many cultural artifacts from the world’s diverse peoples as possible, especially the so-called Nature Peoples, who were believed to be a living link to prehistoric humans. Bastian’s hope was to make broad comparisons between the Nature Peoples and the modern “Culture Peoples” in order to determine the way in which different ethnic characters developed and to establish the common ideas that shaped human civilizations.⁵¹

As the nineteenth century progressed, collection was increasingly underpinned by urgency: as a result of European expansion, the Nature Peoples were believed to be rapidly dying out, so that the remnants of their cultures needed to be preserved.⁵² In this way, European expansion aided the anthropological collection frenzy not just through access to foreign peoples and a

⁵⁰ After long having resisted overseas expansion, by the mid-eighteen eighties, Germany had entered the colonial race. Chancellor Otto von Bismarck presided over the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, which formally partitioned Africa among the imperial powers and laid out the rules governing the acquisition of colonies. As the century progressed Germany laid claim to colonies in Africa (Togo, Cameroon, German East Africa – part of which was later traded for Helgoland in the North Sea), German Southwest Africa, islands in the Pacific Ocean, part of New Guinea and the small protectorate of Qingdao in China.

⁵¹ H. Glenn Penny, “Bastian’s Museum: On the Limits of Empiricism and the Transformation of Ethnology,” in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 87-88, 96-97.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 103.

Humboldtian desire for knowledge, but also through the effect of contact itself. In this sense, the anthropological endeavour became self-justifying.

Without a doubt, the relationship between anthropology and colonialism was reciprocal and mutually reinforcing. While the anthropological quest for artifacts was supported by colonial rule, anthropology, in turn, also supported colonialism. Physical anthropologists, such as Rudolf Virchow, who oversaw both the German and the Berlin Anthropological Societies, and Felix von Luschan, the curator of the African and Oceanic collections at the Berlin Museum of Ethnology, actively enlisted travelers and overseas contacts to collect human body parts for measurement, which was deemed to be an objective approach to anthropological research.⁵³ The enthusiasm of physical anthropologists such as von Luschan for human artifacts even led so far as support for a policy of genocide that would give him access to more human skulls. Physical anthropologists exploited the unequal power relationships of colonialism, but they also legitimized them by presenting colonialism as advancing the cause of science in the service of humanity.⁵⁴

However, it should be noted that the belief in fundamental differences between different groups, reflected by the various stereotypes and images that were circulated about colonial peoples, led to variations in colonial policy and practice by region.⁵⁵ In contrast, my own references to “exotic” peoples, tend to

⁵³ Andrew Zimmerman, “Adventures in the Skin Trade: German Anthropology and Colonial Corporeality,” in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, ed. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 166-172.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 172-178.

⁵⁵ Georg Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

focus less on anthropological/ethnographic differences and more on some of the generic racist discourses that were applied to foreign peoples and to animals. Laziness, duplicity and untrustworthiness, I argue, were often attributed to indigenous peoples and also used to appraise the worth (or not) of an animal. These attributes essentially pointed out the target group's deficiencies: a lack of work ethic and self-discipline; a lack of obedience and loyalty; and a lack of honesty. This, then, is not to ignore the perceived differences between "race" groups, but rather it is an attempt to point out the common ideas that shaped Germans' concept of what constituted "civilized" behaviour and "civilization" itself (in contrast to those "races," classes and animals deemed to be "uncivilized").

As will become evident in this dissertation, animals played a central role in the changes associated with modernization and the so-called civilized world that I have discussed. Through zoological gardens, the global network of colonialism and capitalism connected animals to virtually all facets of society: to business; to the civic life of philanthropy and museums; to the emergent scientific fields of anthropology and zoology; and, as I will show, they were critical to elaborating the idea of the German nation and, especially, the identities of the rising middle classes.

Since the historians David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley published their corrective to the economically and politically derived modernization theories that saw Germany as suffering from a faulty and exceptional path of development, the nature and activities of the German *Bürgertum* have undergone careful historical

re-evaluation. In contrast to theories that suggest that a continuity of anti-democratic pre-industrial and agrarian-aristocratic power elites resulted in the failure of the bourgeoisie to revolutionize Germany,⁵⁶ Blackbourn and Eley showed that modernization theories are filled with unexamined assumptions about the nature of liberalism, “modern” states and the German middle-classes as a whole. They also argued that despite its authoritarian system of government, capitalism and industry flourished in the German state.⁵⁷ The growth of German public culture and civic life, reflected in the prodigious growth of museum and volunteer associations, speaks to the emergence of a confident, if not leading middle class culture in Germany.⁵⁸ Blackbourn and Eley, then, prompted a reconsideration of the concept of modernity and “modernizing” and argue that the German *Bürgertum* was a properly constituted and self-conscious class.

In Germany, the museums of anthropology, the growth of science, the expansion of colonialism and capitalism – all of these were deeply intertwined with modernity and the rise of the middle classes – and all of these elements come together in the zoological garden. This dissertation, then, flows from Blackbourn and Eley, but also adds a new dimension to the discussion about German modernity. In the first place, it moves beyond approaches that treat modernization as a phenomenon confined to the borders of the newly formed German state. It

⁵⁶ Fritz Fischer, *Griff nach der Weltmacht: die Kriegsziel Politik des Kaiserlichen Deutschland, 1914-18* (Duesseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1961); Fritz Fischer, *From Kaiserreich to Third Reich: Elements of Continuity in German History, 1871-1945*, trans. Roger Fletcher (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986).

⁵⁷ David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

⁵⁸ David Blackbourn, “The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie: Reappraising German History in the Nineteenth Century.” in *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany*, eds. David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 195-197, 224-225.

also goes beyond the making of national comparisons. Instead, following recent research, this dissertation offers a transnational history, which considers a complex of interactions and linkages – centred around the zoological garden – that go outside of state boundaries.⁵⁹ In this way, it is possible to see the ways in which Germany was situated within an international network of associations and interactions that characterized and shaped its modernity and, indeed, reconceives “the modern” in terms of cross-border flows and global transformations.

Without doubt, German public culture was informed by transnational culture. The animal trade of Carl Hagenbeck, which spanned the entire globe through the collection, sale and display of animals, was a critical portion of the web of relationships that connected zoological gardens to imperialism; to the scientific community of museums, universities, zoologists, anthropologists; to other businesses; and to the public(s) who enjoyed visiting zoos, circuses and *Völkerschauen*. These relationships were not uni-directional. They flowed back and forth and shaped German society as much as they influenced other peoples and territories.

Through this approach of transnational history, it is also possible to outline the production of German middle-class identities,⁶⁰ which, again, redefines the historical ground laid out by Blackburn and Eley. Certainly, historians have

⁵⁹ Sebastian Conrad and Juergen Osterhammel, eds., *Das Kaiserreich transnational. Deutschland in der Welt, 1871-1914* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

⁶⁰ Nina Berman, “Forum: Transnationalism and German Studies,” H-NET list on German history, 18 January 2006, <<http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-german&month=0601&week=c&msg=qWCDgNn2H8m4O/nTw7FVTA&user=&pw=>>>. accessed 2 April 2012.

considered the activities and strength of the German *Bürgertum*,⁶¹ but these kinds of studies do not consider how the middle classes themselves were constituted. The middle classes did not emerge as a singular, discretely formed entity independent of their surroundings. They were, as I show, in constant interaction with, and responding to, the classes, races, and animals surrounding them. The concept of “nation” is absolutely indispensable to transnational history, but at the same time, the “nation” did not exist without transnational connections.

Yet, within this constant state of flux, animals remain a critical feature and it is in examining these shifting relationships that my dissertation contributes not only to the history of German zoos, but also to the larger history of Germany’s development as a modern nation. This dissertation seeks to add to the significant insights of Nigel Rothfels and Eric Ames, whose thorough consideration of different aspects of modernity – changing ideas about the appropriate treatment of animals or the history of themed space, respectively – have already yielded such fertile ground. However, this dissertation considers modernity more comprehensively. It situates Carl Hagenbeck and his work within the longer history of German zoos and it uses zoos to explore the meaning of modernity itself. That is, it is concerned not only with understanding specific manifestations of German modernity as seen in various ways at Hagenbeck’s zoo, but also with what modernity meant to contemporary Germans.

Moreover, methodologically this dissertation differs from the previous works because it does not regard the identities of any humans or non-humans as

⁶¹ Werner Conze and Jürgen Kocka, eds., *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985-92); Lothar Gall, *Bürgertum in Deutschland* (Berlin: Siedler, 1989).

stable, discrete or inherent. In focusing a lens on the various factors that informed these identities I, then, not only highlight the role of animals in history, but also attempt to disrupt the human-animal binary, which, as Erica Fudge has outlined in her article “A Left-Handed Blow,” informs anthropocentrism.⁶² In this way, I have endeavoured to write not just a history of animals, but a history for animals.

It is my contention that animals are key to understanding both the construction of modern human identities and modern German identities. David Blackbourn identifies “the advent of the public zoo” as a “telling ... symptom of social change.”⁶³ Indeed, as I show, animals were central to middle-class public culture and as such they provide a prism by which not only to understand German science, imperialism, politics, class, public pedagogy, and so on, but also to understanding the various intersections and the instability of representations that characterized modernity in Germany.

Since Blackbourn and Eley, the dominant question of German history is no longer whether or not Germany was “modern.” The question is “How?” This dissertation attempts to answer that question.

* * *

Part I of my dissertation, “The Human Animal,” consists of two chapters. Using an adventure novel/memoir and scientific journals, all generated by the Hamburg Godeffroy Shipping Company expeditions to the South Seas, Chapter One explores the tensions within different discourses about non-European peoples. It considers ideas about the potential to “civilize” indigenous peoples.

⁶² Erica Fudge, “A Left-Handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals,” in *Representing Animals*, ed. Nigel Rothfels (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 1-18.

⁶³ Blackbourn, 199. See also pages 200-201.

which roughly coincided with other ideas about the immutability of ethnic and racial characteristics and with ideas about laziness and trustworthiness (and their antithesis). This chapter also shows how human and animal identities were blurred within the different colonial and scientific contexts. Chapter Two narrows the focus to zoos. It uses zoo prospecti and zoo newspapers to establish the zoo as a middle-class institution and illustrates the way in which zoo-building and zoo-going expressed and elaborated middle-class identities.

In Part II, "Human Animals?," the focus again shifts, this time to animals: specifically, their display and representation in guidebooks, newspapers, books, magazine articles and other cultural documents. In Chapter Three, I consider the scientific emphasis of the Hamburg Zoological Garden to show its reductionist and biologically determinist approach to animal identities and argue that these approaches, perpetuated through the visual and written representations of animals in guidebooks, undermined the zoological endeavour to present animals in their true form. In Chapter Four, I examine the figure of Carl Hagenbeck and the Hagenbeck *Tierpark*, as well as his other business ventures, such as circuses and especially animal taming/training. I argue that the humane and natural-looking enclosures, which secured Hagenbeck's reputation, reflected views about social discipline and civilization that also resembled discourses associated with the improvement of colonial people and configured Hagenbeck as the embodiment of the modern German man and the ideal colonialist. Finally, Chapter Five considers anthropomorphism – or rather, anthropomorphisms – to show the instability of meanings they contained. The constant negotiation between ideas about race, class

and humanity itself reveals the importance of animals to the construction of modern German identities. It shows not only how fragile the concept of the “human” is, but ultimately, it sheds light on these categories and the historical developments that shaped the differences they denoted.

In the words of Franz Kafka’s famous talking chimp, Red Peter, “Your apehood, gentlemen, in so far as you have something like that behind you, can not be further behind you than mine is [behind] me. It tickles each one of us who walks the earth, on the heels: the small chimpanzee as well as the great Achilles.”⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Franz Kafka, “Ein Bericht für eine Akademie.” in *Franz Kafka: Das Werk* (Original 1917; Reprint Frankfurt a. Main: Zweitausendeins, 2004), 1171.

Part I:
The Human Animal

Chapter 1

Blurring the Boundaries: The Godeffroy Research Expeditions as a Study of Knowledge Production, Civilization and the Fixing of Identities

The people on land stood silent and timid.
Then Columbus says, "Good day!
Is this here, perhaps, America?"
All of the savages then shouted "Yes!"

("A Man who Called Himself Columbus,"
German folk song)¹

In the nineteenth century, German scholars, traders and adventurers were actively engaged in exploring the world beyond Europe and in sharing knowledge of their discoveries.² Alexander von Humboldt's *Kosmos* most famously exemplifies this interest, but middle-class citizens shared his enthusiasm for exploring the world. Indeed, in 1843, the Hamburg Senate made a contract with the local Natural Science Society to found a museum of natural history. Although it would not be built for nearly another fifty years,³ the arrangement highlighted growing public interest in nature and the 'discoveries' being made overseas. To be sure, private collectors in Germany abounded. In Cologne, the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum for Ethnology (*Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum für Völkerkunde*) was financed by these two prominent families and was based on the personal collection of one of the Rautenstrauchs. It contained objects pertaining to the daily

¹ The original German text for "Ein Mann, der sich Kolumbus nennt" rhymes: *Das Volk am Land stand stumm und zag/Da sagt Kolumbus "Guten Tag!/Ist hier vielleicht Amerika?"/Da schrieen all Wilden, "Ja!"*

² Although Germany did not become a nation until 1871, I will use the term 'Germans' to refer to people in those regions and cities which were eventually incorporated into the new state.

³ Helene Kranz, ed., *Das Museum Godeffroy. 1861-1881 Naturkunde und Ethnographie der Südsee* (Hamburg: Altonaer Museum Hamburg, 2005), 11.

life and habits of indigenous people in North and South America, Africa and Australia.⁴

Hamburg, one of Europe's largest ports, provided ready access to the latest finds brought in by ship captains returning from abroad. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the city occupied an important position in the natural and exotic goods trade. Moreover, as a Hansa city, Hamburg had never had aristocratic art salons or curiosity chambers. Instead, museums, gardens and small menageries were the domain of private *Bürger* such as the Church Elder Peter Friedrich Röding's Museum for Objects of Art and Nature (*Gegenstände der Kunst und Natur des Oberalten Peter Friedrich Röding*), which was founded in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵ Similarly, the so-called "King of the South Sea," Johan Cesar Godeffroy VI, who commanded the well-established Godeffroy shipping company, had amassed an extremely large collection of new and unusual flora, fauna and ethnological artifacts.

However, the research interests of the Godeffroys extended beyond mere collecting. Their museum and especially the popular and scientific literature that flowed from their trade expeditions provide valuable case studies by which to illustrate not only the production of knowledge in Wilhelmine Germany but also some of the themes and trends found within contemporary racial and scientific discourses. Paradoxically, these discourses juxtaposed imperialist urges to 'civilize' and 'improve' non-Europeans against a conflicting tendency to try to

⁴ HASK 608/50, Eröffnung des Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museums, newspaper clipping, 86.

⁵ Kranz, 15. After Röding's death, the collection was sold to the Hamburg Natural Science Association to be used in the city's proposed Natural History Museum (Ibid.).

essentialize and fix inferior racial identities. At the same time, these tendencies demonstrate the confusion surrounding the limits of human and animal identities.

Thus, following a short description of the Godeffroy shipping company and brief but close readings of the memoir of Godeffroy ship captain Alfred Tetens and the scientific *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*, I will suggest some of the ways in which human and animal identities became blurred. In doing this, I will provide the background for my subsequent argument that the treatment of zoo animals paralleled Europeans' treatment of non-Europeans, suggesting not only the ambiguity of human and animal identities, but also making a larger argument about the tensions surrounding these identities.

The *Hamburger Handelshaus Johan Cesar Godeffroy & Co.* (Hamburg firm of Johan Cesar Godeffroy & Co.) was established in 1766 by Cesar Godeffroy IV. This family-owned shipping company exported Silesian linens to Spain and its colonies, and imported wine, raisins and copper from Cadiz.⁶ The firm had far-reaching business contacts, including in Mexico and Haiti. However, the greatest expansion of the firm occurred under Johan Cesar VI (1813-1885), which saw the creation of various subsidiary companies led by other family members in Havana, Valparaiso, and San Francisco. The company also expanded into Australia and the Samoan Island Apia. Soon, the Godeffroy *Handelshaus* had established a business empire across the South Seas, especially in Polynesia, Micronesia and the Bismarck Archipelago (Melanesia). Their exports included pearls, mother-of-pearl, coconut oil, tortoise shell, and *Trepang*, a type of edible

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

sea cucumber from the Caroline and Palau Islands in the South Seas.⁷ In 1865, South Seas plantations to the scale of nearly 1,820 hectares and 1,400 workers were added to the business.⁸ Then, after 1875, the company underwent a further expansion when Christianization and the imposition of a *Bekleidungskodex*, or legal dress code, facilitated the import of European fabric and textiles into Melanesia.⁹

Clearly, in this vast trade empire, the means for collecting natural and human artifacts were readily available. Seeing this opportunity to pursue his interest, Johan Cesar Godeffroy VI equipped his ships with crates, jars and specialized instructions that permitted his captains to collect and prepare specimens for the company.¹⁰ And well they did, for by the early 1860s, the firm's head office was so full of "collectibles" that the young zoologist Dr. Eduard Graeffe was hired to turn the collection into a scientific museum. Only a year later, in 1861, the Godeffroy Museum was opened.¹¹

On weekdays for 1 Mark and on weekends for 50 Pfennig, the Godeffroy museum was open to the public. Visitors to the museum in the *Godeffroy Handelshaus* Head Office could see natural historical displays on the lower floor and anthropological and ethnological displays on the upper level. Later, when the

⁷ *Der Volks Brockhaus*, 14th ed., s.v. "Trepang," s.v. "Seewalzen"; Kranz, 14.

⁸ The plantations were originally measured at being approximately 7000 Morgens (Kranz, 15). One Magdeburg Morgen is equal to approximately 0.26 hectares (William W. Hagen, *Ordinary Prussians: Brandenburg Junkers and Villagers, 1500-1840* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002], xii).

⁹ Kranz, 13-15.

¹⁰ StAHH 622-1 Tetens, Familie Tetens VII: S. Steinberg, ed. *Vom Schiffsjungen zum Wasserschout. Erinnerungen an das Leben des Capitäns Alfred Tetens, gegenwärtig Wasserschout und Vorstand des Seemannsamtes der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: G. W. Niemeyer Nachfolger [G. Wolfhagen], 1889), 199-202. Hereafter this work will be referred to as "Tetens"; Kranz, 11.

¹¹ Kranz, 11.

shipping company fell on hard financial times, visitors were invited to purchase museum guides and memorabilia, such as “Photographs of Natives [*Eingeborenen*] and Landscapes of the South Sea Islands” ranging in price from 50 Pfennig to 4 Mark depending on the size of the image. Also for sale were both zoological and ethnological reproductions as well as plaster impressions of skulls and heads from the South Seas Islands.¹²

In addition, the museum enjoyed an international reputation among scientists. Leading researchers, including Rudolf Virchow, conducted studies on the museum’s various collections.¹³ Much like the Hamburg animal trader and zoo founder Carl Hagenbeck, who imported animals for his own zoo and circus, but who also stocked most of the zoos in Europe and North America, Godeffroy helped other museums expand their collections by selling duplicates of his own holdings. Also like Hagenbeck, who experimented with animal breeding and acclimatization, Godeffroy pursued a research agenda. After hiring Johann Dietrich Schmeltz to curate the museum he sent Graeffe on research expeditions to the South Seas. Over the course of 10 years, Graeffe visited nearly all of the Islands of Polynesia, where he gathered pieces for the museum and for sale.¹⁴ In all, until Godeffroy’s shipping business went bankrupt in 1879, he financed 7 research expeditions, the first beginning in 1859, and he employed 9 researchers,

¹² The museum hours were somewhat limited: weekdays from 11 a.m. to 2 p.m., and Saturdays and Sundays from 10 or 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. (*Ibid.*, 17).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 17. For example, see J. D. Schmeltz and R. Krause, “Erläuternder Text zu Rud. Virchow’s Tafeln ethnographischer Gegenstände, Skelette und Schädel der Australier,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 3, no. 10 (1902): 277-284.

¹⁴ Kranz, 17.

including the remarkable plant collector Amalie Dietrich.¹⁵ Godeffroy also employed the skills of one of his ship captains, Alfred Tetens, who later published a biography recounting his adventures on the high seas.

In his 1889 travel memoir and biography, *Vom Schiffsjungen zum Wasserschout (From Ship's Boy to Maritime Magistrate)* Tetens recounts not only the 3 expeditions he undertook for the Godeffroys, but also his earlier career, which included a voyage to transport 300 exiled criminals to Australia and another trip with 600 so-called Chinese coolies seeking employment in Peru. However, approximately half of the book is devoted to the Godeffroy expeditions and it enjoyed sufficient popularity to justify a second edition.

Written in the style of an adventure novel, Tetens' lively and vivid account of his travels to India, China, Peru and Micronesia appealed to the popular imagination. Indeed, the book begins predictably enough with Tetens' birth in 1835 in Wilster, Holstein (although throughout the book, Tetens makes it clear that he identifies as a German rather than as a Dane). As Tetens' career gains momentum, so do his stories. His narrative moves from a largely uneventful English prisoner transport to the tumultuous events of the final chapter, which includes a series of conflicts involving treacherous Micronesian natives and a battle against the enemies of Tetens' aboriginal allies. The biography culminates

¹⁵ Ibid., 15, 27. Although Dietrich had no formal education as a botanist, her career began as a plant collector in the German-speaking lands. She sold her plants to druggists, schools, universities, plant enthusiasts, botanical gardens and so on. Upon the recommendation of the businessman Heinrich Adolf Meyer, who had also recommended Graeffe, Dietrich was hired by Godeffroy. In 1863, at the age of 42 Dietrich sailed from Hamburg aboard a Godeffroy ship carrying 444 German emigrants to Australia. She worked for Godeffroy for nearly 10 years, mainly in Queensland, collecting not only plants, but also animals, 13 human skeletons and numerous skulls of Australian Aborigines. The circumstances under which she obtained the human artifacts remain controversial to this day (Ibid., 18-21, 27).

with Tetens' wounding in an accidental shooting, his life-and-death struggle to recover his health in the midst of a bloody inter-tribal war, and his ultimate return to good health after his safe arrival and treatment in Europe. Finally, Tetens' story concludes in Hamburg, where he is raised to the esteemed position of *Wasserschout*, or maritime magistrate.¹⁶

Yet Tetens' narrative is not merely a biography and colourful travelogue. It contains a wealth of opinions on a variety of topics, such as the benefit and importance of German unification to the nation's maritime presence; the value of using harsh punishment – corporal punishment or banishment, or the threat of it – against criminals; and the benefits that the dissemination of German “*Geist*” (spirit) and German customs through Hamburg trade and culture had bestowed upon even the smallest parts of the world.¹⁷

Furthermore, because Tetens' stories are told in the first person, readers are not just permitted to share his experiences but also to see the world from his perspective. In effect, along with the factual geographical and nautical information that Tetens conveys to his readers, he is also able to transmit a wealth of subjective information about animals, foreign peoples and cultures.

¹⁶ The transport is uneventful except for Tetens' discovery that a handful of prisoners were planning a revolt. The plot is quickly subverted and punished (Tetens, 94-6). In fact, in the absence of real shipboard action, Tetens recounts the story of one prisoner on the ship who, despite his good social standing, had committed murder in a fit of passion (Ibid., 90-2). On Tetens wounding and recovery see Ibid., 363-390. For his rise to *Wasserschout* see Ibid., 391.

¹⁷ On unification see Ibid., 42-3, 392. On corporal punishment see Ibid., 96-102. For the quote about “*Geist*” see Ibid., 184-5. “*Geist*” is a difficult term to translate. It can refer to intellect or intelligence, but can also mean “mind” or “spirit.” Sometimes it implies the sum of these things. The philosopher Hegel employed the term uniquely to imply an essential yet dynamic character or force that was embodied by different nations and racial groups also reflecting a particular stage of historical development.

For example, Tetens' description of the gratuitous killing of a non-threatening shark suggests that sailors believed all sharks to be the enemy of sailors – a belief that is validated after the passing animal is killed and its stomach is found to contain the clothing of a seaman. Aside from the obviously negative portrayal of sharks, Tetens' account suggests that the sailors were correct in assuming the guilt of the shark based simply on its species. Their preemptive retribution is presented as a form of rough justice that prejudged these animals based on species and according to a system of human ethics rather than on an understanding of the natural world.¹⁸

In another, more overt example of Tetens' subjective evaluation of animals, we 'learn' that Indian crocodiles are “ugly”, “stubborn monsters” and that these “dreadful animals” are so slothful that they merely sink back into their muddy holes after feeding. His characterization is made even more vivid by his assertion that in India, where he relates that the crocodile is considered holy, this reptile is regularly fed a living goat which it can completely devour in a matter of minutes.¹⁹ Although Tetens' description is meant to emphasize the danger he inadvertently encountered during one of his travels, his portrayal of crocodiles as monstrous, voracious killers leaves little room for a more nuanced understanding of these animals. In essence, crocodiles (like sharks) are bad because they are rapacious and untrustworthy.

How the bloodlust of sharks and crocodiles differs from that of Tetens, who takes pleasure in going on an English fox hunt held in his honour is, of

¹⁸ Specific examples about ethnology follow later. On the shark killing see *Ibid.*, 170-2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

course, not examined. Instead, Tetens judges ‘his’ fox to be “arrogant” when it forcefully and repeatedly strikes at the neck of Tetens’ horse, presumably out of self-defence.²⁰ This double standard highlights Tetens’ anthropocentric (and anthropomorphic) views.

On the other hand, Tetens expresses genuine fondness and admiration for other animals whose perceived attributes he values. Predictably, he describes his Newfoundland dog Leo, who comes to his aid on two occasions, in affectionate terms.²¹ More surprisingly, however, is his eulogy to a shipboard rooster: “Branko, the most intelligent of all seafaring roosters, had bought his unshakable longing to be at his owner’s side with his life and now found an honourable, wet grave.”²² However, if this tribute is surprising, it is less so when one notes that Tetens praises the same characteristics of the rooster as those of his dog; Leo and Branko are hailed both for their intelligence (“Leo, my clever Newfoundlander”; “old, intelligent rooster”) and their loyalty (“my faithful Leo”; “the faithful [Branko] . . . had longed for the nearness of his beloved Master”).²³

Yet if these examples of Tetens’ personal preferences seem amusing but benign, it is sobering to consider them in relation to the terms by which he characterizes the various foreigners that he encounters in his travels. Despite enjoying a friendly encounter with a Chinese man in the walled city of Kau-Ling, Tetens’ characterization of the Chinese “coolies” that he transports to Peru is

²⁰ Ibid., 80. For an analysis of motives and representations found within the fox hunt, see Garry Marvin, “Unspeakability, Inedibility, and the Structures of Pursuit in the English Fox Hunt,” in *Representing Animals*, ed. Nigel Rothfels (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 139-158.

²¹ Ibid., 222-3, 369.

²² Ibid., 55.

²³ Ibid., 55, 222-3.

blatantly racist. He looks down upon their unvaried diet and refers sarcastically to those who supplement their meals with shipboard rats as “gourmets.” He also calls the job-seeking coolies “yellow locusts” and warns that “. . . for the states, however, that use him [the Chinese man] to serve their own cultural goals and willingly open their gates to him, the pig-tailed ‘anthill’ will at once become a dangerously threatening plague.”²⁴

Moreover, in terms that recall his descriptions of treacherous, sailor-eating sharks and lethargic but ferocious crocodiles, Tetens asserts that “The individual coolie is mostly a listless, cowardly human [*Menschenkind*] that, however, in large masses [*Haufen*] becomes a bloodthirsty murderer, a veritable predator, so long as he finds himself in the vicinity of the coast.”²⁵ Indeed, he believes the Chinese coolies to be so untrustworthy that he takes the same preventative measures to secure the ship as he used for his transport of English criminals to Australia.²⁶

As with the Chinese, Tetens frequently characterizes the native South Seas inhabitants as perfidious. More than once, he relates how the seemingly friendly islanders welcome him but then conspire to rob and kill him.²⁷ Of particular

²⁴ Ibid., 109-110, 114-116. Carl Gustav Carus (1789-1869), a German physician, physiologist, painter and philosopher, also referred to the Chinese as “locustlike” (Quoted in George Steinmetz, *The Devil’s Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* [Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2007], 388).

²⁵ Tetnes, 110.

²⁶ Ibid., 111.

²⁷ For examples, see Ibid., 329-31 and 370-3. The duplicity and treachery of natives of the North American North West Coast was also a frequent complaint of another adventurer, Captian J. A. Jacobsen, who was hired by the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde to gather anthropological artifacts for their collection. For example, after discovering that the native “lip stake” (*Lippenpflock*) he purchased was made of coloured glass rather than of stone, as he believed, he remarks that “the first purchase showed me how careful one must to be when dealing with the people there” (A. Woldt, ed., *Capitain Jacobsen’s Reise an der Nordwestküste Amerikas 1881-1883 zum Zwecke ethnologischer Sammlungen und Erkundigungen nebst Beschreibung*

importance in Tetens' memoir is his sojourn among the natives of the Palau Islands.²⁸ Tetens' idyllic existence there, sometimes frolicking in tropical grottos and secluded watering holes among the native women, is suddenly transformed, in his own words, into a "Robinson"-like existence among murderous islanders.²⁹ The reason for this sudden turn of events, he states, was the falsely reported killing of Tetens' business partner, Captain Cheyne, who had, in fact, once written to Tetens cautioning him to beware of native treachery.³⁰ When the islanders believe that they are free of the much-feared Cheyne, they no longer feel the need to pay any special regard to Tetens and begin to threaten him. However, when Cheyne's ship, the "Acis," is unexpectedly sighted returning to the island, the tribal king suddenly appears to make amends with Tetens. Afterwards, "With the assurance of constant 'gratitude and loyalty,' the fickle ruler of Palau took his leave."³¹

Taken together, Tetens' views of both the animals and many of the peoples he encounters suggest a more general trend. Essentially, Tetens appears to express a general fear of 'untamed' animals and people, whether they are voracious, 'man-eating' beasts or treacherous non-Europeans. To him, wild

persönlicher Erlebnisse für den deutschen Leserkreis bearbeitet [Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1884], 306-7. Hereafter referred to as "Jacobsen"). For other examples of aboriginal deceitfulness in Jacobsen's text see pp. 79, 80 and 114.

²⁸ These were also sometimes called the Pellews or the Palao Islands.

²⁹ Presumably a reference to Robinson Crusoe. Tetens also refers to his Malaysian servant as "Friday" (Tetens, 311). For the details of the events, see Chapters 8 and 9, especially pages 294-305, 310-14.

³⁰ For Cheyne's letter see StAHH 622-1 Tetens III, letter to Tetens from A. Cheyne, 3 January 1863, 27.

³¹ Tetens, 315.

animals and “*Wilde*” (savages) carry a constant threat of murderousness that could be unleashed at any time. Only the ‘civilized’ trait of loyalty secures his safety.³²

As a result, although he disparages the duplicity of the South Seas natives, Tetens nevertheless also engages in his own game of deception; despite his own unfavourable opinion of Captain Cheyne, Tetens exploits Cheyne’s earlier threat to have an English war ship subdue the islanders: “My own safety, therefore, depended upon not belittling the feared importance of my counterpart in the eyes of the natives” Tetens then reassures the natives, “As long as we remain befriended, no English warship will arrive here.”³³

To be sure, Tetens does not advocate the wanton killing of uncooperative foreigners, as he sometimes does with threatening animals.³⁴ However, throughout the book he does advocate taking what he sees as a fair, but firm, hand against people he believes to be a potential threat. So, for example, he asserts the need to sometimes punish prisoners harshly with a cat o’ nine tails or “the black crate”, a rather medieval-sounding device – even according to Tetens – which completely immobilizes the condemned man for 24 hours in order to virtually eliminate recidivism.³⁵ In the case of the Micronesians, he asserts that “The later events delivered the proof, that neither tears nor these kings’ assurances of

³² And, as well be discussed in Chapter 4, this also implies that only if the natives can be civilized, i.e. made to respect European authority and customs, can the threat of sedition be contained.

³³ Both quotations, *Ibid.*, 282; Retaliatory action exacted by English warships was not just a threat but also a reality. Captain Jacobsen refers to at least two bombed and burned-out native villages (Jacobsen, 51, 53). He also refers to the way in which this threat was used, even by missionaries, to subdue threatening natives (*Ibid.*, 113). Clearly British imperialism was backed-up by force.

³⁴ Tetens chooses simply to avoid passing through a bog inhabited by crocodiles, but on the other hand, his first reaction to learning of the potential threat of a notoriously bloodthirsty tiger in India is to draw his revolver (Tetens, 72-5).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 96, 98.

friendship offered the least guarantee. Rather, here only clear force could reach the goal.”³⁶

However, a subtext of the memoir is that less civilized or ‘untamed’ people are dangerous sub-humans. Several times Tetens points out what he believes to be the baseness of the criminals. Watching them board the ship he asks, “are they even humans?”³⁷ His conversation with an unnamed murderer of good social standing is even more revealing. Tetens suggests to the convict that he be brought up on deck every day to do secretarial work. As the Captain explains, “You once enjoyed a better upbringing and stand mentally too high to be able to be in full community with those people.” In response, the criminal agrees, “. . . the less mentally developed these people are, the less they perceive the gravity of their circumstances. However – for myself – fate hits me more cruelly. I can not banish the memory of everything that I once possessed as an uncorrupted, moral person – I can not forget.”³⁸ In other words, the conversation implies that not only does a murderer who originates from a better class of society stand above the common class of criminals, but (since Tetens would permit him above deck) he is

³⁶ Ibid., 324. Captain Jacobsen would appear to be in agreement with Tetens on this point. For example, he seems to approve of the British use of cannons as a means of keeping unruly aboriginals in check, since he reasons that one hostile village would not have attempted to rob his party had they stood “. . . as the inhabitants of Vancouver did, under the imprint of fear of the retaliation of the canon boats . . .” (Jacobsen, 194). In another incident, after an ‘Eskimo’ tried to take advantage of Jacobsen’s traveling companion in reneging on a trade agreement, Jacobsen “wanted to warn anyone who might have a weak build to their bodies, who might be working among such Natural Peoples as the Eskimo tribes without any particular protection: These natives, who are always in a position to exert their bodily strength greatly and do not recognize any other right than the right of the strongest and who all too easily avail themselves of the opportunity to cheat a physically weak white man – often among the Eskimos, as well as among the Indians – I have found my only protection in my energetic personal conduct.” Jacobsen then adds, “In British Columbia, the mighty respect that the natives had for the canons of the English war ships also entered into this” (Ibid., 315-6).”

³⁷ Tetens, 84.

³⁸ Ibid., 87-88.

also more trustworthy than the others and should not mix with them. Moreover, like dumb brutes, the “raw” criminals are largely inured to, if not actually insensitive to, their own depraved condition.³⁹

Still, within Tetens’ worldview there is a racial hierarchy which supersedes class difference. Although the English criminals may derive from the crudest strata of society and may be “work shy,” they are nevertheless still white European men who can improve their new Australian home. “Without these unfortunate men, whose lives actually have no worth, those enormous strips of land would still be closed to Culture today.” Indeed, from Tetens’ description, Australia appears to be nothing more than a vast wasteland. Not once in this section does he mention the actual Aboriginal inhabitants.⁴⁰

Likewise, his treatment of other non-whites further establishes a racial hierarchy. Of the Chinese, he declares “Perhaps no race on earth possesses so few

³⁹ Despite the appearance of the quoted conversation, however, I would hesitate to say that being a criminal of the under classes is necessarily regarded by Tetens as the lowest possible human condition. In the subsequent discussion between the two men regarding banishment to Australia, the criminal responds to Tetens’ suggestion that he will eventually become accustomed to life there, with the assertion that all of the condemned men regard their sentence as bringing their lives “really to an end”; only those men who are ignorant of their situation or are trying to fool themselves still retain any hope (Ibid., 88). Apparently, there are limits to the amount of suffering to which even the lowest criminal can endure.

On the other hand, the criminal whom Tetens befriends nonetheless differentiates the classes when he explains that by virtue of his social standing his guilt is greater than that of even a multiple murderer. In his evaluation, the latter “were driven onto the path of criminality by raw desire through inadequate upbringing and sunk from rung to rung. They have never acknowledged the significance of their sins. I do not possess such an easing of my burden. I was suddenly flung from the moral high ground onto the criminal abyss (Ibid., 89).” Thus, it appears that Tetens’ feels some ambivalence about questions of class, which points to my argument below that in Tetens’ worldview white European criminals stand above the non-European races.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 99-101. The benefit that Tetens describes is seen as twofold. Banishment benefits Australia as much as the prisoners who are given the opportunity to completely rebuild their lives and at the same time redeem themselves (Ibid., 100-1).

needs as the Mongolians. Their human feeling stands on a low Cultural level such as I have never seen with the uncivilized inhabitants of Australia.”⁴¹

It should also be pointed out that Tetens creates the impression that the Chinese are brutes – whom we should also recall have been referred to as “yellow grasshoppers” and an “anthill” – by asserting that they are unclean. When an epidemic of disease begins to take the lives of the Chinese on his ship Tetens deflects the idea that this may be the result of the unhygienic conditions they are subjected to on the ship. On the contrary, he claims that the way that they are housed is in complete accord with what they are used to in their homeland. “The use of water to wash the face or to clean the mouth was totally foreign to the Chinese” That being the case, i.e. the epidemic being the Chinese’ fault, Tetens argues that they clearly needed to improve their standard of cleanliness. He then describes the measures taken to wash down, or rather hose down, the “Water shy” passengers.⁴² It is also worth noting that, as with the criminals, Tetens attributes a lack of feeling – in this case, insensitivity to their filthy living conditions – to those people he deems to be of lesser social or racial standing.

Tetens’ comments seem to reflect commonly held perceptions about non-Europeans. Captain J. A. Jacobsen, whose 1884 travelogue documented his experiences gathering ethnological data and artifacts from North America’s North West Coast Natives for the *Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde* (Berlin Museum of Ethnology), describes the people of the “not unimportant Island of Nuniwak” as

⁴¹ Ibid., 114. Of the considerable cultural achievements of the Chinese, he dismisses them as having long fallen into decline: “The Mongol cooped up in the millennium represents his formerly evolved race only in his exterior form (Ibid.).”

⁴² Both quotations Ibid., 127.

“showing the highest degree of uncleanness that I have ever come to know of in any people of the earth.” They, too, live in inhuman conditions: “The lair of an animal can hardly have a dirtier and uncomfortable entrance”⁴³ Thus we are left with the impression of a people who are unfeeling and unclean, less than civilized and, in essence, less human.⁴⁴

This is consistent with Peter Stallybrass’ and Allon White’s examination of dichotomies of high/low and associations of clean/dirty. Stallybrass and White identify animality, particularly that of the pig, with concepts of the low and with the filth of the slum. Furthermore, they argue that in the nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie distinguished themselves from the lower classes through notions of cleanliness and bodily control. Within “the symbolic discourse of the bourgeoisie, illness, disease, poverty, sexuality, blasphemy and the lower classes were inextricably connected. The control of the boundaries of the body (in breathing, eating, defecating) secured an identity which was constantly played out in terms of class difference.” In their formulation, social differentiation depended upon disgust.⁴⁵ Likewise, I would argue, the commentaries of Tetens as well as

⁴³ Jacobsen, 333. Jacobsen describes the filthy living conditions further. He also finds these people generally lacking in good qualities: “The character of the people speaks to the perpetual shortage and need, which they have to fight against a bit more energetically. They are shy, cowardly and timorous, creeping and subservient, to which, perhaps, the oppression that they previously experienced on the part of the Russian[s], has contributed (Ibid.).” However, he implies that they have culturally degenerated, since he regards their monuments to the deceased and the degree of craftsmanship of their kayaks and spears as reflecting “. . . traits of a formerly highly developed folk life (Ibid., 333-4).” In another example of reference to unclean native peoples, Jacobsen refers to a coastal group of aboriginals whom he also describes as very dirty. Indeed, “They rivaled the inhabitants of the interior Tundra in lack of cleanliness (Ibid., 338).”

⁴⁴ In addition, recall that the criminals who were born into their low social class were also described as being numb to their condition.

⁴⁵ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 167. Stallybrass and White argue that since the pig is both revered and reviled it is a useful symbol with which to outline a theory of ambivalence and hybridity. However they also argue that the pig can be shifted from its ambivalent position to a

Jacobsen reflect the explicit use of perceived notions of cleanliness to indicate racial difference.

As Tetens travels through the South Seas he also encounters other ethno-cultural groups who in his view have a low level of cultural or civilizational development, although some groups are seen as worse than others. At Sonserol Island, he determines that the native inhabitants must be of an even lower cultural level than the people of either Yap or Palau. Indeed, he finds their complete nakedness shocking, since according to him even the “uncivilized Micronesians” normally wear a waist band of leaves.⁴⁶

An even greater indication of aboriginals’ supposed lack of civilization, it was alleged, was that they practised cannibalism. Indeed, cannibalism seems to have been a standard fixture of contemporary adventure novels.⁴⁷ For example, Captain Jacobsen also described instances of cannibalism among the “Quakult” peoples.⁴⁸ According to Jacobsen, these people are among “the most savage and uncouth people that our earth at this time still bears.”⁴⁹ Jacobsen also explains that

low one. It should also be added that the authors argue further that middle-class disgust is also tinged with desire for the Other.

⁴⁶ Tetens, 225.

⁴⁷ The historian Christon Archer’s examination of cannibalism among the natives of the North-West Coast also suggests that cannibalism was a standard literary device in travel and adventure novels (Christon Archer, “Cannibalism in the Early History of the Northwest Coast: Enduring Myths and Neglected Realities,” *Canadian Historical Review* 61, no. 4 [1980]: 464-8. Thanks to Allan Rowe for bringing this article to my attention).

⁴⁸ Canadian historian Paige Raibmon states that other names for these people include “Kwakiutl,” “Kwakiutal,” and “Kwagiulth” but that they prefer to be called “Kwakwākāwakw (phonetically pronounced “Kwakwa-you-wok”), which denotes a confederacy of groups in the Fort Rupert area and also refers to the Kwask’wala language dialect (Paige Raibmon, “Theatres of Contact: The Kwakwākāwakw Meet Colonialism in British Columbia and at the Chicago World’s Fair,” *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no.2 [June 2000]: 157. Thanks to Allan Rowe for bringing this article to my attention).

⁴⁹ Jacobsen, 47. Apparently, the so-called “cannibal dance” described by Jacobsen, in which an elite tribe member is initiated into cannibalism (Ibid., 48-51), is actually a ceremony which signifies the taming of the individual (the “Hamatsa”) who is possessed by a cannibal spirit. The various stages of the ceremony enact the process by which he is subdued and thereby reintegrated

the name of the “Queka-Indians” means “head hunter” (*Kopfab Schneider*) and that this name is highly appropriate for people that he deems to be “the greatest pirates of British Columbia”.⁵⁰

Although Tetens only ever encounters one group of aboriginals whom he believes to be genuine “cannibals,” his references to other instances in which the natives use or display human body parts adds to the overall impression of the barbarity of South Seas aboriginals.⁵¹ For instance, Tetens relates that some Islanders cut the heads off of their vanquished enemies to keep them as trophies. “A screaming horde of natives in war finery crossed my path. Out of the centre of the howling mass a bamboo pole – upon which the blood-dripping head of a human had been fastened – loomed up.”⁵²

When he encounters natives off the coast of New Guinea, Tetens describes their practice of interweaving their own hair with that of dead relatives and vanquished enemies. The hairstyle then resembles a lion’s mane. Tetens later surmises that the natives are cannibals, but according to him, their complete

into the community. This ceremony, then, is not anti-social and ‘savage’ since dangerous and uncontrollable spirits are exorcised from the community through it. This process enables the Hamatsa to attain his inherited social rank and access the material resources associated with it. Thus, the ritual played an important role in ensuring social harmony (Raibmon: 165-6).

⁵⁰ Jacobsen, 56-7.

⁵¹ Tetens, 326-7. According to Christon Archer, myths about cannibalism among the North-West Coast natives may be traced back to Captain Cook and his crew, who frequently spotted what they believed to be cannibalism during their voyages through the South Seas. Since they thought that they had witnessed cannibalism there, Archer asserts, they found it entirely plausible that anthropagy was commonplace across the Pacific, including the North-West Coast, though in actual fact their journey to Nootka sound was less than a month and they had limited contact with the natives there (Archer, 461-3). Still, reading Archer’s examination of how mutual misunderstandings and deliberate deception fuelled travellers’ belief that the Nootka natives practiced cannibalism, it is easy to see how similar circumstances might have contributed to this belief about the aboriginals of the South Seas. At any rate, it is advisable to take Tetens’ assertion with a grain of salt.

⁵² Tetens, 274. For other examples from Tetens, see *Ibid.*, 350 and 384.

nakedness is in itself enough to prove “upon which low Cultural level these creatures stood.”⁵³

In the Hermit group of islands, Tetens describes the “spine-chilling impression”, especially by moonlight, of a collection of deceased loved one’s skulls, which have been planted like flower pots and collected into a kind of cemetery. Furthermore, he explains, these natives often wear the lower jawbone of their departed loved ones as jewelry or display it as a fixture at the entrance of their huts.⁵⁴

On one occasion Tetens injects a particularly moralizing tone into his narrative when he explains to the Prince Runningebay (sic), who has just won a victory and has taken captives, that God forbids the killing of defenceless people. When the Prince asks Tetens if he does not also have a God who claims the heads of enemies Tetens replies that such a God does not exist. To the reader, Tetens then adds that he believes that “after that, his civilizational influence did not plant any roots all too deep in the prince.”⁵⁵

While revulsion at these indigenous practices might seem understandable to cultural outsiders, it is all the more surprising, then, that with no sense of irony whatsoever, Tetens mentions his acquisition of an aboriginal head, from which a native warrior had removed the ears in order to obtain the ear jewelry, for the Museum Godeffroy. Indeed, as will later be discussed, in the nineteenth and early

⁵³ Ibid., 326-7.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 347.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 346.

twentieth centuries, museums and anthropologists across Europe were eager to add human skulls and skeletons to their ethnological collections.⁵⁶

Yet, however ironic this may be, Tetens uses the association with cannibalism and ‘headhunting’ to buttress his assertions that “The majority of the peoples of the Caroline Islands are completely degenerate and in the not too distant future they will need to give way to the advancing drive of Culture.”⁵⁷

Here, then, is the thrust of Tetens’ moralizing: Germans, like other Europeans, occupy a superior cultural standing over the uncivilized “savages” (*Wilden*). This position therefore demands – or justifies – German imperialism, as implied by Tetens’ declarations of the need for dealing fairly but firmly with aboriginal people (and other social underclasses). Moreover, not only is it the duty of Germans to bring civilization to primitive peoples, but cultural ‘progress’ is a necessary and inevitable force that cannot be resisted.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ibid., 379. Christon Archer argues that mutual misunderstanding may have led North West Coast aboriginals to believe that it was the non-aboriginal visitors that were, in fact, cannibals (Archer: 463, 466, 470). I would add to this, that the European enthusiasm for collecting skulls and skeletons and their excavations of burial sites may have contributed to this belief. Such activities were quite common as Captain Jacobsen reports that at least one burial site had previously been excavated by someone from the Smithsonian Institute (Jacobsen, 384). Jacobsen’s travel diary also states that North West aboriginals were quite upset about such excavations and they went so far as to lodge a complaint against him at Fort St. Michael (Ibid., 319). For other examples in the same text suggesting that natives disapproved of European grave-robbing see Ibid., 132, 139, 193 and 293.

⁵⁷ Tetens, 348. On the other hand, Tetens’ portrayal of the Micronesians does mix his criticisms with some positive images of his relationship to the native women (see below). However, by relating the various honours and special status that some aboriginals bestow upon him, these accounts only serve to make these aboriginals seem all the more fickle and untrustworthy.

⁵⁸ For examples of anthropological arguments favouring the idea that ‘savages’ were capable of progress towards civilization, see John P. Jackson, John P. and Nadine M. Weidman, *Racism, and Science: Social Impact and Interaction*, Science and Society Series, ed. Mark A. Largent (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 89-92. On the other hand, it is important to mention that there were other, important views in circulation as well, such as those of the anthropologist Franz Boas, whose work on anthropology and folklore advanced the notion, through cultural anthropology, that culture is relative and separate from race. He also rejected evolutionary hierarchy (Ibid., 130-7). As mentioned above, Adolf Bastian was another anthropologist with a universalist approach. Bastian and many other ethnologists of his generation

Indeed, in Tetens' view only contact with developed cultures can redeem the so-called Nature Peoples. He elaborates this point in a lengthy but very revealing passage (to which we will return again later).

Some ethnologists claim that these savage tribes are from the ground up unspoiled, pure Nature Peoples (*Naturgemüther*) and that their bad dispositions have been produced and propagated through contact with Europeans, through the acquaintance with liquor and the modern vices, as well as, for the most part, through the violent clashes and violent acts carried out against them. Without necessarily speaking against this assumption, I must however remark that the islands of this archipelago have very seldom been visited by seafarers, and then only for a short time; that their isolated location and low productivity did not favour any lasting interaction with the natives; [that] even missionaries only seldom visited the islands; and that on many of the islands none of the inhabitants had ever seen a European before. Notwithstanding this still unspoiled natural condition, there were still those unpleasant impulses – completely developed – among them in their interactions between themselves and against foreigners, which offers an indefinite (*unverkundbar*) indication to all those who long back to the idyllic prehistoric time, that morality is only possible with the development of intelligence and improvement.⁵⁹

Therefore, in Tetens' characterization it is not contact with Europeans that has introduced vice to the natives; this was already their 'natural' condition. On the contrary, as the passage implies, it is the absence of European civilization and its influence that is debasing.

In fact, in referring to one of the Palauen King's daughters, Tetens even wonders how it is possible that in the case of one "rare child of nature" in particular, such a "completely perceptive, sensitive creation [could] turn out among the savage peoples. How was it possible, that such a noticeable delicacy of

embraced Alexander von Humboldt's desire to construct a vast synthesis of human history (H. Glenn Penny, "Bastian's Museum: On the Limits of Empiricism and the Transformation of German Ethnology," in *Worldly Provincialism: German Ethnology in the Age of Empire*, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 94), in which "the physical unity of the species man [has already] been anthropologically established" (Quoted *Ibid.*, 95).

⁵⁹ Tetens.. 379-80.

feeling und feminine emotion could be preserved among its uncouth comrades?" Tetens' amazement at this "living mystery" suggests the underlying equation of 'natural peoples' with coarseness, lack of refinement and lack of human feeling.⁶⁰

In this respect, Tetens appears not to differ from his contemporary, Karl May, and his iconic representation of native peoples. It is true that in May's classic novel, *Winnetou*, which was published in 1893, only a few years after Tetens' book, the hero of the title and his Apache tribe are presented in a very favourable light, illustrating the mythical "noble savage."⁶¹ However, often May does not actually appear to admire native culture, which he more often implicitly and explicitly suggests is crude and uncivilized. For example, he remarks that although the Apaches use bowls and spoons, these were introduced to them by their white teacher, Klekih-petra.⁶² Furthermore, like Tetens' comments about the "rare child of nature," May's hero, Old Shatterhand, expresses astonishment when

⁶⁰ Ibid., 253. Tetens' consistent use of the term "Naturkinde" (child of nature) when discussing Kierko, the princess, as well as his treatment of her also suggests his view that she is very childlike and innocent. He calls her a "girl" and on various occasions he describes her happiness with gifts of a glass pearl or a table cloth, which he later rather paternalistically insists she use as clothing (Ibid., 253-5, 265-6).

⁶¹ For instance, May's protagonist, Old Shatterhand, marvels at the architecture of the Apache pueblo: "Now as we headed back to the Pueblo, I saw first what a massive, respect commanding stone building it was. One thinks of the American tribes as being ineducable. However, humans that understand how to move such masses of stone and how to pile them up so immensely into a fortress that could not have been won with the weapons of the time, can not possibly stand on the lowest, basest level of education (Karl May, *Winnetou I. Ungekürzte Volksausgabe*, vol. 1, 2320 ed. [Vienna and Heidelberg: Karl May Taschenbücher im Verlag Carl Ueberreuter, 1953], 189. Hereafter referred to as May I)." In the introduction to his work, May also characterizes the North American native man as "originally a proud, bold, brave, truth loving, upright and loyal-to-his-friends hunter . . . (Ibid., 6)." May also reinforces this characterization by presenting many of the white Yankees as crude and uncultured and blames the influence of whites for turning natives into "a surreptitiously sneaking, suspicious, lying human . . . (Ibid.)."

⁶² Ibid., 156. More pointedly, after a fierce battle, when Winnetou and his Apaches are left by their white comrades to slaughter their defeated enemies the Comanche, the white frontiersman Old Death advises his friends, "Come, Mess'urs! . . . We do not want to stand by and watch that. That is too Indian, even for my old eyes, although I must say, that the Comanche have earned it . . . I suspect that even Old Shatterhand, the friend of the Indians, does not want to stand by and watch that either (Karl May, *Winnetou II. Ungekürzte Volksausgabe*, vol. 2, 2065 ed. [Vienna and Heidelberg: Karl May Taschenbücher im Verlag Carl Ueberreuter, 1951], 172); Hereafter referred to as May II).

he encounters evidence of aboriginal people's refinement. For instance, he is impressed that Winnetou's family members are possessed of a bearing and good taste that distinguishes them from other natives, such as the tasteful way in which Winnetou's sister, Nscho-tschi, dresses herself. "There was no object of adornment to be seen on her, neither glass pearls or cheap coins with which the Indians like to drape themselves."⁶³ Thus, May's supposed idealization of North American aboriginals is something of a facade. Like Tetens, May might well have sympathy for aboriginal peoples, but what he actually admires about them are their European qualities or their potential to be Europeanized; his compassion for North American Indians is prompted by a paternalistic belief that they can be civilized. "In any case, no one has yet brought forward the proof that the Indians can not mentally [*geistig*] develop themselves."⁶⁴

Likewise, in a manner that recalls Norbert Elias' classic formulation, in which he argued that the development of European 'civilization' progressively produces behavioural refinement,⁶⁵ Tetens wastes no opportunities to try to 'civilize' native peoples.⁶⁶ He spends hours trying to convince his female companion, the "otherwise very capable of becoming civilized Toguok", to use plates and cutlery rather than eating with her hands. He also refers rather

⁶³ May I, 153. He is also surprised when he discovers that Winnetou, the native man who will become his blood brother, is not only literate, but that he is reading Longfellow's poem "Hiawatha" (Ibid., 151). This is not to mention the irony of an aboriginal person reading a European poem about a native woman. From this perspective, rather than seem like great literature, the poem takes on a flavour of Kitsch (Thanks to John Buhler for making this observation).

⁶⁴ Ibid., 189.

⁶⁵ Although this is not to suggest that Elias was racist. He was not.

⁶⁶ Nor is May without the civilizing impulse. For example, Old Shatterhand reacts to his friend Sam Hawkens' interest in marrying a "Squaw" by declaring, "But, Sam, an Indian! (Ibid., 222)." He then qualifies his reaction by later telling Chief Intschu tschuna that he has no objections to such an inter-racial marriage: "When it has been sealed by a priest and the Indians have become Christians before hand, I do not see anything wrong with it (Ibid., 226)."

paternalistically to her as his “pupil.”⁶⁷ Similarly, he finds that Kierko, a woman from another tribe, was a “very grateful pupil”, although unlike Toguock, Kierko seems more eager to adopt “European Culture and customs.” In response to Tetens’ teaching, Kierko does not blacken her teeth to show that she is marriageable. He also tries to impress upon her that European women are careful to dress themselves modestly so as to protect their bodies from view.⁶⁸

Tetens also seeks to improve the natives in more significant ways. When the head of a decapitated enemy is triumphantly presented to the tribal Chief for safe-keeping in case the decapitated man’s kin should come to exchange the “dreadful showpiece” for gifts, Tetens takes it upon himself to explain the unseemliness of this “inhuman custom” to the Chief.⁶⁹ However, fearing for his own safety, Tetens soon gives up and laments: “How many years must pass before civilization finds a viable ground here!”⁷⁰

Clearly, Tetens sees it as his duty to ‘civilize’ non-European peoples and he urges all European states to follow England’s example of using prisoners as colonists. In particular, he suggests, the newly founded German nation has an important role to play in this endeavour. “Of all nations, the German is esteemed as an excellent colonist, accustomed since childhood to wresting his existence from the barren ground of the homeland. His industrious hard work, his toughness

⁶⁷ Both quotations are from Tetens, 290. Note that the use of tableware seems to be a recurrent marker of civilization, since May also comments on the Apache’s adoption of bowls and spoons (see above). Like Toguock, Tetens’ Malaysian servant resisted Tetens’ admonitions to use cutlery, leading Tetens to complain, rather oddly, that “That natives do not have the least understanding of the ethical meaning of our laws . . . (Ibid.)”

⁶⁸ Ibid., 269. At the same time, he confesses that he has purposely kept Kierko ignorant of the low-cut ball gowns worn by European women (Ibid., 270).

⁶⁹ Note that Tetens’ choice of words again dehumanizes so-called uncivilized people.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 274-5.

and tenacity, have substantially fostered the cultural achievements of foreign peoples. Now, [through German unification] surplus German strength is given, at least, the possibility to work in the service of the Motherland.”⁷¹ Thus, Tetens’ lively memoir reveals the imperialist urge underpinning his account of the expeditions in which business and science converged.

However, if Tetens’ illustrated travel memoir appealed broadly to the general reading public, the scientific *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*, founded in 1872,⁷² likely had a more limited audience. Nevertheless, the reach of a scholarly publication of this type is not to be underestimated.⁷³ Scientific and popular literature did not operate within closed systems. Rather, they coexisted, overlapped and were mutually supportive.

For example, Alfred Tetens was more than just the author and hero of a popular adventure. As the Captain of a Godeffroy Ship, the *Vesta*, he was also a collector of artifacts, a field observer and, most importantly, a contributor to the *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*. In his role as a field expert, the personal and scientific knowledge Tetens shared with the *Journal* was available for other scholars to read and utilize.⁷⁴ To be sure, an article based on the reports of Tetens and J. Kubary reflects Tetens’ dislike for the Chinese when it states that although the eyes of the Yap islanders are “slit somewhat askew” they are nevertheless “not

⁷¹ Ibid., 100, 102-3.

⁷² Kranz, 18.

⁷³ Like his fictional character Old Shatterhand, Karl May’s apparently extensive knowledge of the ‘Wild West’ was based on his research (undertaken at Zwickau prison library where he was an inmate and eventually prison librarian) (Christopher Frayling, *Spaghetti Westerns. Cowboys and Europeans from Karl May to Sergio Leone* [London: I. B. Tauris, 2000], 103). Judging from his writings, his research may have included anthropological studies and encyclopedias.

⁷⁴ After the publication of the first issue of the *Journal des Museums Godeffroy*, reports from Godeffroy researchers also appeared in other German scientific journals (Kranz, 28).

so pronounced as with the Mongolian race and one must describe the well-opened eyelids as a substantial difference” Not to put too fine a point on it, the author then adds that “Indeed, among the Malaysian Samoans [*malayischen Schiffer-Insulanern*] the Chinese are ignominiously called “rat eyes” (*matta imoa*).”⁷⁵ Yet it was the Godeffroy museum curator Dr. Eduard Graeffe who composed the actual *Journal* article and who apparently reproduced these comments in his published report.⁷⁶ Likewise, Tetens was probably influenced by the learned opinions of those who trained him and who presented their studies in the publication to which he was a contributor. Clearly, he was aware of some of the contemporary scientific debates, as his comments about the original state of aboriginal peoples before and after European contact indicate.⁷⁷

Thus, although the two different Godeffroy publications reveal opposing tendencies – Tetens’ advocacy of European imperialism as a means of civilizing primitive peoples reflected a belief in the malleability of racial identities while, as we will next see, the *Journal* showed a tendency to essentialize and fix the

⁷⁵ E. Gräffe with A. Tetens and J. Kubary, “Die Carolineninsel Yap oder Guap nebst den Matelotas-, Makenzie-, Fais- und Wolea-Inseln,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 (1873): 14. Note that the titles of the articles were not always consistent between what appeared in the table of contents and appeared above the article itself. I have endeavoured to use the title taken from the table of contents. The *Journal* also numbered pages beginning with 1 for each new edition as well as showing a running page number uniting all editions in an individual volume. I have tried to refer to only the running page number. Also, the spelling of Eduard Gräffe’s name was spelled variously with either an umlaut or with the “ae” letter combination. I use whichever spelling appeared in the table of contents.

⁷⁶ One also wonders about the mutual influence of Tetens and Kubary. Kubary seems to have shared Tetens’ view of South Seas Islanders, in this case, the people of Korrör, as false and duplicitous (J. Kubary, “Bericht über meinen Aufenthalt in Palau,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 4 [1873/74]: 184).

⁷⁷ Godeffroy researchers frequently cross-referenced each other. For instance, Johann Kubary, cross-references G. Semper, whose work also appeared in the *Journal*, three times in one article (*ibid.*: 188-190).

identities of the people it examined – neither Tetens’ novel nor the *Journal* should be viewed as completely discrete entities.

Consisting of scientific research essays, often richly illustrated, the *Journal* also had a more varied subject matter than Tetens’ emphasis upon encounters with foreign peoples. As suggested by the subtitle “Geographical, Ethnographical and Natural Science Reports,” the *Journal* covered a wide range of topics. For example, an early issue from 1873 contained articles on “Samoa or the *Schiffer-Inseln*” which described “The meteorological phenomena in Samoa” and an article on “The Caroline Islands Yap or Guap, including the Matelot, Mackenzie, Fais and Wolea Islands,” which included ethnological observations, linguistic research and racial typing. The remainder of the articles in that issue were devoted to fauna and entymology and also reflected the international scientific profile of the periodical: “Butterflies collected on the Island of Yap and the stages of their Metamorphosis,” by Georg Semper; “New Slugs of the South Sea, Malacological Research,” by Dr. R. Bergh of Copenhagen; and “First Ichthyological Contribution based on Specimens from the Godeffroy Museum,” by Dr. Albert Günther of London.⁷⁸

Since the *Journal*’s mandate was to assemble the findings of the Godeffroy expeditions to Australia and the South Pacific into one publication, no articles about Europeans appeared in it.⁷⁹ This simple fact produced a dynamic in which Europeans were the readers and writers of the publication while non-

⁷⁸ See *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 (1873).

⁷⁹ For a brief discussion of the publication’s aims, see “Vorwort,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 1 (1873).

Europeans and animals were the objects of their scientific interest.⁸⁰ The exclusiveness of the content meant that the articles themselves invited comparisons between Europeans and non-Europeans. Indeed, the stark black-and-white portrait of a bare-chested native Samoan or illustrations of partially naked and painted or tattooed native bodies highlighted islanders' difference from Europeans.⁸¹

Furthermore, as Andrew Zimmerman has argued, photography, which was cautiously embraced by German anthropologists as an alternative to ethnographic drawings, objectified its subjects. Photography was seen as a way of circumventing any "artistic license" that might have distorted the collection of objective scientific data. Images could record either physical anthropology or ethnographic practices. For the former, humans should be photographed standing nude, if possible, and also shown standing sideways. The background should be light, making the body easily discernible and facilitating its measurement on a standardized scale. On the other hand, ethnographic images were intended to impartially record typical costumes and scenes of everyday life. In this way, although anthropologists perceived some scientific limitations to its use,

⁸⁰ I refer broadly to Europeans here because although the journal was predominantly published in German, articles occasionally appeared in French or in English suggesting a readership outside of German-speaking countries. On the other hand, the *Journal* featured various essays on the people of Yap, Australia, and Fidji. For example, Gräffe with Tetens and Kubary, "Die Carolineninsel": 84-130; Schmeltz and Krause: 277-84; and J. W. Spengel, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Fidschi-Insulaner," *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 4: 239-52.

⁸¹ For examples of these see "Samoaer," in Dr. E. Graeffe, "Samoa oder die Schifferinseln. IV. Abschnitt: Die Eingeborenen in Bezug auf Rassencharakter und Krankheiten," *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 5, no. 14 (1879): Table 10; J. Kubary, "Weitere Nachrichten von der Insel Ponopé," *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 3, no. 8 (1875): 264-7; W. Heuer, "Freier Eingeborener und ethnographische Gegenstände von Yap," in E. Gräffe with A. Tetens and J. Kubary, "Die Carolineninsel Yap oder Guap nebst den Matelotas-, Makenzie-, Fais- und Wolea-Inseln," *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 (1873): Table 4; and J. Kubary, "Racen-Typen von Yap," in Gräffe with Tetens and Kubary, "Die Carolineninsel Yap oder Guap nebst den Matelotas-, Makenzie-, Fais- und Wolea-Inseln," *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 (1873): Table 5.

photography nevertheless contributed to their project of rendering the ‘primitive’ body into an artifact, a “subject without subjectivity.”⁸²

Equally, whether they appeared in photographs or in drawings, the images found in the *Journal* displayed a level of detail that gave the impression of an authentic visual reproduction that had, like film, captured and preserved the genuine people and culture of the South Seas.⁸³ Indeed, one article even declared that “These lithographs are faithful reproductions of photographs which Kubary and Tetens sent to the museum.”⁸⁴ As a result, the “objective” depiction of the people shown on the pages of the *Journal*, even in drawings, also presented them as scientific artifacts.

In addition, Assenka Oksiloff’s study of visual culture in German anthropology, which specifically discusses the process of human objectification in anthropological cinema, gives another insight into how the primitive body was rendered into a “scientific object.” She argues that the effect of showing isolated and decontextualized bodies in combination with panoramic scenes and cultural

⁸² Andrew Zimmerman, “Adventures in the Skin Trade: German Anthropology and Colonial Corporeality,” in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, edited by H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 161-2, 178; and Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 95-97. For a broader discussion of photography in anthropology *ibid.*, 94-99.

⁸³ For examples, see E. Gräffe, “Topographie der Schifferinseln,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no.1 (1873): Tables 3 and 5; E. Gräffe with J. Kubary “Die Lagune von Ebon,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 1 (1873): Table 6; Gräffe with Tetens and Kubary, “Die Carolineninsel”: Tables 4-7; and J. W. Spengel, “Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Fidschi-Insulaner,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 4 (1873/4): Tables 5-11.

⁸⁴ Gräffe with Tetens and Kubary, “Die Carolineninsel,” 87; Other images were identified as having been rendered “from original photographs.” For examples, see J.W. Spengel, “der Fidschi-Insulaner,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 4 (1873/4): Table 11; The camera’s ability to provide documentation and evidence was recognized for its application in police work (“Die Bedeutung der Photographie für die Rechtspflege,” *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 30 August 1912).

contexts is critical to making the body into an artifact.⁸⁵ While the isolated specimen emphasizes the physical characteristics of the body, images of people in their ‘natural settings,’ sometimes performing ordinary activities, imparts an aspect of narrative fantasy to the ethnographic film. When combined, these techniques give the film a realism that makes it appear to satisfy scientific criteria for objectivity, but they also aid the anthropological project of capturing and preserving authentic cultures before they vanish into extinction.⁸⁶

In the same way, I would argue that both the hand-drawn illustrations and the photographic images found in the *Journal* exhibited the same features of isolation and context that gave ethnographic cinema its documentary effect.⁸⁷ Highly contextualized representations of natives sometimes appeared in the *Journal*, such as depictions of Yap boats or houses, but when essays in the *Journal* provided sweeping descriptions of South Seas islanders and their homes, these travelogues acted much like filmic narrative.⁸⁸ For example, the article, “The Caroline Islands Yap or Guap,” begins by providing the islands’ geographic coordinates, then describes the topography of the region and also discusses the islanders, including their physiology, clothing, jewelry, diet, tools and language.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Assenka Oksiloff, *Picturing the Primitive. Visual Culture, Ethnography, and Early German Cinema* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 18-19; Oksiloff asserts that in many respects the Kinematograph was intended to replace the camera as a means of dispassionately recording data (Ibid., 51,52-3).

⁸⁶ Ibid., 20, 22-9.

⁸⁷ Ibid., See especially Chapter 1, pp. 15-41.

⁸⁸ E. Gräffe with A. Tetens and J. Kubary, “Die Carolineninsel Yap oder Guap nebst den Matelotas-, Makenzie-, Fais- und Wolea-Inseln,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 (1873): “Haus und Kahn der Eingeborenen auf Yap,” Table 3. Similarly, articles, which described the flora and fauna of the South Seas, but did not deal with indigenous peoples, nevertheless served to paint a general impression of the islands, thereby providing a context for other articles on human anthropology.

⁸⁹ Gräffe with Tetens and Kubary, “Die Carolineninsel,” 84-99.

On the other hand, photographs of the “Australians of Brisbane, Moreton Bay, Queensland,” seem to simultaneously isolate and contextualize their subjects (figure 1).

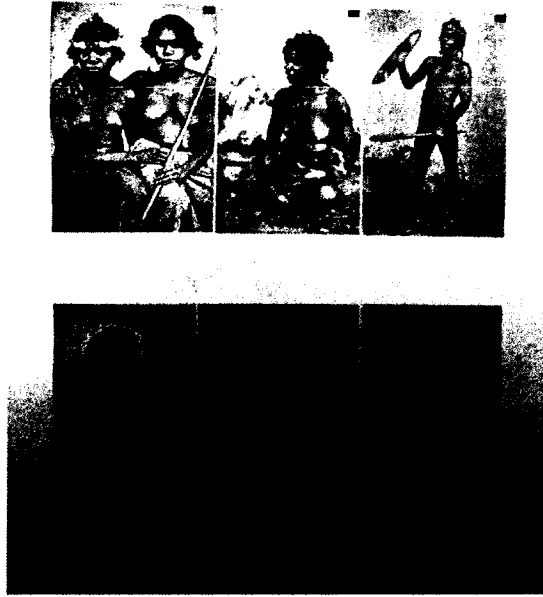


Figure 1. “Australians of Brisbane, Moreton Bay, Queensland” (*Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 3, no. 10 [1902]: Table 1).⁹⁰

The stark black and white images show naked and partially clothed men and women with weapons or other implements, and according to the text, one woman holds a piglet.⁹¹ Other *Journal* illustrations show an isolated group of Yap men

⁹⁰ Unfortunately the copyright holders for the images reproduced in Figures 1-14 could not be traced. The author would gladly receive any further information pertaining to these images.

⁹¹ “Rassentypen,” in J. D. E. Schmeltz and R. Krause, “Erläuternder Text zu Rud. Virchow’s Tafeln ethnographischer Gegenstände, Skelette und Schädel der Australier,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 3, no. 10 (1902): Table 1. Note that the text of the journal identifies this table as “Australier von Brisbane (Moreton-Bai, Queensland).” The scarification and genitalia shown in these pictures also makes them bizarrely fascinating, if not titillating. As a result, these images do little to humanize the native Australians. Instead, they serve as objects of curiosity and perhaps sex, gratifying the less than scientific urges of some readers. Moreover, the image of the woman holding a piglet signals her ‘natural’ way of life in close proximity to animals (more on this last point follows below). The piglet might also signal supposedly less civilized or dirty living conditions, although there is no evidence in the accompanying text to support this assertion. For an insightful discussion of “scientific pornography” within the discourse of colonialism see Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 183-90. For comments on

and women set against a natural landscape while the title beneath their image, “Racial Types of Yap” (figures 2 and 3), reinforces the notion that these people are indeed ethnological artifacts.⁹²



Figure 2. “Racial Types of Yap” (*Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2, [1873]: Table 6).

Figure 3. “Racial Types of Yap” (*Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2, [1873]: Table 7).

Likewise, an article on Polynesian skulls included an illustration showing 4 different perspectives of a human (Paumotuian) skull (figure 4).⁹³ At the centre of these is a portrait of a native Paumotu woman wearing a ‘peasant’ blouse and her hair is adorned with flowers. While the woman’s skin colour and attire help the reader to locate and identify her as an islander, her portrait at the centre of the page nevertheless isolates her. At the same time, the depictions of skulls which

the association between pigs, filth and uncivilized living conditions see the comments on Stallybrass and White above.

⁹² Images by W. Heuer, “Racen-Typen von Yap,” in E. Gräffe with A. Tetens and J. Kubary, “Die Carolineninsel Yap oder Guap nebst den Matelotas-, Makenzie-, Fais- und Wolea-Inseln,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2, (1873): Table 6 and 7; Fidjians are also presented this way in “Racen-Typen von den Fidschi-Inseln,” in J. W. Spengel, “Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Fidschi-Insulaner,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 4: Table 11.

⁹³ Image by W. Heuer, “Schädel eines Paumotuaners. Paumotuanerin,” in J. W. Spengel, “Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Polynesier-Schädel,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 5, no. 12 (1876): Table 4.

surround her subtly suggest her identification as an ethnological object representing the Paumotuan people.



Figure 4. “Skull of a Paumotuan woman” (*Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 5, no. 12 [1876]: Table 4.)

Illustrations of isolated subjects dressed in traditional attire, holding or surrounded by drawings of tools, jewelry and other artifacts functioned in a similar manner (see figures 5 and 6). They contextualized aboriginal people by referring to indigenous cultural practices at the same time as they isolated the image of the native, who was intended to represent the particular tribe under scientific investigation.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Images by W. Heuer, “Freier Eingeborener und ethnographische Gegenstände” and “Racen-Typen von Yap,” in E. Gräffe with A. Tetens and J. Kubary, “Die Carolineninsel Yap oder Guap nebst den Matelotas-, Makenzie-, Fais- und Wolea-Inseln.” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 (1873): Tables 4 and 5.



Figure 5. “Ethnographic objects from Yap” (*Journal des Muséums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 [1873]: Table 4).

Figure 6. “Racial Types of Yap” (*Journal des Muséums Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 [1873]: Table 5).

Yet, this ethnological objectification, which treated individual South Seas Islanders as representatives of particular tribes or racial types, also contributed to the essentialization of race in the *Journal*. Indeed, the publication’s racial essentialization was so extreme that the human skeleton was assumed to vary only with respect to racial difference rather than individual difference.⁹⁵ In “A Contribution to the Knowledge of the Polynesian Skull” Dr. J.W. Spengel wrote that “it would certainly be the most desirable to obtain skulls from individuals from whom one possesses as precisely as possible a knowledge of their physical

⁹⁵ Note, however, that ultimately the endeavour to find definitive physiological markers to differentiate so-called primitive people from other supposedly more advanced people, failed (Oksiloff, 51). Indeed, William Z. Ripley, the author of *Races of Europe* (1899), reported that although anthropologist Otto Ammon had “measured thousands of heads . . . he really had not been able to provide [a photo of] a perfect specimen [representing the “Alpine Race”] in all details. All his round-headed men were either blond, or tall, or narrow-nosed, or something else that they ought not to be” (quoted in John P. Jackson and Nadine M. Weidman, *Race, Racism, and Science: Social Impact and Interaction* [New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006], 74).

condition, that is, with respect to the hair formation, skin colour, etc., in order to be able to decide if the Blacks are, at the same time, really the Dolichocephalics.”⁹⁶

Even when the individuality of the subjects emerged it was nevertheless suppressed. For example, a 1902 article by J. D. E. Schmeltz and R. Krause on the anthropometry of skulls and skeletons, based on the preliminary work of the late Dr. Rudolph Virchow, identified “Skeleton No. 9803” and “Skeleton No. 9804” respectively as a man called “Wulure” and a woman referred to as “Mammi.” However, these were still treated in an impersonal manner along with all of the other skeletal samples examined in the study. They were simply measured, examined and classified as nothing more than examples of the Australian racial type.⁹⁷

In this way, the common human frame, the skeleton, was rendered into a marker of racial difference rather than recognized as the basis for a shared humanity. Race was so essentialized that even the bones revealed it. As Spengel declared in his study of Polynesian skulls, the analysis of a particular skull “. . . again, shows a nearing of the brachycephalic Type to the West Polynesien.”⁹⁸

Moreover, by representing non-European peoples together with artifacts and discussions of cultural practices race was linked to culture in a way that suggested the authenticity and fixity of racial identity. For example, in presenting a summary of A. Tetens’ and J. Kubary’s reports on “The Caroline Island Yap or

⁹⁶ J. W. Spengel, “Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Polynesier-Schädel,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 5, no. 12 (1876): 154.

⁹⁷ Schmeltz and Krause: 282.

⁹⁸ Spengel, “Polynesier-Schädel”: 135.

Guap, including the Matelot, Mackenzie, Fais und Wolea Islands.” Dr. E. Gräffe asserted that “Of course, customs and way of life, which partially originate from national character, are nevertheless in such tribes (*Völkerschaften*) to such an extent that they dominate all mental characteristics and ways of thinking, so that only through more exact knowledge of these peoples is one justified to conclusions about their actual character.”⁹⁹ Likewise, in another example, a true Palauen could only be someone who used the ethnological artifacts described by researchers. A change in cultural practices would, in effect, change identity. In this way, it became possible for Kubary to assert in his “Report on My Stay in Palau,” that Ajbatul, the King of Korrer, “wanted to be a foreigner. He did not like the customs of Palau, he wore clothes, and such.”¹⁰⁰ Essentially, the peoples under scientific scrutiny could be viewed as the ‘sum of their parts’, i.e. the entire ‘race’ could be reduced to and represented by the biological and cultural objects on display.¹⁰¹

This association between culture and race is revealed in the approach of scientists such as Professor Thilenius, the director of the Hamburg *Museum für Völkerkunde* (Museum of Ethnology) who built an ethnographic collection for his museum. In his view, only anthropological artifacts that reflected cultural practices before European contact were seen to accurately represent a particular

⁹⁹ Gräffe with Tetens and Kubary, “Die Carolineninsel”: 87.

¹⁰⁰ Kubary, “Aufenthalt in Palau”: 7.

¹⁰¹ In another example of the conflation of race and culture, the *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Hamburg acquired human remains to complement their displays of ethnological artifacts (StAHH 364 -2/3 Museum für Völkerkunde, “Haushalt 1907” [B.3, 12], p. 33. This file was uncatalogued at the time of use. The archival reference number is provisional only).

racial group.¹⁰² In Thilenius' own words, "The increase in the collection should follow from two points of view. First, it is the work of the museum to present visitors the most complete collection possible, which shows the characteristic products of, and documents (*Beläge*) the specific culture of each people. This part can, in short, be referred to as the 'Collection of Types'." (The second task of the museum was to collect pieces seldom or not at all held by other museums so as to contribute to unresolved scientific questions).¹⁰³

However, it should be noted that linking race to culture also helped to fix racial identity in such a way that set and maintained racial hierarchies. When a native group adopted European practices this did not change its cultural ranking by scientists,¹⁰⁴ since a group could not become civilized and still retain its authentic identity; if they were civilized, then they were no longer the same people. Thus, Prof. Thilenius demonstrated this with his comments in the 1906 "Explanation of the Draft Budget" for the Hamburg *Museum of Völkerkunde* that "Furthermore, the import of European commodities throws the ornamentation of the natives into confusion, so that this only brings about completely foreign

¹⁰² Ironically, however, as the theorist Homi Bhabha has suggested, a change in cultural practice could not discursively change the essential race of an individual. While non-whites might mimic European clothing styles, manners, and speech, these seemingly incongruent practices only served to draw attention to, and reinforced, racial identity and Otherness, because the transformation of the colonized is only ever partial. The mimicry of the colonial subject is a highly ambivalent state, which at once serves to maintain colonial power as well as undermines colonial discourses. (Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 [1984]: 125-133). Thus, the effect of Europeanization only served to fix identity. Herbert Spencer, for one, believed that attempts to 'civilize' non-Europeans could only be superficial and could not change essential racial character. This topic will be discussed further in a Chapter 6.

¹⁰³ StAHH 364 - 2/3, Museum für Völkerkunde, "Haushalt 1906" [B 3, 11], p. 8. Note that this file was uncatalogued at the time of use. The archival reference number is provisional only.

¹⁰⁴ Of course, such comparisons could also be made between European and non-European races with Europeans clearly seen as being culturally superior. Comparisons were sometimes also made between the different European 'races.' For example, William Z. Ripley's *Races of Europe* (1899) divided Europe into the Teutonic, Alpine and Mediterranean races (Jackson and Weidman, 75).

artistic output, which has nothing to do with the natural character of the culture of the tribe.”¹⁰⁵ Yet already in his “Report on the 1905 Approval (of the budget),” Thilenius had asserted the inextricability of cultural practices and ethnic identity by stating that “All experts are agreed on the opinion that for the course of the next decade only, will it be possible to arrange collections on the cultural areas of the Natural Peoples. The reason lies, first, in the forward advancement of Europeanization, which penetrates and at the same time destroys the old cultures with European ideas and products.”¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, if a particular “racial type” was characterized by a particular set of static ethno-cultural goods, practices and traits, then one set could be used to make a subjective evaluation of the other. That is, a racial group’s supposed level of cultural development or “*Kulturstufe*” could be used to assert its relative ranking in relation to other groups. For example, the Godeffroy field researcher Johann Kubary, stated in his “Report on my Stay in Palau,” that “With the help of the Whites, Koror has pushed down and, in some cases, wiped out the people of the North Island, although those people stood much higher than the natives of Koror.” Similarly, racial type predetermined a group’s “*Kulturstufe*.” In this way, Kubary was further able to assert in his report that “the lazy and indolent Koror is only maintained by our ships and never had an industry. The money, earthenware,

¹⁰⁵ StAHH 364- 2/3, Museum für Völkerkunde, “Haushalt 1906” [B 3, 11], p. 11. This file was uncatalogued at the time of use. The archival reference number is provisional only.

¹⁰⁶ StAHH 364-2/3, Museum für Völkerkunde, “Haushalt 1905” [B.3, 10], p. 13-14. This file was uncatalogued at the time of use. The catalogue number is provisional only.

canoes, nets, oil, syrup, pigs, and so on – all of it today still comes from the North.”¹⁰⁷

Moreover, according to Dr. E. Gräffe’s compilation of Kubary’s reports on “The Lagoon of Ebon,” missionaries had only been able to effect a “superficial piety and civilization” in the people of Ebon. Instead the natives had become “lazier and greedier” so that “the savage northern Rallik is much more productive and industrial than the Christian Ebon, who has forgotten how to manufacture and use the simplest and most indispensable things that one uses everyday. All mats, fishing lines, fish hooks, ropes, bodice (*Leibschmur*), belts, and so forth, were introduced from the north, while only a few years ago the Eboner manufactured these themselves.”¹⁰⁸ In other words, the Rallik people, whose indigenous culture had been retained, were superior to those of Ebon, whose traditional customs and practices had been partially lost. Yet, because the people of Ebon had not properly or completely been able to shed their indigenous culture to change their identities and become Europeanized, their cultural ambiguity only exacerbated their undesirable racial characteristics and accentuated their inferiority.

In another example reflecting the conflation of race and culture, Kubary’s article on Palau reports that he told the supposedly dishonest people of Korrer that “in this way, your customs and practices have greatly offended me and all Whites.”¹⁰⁹ That is, Kubary turned what he saw as a cultural (mis)behaviour into a

¹⁰⁷ All quotations are from Kubary, “Aufenthalt in Palau,” 191. The *Journal* referred to the people of various South Seas islands as representative of particular racial types. For examples see the tables cited in note 93 above.

¹⁰⁸ Gräffe with Kubary, “Die Lagune von Ebon,” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 1 (1873): 35.

¹⁰⁹ Kubary, “Aufenthalt in Palau”: 184.

racial affront. In this way, it is not hard to see how in a broader context, the essentialization and conflation of race and culture played an important role in justifying and legitimizing imperialistic hierarchies.

To be sure, the *Journal's* objectification and essentialization of non-Europeans was significant in and of itself. However, as I will briefly show next, the *Journal's* comparable – although not surprising – treatment of animals was indicative of the way in which scientific discourses contributed to the blurring of human and animal identities. The language of science reduced its subjects to objective descriptions and collections of data. Nevertheless, at the same time as researchers worked to differentiate and formalize human and animal identities, they were actually confusing them further.

The *Journal's* broad themes of geography, ethnology and natural science enabled the coexistence of articles on, for example, ornithology and those about the skulls of Polynesians, or articles on mollusks appeared with those about race and aboriginal diseases.¹¹⁰ Together, these not only objectified non-European humans, but objectified them along with non-human animals.¹¹¹

Compare, for instance, the following illustrations, which all appeared in the *Journal*, with the first three appearing in the same issue. In Figure 5 above, “Ethnographic Objects of Yap,” which accompanied an article, “The Caroline Islands Yap or Guap, Including the Matelot, Mackenzei, Fais and Wolea Islands,”

¹¹⁰ Otto Finsch, “Zur Ornithologie der Südsee-Inseln. II. Ueber neue und weniger gekannte Vögel von den Viti-, Samoa- und Carolinen-Inseln,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 5, no. 12 (1876): 1-42; Spengel, “Polynesier-Schädel”: 116-158; R. Bergh, “Neue Nacktschnecken der Südsee, malacologische Untersuchungen,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 5, no. 14 (1879): 1-50; and E. Graeffe, “IV. Abschnitt: Die Eingeborenen in Bezug auf Rassencharakter und Krankheiten” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 5, no. 14 (1879): 225-240.

¹¹¹ In addition, human and animal ‘specimens’ were often numbered and identified in the same impersonal manner.

by Dr. E. Gräffe based on the reports of Alfred Tetens and J. Kubary, an indigenous Yap male is shown standing at the centre of a regularly arranged grouping of cultural artifacts. No visual context is provided; rather, the man and the artifacts are set against a pale background in much the same manner as if they had been arranged in a display case. Nevertheless, the fact that the man is shown carrying some kind of unnamed tool resembling a harpoon hints at a broader narrative. He appears ready to undertake some activity with the harpoon, thereby suggesting the broader day-to-day context of his environment.¹¹²

Equally, figures 7 and 8, which accompanied articles on “Butterflies Collected On the Island Yap and their Stages of Metamorphosis,” by Georg Semper and “New Slugs of the South Sea, Malacological Research,” by Dr. R. Bergh, show native fauna presented in a similar manner to that of the Yap native discussed above.

¹¹² Heuer, “Freier Eingeborener.” Table 4. Note, also, that in contrast to the title referring to a “Freier Eingeborener,” which appeared in the table of contents, illustration 5 is simply labeled “Ethnographische Gegenstände von Yap” rendering the human figure into an object.

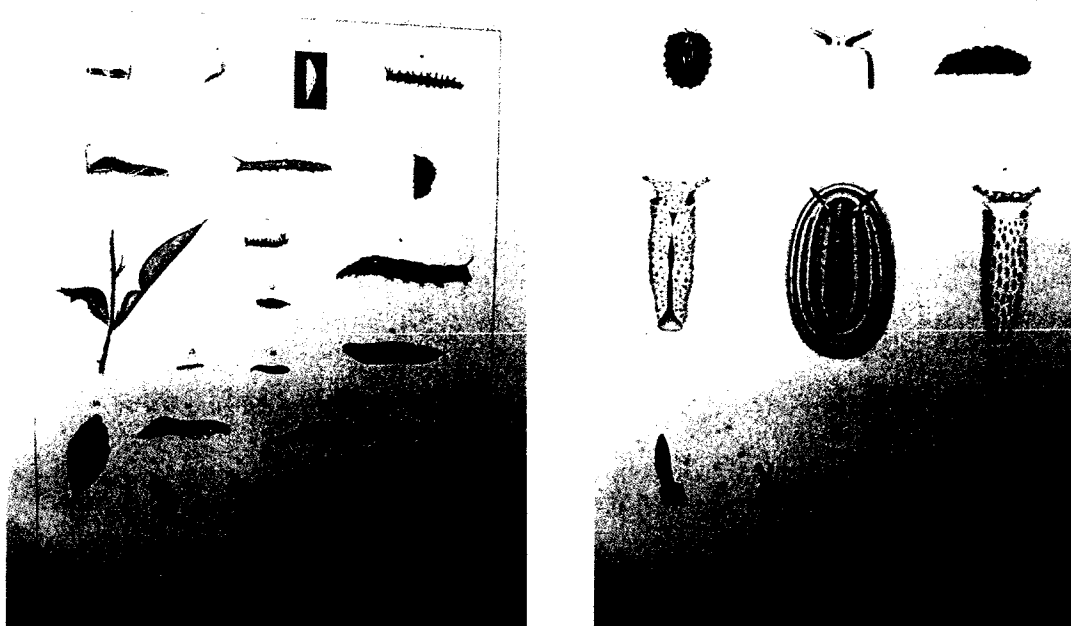


Figure 7. “Caterpillars of Yap” (*Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 [1873]: Table 8).

Figure 8. “New mollusks of the South Sea” (*Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 [1873]: Table 9.)

Generally speaking, all of the ‘objects’ are arranged more or less symmetrically on the page, sometimes around a central focal point (figures 5 and 8 especially). The images of these insects generally lack contextualization, save for the occasional inclusion of a small leaf or branch and they appear as though they had been pinned into an entomologist’s collection case.¹¹³

On the other hand, images of birds were exceptional for their degree of contextualization, although they were still itemized and identified with Latin

¹¹³ Images by J. Kubary and Anna Semper, “Rauhen von Yap,” in Georg Semper, “Auf der Insel Yap gesammelte Schmetterlinge und deren Verwandlungsgeschichte,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 (1873): Table 8; and R. Bergh, “Neue Nacktschnecken der Südsee,” in R. Bergh, “Neue Nacktschnecken der Südsee, malacologische Untersuchungen,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 (1873): Table 9. Incidentally, the body ornamentation of the Yap native shown in illustration 5 greatly resembles the stripes on the mollusk in illustration 8, which in effect makes the illustrations seem more similar, suggesting even a slight parallelism.

names in the same way as other specimens appearing in the *Journal*. The example I have chosen here, from a short article titled “On a Shipment of Birds from Huahine.” by Dr. E. Gräffe, shows six colourful birds perched on small disembodied branches (figure 9).



Figure 9. “6 illustrations of Ptilinopus types of the South Seas Islands, drawn from nature” (*Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no. 1 [1873]: Table 7)

The amount of habitat shown is minimal compared to other illustrations of birds in the *Journal*, which showed small, natural-looking groups set upon leafy branches or mounds of earth.¹¹⁴ This is in contrast to the fish that appeared in

¹¹⁴ “6 Abbildungen von Ptilinopus-Arten der Südsee-Inseln, nach der Natur gezeichnet,” in E. Gräffe, “Ueber eine Sendung Vögel aus Huahine,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no. 1 (1873): Table 7; For examples of the great extent to which birds were shown in natural habitats see Tables 1-8 in Otto Finsch, “Zur Ornithologie der Südsee Inseln. I. Die Vögel der Palau-Gruppe,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 3, no. 8 (1875); and Tables 1-2 in Otto Finsch, “Zur Ornithologie der Südsee Inseln,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 5, no. 12 (1876). Among non-human animals, birds were often exceptional for the exclusive interest they generated. For instance, Christiane Hagenbeck operated a business devoted only to birds (ranging from parrots to songbirds and “Ziervögel”) and special associations were often formed with the sole aim of “Vogelschutz.” For

special editions of the *Journal* devoted specifically to ichthyology. They were routinely presented without any hint of natural habitat whatsoever.¹¹⁵

Still, like the images of indigenous people, the *Journal*'s illustrations of animals tended to both isolate and contextualize their subjects, giving the impression of scientific distance that led to the objectification described by Oksiloff. If there were no hints of natural settings or habitat to provide a context for the isolated specimens and the animals simply appeared on their own, the periodical's articles or the identification of the specimen's origins provided an implicit context. On the other hand, as Zimmerman has argued, the stark presentation of bodies, which was intended to remove any trace of the "artistic hand" from the image and permitted the careful scientific analysis of the subject, rendered it into an artifact. Clearly, this occurred with the animals depicted in the *Journal*. In effect, under the scientific gaze, one body was like any other, whether human or non-human.

instance, the Stuttgart *Bund für Vogelschutz*, which claimed to have 30,000 members, founded the *Bund für Vogelschutz Ortsgruppe Köln* (HASK 401-589). There was also a "Vogelfreunde" group in Graz, Austria and in 1913, the Princess Heinrich of Prussia assumed the role of patroness to the Nature and Bird Protection Association for Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenberg (LAB A. Pr. Br. 130-05 Polizei Präsidium Berlin-Theaterpolizei Nr. 1552; GStA I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 662 Nr. 59: Tierschutzvereine, Generalia, 1863 bis 1930, doc. no. 261). Horses and dogs also frequently enjoyed such specialized interest. However, to my knowledge, in Europe birds were the only non-domestic animal to enjoy special protection, whether from cruelty (such as protests in 1898 by the Graz "Vogel freunde" against the feeding of live doves and chickens, along with rabbits, to the snakes at the Berlin Zoo) or conservation efforts, such as the *Verein Jordsand*, founded in 1907 to protect seabirds (LAB A. Pr. Br. 130-05 Polizei Präsidium Berlin-Theaterpolizei Nr. 1552; StaHH A506/0002 Kapsel 1 Tierschutz]). Perhaps this was because of the ambiguous status of birds, which shifted between "wild" and "domestic."

¹¹⁵ For examples, see the illustrations in Albert Günther, "Andrew Garrett's Fische der Südsee" *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 6, no. 16 (1909), which was an issue of the *Journal* devoted solely to the study of fish. However, it is worth noting that "For Garrett [the ichthyologist], forms with colourful adornment were more attractive and he gave little attention to those with uniform colouring, which could only be differentiated by modifications in the build of their often complicated organs [Albert Günther, "Vorwort zum neunten (Schluss-)Hefte," *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 6, no. 17 (1910), n.p.]." From this, it seems reasonable to suspect that just as for fish, brightly coloured birds were valued – and objectified – at least in part, for their simple ornamental value.

Furthermore, the similar treatment given to human and non-human anthropological 'objects' is also seen in the way that simple line drawings of isolated body parts visually fragmented the human or animal to which they originally belonged (see figures 10-14).¹¹⁶

Peristethus engyceros.

Günth. Proc. Zool. Soc. 1871, p. 663.

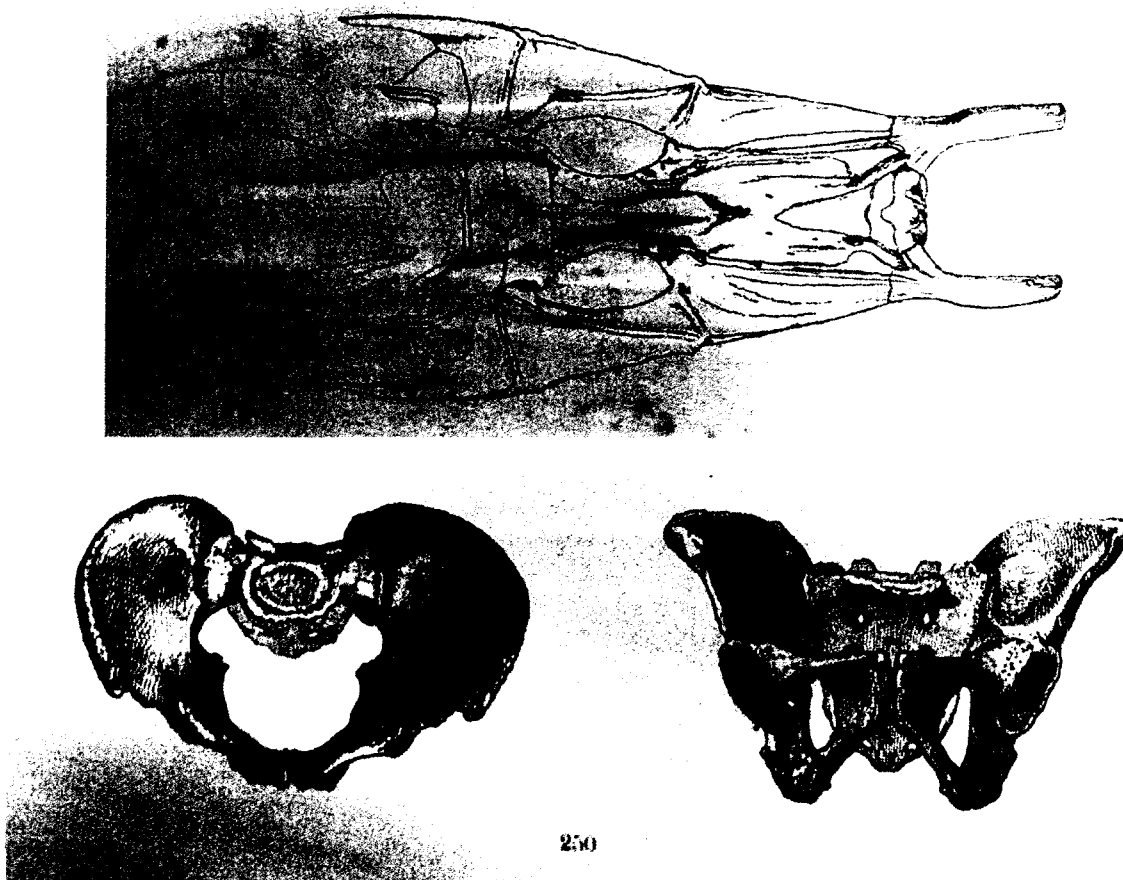


Figure 10. Fish skull (*Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 4, no. 11 [1876]: 168).

Figure 11. Human hip skeleton – Fiji Islands (*Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no. 4 [1873/1874], 250).

¹¹⁶ Albert C. L. G. Günther, "Andrew Garrett's Fische der Südsee," *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 4, no. 11 (1876): 168; J. Kubary, "Weitere Nachrichten von der Insel Ponopé," *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 3, no. 8 (1875): 267; Spengel, "Fidschi-Insulaner: 250; J. E. Gray, "Feresa attenuate," in "Feresa attenuate," *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 3, no. 8 (1875): Table 6; and "Branchipus australiensis," in F. Richters, "Branchipus australiensis nov. spec.," *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 5, no. 12 (1876): Table 3.

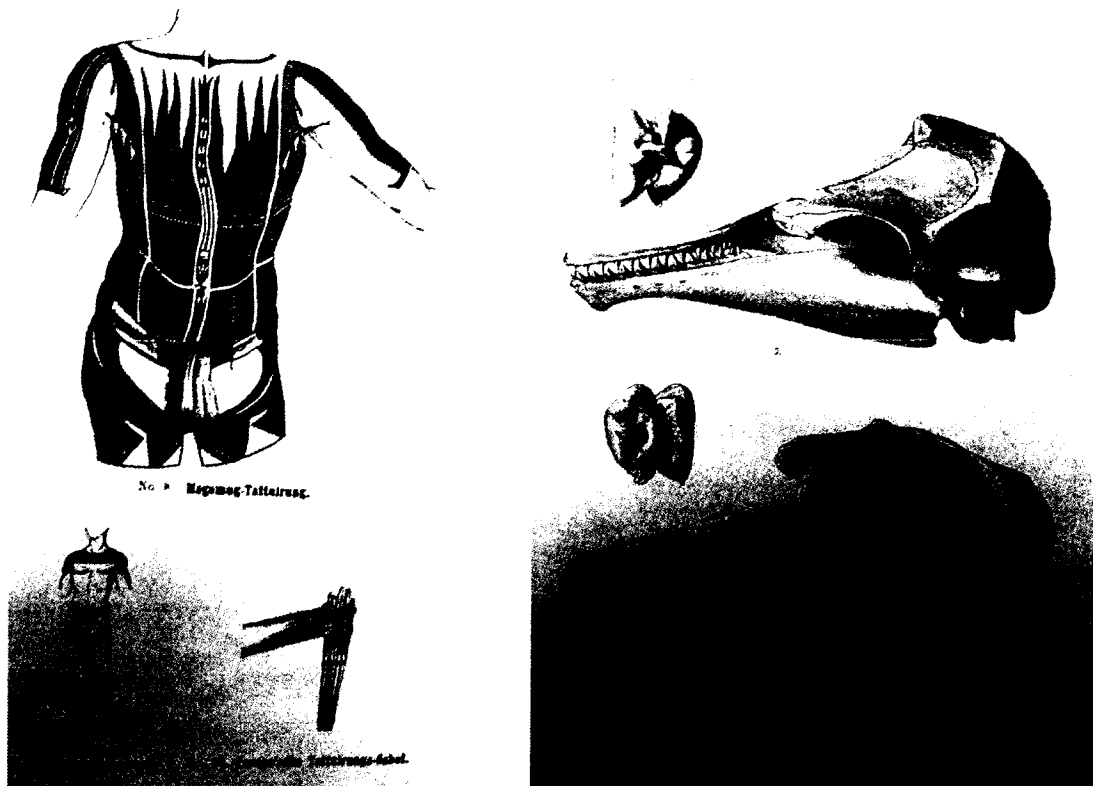


Figure 12. Ponopé Islanders' tattoos (*Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 3, no. 8 (1875): 267).

Figure 13. Dolphin Skull (*Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 3, no. 8 (1875): Table 6).

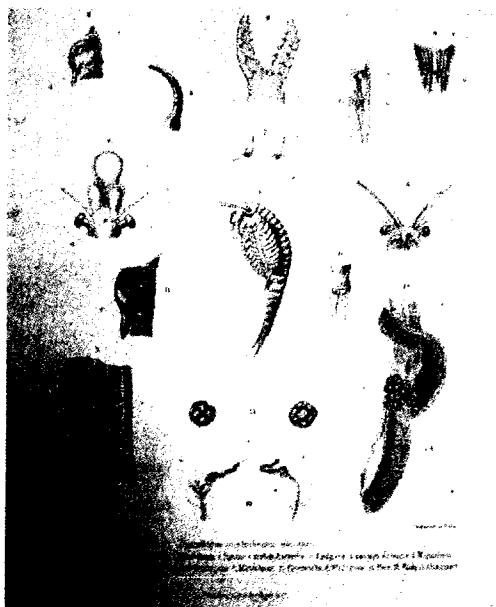


Figure 14. *Branchipus australiensis* (shrimp) (*Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 5, no. 12 (1876): Table 3).

Obviously this was an extreme form of objectification, which reduced humans and animals to mere isolated parts. Yet in this treatment, which denied the existence of a complete, functioning being, the skull of a human was no more or less remarkable than the skull of a dolphin.¹¹⁷ Both were simply anthropological artifacts.

Most striking is the way in which human and non-human animals were almost obsessively measured and described, letting no detail of anatomy or physiology go unnoticed. This kind of measurement, which left no part of the specimen unobserved, can also be seen as a most extreme form of fragmentation in that it reduced specimens to small, measured components. For example, an analysis of Polynesian skulls by Dr. J. W. Spengel included a table which summarized the basic information about each specimen, such as the sex of the deceased, as well as the skull's capacity, length, width and height, but also more specific information including, but not limited to, the "horizontal circumference," "curve of the brow," "arch of the top of the head" (*Scheitelbogen*), "arc of the back of the head," "position of the ears," "breadth of the brow," "height of the brow," "chest diameter," "length of the *foramen magnum*," "angle of the profile," "length of the upper jaw," and the length and width of the nose. The table also included calculations such as the "Face Index," which divided the "length of the face" by the "length of the nose" and the "Orbital-Index" (Eye Socket Index) which was based on the "height of the orbit" and the "breadth of the orbit." In

¹¹⁷ For a fascinating discussion of German anthropologists' attempts to standardize the measurement of human skulls and the scientific importance they placed upon this attempt to characterize different races, see Chapter 4, "Measuring Skulls: The Social Role of the Antihumanist," in Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism*.

addition, in identifying the origins of the skull specimens, the author of the article also describes the positions and dimensions of the graves of the deceased.¹¹⁸

Another article, “Skeletons and Skulls,” an explanatory text based on the previous research of J.D.E. Schmeltz and Dr. R. Krause, was intended to complete the unfinished research of Dr. Rudolf Virchow. In it the scientists reduced the human frame to mere numbers. For instance, it stated that “Skeleton No. 9800” had belonged to a 30 year-old male, 1.73 m tall, and was found in complete and in good condition. The capacity, height, length, width and “Length-Width Index” of the skull were further annotated to categorize the skull as “Dolichocephalic” and further described as “. . . low brow, with high superciliary arch, domed to the front. The lambdoidal suture is spread wide with countless extra sutural bones [*Nahtknochen*], . . . high eye sockets, deep *canine fossa*, strong prognathism, the first right incisor in the upper jaw is missing and the corresponding alveolar point [*Alveolarpartie*] is atrophied. As for the rest, all the teeth nicely maintained, wide, strong, lower jaw, . . .” This description and those of the other skeletons under examination were complemented by multiple, detailed images of each skull shown from various perspectives and sometimes isolating different features such as the jaw.¹¹⁹

Similarly, the scientific scrutiny accorded to humans was also given to animals. The second installment of a series on “The Fish of the South Sea,” by Dr. Albert Günther, alone listed more than 100 members of the classification order

¹¹⁸ Spengel, “Polynesier-Schädel”: 117, 155-158. For further examples of such detailed analyses see Finsch, “Zur Ornithologie. II”: 1-42; and Albert Günther, “Erster ichthyologischer Beitrag nach Exemplaren aus dem Museum Godeffroy,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no. 2 (1873): 169-175.

¹¹⁹ Schmeltz and Krause: 281 and Tables 6-20.

Acanthopterygii. In fact, this catalogue was so large that a single volume of the *Journal* was dedicated to it. A typical description naturally included information such as the geographic distribution and the longitudinal and latitudinal location indicating where the specimen was found,¹²⁰ but it could also include the common name used by aboriginals for the fish. For instance, the *Caranx crumenophthalmus* (also called “Bigeye Scad”) was called “Hakuli” in the Sandwich and Society Islands.¹²¹ In addition, no detail of the fish’s appearance was left unexamined. Among other observations, the author states:

The height of the body is somewhat more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total length (without the tail fin), the length of the head $\frac{2}{7}$; pectoral fin shorter than the head. Especially characteristic is the large eye, which diameter is on average somewhat less than $\frac{1}{3}$, but also is often only $\frac{1}{3}$ the head length; the snout is approximately as long as the eye, with the lower jaw somewhat protruding The figure from the side is very weakly curved and its little scutes become somewhat apparent before the middle of the second dorsal fin.¹²²

Likewise, an ornithological study of the Palau Islands by Otto Finsch, consisted of a staggering 50 pages of analysis, descriptions and classifications. Each bird was measured for the length of its wings, tail and “*Firste*” – a measurement that now appears to be obsolete;¹²³ and sometimes for things such as the length to the most central tail feather or the longest tail feather; the “size of the beak opening”; the “leg from the kneebend to the joint of the middle toe”; the

¹²⁰ The information about longitude and latitude is an inference on my part, as the author does not provide any explicit explanation of the information he lists at the beginning of each description. Apparently he was confident that his readers were scientifically fluent.

¹²¹ Günther, “Fische der Südsee”: 131.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ This term is presently used in reference to roof construction and the “roof” of a mine shaft, but I am unable to locate a zoological definition for this term in either German or English. Further information would be greatly appreciated.

“tibia, the naked part of the lower thigh”; and finally, the “middle toes without the nail”. Accompanying these measurements, were also attempts to ascertain gender differences. The scientific observations noted the differences between male and female birds as well as between adult and young birds. For example, among the remarks describing the appearance of a female *Caprimulgus phalaena* (Palau Nightjar) were that “. . . the 3 outer tail feathers are black with 9 rust-coloured crosswise bars, of which the outermost (of those that bear 10) are smaller, and the 2nd and 3rd are wider and darkly dull . . .”.¹²⁴ Clearly, the Godeffroy scientists felt no detail was too small to go unnoticed.

Indeed, this intense effort to systematically classify humans and animals characterized attempts to impose identities and to order the discoveries being made in the South Seas. To that end, when reading these lengthy descriptions, it is worth recalling the manner, seen above, in which the Godeffroy scientists generally treated human individuals as representatives of their race. Clearly, they used the same approach for examining humans as they did for animals.¹²⁵ This essentialization, which was so pronounced in the scientific discourse on humans and animals, treated individuality only as a statistical deviation from a fixed norm and represented an attempt to formalize and concretize both non-European racial identities and animal identities.

Yet, it is precisely through these efforts that scientists confounded their own efforts to fix identities. The more data they compiled, the less clear their conclusions became. Thus, in his “Contributions to the Knowledge of the Fiji

¹²⁴ Finsch, “Zur Ornithologie der Südsee-Inseln. I”: 141, 143, 146.

¹²⁵ Note also that in German, the term “Rasse” also applies to animal breeds.

Islanders,” J. W. Spengel, a physical anthropologist, had to admit, but then discounted the individual variations he saw: “After inspecting individual skulls, if we try to form a general picture of the character of a Fijian skull at all, we come up against great difficulties. Certainly it is easy, to take an average from the main measurements we already have and those that appear in the literature describing Fijian skulls, in order to get an approximate idea of the average skull of the tribe. But with many huge deviations, one should not have any illusions about the meaning of this ideal. Nevertheless, I will try to draft a rough outline in this way.”¹²⁶ Indeed, this was his characteristic approach to the problem of individual variation. In “A Contribution to Knowledge of the Polynesian Skull,” Spengel explained, “. . . I therefore abstain from an attempt to establish the typical characteristics of the same [the Polynesian skull] and to rule out the purely individual [results].”¹²⁷

At the same time, in his research on “The Fish of the South Sea,” Albert Günther lamented that “In the differentiation of the species, there is a prevailing confusion, because the teeth, the number of fin ridges and the body shapes vary and the many writings [on the topic] do not contain the characteristic traits, or at least they give occasion to misunderstandings.”¹²⁸ In a similar manner, in his article “On a Shipment of Birds from Huahine,” Dr. E. Gräffe urged that “We must distinguish and describe these debatable Types for further study with respect to the changes, but strive to group such forms instead of simply pointing out the

¹²⁶ Spengel, “Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Fidschi-Insulaner”: 246.

¹²⁷ Spengel, “Polynesier Schädel”: 129.

¹²⁸ Günther, “Fische der Südsee”: 129.

variations from the related species. and also to especially emphasize the similarities.”¹²⁹

Not surprisingly then, in the intense categorization drive that reduced animals and people to artifacts and exemplars, researchers did not seem to experience any ethical dilemma with respect to the collection of either human or animal ‘specimens.’ Indeed, researchers such as Spengel in his “Contribution to the Knowledge of the Polynesian Skull,” stated quite openly where they obtained their human specimens, even when they were taken against the objections of indigenous peoples: “. . . Several stalactite caves are located on Niau. In one of these, a Chinese servant, who was tasked (*beauftragt*) with the collection of stalactites, found a number of human skulls of which he took one with him; however, he was forced by the Native Police to bring it back, although he stole it again the next day.”¹³⁰

Another researcher, Otto Finsch, did not hesitate to state in his second article on the ornithology of the South Seas Islands, “On New and Less Well-Known Birds from the Viti and Samoa Islands,” that a particularly rare animal had been killed in order to obtain it for the Godeffroy Museum’s collection. “Mr. Ach. Boyd shot the first exemplar . . . The natives did not recognize the new *Trichoglossus* and regarded it as a new bird.” On one unusual occasion in the article, Finsch expressed a slight hesitation when he stated that “. . . the heart laughs in the chest of the bird lover to see this extremely charming, delicate little

¹²⁹ E. Gräffe, “Ueber eine Sendung Vögel aus Huahine,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no. 1 (1873): 48.

¹³⁰ Spengel, “Polynesier-Schädel”: 141. Likewise, Captain Jacobsen ruthlessly pillaged native burial sites in his pursuit of human skeletal remains for the Berlin Museum. See also Note 55 above.

animal, and one almost shies away from shooting this delightful creature.” Nevertheless he overcame his misgivings and killed it. Moreover, Finsch actually intensified his efforts to acquire other specimens of that type of bird, stating that “Although I offered each and every kind of reward, it was nevertheless not possible for me to have them search for an egg of the bird for me to have, as the little animal, as well as the nest, is so rare.”¹³¹ Thus, scientists’ desire to acquire specimens took precedence over conservation or an ethos that recognized animals as living creatures.

As will be seen again in later chapters, the race to obtain representative human and animal ‘artifacts’ was common to both anthropology and zoology. Indeed, the similarity in their practices is also a reflection of the overlap of these fields. Just as the differences between humans and animals could sometimes be unclear, so were the boundaries between their fields of study. As the historian Paul Weindling has pointed out, anthropology was a frequent point of intersection between anatomical and zoological questions.¹³² Most famously, Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* (1859) made a systematic study of animal behaviour and anatomy to show the evolutionary inheritance of traits and ultimately linked humankind to animals. One need not, however, to have been a Darwinist in order for the fields of zoology and anthropology to overlap. The classification system of Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778), which sought to categorize animals as well as human races based upon their physical characteristics is an obvious case in point. However, a disciplinary overlap was

¹³¹ Finsch, “Zur Ornithologie. II”: 4, 8, 9.

¹³² Paul Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 50.

also implicit in such popular venues as the *Völkerschauen*, which were frequently presented in German zoos. Clearly, the display of human beings inside a zoological garden seemed perfectly congruous to the public and to the zoo directors who contracted such shows. Indeed, according to a contemporary newspaper article by W. Henz, “The new Hagenbeckian Tierpark in Stellingen,” the noted anthropologists Adolf Bastian and Rudolph Virchow (who, incidentally, were also opponents of evolutionary theory), along with the Paris Zoo director Albert Geoffroy St. Hilaire, were present at the opening of the Hagenbeck Zoo in 1907. The celebrations included a display of Somalis and their customs and artifacts. Reportedly, Virchow, Bastian and Geoffrey St. Hilaire were so very grateful of the scientific opportunities that Hagenbeck and his Tierpark offered, that they “did not spare their acknowledgement.”¹³³ In fact, the problem of the vague boundary between the study of humans and the study of animals was explicitly addressed by P. Chalmers Mitchell, who is well-known for his English translation of Carl Hagenbeck’s famous biography *Of Beasts and Men*. In the German translation of his own book, *The Childhood of Animals (Die Kindheit der Tiere)* (c. 1913), Mitchell devotes his work predominantly to the study of non-human animals. Nevertheless, he makes frequent comparisons to human physiology and development; he shows, for example, human-animal similarities in utero, shows the human brain in relation to chimpanzees, macaques and cebus monkeys, and also asserts that in mammals “Their sense of smell, taste, feeling, and hearing, their face and muscle movements and their reflexes, joy and emotion, the instincts with which they enter into life and everything that they make from

¹³³ HA, newspaper clippings, W. Henz, “Der neue Hagenbecksche Tierpark in Stellingen,” (1907).

that, is as with humans. The great resemblance makes it difficult, not to mix up real imitation with actions that only correspond to those of humans, because they are carried out under certain circumstances."¹³⁴ Clearly, human and animal identities existed in a constant state of comparison. Accordingly, the fields of zoology and anthropology provide an ideal position from which to consider the interface between human and animal identities.

To be sure, the *Journal's* eclectic variety of topics, placed together only because of their shared Pacific origins, suggested a close relationship between its diverse subjects. The fact that a "Supplement to the Contributions to the Knowledge of the Fiji Islanders" could appear in the same issue as articles such as "On the Flora of Queensland," "New Slugs of the South Sea" and ". . . Notes on the Geo[logical] Conditions of Samoa,"¹³⁵ implied that aboriginal humans together with plants, animals and geological formations were all simply part of the natural world of the South Seas, or at least existed in a very close relationship.¹³⁶ Certainly it was a commonly held view that aboriginals or 'primitive' people were closer to nature than people from so-called civilized societies.¹³⁷ Indeed, in

¹³⁴ P. C. Mitchell, *Die Kindheit der Tiere*, trans. Hans Pander (Stuttgart: Verlag von Julius Hoffmann, c. 1913), 9, 241, 271.

¹³⁵ See the *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 3, no. 6, (1873/74).

¹³⁶ Incidentally, it is worth noting that National Geographic takes a similarly broad approach to its subject matter. (Thank you to John Buhler for pointing this out).

¹³⁷ Of course, the opposite idea that civilization creates distance between humans and nature is still very much with us. The historian Keith Thomas has argued that industrialization and urbanization increasingly distanced Britons from nature. While the effects of deforestation and land cultivation may make this true in some respects, this argument seems to glide over the fact that nineteenth-century cities did, in fact, contain a great deal more animal life than just household pets, including working animals such as dogs and horses as well as livestock, wild birds and vermin.

Germany indigenous peoples were often referred to as ‘*Naturvölker*’ (Nature Peoples).¹³⁸

Moreover, this ambiguous term also implied that aboriginal people existed in an unaffected, more instinctual state, rather like animals and children.¹³⁹ This was because in terms of evolutionist anthropology, so-called primitive peoples were still thought to possess the characteristics of the earliest human beings.¹⁴⁰ A collection of essays entitled *The Childhood of Man* (1909), written by the anthropologist Leo Frobenius, a strong advocate of the theory of African genesis, illustrates this notion of aboriginal peoples as the forerunners of modern humans – as reflecting modern civilization in its infancy, so to speak.¹⁴¹ Obviously, this sheds light on the paternalistic tone of Tetens and others, who saw it as their duty to try to tame or civilize the peoples they encountered.

In contrast, for Willy Foy, the director of Cologne’s Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum of Ethnology, the term ‘*Naturvölker*’ (Natural Peoples) indicated people that were ‘primitive’ and developmentally stagnant.¹⁴² They were completely

¹³⁸ Similarly, Eduard Gräffe also occasionally referred to “Menschen von Natur” (Eduard Gräffe, “Topographie der Schifferinseln,” *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* 1, no.1 (1873), 31).

¹³⁹ For more on this see Jackson and Weidman, 83.

¹⁴⁰ Oksiloff, 2, 5, 31.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 5; The notion that primitive peoples were childlike was reflected by Captain Tetens in his paternalistic attitudes and comments about the “Naturkinde” (child of nature), the indigenous princess (see above). This idea is also implied in his remarks about the need to be fair but firm with the South Seas natives and with his general efforts to civilize them. Civilizing the *Naturvölker* from their primitive state was, in other words, akin to raising children to be mature adults. Much later, Norbert Elias would reflect this view with his likening of the civilizing process of societies to the maturing of individuals, although he is careful to state that there is no direct replication of the phases of societal history within the civilized individual (Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, trans. Edmund Jephcott [Oxford: Blackwell, 1994], xiii). Nevertheless, he goes on to declare that because all humans undergo a process of civilization that is linked to socialization, “the structure of the child’s affects and consciousness no doubt bears a certain resemblance to that of ‘uncivilized’ peoples . . .” (*Ibid.*, xiii)."

¹⁴² Penny, 113.

untouched by civilization and, according to Adolf Bastian, the well-known German anthropologist of the Berlin *Museum für Völkerkunde* (Berlin Museum of Ethnology), since they could not develop they were doomed to extinction. Accordingly, in the race to obtain artifacts reflecting primitive culture, ethnologists made the implicit assumption that the cultures they were studying had never undergone any change – that they were essentially static. Yet in denying both the history and the potential of the *Naturvölker* to become civilized they dehumanized them in the most extreme way.¹⁴³

However, anthropological studies had further implications for the theorization of human identity. As we have seen, many of the efforts to hypothesize the origins of humanity included attempts to define and rank the human races. Whether the *Naturvölker* were seen as instinctual and unaffected or “primitive” and developmentally stagnant, they could also be regarded as less than human and standing between human and non-human animals. In this way, the intermediate position of the non-European races affirmed the assumed status of white Europeans as representing the highest point of human development and thereby also articulated the characteristics of the supposedly most fully formed humans.¹⁴⁴ At the same time, however, this only served to confuse the boundaries between human and animal identities.

¹⁴³ Zimmerman, “Skin Trade,” 161. Zimmerman asserts that in contrast to the German concept, the British concept of “primitive” regarded the *Naturvölker* as representing the earliest stages of human development (Ibid.).

¹⁴⁴ In the words of historian Alfred Kelly, “By making so much of the gulf between the higher and lower races, the popularizers [of Darwinism] were perhaps unconsciously taking some of the sting out of ape theory. The lower races were made to bear the greater part of the burden of animal descent, thus sparing cultured whites some of the humiliation of being no more than higher apes” (Alfred Kelly, *The Descent of Darwin: The Popularization of Darwinism in Germany, 1860-1914* [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981], 117). However, racist (and speciesist)

For example, the prominent Social Darwinist Ludwig Woltmann asserted that humans distinguished themselves from animals not only through their use of tools, their skills, and their culture. They also worked cooperatively within groups in order to compete against their environment and other groups, while struggling to acquire possessions, income and reputation. In contrast, he maintained that the actions of animals were based solely on instinct and the intention to reproduce as much as possible.¹⁴⁵ In other words, the difference between humans and animals seems to have been that humans behaved in a manner that reflected ‘civilized’ European society, whereas animals acted only upon biological drives.

Yet, if non-Europeans were primitive in their use of tools, weapons and other cultural practices that supposedly reflected early human societies, if they lived closer to nature and did not clothe themselves completely, if they existed to fulfill the most basic human needs for survival, if they (allegedly) barbarically practised head-hunting, did not use tableware (also a tool), and were not seen to be properly enmeshed in the capitalist economy, all of these things only served to highlight how ‘uncivilized’ they were and how much they resembled animals.

In this way, it is not surprising that Captain Tetens tended to conflate human and animal identities by anthropomorphizing animals and denigrating non-Europeans such as the Chinese, by comparing them to animals.¹⁴⁶ For despite efforts to solidify human boundaries, they were on, the contrary, extremely fluid.

hierarchies were not exclusive to Darwinism. Clearly, the history of the trans-Atlantic slave trade is a powerful illustration of the de-humanization of black Africans pre-dating the rise of evolutionary theory.

¹⁴⁵ Kelly, 126.

¹⁴⁶ For a chilling comparison of the way in which American slaves were treated, quite literally, like animals, see Marjorie Spiegel, *The Dreaded Comparison: Human and Animal Slavery*, 2nd ed. (New York: Mirror Books, 1989).

But if the only standards for human behaviour were the European ones, then it was according to these subjective and variable measures that non-Europeans and animals could be judged and improved.¹⁴⁷

On the other hand, just as anthropologists examined human cultures and physiology in order to identify, differentiate, and hierarchalize the human species, zoologists and biologists classified, compared and ordered animal species.¹⁴⁸ Ironically, however, rather than clarify the boundaries between humans and animals, such research had the opposite effect. As we have seen, rigid and ‘objective’ scientific measurements were confounded by individual variations. Furthermore, when the *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* gathered non-European human and animal species together under the broad heading of ‘nature’ it objectified them and distanced them from humans, blurring rather than clarifying their boundaries.

Finally, it was the quest for anthropological ‘objects’ that illustrates the irony of Germans’ treatment of the *Naturvölker*. Professor G. Thilenius of the Hamburg *Museum für Völkerkunde* repeatedly expressed his wish for artifacts reflecting ethnic culture prior to contact with European culture.¹⁴⁹ However, these were not always easy to obtain and he complained that “. . . Through the

¹⁴⁷ Captain Tetens’ standards would have differed from those Woltmann. For example, for Tetens, trustworthiness and loyalty were important qualities differentiating civilized from uncivilized peoples.

¹⁴⁸ Moreover, in 1869 the geographer and theorist of human geography Friedrich Ratzel, who had originally trained as a zoologist, wrote a book about Darwinism that included a discussion of race and competition in the struggle for existence (Richard Weikart, “The Origins of Social Darwinism in Germany, 1859-1895,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 54, no. 3 (July 1993): 485). This, again, suggests the overlap between human and animal identities.

¹⁴⁹ For examples see StAHH 364 - 2/3, Museum für Völkerkunde, “Haushalt 1905” [B.3, 10]; StAHH 364 - 2/3, Museum für Völkerkunde, “Haushalt 1906” [B 3, 11]; and StAHH 364 - 2/3, Museum für Völkerkunde, “Haushalt 1914, Band II” [B.3, 19]. These files were uncatalogued at the time of use. The archival reference number is provisional only.

progressive penetration of European cultural products, namely cotton and iron, the original cultural state of the Nature Peoples is being influenced more and more and for the most part, destroyed, . . .”¹⁵⁰ Therefore, while acknowledging that the cultures of the *Naturvölker* were capable of rapidly changing due to the influence of European contact, he nevertheless treated them as something static that could be captured and analyzed as representative of an entire people and their history.

Thilenius’ lament then alludes to the paradox that my examination of the Godeffroy literature has suggested: the tension between paternalistic tendencies to try to civilize non-Europeans and deterministic notions of racial identity. While the former acknowledged the transience of racial identity and tried to ‘raise-up’ non-European peoples, the latter insisted on the permanence of racial character and kept non-Europeans in their supposed place. This was a tension that appeared time and again, not only in the anthropological literature, but in relation to zoos as well. It was part of the contradictory discourses of the German middle classes.

¹⁵⁰ StAHH 364 - 2/3, Museum für Völkerkunde, “Haushalt 1907” [B.3, 12], p. 16. This file was uncatalogued at the time of use. The archival reference number is provisional only.

Chapter 2:

Building Zoos, Building Middle Class Identities

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, distinguishes itself, however, in that it simplified class antagonism.
(Karl Marx. *The Communist Manifesto*)

The essential condition for the rule of the bourgeois class is the accumulation of wealth into the hands of individuals (*Privaten*), the creation and increase of capital
(Karl Marx. *The Communist Manifesto*)

On August 13, 1857, in an article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* (*Cologne Newspaper*), the school headmaster (*Erste Oberlehrer*) Dr. Caspar Garthe attempted to solicit interest in the foundation of a zoological garden in Cologne.¹ Garthe's vision at once equated the zoo with civic status and honour, with dazzling social life and entertainment and with the education of the public about the natural world. Indeed, Garthe depicted the foundation of the zoo as the embodiment of the spirit of a new era, the spirit of the bourgeoisie: “. . . It is not the intention to pursue this in detail, but one certainly feels obliged to emphasize that the active and creative spirit of our mercantilist and industrialist citizens has developed to a greater degree, bringing about a necessary advance that is in keeping with the spirit of the times. In this way, Cologne has earned an honourable place beside other larger cities.”² Indeed, Garthe's depiction of the

¹ In fact, this was not the first attempt to start a zoo in Cologne. On April 24, 1856 Ersnt Müller, the Lindenthal owner of a “Wirtsgarten” containing a number of animals, also placed an ad in the *Kölnische Zeitung* soliciting public interest in founding a zoological garden in Cologne. The plan was never realized and after a number of misfortunes, Müller ended-up in Berlin, where he became an animal keeper in the Zoological Garden until his death in 1882 (HASK 1010-32, Zeitungsartikel, *Kölnische Zeitung* “Der Zoologische Garten in Köln,” no. 799, 22 July 1910.).

² Garthe refers to the zoological gardens of Amsterdam, Brussels and Antwerp and suggests that the citizens of Cologne no longer need to envy them. He then goes on to describe what is proposed in terms of the physical appearance of the zoo, which is to include waterfalls, springs, towers and a flower garden with arbours and grottos spread over the space of 30 Morgen. The zoo was to have “rooms” (*Räume*) for conversation, concerts and balls. It would be elegant in “architectural style” and the animals would be arranged in groups (“. . . and considering the professionals, animal groups arranged according to the nature of the individual”). Garthe also describes the various types

proposed Cologne Zoo, which was at the forefront of a flurry of zoo-building occurring in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century, offers the basis for a contemporary characterization of the German *Bürgertum*. At once Garthe conflates zoos with the emergence of the middle classes, capitalism and the city. At the same time he imbricates the zoo in ideas about the refinement and sophistication of middle-class culture and about the *Wissenschaft* (scientific knowledge) and *Bildung* of its representatives.

Indeed, Garthe's representation of the middle classes has the potential to speak to prevailing historical questions about the *Bürgertum* and the advance of democracy in Germany.³ Much research has attempted to correlate the strength of the bourgeoisie with liberalism and the advance of democracy. Most prominently, the historians Jürgen Kocka and the late Werner Conze have guided a project making international comparisons of the *bourgeoisie* with the aim of characterizing the German *Bürgertum* (middle class). Kocka and Conze's approach has tended to define the middle class by cultural attributes such as the desire for political and professional autonomy, the high value placed on *Bildung*

of animals that will be seen from "the grand wild world of animals" and there would also be a telescope for astronomy – to see the moon, Orion and Saturn's rings. Finally, he describes the proposed zoological garden as a place for the family (HASK 950-1/1, Gründung der Zoologischen Garten, A.G. [1857-186]: D. Garthe. "Einrichtung eines zoologischen Gartens in der Umgebung von Köln." *Kölnische Zeitung*, no. 223, Beilage, 13 August 1857).

³ These questions arise from the *Sonderweg* controversy of the early 1980s, concerning the assertion of Fritz Fischer and others that nineteenth-century Germany had taken a separate path of social and political development from that of other Western countries, ultimately leading to Nazism. Critical to this argument was that the German upper middle classes were weaker and socially and politically less powerful than that of other European and North American nations. This weakness subordinated the *bourgeoisie* to the dominant Prussian *Junkers* and hindered the development of *Bürgerlichkeit*, the expression of middle-class values and culture, especially liberalism. In this way, the growth of German democracy was also inhibited. As a result of this conflation of the middle class with liberalism and democracy, historians have sought to test the *Sonderweg* thesis by determining the true nature of the German *Bürgertum*.

(education), and the importance placed on the home, family and leisure.⁴ Yet, such attributes have tended to be regarded as objective, quantifiable measures of the *Bürgertum* and concomitant democracy. However, taken together more generally, I would suggest that they signalled a rather different meaning for the bourgeoisie and German society as a whole. As we will see in this chapter, many of these supposedly *bürgerliche* (bourgeois) qualities, which are linked to the social and economic changes brought by modernization, also point to perceptions by the middle classes that their society had attained an unprecedented level of civilization, representing, at the same time, a profound alienation from nature.

Nevertheless, rather like Conze and Kocka's approach to the *Bürgertum*, which reflects the influence of Fritz Fischer's *Sonderweg* (special path) thesis, existing narratives about the emergence of "public" zoos have been centred upon a relationship to the spread of democracy in Europe. Typically, these narratives describe a trajectory that culminates with the transition from aristocratic menageries, which satisfied the needs and whims of potentates, to the creation of zoos dedicated to the promotion of science and the edification of the general

⁴ Werner Conze and Jürgen Kocka, eds., *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985-92). The volumes of this series were divided thematically: Werner Conze and Jürgen Kocka, eds., vol. 1, *Bildungssystem und Professionalisierung in internationalen Vergleichen*, Industrielle Welt, ed. Werner Conze, no. 38 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985); Reinhart Koselleck, ed., vol. 2, *Bildungsgüter und Bildungswissen*, Industrielle Welt, ed. Werner Conze, no. 41 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1990); M. Rainer Lepsius, ed., *Lebensführung und ständische Vergesellschaftung*, vol. 3, Industrielle Welt, ed. Werner Conze, no. 47 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1992); Jürgen Kocka, ed., vol. 4, *Politischer Einfluß und gesellschaftliche Formation*, Industrielle Welt, ed. Werner Conze, no. 48 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1989). In an entirely different approach, the historian Lothar Gall spearheaded research to support his thesis that in the nineteenth century, a formerly unified and classless German society of *Bürger*, defined by their status as citizens, became increasingly fractured between the educated, property-owning *bourgeoisie* and the working class, who would never be able to attain this privilege. In this way, the *Bürgertum* is defined around the category of municipal citizenship and the rights of social and political participation in public life. Gall's case study of the Bassermann family, spanning the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, is intended to demonstrate this thesis (Lothar Gall, *Bürgertum in Deutschland* [Berlin: Siedler, 1989]).

public. Yet this equation of modern zoos with the proliferation of democracy needs to be examined further for it contains assumptions not only about who constituted “the public” and about the democratic nature of zoos, but most importantly for this dissertation, about the discourse underpinning the emergence of zoos in the first place.

Therefore, this chapter will undertake a close study of the now defunct Hamburg Zoological Garden, Germany’s seventh zoo, which opened in 1863.⁵ In order to provide a better cross-section of German zoos as a whole, I will also consider one of the earliest German zoos, the Cologne Zoo, which was only the third established in Germany when it opened in 1860. In this way, I will speak to some of these issues of democracy and the public domain by highlighting the importance of zoos in the elaboration of middle-class male identities in Germany.⁶ Obviously, these studies are not exhaustive. Instead, they are intended to complicate the notion that the public zoo was the embodiment of *bourgeois* democracy and point out areas for further examination and debate. At the same time, however, I hope to shed light upon the nature of the much-debated German *Bürgertum*. In doing so, I wish to achieve the larger goal of this chapter, highlighting the role of the Cologne and Hamburg Zoos in the production of middle-class German identities.⁷ This will in turn provide the context for

⁵ Herman Reichenbach, “Carl Hagenbeck’s Tierpark and modern Zoological Gardens.” *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History* 9, no. 4 (1980): 52.

⁶ Indeed, as a Hansa city, Hamburg had historically been *bürgerlich* rather than aristocratic.

⁷ Unfortunately, for reasons of space this chapter pays inadequate attention to the question of female gender. Since it was the “Citizens of the Rhenish metropole, men of capital, industry and trade” who were called upon to found and administer the Cologne and Hamburg Zoological Gardens and middle class men in general who were portrayed as needing the respite of the zoo because of the burdens of their work lives, this chapter will emphasize how their identities were configured within German zoos (quoted from HASK 950-1-1, Gründung der Zoologischer

subsequent chapters, which discuss the relationship of middle-class zoo visitors to captive animals and the other ways in which zoos became sites for the elaboration of human identities.⁸

I will begin this investigation by generally outlining the dominant narrative of the history of zoos as well as considering more specifically how this relates to the history of German zoos. This will be followed by a brief look at how the foundation of a zoo was implicated in notions of civic status and the status of its founders. I will then consider the relationship of the zoological garden to the capitalist economy as well as to various expressions of middle-class identities, including wealth, leisure time and *Bildung*. This will also entail a consideration of the ways in which these things served to distinguish and sometimes regulate class behaviour; the “public” accessibility of the zoo; and the role and importance of social activities, such as the zoo’s concerts and parties. Finally, I will examine the role of the zoological garden in addressing middle-class needs and the perceived stresses of modern urban life, which alienated the middle classes from nature.

Garten, A.G. (1857-1860): “Prospectus,” 7). This is not to suggest that middle class women had no presence there, or that their class identities were effaced at the zoo. On the contrary, we receive oblique glimpses of them in references to bourgeois conspicuousness at the zoo and at zoo restaurants and parties. Clearly, advertisements for personal and household goods in zoo publications also appealed to women, whose sphere was supposedly the home. Indeed, the visible presence of wives (and perhaps children) at the zoo also contributed to the elaboration of middle class identities. Of course, this treats women as mere appendages or props for middle class men rather than agents with identities of their own. The fact that women were a significant presence at zoos points to the need for further attention to questions of gender. Since the limits of this dissertation rule out a more thorough investigation, I hope that in being specific about which gender chapter 2 focuses upon, I will ameliorate this shortcoming. At the very least, I do not wish to convey the impression that men and women (of any class) experienced the zoo in the same ways. For a brief literature overview and discussion of the problem of gender blindness (as well as the question of the working classes) in Habermas’s concept of the public sphere, see Geoff Eley, “Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun: 307-19 (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992).

⁸ The establishment of Hagenbeck’s Tierpark in Stellingen/Hamburg in 1907, which, significantly, is usually portrayed as setting new standards for the treatment and display of animals and is usually recognized as inaugurating a new phase of zoo history, will be examined in Chapter 4.

This relates to perceptions that the zoo represented a new era of animal keeping and of history. At the same time this will show that the zoo not only helped to elaborate middle-class identities, which were to some extent synonymous with urban life, but in fact became an extension of them. Zoos represented more than just science and *Bildung*, refined behaviour and elegant social life. Together these qualities embodied civilized middle-class life. These reflected a new era of European society; a civilization – in both senses of the word – that was far removed from the baseness of nature; a *bourgeois* society, I will suggest, that defined itself through its distance from nature.

Thus, I begin with a consideration of the dominant narrative of zoo history. As mentioned above, in presenting the history of European zoos it is conventional to build the narrative around a key transition to the emergence of public zoos and, by implication, the progress of *bourgeois* democracy.⁹ Typically, the narrative begins by describing the magnificent ancient animal collections of Rome, Greece, China and sometimes Egypt or, despite their comparatively more

⁹ For example, Elizabeth Hanson provides a very brief historical synopsis (followed much later by a discussion of the problems of a progress narrative) along these lines in *Animal Attractions: Nature on Display in American Zoos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 2-3, 163-164. Mullan and Marvin use the narrative more extensively for a chapter, entitled “From Princely Menageries to Public Zoos” in order to show “the gradual shift from private collections for the pleasure and entertainment of the rich and powerful to collections designed and displayed for the pleasure of the paying public” (Mullan and Marvin, *Zoo Culture 2nd ed.* [Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press], 89). David Hancocks uses the narrative in a relatively sustained fashion over numerous chapters in order to consider changing approaches to the display of animals (David Hancocks, *A Different Nature: The Paradoxical World of Zoos and Their Uncertain Future* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001]). Furthermore, his acceptance of other received historical narratives is sometimes also problematic. Medieval historians will cringe when they read that “Institutions such as libraries, botanical gardens, and private zoos collapsed and rotted with the fall of the Roman Empire. Very few menageries are found in the history of the long and barren eras of the Dark and Middle Ages (Ibid., 12)”. For a summary of the dominant narrative as it was outlined by Gustave Loisel in his foundational 1912 work, see Thomas Veltre, “Menageries, Metaphors and Meanings” in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss: 20-22. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

recent history, the Aztecs. The narrative then usually progresses to the less spectacular collections held by European potentates of the middle ages and then moves on to a discussion of the resurgence of royal menageries in the sixteenth century, when European voyages of exploration provided access to new sources of animals, which became symbols of power and prestige. Characteristically, these narratives also refer to the royal menagerie of Louis XIV, established in 1665 at Versailles, or sometimes to the menagerie presented to Empress Maria Theresa by Holy Roman Emperor Franz I in 1752 at Schönbrunn, Vienna. Such histories then mark the next – and pivotal – phase of the development of animal keeping by referring explicitly to the transformation, as result of the French Revolution, of the French royal menagerie into Paris' *Jardin des Plantes*, touted as Europe's first public collection of animals intended for both the advancement of science, education and entertainment.¹⁰ The subsequent opening of the London Zoo in 1828 by the London Zoological Society, which later became the beneficiary of part of the Royal Menageries of Windsor Park and the Tower of London usually continues the story.¹¹ From here the rush to build public zoos

¹⁰ Nigel Rothfels has pointed out that "This idea that the Jardin des Plantes and its emulators represent a pivotal moment in the history of keeping exotic animals in captivity seems to be generally accepted by practically all 'zoo historians'." However, citing one particularly egregious statement made along these lines by the editors of *New Worlds, New Animals*, Rothfels takes issue with many of their assertions, asking, among other things, "Can we believe that animals in zoos since the beginning of the nineteenth century have not been caged by a wealthy aristocratic class for the purposes of 'human amusement and as symbols of status and power'?" (*Savages and Beasts. The Birth of the Modern Zoo* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002], 19, 20).

¹¹ The London Zoological Garden, which opened in April 1826, was founded by Sir Stamford Raffles and the London Zoological Society. In 1830 it was the beneficiary of William IV's royal collection at the Windsor Park menagerie. In 1832 the royal collection in the Tower of London menagerie was also transferred to the zoo's care (Hancocks, 46-7). However, the London Zoo was not the sole recipient of these animals. Rather, they were shared with the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland which had formed in Dublin in 1830 (Mullan and Marvin, 109). Mullan and Marvin also refer fleetingly to the municipal menagerie of Madrid, the oldest in Europe, which had once been the Royal menagerie of Charles III (Ibid., 110).

dedicated to recreation and the advancement of knowledge, which opened in cities across Europe, including Berlin and other German cities in the nineteenth century is usually mentioned implying, as well, the spread of European democracy.

Finally, the narrative concludes with the significant innovations of Carl Hagenbeck. Hagenbeck's presentation of animals in natural-looking enclosures is regarded as marking the transition to the more humane modern zoos, leading to the emergence of conservation centres and wildlife parks in the present day and concluding the standard history of zoos.

In itself there may be nothing wrong with historians making use of this general narrative. It can provide a convenient frame of reference for other historical discussions. However, there is a danger in accepting it uncritically, for taken as it is it describes a trajectory of progress from absolutism to democracy, from "princely menagerie to public zoo," which tends to obscure many significant nineteenth-century social and cultural developments.¹² The emergence of the public zoo was indeed an important historical event and as such it offers historians numerous opportunities to consider a much broader range of questions and approaches.

Clearly, the initiative of scientifically- or zoologically-minded citizens in establishing public zoos was a significant event, as was the presence of the

¹² For other particularly good examples of this political trajectory see R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss, eds., with a foreword by Michael H. Robinson, *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), especially pp. VII-X of the "Foreword" by Michael Robinson; and pp. 8-16 of "Menageries and Zoos to 1900" by R. J. Hoage, Anne Roskell, and Jane Mansour. For a thought-provoking examination of early zoo historiography and a critique of the dominant narrative, see Nigel Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 16-25. For a brief critique of Mullan and Marvin's narrative, see Adrian Franklin, *Animals and Modern Cultures: A Sociology of Human-Animal Relations in Modernity* (London: SAGE Publications, 1999), 64-5.

“public” at these zoos once they opened. As we will see, while the Cologne Zoo was from the ground up an essentially middle-class initiative, the Hamburg Zoological Garden was the project of a nobleman whose plan was nevertheless realized largely through the efforts of the middle class. However, the dominant narrative has tended to emphasize the self-proclaimed roles of zoos as places for science and public education. This narrative gloss, which implicitly, and sometimes, explicitly links nineteenth-century zoos with the Enlightenment, encourages certain assumptions about the democratic nature of zoos. It also deflects attention from a closer examination of what actually took place within them.

This progression of Enlightenment ideals as manifested through the history of animal keeping is no different when presented within the German context.¹³ In his brief history of zoos and aquariums in Berlin, Harro Strehlow

¹³ Interestingly, the small book, *Zoos zwischen den Fronten. Die Widersprüche von Natur- und Tierschutz. Materialien für den fächerübergreifenden Unterricht* (Anke Krull, Hans-Peter Krull, Jan Osterloh, Lothar Pilips and Martina Schürer, eds. [self-published by the *Arbeitsgruppe “Zoos zwischen den Fronten”* with the support of the *Verband Deutscher Zoodirektion* and the *Verband deutschsprachiger Zoopädagogen*, n.d.]) provides a brief historical overview of animal-keeping similar to that described above, including the assertion that “A new time in the keeping of animals began . . . with the Enlightenment” (40). However, the authors also make a notable innovation to the narrative in stating that “In contrast to that kind in Great Britain and the Netherlands, the German zoos were accessible to everyone with the price of admission on all days of the week. The cheap days were a supplementary social measure (41).” The question of entrance fees will be discussed further in this chapter, but I mention it here because the authors have brought the narrative of progressive democratization to its logical conclusion. Yet rather than identify the emergence of the Jardin des Plantes Zoological Gardens and London Zoos as the democratic endpoint from which other zoos merely followed suit, they suggest that German zoos (and by implication, Germany) was, in fact more democratic than Britain and the Netherlands. Occasionally, to their credit, some authors, such as Mullan and Marvin (109), do point out the exclusivity intended by the original founders of London’s zoo, but generally this is not the case unless the work is a study devoted specifically to that zoo, such as Harriet Ritvo’s, “The Order of Nature. Constructing the Collections of Victorian Zoos,” in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 43-5 and Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 212-13. In addition, as Rothfels points out, the dominant narrative most especially claimed by zoological institutions today favours a story of progressive development that moves

describes the eventual transformation of King Friedrich Wilhelm III's menagerie on Peacock Island in 1845 into the Zoological Garden near Berlin (which was later to become the Berlin Zoo) and also gave rise to the Unter den Linden Aquarium.¹⁴ Strehlow concludes his study with the assertion that this "complex evolution . . . fits the pattern First, there was a royal menagerie established during the period of imperialistic expansion at the end of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, the menagerie became independent of the crown, managed by a university professor with natural history museum affiliations. Along with a board of directors, he developed a 'classical' zoo open to the public on a regular basis."¹⁵ Strehlow also mentions that the aquarium, which closed in 1900, was a stockholders' corporation and that the Berlin Zoo ultimately opened its own aquarium. He concludes by declaring that "A process not unlike this occurred among zoos and aquariums in many large cities around the world in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries," thereby declaring that what he sees as a European process is actually a universal one.¹⁶

from the keeping of animals as royal trophies, to tawdry menageries, to nineteenth century zoological gardens and, finally, to today's conservation centres (Rothfels, 24). In other words, this storyline tends to portray a parallel between the progressive improvement of human societies and the improvement of the conditions and reasons for captive animal keeping. Of course, such narratives also justify the existence of contemporary zoos. However, I have recently noticed a book that deals with the liberation of a zoo in Iraq, as the result of the American invasion (Anthony Lawrence with Spencer Graham, *Babylon's Ark: The Incredible Wartime Rescue of the Baghdad Zoo* [New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2007]). This leads me to wonder if works such as this will extend the dominant narrative of progressive Enlightenment to include the rescue of animals by 'Western' nations from hostile foreign dictatorships. It would also seem to justify the United States' self-professed campaign of bringing democracy to Iraq.

¹⁴ Harro Strehlow, "Zoos and Aquariums of Berlin," in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 63-72.

¹⁵ Strehlow, 72.

¹⁶ Strehlow, 72. Despite Strehlow's claim, his paradigm would not apply well to the history of zoos in the United States, which had obviously shed the British monarchy long before any American zoos were established in 1859 (Philadelphia), ruling out any sort of royal-to-public transfer of animals. The history of American zoos also includes the significant role of governments

Yet, whether or not this can even be regarded as a pan-German process, let alone a European one remains to be seen. It is true that after the 1850s there was a rash of German cities, including Hamburg, Hanover, Cologne, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Dresden and Stuttgart, to open public zoos, but without undertaking systematic and detailed studies of them, it is difficult to say exactly how many were founded according to the pattern and principles Strehlow describes. What is more, even if such studies were done and it was revealed that German zoos conformed to this presumably typical pattern, which is not even entirely the same between the histories of the first British and French zoos, it is questionable whether this would prove very much about the political nature of Germany.

On the other hand, one way to study the character of German society through zoos might be to consider them from a social and cultural-historical perspective. The fact that at least some of Germany's major zoos were established solely through the initiative and means of private individuals or local investors, often with the support of a zoological society and/or a municipality, should in

in creating zoos as a type of national trust. In addition, the negative effects of colonialism introduces another dynamic into the discussion altogether. As Mullan and Marvin have argued, "the zoological garden was imposed on India" and the effects were complex and significant (152-7). Clearly, the introduction of zoos in colonial societies can not be equated with a parallel development of democracy. On the history of zoos in the United States, see Elizabeth Hanson's *Animal Attractions* and "The American Scene" in *New Worlds, New Animals*, especially Vernon N. Kisling Jr., "The Origin and Development of American Zoological Parks to 1899," and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "The National Zoological Park: 'City of Refuge' or Zoo?" For decidedly different perspectives on colonial zoos from those of Mullan and Marvin, see Linden Gillbank, "A Paradox of Purposes. Acclimatization Origins of the Melbourne Zoo," which describes how the efforts of the Acclimatization Society of Victoria led to the creation of the Royal Melbourne Zoological Gardens in Australia and D. K. Mitra, "Ram Brahma Sanyal and the Establishment of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens," which examines the life and work of Ram Brahma Sanyal, the superintendent of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. Mitra argues that nineteenth-century Indians embraced the spirit of European scientific inquiry and methodology. Both articles appear in *New Worlds, New Animals*.

itself be worthy of examination.¹⁷ Moreover, it would seem that the way in which zoos actually fit into the public sphere would be more revealing than the general trend of their proliferation, which is simply a sign post pointing out directions for research rather than a meaning in and of itself.¹⁸

To cite the Berlin Zoo as support for a master narrative referring to a linear progress from absolutism to democracy limits the scope of scholarly inquiry into the origins of other German city zoos.¹⁹ It assumes that the subsequent proliferation of smaller public zoos, such as the Cologne and Hamburg Zoos, was a mere bridge to the next dramatic phase of zoo history, rather than legitimate

¹⁷Curiously, Strehlow's attempt to describe a typical pattern of German zoo development recognizes the entrepreneurial and scholarly interests which motivated the foundation of many major German zoos. Yet, in treating the *Zoologischer Garten bei Berlin* as a European exemplar of royal-to-public zoo transformation, he completely overlooks the purely civic origins of so many German zoos (Strehlow, 72).

¹⁸ We can take, for example, the foundation of the London Zoo. Harriet Ritvo has delved below a superficial synopsis of its foundation to argue that "Although the Regent's Park Zoo had been established to represent an elitism that comprehended both Britain's position in the world and the ascendancy of privileged classes within Britain, the popular appeal of zoological imperialism recast its exhibits as occasions for patriotic, even jingoistic, unity" (Ritvo, "Order of Nature", 50).

¹⁹ This type of narrative also shapes other analyses. In "From the Princely Gallery to the Public Art Museum: The Louvre Museum and the National Gallery, London," Carol Duncan concludes that "However protracted, piecemeal and partial the process, eventually, in Britain as in France, the princely gallery gave way to the public art museum (in *Representing the Nation: A Reader. Histories, Heritage and Museums*, eds. David Boswell and Jessica Evans [London: Routledge, 1999], 326)." While this is true in the general sense that public art galleries did eventually emerge in nineteenth-century England, Duncan's detailed description of the foundation of the National Gallery of England describes the clearly bourgeois history of the museum. The gallery was based on the private collection of the highly affluent founder of Lloyds of London, the self made businessman John Julius Angerstein. Angerstein and other members of the bourgeoisie were strongly critical of the aristocracy's refusal and, at times, inability to serve the public interest. Duncan shows that at least with respect to the National Gallery, the middle class eventually won the day. However, by framing her article with the narrative of princely-to-public transformation, Duncan's otherwise informative article obscures the fact that rather than transferring aristocratic British wealth into public hands, as happened in France, the National Museum was bourgeois in inception and intention. As she states early in her article, after the Restoration, British monarchs became circumspect about their art collections. Instead of making their collections part of the "British Royal Collection," they were kept as private property (316). Although aristocratic oligarchs were more visible in their collection and display of art than royalty was (317), her analysis does not show that this wealth was transferred to public ownership. Based on this, it seems more accurate to suggest that public museums in Britain emerged alongside of aristocratic collections. Private collections did not really dissolve or "give way" to public ownership; they simply became more interiorized and exclusive. This, then, leaves open the question of the extent to which aristocratic power and privilege had actually declined.

historical events in their own right. The emergence of so many city zoos is taken as generic and conclusive evidence of the emergence of *bourgeois* democracy and regarded only as important for validating what is assumed to be the defining transformation of the Berlin Zoo, the shift from an absolutist to a public institution. While this change is indeed important, the emphasis of the narrative equates democracy with concepts of “the public” and the rise of the middle classes.

It also leaves the role of the *Bürgertum* in founding such institutions in Germany underexamined.²⁰ Even if the foundation of Hagenbeck’s Tierpark in 1907 is exceptional for the amount of scholarly interest it has received, it is, as indicated above, also regarded as a separate phase of historical development. In addition, it should also be noted that the context from which that phase emerged is also important. If it is true, as David Blackbourn states, that “The advent of the public zoo is no less telling as a symptom of social change” than the development of other forms of public leisure and instruction, such as the museum or the concert hall then,²¹ clearly, the foundation of city zoos by local *Bürger* in nineteenth-century Germany demands an inquiry into this upsurge in middle-class interest. Furthermore, if we accept the assertion that the zoo was a cultural manifestation

²⁰ Geoff Eley’s study of how the radicalization of the German Right and the drive to build a German Navy contradicted previous historical theories about the power relationship of the middle class and the aristocratic political elite in Germany illustrates how misleading a study focussed solely on political developments can be (*Reshaping the German Right: Radical Nationalism and Political Change after Bismarck* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980]).

²¹ David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in nineteenth-century Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1984), 199. Indeed, Blackbourn draws attention to the importance of the zoo to the middle class when he points out that “The nineteenth-century zoological garden was explicitly different [from the royal menagerie of Versailles]; it addressed itself to the ‘public’ and was commonly the product of subscriptions and appeals mounted through voluntary associations” (Ibid.).

of the new socio-political order then we need more carefully to consider the nature of that order. We also need to more accurately determine what constituted the “public” in that context rather than, as Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn have pointed out, making assumptions about the nature of “Enlightened” democratic societies, in general, and the character of German society in particular.²²

Therefore, I will begin this study by considering the relationship of cities to the rise of European zoos. In making his appeal for the foundation of a zoo in Cologne, Garthe regarded the foundation of a zoo to be an important way of establishing the place of Cologne among other major cities, such as Antwerp, Amsterdam and Brussels.²³ The mayor (*Oberbürgermeister*) of Cologne, Herr Stupp, reiterated this opinion when he wrote on behalf of the zoo committee to the Royal Prussian Consul, Herr José de Salas y Quiroga of Key West, Florida requesting that the consul send animals for the zoo. Indeed, the Oberbürgermeister’s request also subtly appealed to the consul’s sense of German pride by declaring that the zoo would “make it possible to place the city of Cologne in a position to be able to rival other big cities of the neighbouring countries, which at the same time, for the most part, owe their large collections to their foreign representatives for their gifts.”²⁴

In Hamburg, similar sentiments about the importance of a zoo to civic status could be read in a 1911 booklet written by the Zoological Garden’s

²² Blackbourn and Eley, *Peculiarities*.

²³ HASK 950-1-1, Gründung der Zoologischen Garten, A.G. (1857-1860): D. Garthe. “Einrichtung eines zoologischen Gartens in der Umgebung von Köln,” *Kölnische Zeitung*, no. 223, Beilage, 13 August 1857; Mullan and Marvin have also pointed out that civic pride and competitiveness spurred the foundation of many European zoos (Mullan and Marvin, 110).

²⁴ HASK 608-74, Zoo (1857-1905): 7 October 1859 letter from the Cologne mayor to the Royal Prussian Consul, José de Salas y Quiroga, p. 35

Director, Prof. Dr. Julius Vosseler outlining “The Scientific and Public Educational Importance of a Zoological Garden in the Heart of the Metropolis.” In arguing for the continued existence of the city’s Zoological Garden he stated that “As the second largest city in the Empire, Hamburg would stand as peculiar if, just at a time when numerous foreign and German cities (Munich, Magdeburg, Nuremberg, Lübeck, Mühlheim, Stuttgart, Rome, Milan, Odessa, Budapest, etc.) are making all kinds of effort to satisfy the urgent need to newly establish such an institute, and others such as Leipzig, Breslau, Düsseldorf, and Cologne are making the expansion and development of their existing gardens possible by giving the land and subsidies, Hamburg is letting its only nice, well-proven Garden go under.”²⁵ Indeed, Vosseler was asserting that having a zoo did not just elevate civic status, but that it was something expected of a major city.

Yet to say simply that zoos were important to cities because they were a status symbol is a tautology;²⁶ it does not address the question of how they functioned culturally. Still, the great significance attached to having a zoo does suggest that at least on one level, civic-minded *Bürger* valued the zoo as an entity in itself, separate from the animals within it (although the human relationship to the resident animals is equally important and will be examined in detail in later chapters); the institution of the zoo was attached to meanings that were related to the animals only insofar as they were needed to inhabit the zoo.²⁷

²⁵ StAHH A 585/157 Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: J. Vosseler. *Die wissenschaftliche und volksbildende Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens im Herzen der Großstadt nach einem Vortrag gehalten am 1. Mai 1911 im St. Georger Verein von 1874* (Hamburg: Schroeder & Jeve, 1911).

²⁶ That is, it argues that zoos were important because they were important!

²⁷ To be sure, Bob Mullan and Garry Marvin, as well as Harriet Ritvo have rightly pointed out that the simple possession of a zoo or menagerie demonstrated power. Marvin and Mullan’s survey of

Indeed, in the words of Garthe. “. . . that the arising institute be as perfect as possible so as to help the great Cologne to new fame, to new honour, so that this delivers the proof that a German city is also not timid when it comes to spreading the love of nature – in a comparable level of perfection – throughout the city, in the way that the larger cities of Holland and Belgium have already possessed for years – not just for pleasure, but rather also for the glory and benefit of her inhabitants.”²⁸

That is, the foundation of a zoo could be equated with the presence of a robust bourgeoisie. For not only did the creation of a zoo require significant financial resources, land and the acumen of a local citizen or citizens, but the acquisition of animals also necessitated access to an international network. In Garthe’s words the foundation of a zoo required “money”; “a reliable and highly knowledgeable person [with] the talent to lead the whole [enterprise]”; “the acquisition of an appropriately suitable plot of land”; and “knowledge of sources

world history argues that animals have always been collected for reasons of curiosity, rarity, exoticness or attractiveness. In their analysis, the possession of animals represented the power of wealth, status & international connections. (See Mullan and Marvin, Chapter 5, 116). In the same vein, Ritvo argues that once established, London’s Regent’s Park Zoo came to symbolize not only human domination, but especially English cultural hegemony as it was expressed through the domestication and acclimatization of exotic animals for livestock or as zoo “pets,” such as the famous elephant “Jumbo.” (Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, Chapter 5, 205-242; Ritvo also discusses the role of private menageries in these endeavours). Moreover, another study by Ritvo examines efforts by the members of the London Zoological Society, who founded the London Zoo, to differentiate their institution from vulgar menageries such as the Exeter ‘Change. Ultimately, though, their elitist ambitions to distinguish themselves through the zoo’s program of science and animal acclimatization were thwarted, because the zoo’s concomitant expression of imperial power proved to have tremendous popular appeal making it socially unifying rather than divisive (Ritvo, “Order of Nature”, 50).

²⁸ HASK 608-74, Zoo (1857-1905): Prospectus über einen zu errichtenden zoologischen Garten in Köln, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Acclimatisation fremder Thiere, und Gründung eines Central-Versammlungsortes geselligen Zusammenseins. sowie einen auf Thatsachen berufenden Nachweis über die Rentabilität des Unternehmens zusammengestellt im Auftrage des Comites von Dr. Garthe,” p. 5

from which to get the creatures.”²⁹ Clearly, these requirements were a reflection of *bürgerliche* values, such as the possession of wealth, property and *Bildung*. They also tangibly represented the power and attributes of its founders – the private businessmen, the investors and the amateur scientists – through wealth, social contacts, ability and, generally, the possession of all the means necessary to build something from the ‘ground up.’

As Garthe and his committee set about obtaining animals for the Cologne Zoo they wrote scores of letters to Prussian consular officials throughout the world, not just Florida, but also, for example, Russia, Sweden and Gibraltar.³⁰ Meanwhile, the banker Eduard Oppenheim, who would only a few years later be raised to the nobility, facilitated the importation of animals by making use of his business connections to seaports inside and outside of Europe.³¹

In contrast to the situation of Cologne, Vosseler emphasized that “As the only one of the large overseas sea ports of Germany, the Hamburg Zoological Garden is in the position, through the sailors of all classes, through the importers, travellers, etc., to gather valuable information about the life and existence, in the wild, of exotic animals in their homeland. . . .”³² However, despite this assertion, the Hamburg Zoological Society also relied upon foreign consular contacts to supply animals for its exhibits.³³ The zoological society even went so far as to

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 18

³⁰ HASK 950-1-2, Gründung der Zoologischen Garten (1859-1860).

³¹ Klaus Klammann and Gunther Nogge, *Kölner Tierwelten im Zoo forografiert von Rolf Schlosser* (Cologne: Wienand, 2001), 118.

³² StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1: Vosseler, *Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p.

³³ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2. Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Eugen Richter, “Geschichte des Zoologischen Gartens in Hamburg,” *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger* no. 13, July 1880.

honour exemplary benefactors with a special “silver medal.”³⁴ In any event, the presence of foreign animals in the zoo was evidence that a city was sufficiently international to stock a museum.

Of course, the larger and more diverse the zoo collection was, the more cosmopolitan the municipality was seen to be, so that by mere association, the founders were able to demonstrate their global affiliations and their presence on the world stage. Indeed, one advertisement made the association between the variety and size of an animal collection with the stature of the zoo by declaring that the Cologne Zoological Garden had a “famous animal collection” with “about 3000 animals of 800 species.”³⁵

In addition, once the animals were collected, a zoo could pursue other opportunities to raise its own (and the city’s) regional, national and international profile. Certainly the Cologne Zoo drew attention to itself through regular newspaper articles, such as “Sketches from the Zoological Garden,” which featured its various animal residents.³⁶ They also held special events such as a “Garden party in honour of the 41st gathering of the German Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory” in 1910, linking the zoo to a high-

³⁴ For examples of special acknowledgement of animal donations see StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger* no. 13, July 1880; no. 16, August 1880; no. 24, September 1880. In later years, the Hamburg Zoological Garden continued to rely on consular donations as well as donations of animals from other sources, such as seamen, overseas travelers, Germans working abroad and citizens seeking simply to distinguish themselves. For an example of such “silver medal” recipients, see StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, April/Mai 1904.

³⁵ HASK 950-248, Zeitungsinserate (1906-1931): *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, Festnummer, 1 April 1910.

³⁶ For example, see HASK 950-243, Zeitungsausschnitte über den Zoologischen Garten, 1907-1927: “Bilder aus dem Zoologischen Garten. Sibirische Rehe.” *Stadt Anzeiger*, 4 December 1910; “Bilder aus dem Zoologischen Garten. Unsere Giraffen.” *Stadt Anzeiger*, 5 March 1911; “Bilder aus dem Zoologischen Garten. Nahornvögel und Tukan”; *Stadt Anzeiger* 2 September 1911.

profile national scientific association that had international ties to imperialism.³⁷

Moreover, an article in a Rhineland-Westphalia newspaper asserted:

If such an institute, as it is planned in Cologne, becomes a bridge linking to the acclimatization of animals, further becomes an equivalent for the botanical garden that was destroyed by the construction of a central train station and [also] substantially advances a trend towards knowledge of natural things, then besides practical use and enjoyment, the [zoo] offers a base from which to reach the goal of establishing a polytechnical school.³⁸

In this way, a city zoo gained in importance by connecting itself with other institutions and becoming a point of contact in a web of social, scientific and civic activities.

Indeed, the Hamburg Zoological Garden's Vosseler ambitiously declared:

The abundance of the material that is always available, and the experience collected from it, offers the management an incomparable material for publication in daily newspapers and professional journals; for lectures in scientific circles and to popular associations; for information and instruction to professional colleagues, newspapers, and members of the various professional classes, manufacturers (*Gewerbetreibende*) and businessmen, not excepted. The [zoological] garden connects the practical life of industry, trade and crafts directly with large exhibitions of collections, such as the whale, pachyderm and fur exhibits, which furthermore often link up to the returning events [mounted by] associations, such as the displays of fowl, rabbits, fish and flowers, that are partially supported by the Garden.³⁹

Moreover, "Should the thought to establish a university next to or in connection to the Colonial Institute become action, so would the zoological garden gain a wider significance. Considering the special character of the Hansiatic city and her

³⁷ This event was advertised in the Cologne *Stadt Anzeiger*, *Lokal Anzeiger* and *Tageblatt* on 3 August, 1910 (HASK 950-248, *Zeitungsinserate*, 1906-1931; On the *Deutschen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* and its activities see Zimmerman, p. 5 and especially chapters 5 and 6.

³⁸ HASK 950-1-1, *Gründung der Zoologischen Garten, A.G.*, 1857-60: newspaper clipping, year and complete title of the newspaper illegible, date 12 June ca. 1859.

³⁹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel I, *Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p.

relationships abroad. this also makes it [the zoo] indispensable to these cities of science."⁴⁰

In addition, Vosseler noted that a zoo could serve as a tourist attraction.⁴¹ Certainly the 1858 prospectus for the Cologne Zoo took this into consideration when it considered the rate of visitors to the Amsterdam and Antwerp zoos and tried to predict its own rate based on the number of visitors to the city.⁴² The Cologne Zoo start-up committee also hoped that they would attract subscriptions (memberships) from locals as well as foreign students.⁴³

In these ways not only could a zoo bring the world into the city, but it could bring the city to the attention of the world. As Vosseler declared, should the Hamburg Zoo close its doors, "More than certainly would Hamburg thus have absolutely no zoological garden and would thereby lose a first-class sightseeing attraction, cherished not only among the locals, but well past Germany's borders, because of [the zoo's] tasteful grounds and its scientific value, which is recognized by all educated people and experts."⁴⁴ Indeed, claimed Vosseler, the existence of the zoological garden ". . . has helped to carry the fame of Hamburg one hundred-fold to all parts of the world"⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Ibid., n.p.

⁴¹ Ibidl, n.p.

⁴² HASK 608-74, Zoo (1857-1905): "Prospectus," 21. The rate of visitors to the zoos in Antwerp and Amsterdam in 1856 was 32,000 and 60,000 respectively. This estimated "rate of tourism" (*Fremden-Frequenz*) was based on police records of the first and second class guesthouses in the city of Cologne for the year 1857. When Cologne's visitor rate of 69,981 was combined with that of adjacent Deutz (21,000) the total was calculated to be 90,981. This rate was expected to rise every year. Garthe predicted that of the total visitors, estimated to be 170,000, approximately 30,000 would be likely to visit the zoo.

⁴³ Ibid., 20-22.

⁴⁴ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel I. Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Certainly capitalism and its agents played a prominent role in the rise of the zoological garden. In fact, it was precisely these men, in Garthe's words, the "Citizens of the Rhenish metropolis, men of capital, industry and trade and all those who have a heart for the realization of a beautiful, patriotic idea . . ." who lent their support to the foundation of the zoo.⁴⁶ At the time of its foundation, only one master bricklayer, but at least 8 businessmen, several financiers (*Banquier*) and highly respected senior businessmen (*Commerzienräte*), the director of the gas works, the head master Dr. Garthe, the King's Council and Mayor (*Justizrat und Oberbürgermeister*) Stupp, and exceptionally, the Royal President of the Government (*Königlicher Regierungs-Präsident*), Eduard von Möller, comprised the board of the Cologne Zoo.⁴⁷ Similarly, although the Hamburg Zoological Garden was the initiative of the Baron Ernst von Merck, the zoological garden's provisional founding committee included 3 consuls, the General Consul de Craecker and the Doctors Föhring and Möbius.⁴⁸ It is worth noting that as a non-diplomatic state representative, a consul was centrally situated within the web of shipping and trade.⁴⁹ A consul was thus well-positioned to assist the business of starting a zoo and was, in effect, also a representative of the capitalist system.

Given that both zoos were founded by so-called men of capital, it is not surprising that they should have adopted the model of capitalism as the basis for their zoos. The Cologne and Hamburg Zoological Gardens were both shareholders societies. The Cologne Zoo was founded with about 150,000 Marks raised

⁴⁶ HASK 608-74, Zoo (1857-1905): "Prospectus," 17.

⁴⁷ HASK 950-4, Statuten der Zoologischen Garten, A. G. (1910), 12.

⁴⁸ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: A. E. Brehm, *Verzeichniss der lebenden Thiere des Zoologischen Gartens. Bemerkungen für die Besucher* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1863), 5.

⁴⁹ See "Konsul" in *Der Volksbrockhaus* (1972).

through shares sold at 150 Marks apiece. The total was projected to reach about 300,000 Marks after the zoo's opening.⁵⁰ Similarly, the Hamburg Zoological Society sold "family shares" for 562.5 Marks and "individual shares" for 375 Marks to reach its goal of 375,000 Marks.⁵¹ This amount was reached through the support of 800 shareholders,⁵² although apparently, unlike the Cologne shareholders,⁵³ in Hamburg "The shareholders of the Society do not receive any dividends, just an annual pass for themselves and their family."⁵⁴ However, in both cases, as members of the zoological society, shareholders enjoyed full access to all of the zoo facilities.⁵⁵

Once established, the zoo became ever more entrenched within the capitalist economy. As Mullan and Marvin have pointed out, German zoos founded in the second half of the nineteenth century had a different purpose than simply to advance science and permit recreation. They were also created to benefit their shareholder members so that restaurants, bars, concert halls, parties

⁵⁰ Note that the currency in Cologne between 1857 and 1873 was the Prussian Vereinsthaler. In Hamburg, however, one of the currencies until 1873 was the Banco Mark (Bco.), which was subdivided into 16 Schillings (12 Pfennig comprised each Schilling). Therefore, in order to make comparisons between the cities before and after 1873 easier, I have converted all currencies given before 1873 to their value in the standardized German Gold Mark, which came into effect in 1873. I have based my calculations of the Vereinsthaler on its 1873 equivalent of 3Marks (1 Mark = 100 Pfennig). On the other hand, in 1873 the Banco Mark was converted at a rate of 1.5 Marks. Since my approach is not entirely unproblematic I will show the original values upon which my calculations are based in the footnotes. Thus, the Cologne Zoo was founded with about 50,000 Thaler raised through shares sold at 50 Thaler apiece. The total collected was projected to be 100,000 Thaler (HASK 950-4, Statuten: 2, 13; Klammann and Nogge, 118).

⁵¹ Family shares were 375 Bco. and individual shares 250 Bco. The final goal was 250,000 Bco. A later zoo guide corroborates my calculations, giving the same values in Marks (StaHH A585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: J. Vosseler. *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten in Hamburg*. [Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1911], 2).

⁵² StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniß*, 5-6.

⁵³ HASK 950-4, Statuten der Zoologischen Garten, A. G. (1910), 2-4, 15.

⁵⁴ StAHH A 585/157 Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p. 2.

⁵⁵ HASK 950-4, Statuten der Zoologischen Garten, A. G. (1910), 5; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1: Brehm, *Verzeichniß*, inside cover.

and games became an integral part of their attractions. This introduced a strong aspect of commercialism to German zoos.⁵⁶

Furthermore, in addition to the international network of consular officials and overseas connections, there were also businesses devoted specifically to the animal trade which supplied zoos. Already before the family business of Claas Hagenbeck, father of Carl, took the animal trade to new heights, there were private firms in London and Liverpool offering a large number and variety of animals for sale. The Cologne Prospectus also elaborated that “A trading house from Tripoli in Berbery is offering to deliver all African animals to Marseille, four weeks after ordering, at extremely low prices.”⁵⁷ Furthermore, once established, zoos themselves could become involved in and profit from the trade in animals. Already in 1858 the Antwerp and Amsterdam zoos offered a ready source of animals and Dr. Garthe estimated that the Cologne Zoo would itself earn a “sure” 2,502 Marks every year through the sale of plants and animals.⁵⁸

In addition to obtaining and maintaining its animals, the zoo also needed to purchase many other services and products in order to run its facility. Entrepreneurs recognized the potential of the zoo to be a valuable customer and businesses offered a broad range of merchandise to the Cologne Zoo. For instance, in a letter of November 10, 1914, the purveyors of a disinfectant called “Liebicin” touted their product as ideal for disinfecting animal cages, especially during the winter months when animals were confined indoors.⁵⁹ On September

⁵⁶ Mullan and Marvin, 111.

⁵⁷ HASK 608-74, Zoo (1857-1905): “Prospectus,” 25.

⁵⁸ 834 Thaler (Ibid., 19, 25).

⁵⁹ HASK 950-234, Verschiedener Schriftwechsel: letter to Zoological Garden, 10 Nov. 1914.

18 of the same year, the import-export business of the Brothers Birnbaum offered the zoo a rather different kind of product: “Chinese peanuts” at 20 Marks for 100 pounds.⁶⁰

These diverse solicitations were more than just random offers. Between 1877 and 1885 the Cologne Zoo repeatedly hired the restaurateurs Riehl,⁶¹ presumably to cater special events. The installation of electrical lighting on the new zoo grounds in 1888 required the employment of a different kind of service altogether.⁶² And in 1914, the zoo engaged Theodor Schnitzler of the not-too-imaginatively named “Special Institute for the Hanging of Placards in Train Stations, Domestically and Overseas,” Düsseldorf, to hang placards in “63 train stations in the Royal Railway Head Office in Cologne”. The placards themselves were produced by W. E. Schlemm & Co. of Charlottenburg.⁶³

Similarly, the restaurant of the Hamburg Zoological Garden, operated by Günther & Brüggemann, advertised in the 1891 *Guidebook through the Garden* that it sold “Munich *Zacherl* Brew” and “Culmbacher Export Beer”. The same guide also carried an ad for Emil May & Herrmann, whose Structural and Ornamental Metalworks (*Bau- und Kunstschlosserei*) had supplied “The complete iron work for the bird houses and the small predators’ house in the Hamburg Zoological Garden.”⁶⁴

⁶⁰ HASK 950-234, Verschiedener Schriftwechsel: Postcard from the Gebrüder Birnbaum (Hamburg) Import-Export business, 18 September, 1914.

⁶¹ HASK 950-211, Journal.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ HASK 950-234, Verschiedener Schriftwechsel: Letter from Theodor Schnitzler (Düsseldorf), 30 March 1914.

⁶⁴ StAHH A 585/159 Kapsel I, Zoologischer Garten: Heinr. Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg*, 35th ed. (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1891), n.p.

Businesses could also use the zoo to expand their customer base to reach the zoo visitors themselves. Since at least 1891, the Hamburg Zoological Garden guidebooks had carried advertisements for a broad range of products and services.⁶⁵ Everything was on offer from porcelain and chinaware sold by I. C. L. Harms, to Peruvian Guano from the *Anglo-Continentale Guano-Werke*. Over the years before World War I advertisers in the Hamburg *Zoo Führer* included, for example, the “*Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft* (AEG/General Electric Society) Berlin,” “Robert Wächtler’s Warehouse of Musical Wares,” the photographic services of Gustav Habel, and the “Hamburg Optical Institute of W. Campbell and Co., and his successors”.⁶⁶ Also for sale were fresh fish, lobster, poultry and Stollwerk chocolate from the delicatessen of J. Heimerdinger; watches and clocks from Elffroth & Co.;⁶⁷ *Excelsior-Gloria-Monopol-Pneumatic* auto and motorcycle tires from the *Hannover Gummi-Kamm-co.*; and gas cookers and gas and electrical lighting from the “Factory for Lighting Fixtures” of Wilhelm Schmitz.⁶⁸

For zoo patrons seeking to distinguish themselves through their taste and lifestyle, J. C. Gotthier & Co. advertised his “Elegant Gentlemens’ Clothing *Atelier*”; August Hohmann offered seeds and “Complete Luxury and Commercial Garden Wares”; Louis Bock & Sohn sold and exhibited “Fine Art” and “Objects of Art”; and finally, travel, accident and fire insurance, among other types, could

⁶⁵ Such advertisements may have appeared earlier, however, I have located no *Zoologischer Garten Führer* at the Staatsarchiv Hamburg for the years between 1865 and 1891.

⁶⁶ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau, *Führer* (1891), n.p.

⁶⁷ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Heinr. Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1895).

⁶⁸ StAHH A 585/159 Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler. *Führer*, n.p.

be bought from the *Albingia Versicherungs-Aktiengesellschaft*, which boasted a “shareholders capital: [of] 6 Million Marks”.⁶⁹

Some advertisers also recognized the potential of an apparent interest in zoology to target their audience more specifically. Between 1891 and 1903, Christiane Hagenbeck, sister of the renowned Carl Hagenbeck, regularly advertised her exotic bird business in the Hamburg Zoological Garden guidebooks, or *Führer*.⁷⁰ The animal dealer Heinrich Fockelmann (1835-1919) and, later in another business, his son August Fockelmann (1864-1915), both advertised that they sold indigenous and imported birds as well as other animals.⁷¹ Both men had inventories that emphasized birds such as parrots and song birds. August Fockelmann also offered swans, pheasants, and monkeys.⁷² Both businesses also guaranteed that the animals they shipped would arrive in good condition.⁷³ By 1911, H. Fockelmann-Ornis, presumably the same Heinrich Fockelmann discussed above, whose business had been established in 1868, had branched out into the aquarium business and boasted that his was the “largest

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ StAHH A585/159 Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau, *Führer* (1891), n.p.; Bolau, *Führer* (1895), n.p.; StAHH A585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Heinr. Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1901), n.p. and StAHH A585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Heinr. Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1903), n.p.

⁷¹ Ibid., StAHH A585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Führer*, n.p.; and A585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: M.A. Hans Bungartz, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten Hamburg*. Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1928.

⁷² StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau, *Führer* (1903); A 1908 photograph of an infant gorilla, which had a brief stay at August Fockelmann’s shop and whose expression of “anxiety and helplessness” elicited the compassion of the German zoologist Alexander Sokolowsky can be seen in Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 4, 5. Rothfels’s book also contains a rather different photograph, also from August Fockelmann’s business, of an orangutan dressed in human clothes and seated in a baby carriage, circa 1908 (Ibid., 192).

⁷³ “Guaranteed safe delivery” (StAHH A 585/159 Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau, *Führer* [1895], [1901], [1903])

business of its kind on the continent”.⁷⁴ Even larger animal trading companies, such as that of L. Ruhe, whose ad featured a striking image of a tiger, also used the pages of the zoo *Führer* to proclaim their readiness for the “Delivery of all desired animals to zoological gardens, menageries and trainers [original emphasis].”⁷⁵

Clearly, the trade in animals had massive proportions. In an 1887 biography, Carl Hagenbeck estimated that in his career to that point he had sold at least 1000 lions, approximately 300-400 tigers, 600-700 leopards, 800 hyenas, 300 Indian and African elephants, 26 Indian and African rhinoceroses, 150 giraffes, 150 cariboo, 1000 bears of at least 42 types, 600 antilopes of various types and, since 1880 when he first started dealing in them, 180 camels and 120 dromedaries.⁷⁶ Yet Hagenbeck was only one of many animal dealerships. It is staggering to contemplate the scale of the trade in animals when one considers the numerous other dealers with large businesses, such as Josef Menges, the Ruhe and the Reiche families, several long-established London-based dealers such as Charles Jamrach and his competitor Charles Rice, not to mention the smaller dealerships like that of the Fockelmann’s.⁷⁷ In this way, advertisements for the

⁷⁴ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler. *Führer*, n.p. For a brief discussion of the Fockelmann business see Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, *Carl Hagenbeck*, 76-77.

⁷⁵ StAHH A 585/159 Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten (1911). Ruhe’s business was quite international. He had offices in New York, Hanover, London and New Orleans (Hanson, 79). For more on the Ruhe animal dealership, see Lothar Dittrich and Annelore Rieke-Müller. *Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913): Tierhandel und Schaustellungen in Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998), 71-73.

⁷⁶ Heinrich Leutemann, *Lebensbeschreibung des Thierhändlers Carl Hagenbeck* (Hamburg: Carl Hagenbeck, 1887), 33-4. It is not exactly clear from Leutemann’s text what time period this estimate spanned, but the Hagenbeck historians Lothar Dittrich and Annelore Rieke-Müller suggest that the Hagenbeck animal import business began in earnest when Carl Hagenbeck contracted the animal catcher Lorenzo Casanova in 1864 (Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 19.

⁷⁷ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 23, 43, 65-89. Even more shocking to consider is that Hagenbeck’s estimate refers only to animals actually sold. In fact, the mortality rate of captured animals could

sale of animals in the Hamburg Zoological Garden's guidebooks reflected not only the increasing commodification of wild animals, but also the enormous business interests in which zoos themselves were enmeshed as both buyers and sellers.

No less imbricated in this rising tide of consumerism, was the Hamburg zoo's *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*. Since its inception in April 1880, the *Anzeiger* had contained numerous small advertisements of the type found in regular newspapers.⁷⁸ If the newspaper format made the ads less eye-catching than those found in the zoo *Führer*, they still exhibited the same broad range of products and services, if not more. Among the pages of the *Anzeiger* one could find violins for sale, "Bexberger's Corn Plasters," "Brockhaus's Small Conversation Dictionary," "Magic Devices" from "The Mechanical Workshop of Carl Willmann,"⁷⁹ "Furniture Fabrics, Carpets, Oilcloth, Sleep and Travel

be as high as 50 percent. In just one example, Leutemann's biography of Hagenbeck describes the capture of snakes at the mouth of the Ganges by using nets and igniting the grass. This effort yielded 600 snakes of which 374 arrived alive in Hamburg (Leutemann, 33). This anecdote also suggests the havoc wreaked upon animal populations through animal capture missions. These often entailed the slaughter of animal mothers or entire herds in order to obtain the young. The director of the Bronx Zoo, William Hornaday made direct reference to these methods in a letter to Carl Hagenbeck, who had supplied him with some animals: "I have been greatly interested in the fact that your letter gives me regarding the capture of the rhinoceroses; but we must keep very still about forty large Indian rhinoceroses being killed in capturing the four young ones" (quoted in Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 67). Leutemann also describes the practice of killing rhinoceros mothers, as well as those of lions, tigers, large apes, elephants and hippopotamuses (Leutemann, 28-29). Given that each wild-caught animal sold for exhibition or performance in Europe or North America represented only a "lucky" survivor of a capture and shipping expedition that cost the lives of countless other animals, the mind can barely comprehend how richly populated the African, Indian and other natural habitats once were. For a fascinating and often disturbing discussion of changing representations of animal catching in relation to animals and to colonialism, see Chapter 2, Rothfels, "Catching Animals," in *Savages and Beasts*, 44-80.

⁷⁸ Like any regular newspaper, the *Zoologischer-Garten Anzeiger* also included the *feuilleton*. For an interesting discussion of the importance of the *feuilleton* to Parisian newspapers, see Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 33-34.

⁷⁹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 1 (April 1880).

Blankets,”⁸⁰ “Braunschweiger Asparagus of the Highest Quality,” and the grooming, boarding, training and veterinary services of “G. C. Bischoff’s Dog Institute.”⁸¹ Furthermore, just as in the *Zoo Führer*, there were also advertisements for men’s and women’s apparel,⁸² insurance, beer, and items related to the home, including safes for money and valuables.⁸³

A later publication, *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, which first appeared in 1904, resembled the *Anzeiger* in contents, except that the small magazine was also intended for use as a “Concert Newspaper” to announce the programme for the zoo’s daily concerts. Still, interspersed among the articles of zoological interest, were advertisements for photographic services, cigars, pianos and furniture. Some familiar advertisers also appeared there, such as Heimerdinger’s delicatessen, H. Fockelmann’s Zoological and Natural History Object Dealership and the services of the Krüger Brothers, who also advertised their fireworks in the *Zoo Führer*.⁸⁴ Even vehicles of all varieties, “Tour cars, omnibuses, delivery vehicles, [and] motorboats”, were advertised for sale and available from the Jacob Aichele Garage.⁸⁵ Clearly, as this long, but only partial list of products and services suggests, the Hamburg Zoological Garden not only

⁸⁰ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 17 (August 1880).

⁸¹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 25 (September 1880).

⁸² StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 17 (August 1880).

⁸³ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 13 (Juli 1880).

⁸⁴ See for example StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg* April/Mai (1904).

⁸⁵ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 1 (1904).

relied heavily upon advertisers' money, but its publications also played an active role in stimulating business and commerce beyond its gates.

Obviously, businesses advertised in the zoo *Führer*, newspapers and magazines, because they believed that their audience of zoo visitors would be receptive to their message. Indeed, the vast array of goods and services I have detailed above provides a snapshot of how rising consumerism merged with middle-class culture. For example, advertisements for household goods, locks and safes, gardening supplies and fine food and drink reflect the growing importance of the ownership of a family home and its role in representing the middle class.⁸⁶ In addition, having the means to enjoy a fine cigar, a hobby such as magic, bird keeping or an aquarium, or the music of a piano or other musical instrument in the home reflected more than just the existence of a reasonably substantial disposable income.⁸⁷ The person who could enjoy these things also possessed leisure time. Furthermore, the bourgeois man's "elegant gentleman's attire" outwardly

⁸⁶ The sharp distinction between the trappings of bourgeois identity and nature are found in Franz Kafka's *Die Verwandlung*, written in 1912 (pub. 1915). In the story, the former travelling salesman Gregor Samsa, transformed into a beetle, opposes attempts to remove the furniture from his room, although the freed space would have enabled him to carry out his "pointless crawling about" more comfortably. Without the furniture, he fears that he would completely forget his "human past" and he recalls such icons of his former *bürgerliche* existence: his wardrobe containing a hobbyist's fretsaw and other tools and his cherished desk, which he used since elementary school and through business college. Despite his previous acknowledgement that he lacked his sister's ability to play and appreciate music, when Gregor the beetle hears her play the violin, he asks himself "Was he an animal if music moved him so (Franz Kafka, "Die Verwandlung," in *Franz Kafka. Romane und Erzählungen* (original 1915; Frankfurt a. M.: Zweitausendeins, 2004], 1126-1127,1137) ?"

⁸⁷ The nineteenth century popularizer of science Emil Adolf Rossmässler was the first person to promote home aquaria in Germany. Rossmässler thought that aquaria were an ideal means by which to promote a popular interest in zoology that would help to establish the study of nature into the everyday life of the *bourgeoisie*. His 1856 article on "The Sea in the Glass," in the widely read magazine *Die Gartenlaube* was followed by another article, which formed the basis for his most popular book, a manual, *Das Süßwasser-Aquarium: Eine Einleitung zur Herstellung und Pflege desselben*, which by 1892 had been published in five editions (Andreas W. Daum, "Science, Politics, and Religion: Humboldtian Thinking and the Transformations of Civil Society in German, 1830-1870," *Osiris* 17[2002]: 126).

differentiated him from a common labourer, while musical training, the ownership of a *Brockhaus* or attendance at an art gallery were all further indications of his *Bildung*. Finally, one could hire a photographer to immortalize social status by capturing the image of a well-attired man or woman or perhaps an entire family with the time and the money to sit for a portrait.

As this suggests, visibility played a critical role in affirming middle-class identities. Being seen to have the means to dine *à la carte*, for example, at the Alster-Hôtel,⁸⁸ was a demonstration of wealth and leisure. Likewise, with their restaurants and daily concerts, the Hamburg and Cologne Zoos were a theatre of bourgeois conspicuousness. In a short article recounting a visit to the zoo, a child shouted excitedly, “Oh, what kind of an animal is that!” only to laugh at his error: “That is a lady with a parasol.”⁸⁹ Similarly, a humorous article appearing in Hamburg’s *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, “From the Berlin Zoological Garden,” quoted in the introduction to this dissertation, poked fun at the displays of high society that took place in the zoo:

Berlin can thank the tireless and highly commendable work of the renowned Director Bodinus that its zoological garden not only holds the rarest animal species but also that it has become a popular gathering place for the most interesting and most beautiful specimens of the human race, especially on the so-called concert days, so that here the people as well as the animals can get to know, observe and study the human being.⁹⁰

In a sense, the zoo externalized many of the attributes that marked the more-or-less private existence of the middle class. In the first place, being seen to

⁸⁸ StaHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau, *Fuhrer* (1891).

⁸⁹ HASK 950-243, Zeitungsausschnitte über der Zoologische Garten (1907-27): Hermann Ritter, “Im Zoologischen Garten,” *Stadt Anzeiger*, 17 January 1909.

⁹⁰ StaHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Max Ring, “Aus dem Zoologischen Garten zu Berlin” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 17 (August 1880).

have the means to go to the zoo demonstrated that one possessed a certain amount of disposable income. In 1906, admission to the Cologne Zoo was only 50 Pfg. per adult and 25 Pfg. per child and in Hamburg in 1865 it was the equivalent of 1.13 Marks for an adult and 57 Pfennig for children, although in actuality, after 1873 they charged only 1 Mark and 50 Pfennig for adults and children respectively, representing a slight decrease in their prices after German unification prompted the standardization of currency.⁹¹

These fees must have excluded some members of the public since the possibility of free admission days was discussed, although never stipulated by the Cologne City Councillor's Meeting of July 1, 1858, as a condition of the gift of public land to the Zoological Society.⁹² A similar suggestion was made at the Hamburg High Senate assembly of August 17, 1861, when the Senate voted to grant the Zoological Society the free use of a parcel of city land for 50 years. During the debate, the Senator Dr. Rambach proposed that "the students of the so-called schools for the poor may visit the Zoological Garden once per month for free." His proposal, however, appears to have been rejected.⁹³

Nevertheless, as we will see later in this chapter, permitting the lower classes access to the zoo could serve several purposes. Exposure to the science and culture offered by the zoo, not to mention the good example of comportment provided by the zoo's better classed visitors, might be seen as a way to improve

⁹¹ Adults paid 12 Schillings, children 6 Schillings (HASK 950-248, Zeitungsinserate [1906-1931]: *Stadt Anzeiger*, 12 April 1906; StAHH A585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer* [1865]). The first records of the lowered prices appear in 1880.

⁹² HASK 950-1-1, Gründung der Zoologische Garten (1857-60): "Verhandlungen der Stadt-Verordneten-Versammlung zu Köln" Sitzung vom 1. Juli 1858, 150-2.

⁹³ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Eugen Richter, "Geschichte des Zoologischen Gartens in Hamburg," *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no. 11 (July 1880).

the underclasses. Indeed, contemporary popularizers of science, such as the zoology teacher Emil Adolf Rossmässler (1806-67), regarded scientific education as an important component of *Bildung* that would help bridge the proletariat and the middle classes and help further the development of civil society.⁹⁴ At the same time, the zoo's administrators and shareholders could play the role of benevolent social superiors, whose generous "blessing" edified not only "the privileged strata of society" but also "those of lesser means and education" to whom was "granted the opportunity to use their idle time to enoble and refresh their hearts and souls."⁹⁵

Not surprisingly then, although they did not precisely enact the original proposals, whether as a form of pedagogy, charity or both, the Cologne and Hamburg zoos did ultimately offer the public some reduced admission prices. In Cologne, for instance, four Sundays per year were set aside so that the zoo was "accessible in the hours before noon from 7-12 o'clock at the reduced entrance price of 20 Pfg."⁹⁶ In the summer months, the Hamburg Zoological Garden set aside even more Sundays, one every fourteen days, as well as some holidays, such as Sedan Day and Pentecost, for lowered admission fees of 30 Pfg per adult and

⁹⁴ Daum, 107-140, especially 113-114.

⁹⁵ The full quote is "... an institute, which would like to contribute to the promotion of true education with the joy of merry socializing, and which is in a position to spread blessings out to the privileged strata of society as well as to grant those of lesser means and education the opportunity to be able to use their idle time to enoble and refresh their hearts and souls." / "... ein Institut, welches mit den Freuden heiterer Geselligkeit zur Förderung wahrer Bildung beizutragen vermag, und welches im Stande ist, über die bevorzugten Schichten der Gesellschaft hinaus Segen zu verbreiten, auch dem weniger vermittelten und Gebildeten die Gelegenheit zu gewähren, in Stunden der Muße Herz und Seele erfrischen und veredeln zu können (HASK 608-74, Zoo: "Prospectus," 13)."

⁹⁶ HASK 950-243, Zeitungsausschnitte über den Zoologischen Garten (1907-1927): *Stadt Anzeiger* 4 May 1907; HASK 608-74, Zoo: "Prospectus." 19.

15 per child.⁹⁷ They also lowered their admission prices to school groups who visited weekday mornings between 9 and noon.⁹⁸ In addition, poor and disadvantaged children were granted special access to the zoo. In fact, in 1911, the Hamburg Zoo Director Dr. Vosseler claimed that “Yearly, the Garden granted approximately 50 000 children and teachers of Hamburg’s primary public schools (*Volkschulen*), as well as the charitable institutions, free admission.”⁹⁹ Similarly, on May 14, 1914, the Cologne *Stadt Anzeiger* reported that the zoo had “granted free admission to 2375 children of the special education schools, orphanages and other charitable institutions”¹⁰⁰

Clearly, the provisions made for people of lower income indicate that despite the relatively small cost, entrance fees kept many people from visiting the zoo. This is not to mention that people of limited means would also likely be working during the morning hours when admission prices for the Cologne Zoo were reduced. Cologne city councilor Hospelt had this problem in mind when he pointed out that “In the proposal to reserve certain days and hours for free public admission, he recognized a thoroughly unsatisfactory substitute for the cost-free transfer of the land as, predictably, the choice of days would be such that the impecunious segment of the population could not make any use of them anyway.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no. 3 (May 1880).

⁹⁸ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*

⁹⁹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p.

¹⁰⁰ HASK 950-243 Zeitungsausschnitte über den Zoologischen Garten (1907-1927): *Stadt Anzeiger* 14 May 1914.

¹⁰¹ HASK 950-1-1 Gründung der Zoologische Garten: “Verhandlungen,” 151.

This was in contrast to the unlimited access granted those people with the means to purchase a yearly subscription or membership to the zoo. Subscriptions were available to individuals at the Cologne Zoo for 15 Marks plus an additional 3 Marks per family member or for 22.50 Marks for individuals and 52.50 Marks for a family at the Hamburg Zoo.¹⁰² In both cases, subscribers were granted admission to the zoo with no restrictions. Moreover, in Hamburg, the zoological gardens were reserved on Fridays for the exclusive use of shareholders, zoological society subscribers and tourists.¹⁰³

To better appreciate the correlation between ticket prices and the means of the visitors they were geared towards, a comparison with another institution is illuminating. By 1880 the Hamburg Zoo charged an admission of 1 Mark for adults and 50 Pfg. for children. In the same year, admission to the “Hanseatic Wax Museum”, which still operates in Hamburg’s St. Pauli district, charged adults 30 Pfg. and children 15 Pfg.¹⁰⁴

However, although intended for popular entertainment, the Wax Museum, or Panopticon as it was also called, was no seedy sideshow of the kind found at

¹⁰² At the Cologne Zoo: individual subscriptions cost 5 Thaler plus an additional Thaler per family member. Note that these values are to the best of my knowledge as the wording of the document is somewhat unclear. In Hamburg individual subscriptions cost 15 Banco-Mark and 35 Banco-Mark for a family (HASK 608-74, Zoo: “Prospectus,” 19; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*). The Cologne Zoo also sold subscriptions to students at a reduced rate, as well as offered foreigners a lowered admission price (HASK 608/-4, Zoo: “Prospectus,” 19); By 1880, a family subscription to the Hamburg Zoological Society cost 42 Mark and 18 Marks for an individual one (StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 1 [April 1880]).

¹⁰³ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 7 (June 1880).

¹⁰⁴ Note that this price was advertised in the *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger* (StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no.3 [May 1880]).

the Hamburger Dom amusement park.¹⁰⁵ Like the Paris wax museum, the Musée Grévin described by historian Vanessa Schwartz, the Hanseatic Wax Museum aimed to identify itself as an institution of high culture, both through its artistic presentations and its stately rooms.¹⁰⁶ Upon opening in May, 1879, the founders Friedrich Ferdinand Heese and Friedrich Hermann Faerber boasted that “We flatter ourselves that with our waxworks we have created an institute of art of a kind that has never before been seen in Hamburg.”¹⁰⁷ As the museum became established, its displays were described seven months later by the *Hamburg News* (*Hamburger Nachrichten*) as “. . . tasteful arrangements of wax figures that are lined up next to each other.”¹⁰⁸ The same newspaper reported in 1889 that in the museum’s new location, “The installation of the new wax museum in the *Wilhelmshalle* on the *Spielbudenplatz* is now complete and shows, above all, what can happen when such a display of wax figures is improved with a sumptuous and tasteful environment.”¹⁰⁹ The Panopticon’s *Führer* described the museum’s marble stairs, mirrored ceilings and gilded ornamentation even more grandly:

Rising up through two stories, decorated above with a richly gilded gallery and richly coloured light falling in, the main hall surprises through the harmonious design and through rich decoration with colour in the finest interpretation of Renaissance architecture. Well suited to serve as a place of residence for crowned heads, through its noble proportions the diversity of the effect is increased through niches especially arranged and typically furnished for each group of figures along the walls.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Klaus Gille, *125 Jahre zwischen Wachs und Wirklichkeit. Hamburgs Panoptikum und seine Geschichte* (Hamburg: Panoptikum Gebr. Faerber, 2004), 16-17.

¹⁰⁶ Vanessa R. Schwartz, “Museums and Mass Spectacle: The Musée Grévin as a Monument to Modern Life,” *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring, 1995): 12-13.

¹⁰⁷ Gille, 9.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 17.

¹¹⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.* The *Hamburger Nachrichten* also referred to the museum’s costly marble staircase as well as the gold and mirror ornamentation of the entrance hall (*Ibid.*, 18).

As Schwartz' study of the poshly appointed Musée Grévin points out, the dichotomy between high culture on the one hand and commercial entertainment on the other is a false one.¹¹¹ Although Parisian mass spectacles were not blind to class and gender distinctions, they nevertheless served a diverse crowd.¹¹² Likewise, the Hamburg Panopticon attempted to attract as many visitors as possible while still cultivating an air of exclusivity.

To be sure, a public zoo's structure of entrance fees and subscriptions did permit a relatively broad audience that increased the zoo's income, yet, as we will see, still allowed it to maintain a certain level of elitism. The type of visitor which Hamburg Zoo officials hoped to attract is reflected in their admissions guidelines, which made provisions for subscribers to include children's nannies, governesses or "society ladies" responsible for children's education.¹¹³

At the same time, a stratified system of admission fees could also alleviate anxieties about the presence of working-class people and any *unbürgerliche* behaviour they might engage in at the zoo. The historian Sierra Bruckner has suggested that although initially configured as institutions for the *Bildung* of the bourgeoisie, the German *Völkerschauen* (or "commercial ethnographic exhibitions" that displayed foreign peoples performing their "normal" activities) eventually became the object of criticism that the shows had been infected with the vices and unseemly behaviour of the lower classes.¹¹⁴ As the historian Tony

¹¹¹ Schwartz, "Museums and Mass Spectacle," 10-13.

¹¹² Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities: Early Mass Culture in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1998), 202.

¹¹³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau, *Führer*, (1901).

¹¹⁴ Sierra A. Bruckner, "Spectacles of (Human) Nature: Commercial Ethnography between Leisure, Learning, and *Schaulust*," in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of*

Bennett has shown, class mixing and the overall behaviour of a working-class crowd was a source of significant anxiety in discussions about public access to London's Great Exhibition of 1851. Bennett points out that the success of the stratified admissions policy made the Exhibition a useful "transitional form" on the path to greater public museum access.¹¹⁵ However, I would add that by regulating the presence of the working class at the zoo, not to mention excluding the lowest social strata altogether (other than children from the "poor schools"), the middle classes could exert some control over the degree of class mixing which took place and which they chose to participate in.

Still, the Hamburg and Cologne Zoos could not be accused of the kind of blatant elitism intended by some other European zoological societies. Indeed, despite the populist characterization they are given today, many nineteenth-century zoos were quite elitist. For example, in Brussels citizens were required to purchase yearly memberships to the zoo for a price of 40 Franks, or approximately 51 Marks. Admission at the gate was available only to "tourists" and cost the equivalent of 1.29 Marks. This policy gave the Brussels Zoological Society approximately 2,000 to 3,000 subscribers annually, who were also attracted by the zoo's many high quality musical performances. The net result, wryly reported in the German press, was that "On Sundays and holidays it [the Brussels Zoo] is visited by the elite of society and by well-to-do middle-class

Empire, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003). The quoted formal name for *Völkerschauen* is from *Ibid.*, 128.

¹¹⁵ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 72.

families. but the less-privileged classes do not make any popular scientific studies there.”¹¹⁶

Likewise, London’s Regent’s Park Zoo was originally intended by its founders to be extremely exclusive, with admission permitted only to members of the officer, administrator or entrepreneurial classes.¹¹⁷ People not eligible for membership in the zoological society and therefore, not eligible for admission to the zoo, needed the personal endorsement of a subscriber – a member of the Society – to gain access to the facility. But these restrictions were rather quickly subverted: most people who could afford the 1 Schilling entrance fee were able to locate a member acquaintance to vouch for them or they could simply buy a ticket at a nearby pub.¹¹⁸ This fact, however, does not change the spirit of the original “members only” admissions policy.

This was seemingly in contrast to the reported intentions of the founder of the Hamburg Zoological Garden, the Baron von Merck “. . . who time and again pointed out that only low cost admission could promote visits to the Garden and with all of the charm he could command, he had to stand up against the wishes of a large number of shareholders, who wanted to create a kind of exclusive pub with entertainment [*Vergnügungsort*] for the *haute volée* [sic].”¹¹⁹ Similarly, in his

¹¹⁶ This document quotes prices in Hamburg Courant. 1 Courant Mark had an equivalent of 1.25 Banco Mark (Jörg Berlin, *Hamburg 1848/49* [Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg: Behörde für Schule, Jugend und Berufsbildung, 1998], 11). The original document states that 40 Franks is equivalent to approximately 27 Courant Marks and the admission for “Fremden” to be the equivalent of 11 Schillings. I calculated the equivalents to be 33.75 Banco Marks or 50.63 German Gold Marks and 11 Schillings to be 0.86 Banco Marks. (Unnamed press reports quoted in StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Eugen Richter, “Geschichte des Zoologischen Gartens in Hamburg” *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no. 12 [July 1880]).

¹¹⁷ Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 210.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 212-213.

¹¹⁹ Presumably the author meant “*haute volée*” or “elite.” StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Eugen Richter, “Geschichte des Zoologischen

prospectus, Garthe began by making an argument for inclusiveness, mentioned above, envisioning “. . . an institute, which with the joy of jovial sociability is able to contribute to the promotion of true education, and which is in a position to spread its blessing over the preferred members of society, [and] also to grant the less privileged and less educated the opportunity to be able to use their idle time to refresh and ennoble their hearts and souls.”¹²⁰

Yet, in such statements more than a democratic urge was at play. These self-professed expressions of egalitarianism also reflected good business sense. By 1846 – eighteen years after it opened its doors – economic pressures forced the democratization of London’s Regent’s Park Zoo and it was officially opened to anyone for the price of admission. On the other hand, the Leeds Zoological and Botanical Gardens and plans for the Birmingham Zoological Gardens foundered upon policies of exclusion.¹²¹ Clearly, these examples show that a zoo’s financial viability often rested upon an open-door policy that had little to do with a spirit of populist Enlightenment.

Indeed, the cases of Brussels, London and Germany suggest that poor and working-class people did not constitute everyone’s concept of “the public.”¹²² In

Gartens in Hamburg,” *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no.15 (August 1880). Some newspapers also called for free admission on Sundays and holidays however others were opposed to this citing the case of the Brussels Zoo as a positive and astute way of managing the business of the zoo (StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Richter, “Geschichte,” no. 12).

¹²⁰ HASK 608-74, Zoo (1857-1905): “Prospectus”, 13.

¹²¹ Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 214.

¹²² In “From Princely Gallery to Public Art Museum,” Carol Duncan explains that “Our notion of the ‘public’ dates from a later time, when, almost everywhere in the West, the advent of bourgeois democracy opened up the category of citizenship to ever broader segments of the population and redefined the realm of the public as ever more accessible and inclusive” than that of eighteenth-century England. As a result, she argues, what looks like an exclusive gathering of the elite of English society at an art gallery or reception room actually constituted what was considered “public” at that time: “well-born, educated men of taste, and, more marginally (if at all), well-born

arguing against the proposal to offer children from the “schools for the poor” free admission, Hamburg Senator F. G. Stammann, who also opposed the Zoological Society’s application for the cost-free use of city land for fifty years, asserted “. . . that since the planned park will now be open for visitation with the cost of admission, [it] will benefit the people (*Volk*).”¹²³ That is, in Stammann’s view, the “people” or *Volk* consisted of the shareholders who profited from the zoo and the visitors who could afford to visit it. Those who did not possess these means were not the “*Volk*.”

Yet, there were, in fact, German city officials who did reflect a larger view of the “people” through their recognition of the exclusivity of zoos. In debates concerning the transfer of land for the purposes of the zoological garden, city

women” (317). I believe that it is valid to point out, as she does, that our conceptions of “public” have changed. However, those who recount the supposedly progressive development of zoos from royal menageries to public zoos do not usually make such distinctions; instead, their narrative implies that democracy as we know it arrived in Europe with the opening of the first zoological garden gates. In any event, without closer examination of ordinary European zoos, it is difficult to know how ‘public’ each zoo was and whether or not there was any uniform or even regional concept of such a notion. Moreover, like Habermas, Duncan’s comments seem to reflect a perception of public space whose class and gender exclusivity prohibited any other political participation. For a thought-provoking and thorough discussion of the concept of the public sphere theorized by Jürgen Habermas in his seminal work, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (*Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zur eine Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1990), see Geoff Eley, “Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures.” In addition to pointing out research that validates certain historical aspects of Habermas’s theory, Eley also proposes that Antonio Gramsci’s concept of “hegemony” may be used to expand Habermas’s work. Gramsci attends to the role of the state and its institutions, which Habermas largely ignores, and their complex interactions with dominant and subaltern social groups. Eley also examines the role of gender, which Habermas also fails to adequately explore, to show that female exclusion from formal politics was a historically specific event related to new constructions of the political subject as masculine. Eley also discusses historiography that shows that the public and private spheres were less separate than Habermas supposes, but that this ideal social order was also adopted by the working classes. As a result, working class grievances against capitalism were also reflections of its attacks on patriarchy. Finally, Eley argues that as the research of Günther Lottes shows, the lower classes were not strictly excluded from public life. In fact, the English reform movement, the London Corresponding Society, was led by minor members of the intelligentsia and even artisans such as a hatter and a shoemaker. These, in turn, actively sought to educate, politicize and mobilize the common people.

¹²³ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Richter, “Geschichte,” no. 11.

councilors in both Cologne and Hamburg took exception to the fact that public space would be lost to a private venture. In the words of Councilor Kemp, the site of the Cologne Zoo had originally been considered by the city for the creation of a “boulevard of trees from the city leading up to the same [the site of the zoo]. that will offer a great advantage to Everyman, not just for those who are in a position to buy a visit to the zoological garden.” Likewise, his colleague, Councilor Seydlitz, opposed the transfer of city land, which could provide “enjoyment to the public,” but which through the zoo would otherwise “. . . be closed to the public for a long time – maybe forever.”¹²⁴ Similarly, some members of the Hamburg Senate expressed concern that in granting the cost-free use of public land to the Zoological Society, which was, it was commented elsewhere during the debate, “a private society,” the public would be deprived of one of the city’s few free “swimming ponds” (*Badeteiche*). This, argued Senator Saffe, would contravene the “Health Board” and compromise the health of many “fellow citizens”,¹²⁵ which suggests that in this respect his concern was at least partially directed towards the needs of the city’s least advantaged class, whom he also regarded as constituting the “people.”¹²⁶

¹²⁴ HASK 950-1 Gründung der Zoologischen Garten (1857-1860): “Verhandlungen,” 150-151.

¹²⁵ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Richter, “Geschichte,” no. 11.

¹²⁶ Of course, his concern could also have reflected a certain measure of self-interest since a lack of sanitation and possible outbreak of disease threatened the health of all of Hamburg’s citizens. Generally speaking, though, it was usually the poor who were predominantly stricken by epidemics. Even Hamburg’s great cholera epidemic of 1892, which affected all levels of society because of contamination of the city’s unfiltered water supply from the Elbe River, nevertheless had a disproportionately larger toll on the city’s poor. For more on this see Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910* (New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press, 1987). It should also be added that in agreeing to transfer the land, valued at more than 100,000 Marks, cost free for 50 years to the Zoological Garden Society the Hamburg Senate stipulated that the Society must pay 15, 000 Mark (10, 000 Banco Mark) for the “production of *Badeschiffen*” – buildings providing individual bathing “boxes” in outdoor

Clearly, then, although the opening of a public zoo by private *Bürger* may have indicated the rise of the middle class in Germany this development did not necessarily point to a greater democratization of society. On the contrary, in these cases, the creation of a zoo meant the loss of truly open and public spaces through their transfer into private hands for the benefit of fewer people.

This problem of access is evidenced through zoo attendance figures. Although the average number of visitors to the Hamburg Zoological Garden between 1863 and 1878 was 251,385 people per year, there were approximately twice as many people who attended the zoo on the reduced admission days as on regular admission days, a yearly average of 173,122 versus 87,265 people respectively.¹²⁷ Obviously, the zoo gates were not open to all people at all times and to some people they were permanently closed.

Yet, the practice of offering minimal or reduced entrance fees in addition to selling Zoological Society subscriptions had a further two-fold effect. It stratified the zoo-going public by creating the distinction of *when* one attended the zoo as a marker of income. In addition, having a range of admission prices gave a variety of people access to the zoo, including those of lesser economic means. This, of course, reflected and even created further distinctions within the middle

ponds, lakes, etc. – as compensation for the loss of the pond (StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Richter, "Geschichte," no. 12).

¹²⁷ These figures refer only to numbers of people who actually paid an entrance fee and do not appear to include the numbers of people who might also have gained free admission (StAHH A585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no. 3 [May 1880]). Furthermore, the popularity of the half-price days suggests the exclusiveness of charging admission.

class itself, but it also meant that visitors could view and differentiate each other, thereby facilitating the development of class identities.¹²⁸

A 1907 article in the Cologne *Stadt Anzeiger* reported a humorous incident involving a pair of newlyweds on their way to the zoo that clearly illustrated these class dynamics and distinctions in action. The article began, “**To the cheap Sunday** of the Zoological Garden they had come, namely ‘Juhänn’ [Johann] and his wife, from Gilbach and from the main train station on, they had used the electric streetcar, in order to ‘be near th’ animals’ [sic] [original emphasis].” The reporter then recounted the indecorous way in which Juhänn ignored the protestations of the conductor and leapt from the moving streetcar as it drove past the entrance to the zoo. The groom landed heavily on the tails of his wedding coat, got up, dusted himself off and was checking himself over just as his bride came towards him from the streetcar stop. At that moment, looking confused, “Johänn” pulled his gooey fingers from his back pocket. His wife chastised him in a low German accent: “Aha, Juhänn. . . . Han’t ah tol’ you b’for’ that ya can’t jus’ carry eggs frum here t’ there?” In response to this, there was hearty laughter from the crowd, as well as some further pointed ridicule of the pair.¹²⁹ The couple’s use of Low German, their unseemly behaviour and the fact that their wedding celebration was a trip to the zoo on the “cheap Sunday” all highlighted their class difference, which was further underscored by the

¹²⁸ As Vanessa Schwartz has shown in her book, *Spectacular Realities*, the presence of a diverse crowd at a public spectacle, such as the Paris morgue, did not necessarily mean that gender and class distinctions were no longer made. On the contrary, contemporary observers often remarked on the presence of women or the working classes at the morgue (66-68).

¹²⁹ “bei de Thiere”; “Aha, Juhänn, . . . hen ech et dech no net von vörerern gesat, dat do de Euer net heel bes daar bränge dāts? [Aha, Johann, . . . habe ich es dich noch nicht von früheren gesagt, das du die Eier nicht hier bis dar bringe darfst?] [sic] (HASK 950-243. Zeitungsausschnitte über den Zoologischen Garten, A.G.: *Stadt Anzeiger*, 6 June 1907).”

amusement and mockery of the crowd. Of course, the effect of this visibility was amplified through its reporting in the newspaper. Clearly, the author thought it important to report not only the poor behaviour of the newlyweds, but also to preface the article with the comment that this occurred on one of the zoo's reduced admission days.

Yet, although admission categories could be used to make people of the lower classes more apparent, such categories also accentuated the higher standing of their social superiors. This effect was complemented by the many other possibilities for visitors to demonstrate their social status inside the zoo by showing that they had the means to purchase the various available zoo extras. For instance, in 1891 for 30 Pfg. at the Hamburg Zoo, one could purchase a *Guide Through the Zoological Garden* to carry through the park.¹³⁰ One could also pay the additional 40 Pfg. required to visit Germany's first aquarium,¹³¹ although the guide to the aquarium was sold separately. In 1891 it could be had for another 15 Pfg.¹³²

¹³⁰ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891); The price of the *Führer* seems to have remained stable. In 1911 it still cost the same price (Ibid.). The prices for the years prior to 1891 are not shown on the guide covers. Account books for the Cologne Zoo also show that the zoo had expenses for both a "Guide to the paths" (*Wegführer*) and a "Guide to the Garden" (*Gartenführer*) available, however I have been unable to locate a copy of either one (HASK 950-214 Kassabuch [31 October 1882 – 31 December 1889]: 24 November 1882; 30 November 1882). A *Wegweiser* from the 1950s shows that the zoo was separate from the botanical garden, which may be the reason why there are separate "Wegführer" and "Gartenführer" listed above (HASK 950-257, *Wegweiser durch den Zoologischen Garten Köln*).

¹³¹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no. 3 (May 1880); Herman Reichenbach, "A Tale of Two Zoos: The Hamburg Zoological Garden and Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark," in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 53. Like the zoo, the aquarium could also be visited for half price on specified days (StAHH A585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau, [1891]).

¹³² StAHH A585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 77; StAHH A585/159 Kapsel 1: Bolau (1891), 1.

Since April, 1864, when it opened, the Hamburg Zoological Garden Aquarium saw an average of 57,498 guests annually.¹³³ This figure represents only two thirds of the number of visitors who paid the regular entrance fee to the zoo, suggesting that as the various additional costs of a zoo visit rose, those willing or able to spend extra money declined.

In addition, extremely well-heeled visitors to the Hamburg Zoological Garden could consult one of the price lists available at the entrance desk or speak to the Director to arrange purchase and delivery of animal antlers or any of the zoo's surplus animals, such as parrots, finches or water birds. For other interests and tastes, the zoo also sold aquarium animals and breeding animals.¹³⁴

Affluent Hamburg Zoo visitors could also retire to the restaurant adjacent to the concert area. Restaurant guests could dine à la carte or order one of the daily specials which were available for 3, 4.50 or 6 Marks. They could also choose from a number of local and other German beers or order from the "extensive" wine list.¹³⁵

Likewise, the Cologne Zoo had a restaurant for visitors to enjoy,¹³⁶ although for those with sufficient money it could sometimes offer meals to animals as well as to humans. In a Cologne newspaper article, a father wistfully recollected his visit to the zoo with his 6 year-old son. Since he had forgotten to

¹³³ StAHH A585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no. 3.

¹³⁴ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no. 1 (April 1880).

¹³⁵ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891). An advertisement in one issue of the *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg* also shows the great variety of beverages offered at the zoo's restaurant (and its selection of *Butterbröte*) (StAHH A585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten [1904-7]: *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 6 [1904]).

¹³⁶ HASK 950-234 Verschiedener Schriftwechsel: From Maria Oettgen, 5 September 1914.

bring bread along to the park, the boy spent 20 Pfg. of his own money at the restaurant in order to purchase buns to feed the zoo's ostriches and other animals. Together the pair also enjoyed coffee, milk, sugar cubes (which they decided to save for the elephants) and "large and tasty pieces of cake" at a "table laid in white" on the restaurant's terrace.¹³⁷

One could also use the zoo to extend the display of wealth outside its gates. A variety of postcards showing the Cologne Zoological Garden were available for purchase,¹³⁸ thereby announcing to the recipient that one had been to the zoo. In contrast to Johänn and his bride who rode the streetcar, visitors could also take a cruise on the "Little Müllheimer boats," "which transported passengers, such as the father and son, along the Rhine to and from the zoo."¹³⁹

Conversely, if one had the means or professional motive to travel or live abroad, one could also use the zoo to broadcast this fact and at the same time enhance one's reputation through a show of philanthropy. For example, a certain Herr Pickenpack of Bangkok donated a crocodile to the Hamburg Zoo and the Herr Markwald and Company in Hong Kong donated a Chinese bear.¹⁴⁰

Since its inception, the Hamburg Zoological Garden had published the names of donors, such as that of Herr E. A. Isaacs, who gave the zoo a valuable eagle, apparently of a type not to be seen in any other zoological garden. Another

¹³⁷ HASK 950-243 Zeitungsausschnitte: Ritter. Since the article appeared in a Cologne newspaper and refers to a boat trip, I presume the author is referring to the Cologne Zoo, which was located very near the Rhine River, or at least that he portrayed an experience resembling readers' own experience of the Cologne Zoo.

¹³⁸ HASK photo collection. Prices of postcards not available, however the Cologne Zoo account books show that the zoo purchased 40 postcards for 4 Mark (HASK 950-214 Kassabuch [31 October 1882 – 31 December 1889]: 31 August 1888).

¹³⁹ HASK 950-243, Zeitungsausschnitte: Ritter.

¹⁴⁰ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 79.

donation, the “hardly less valuable bird . . . , a gift of Mr. A. P. Schuldt,” whose gift of a bald eagle originating from the United States, was also acknowledged on the same page of the Zoo’s guidebook.¹⁴¹

In fact, by making generous gifts of animals, benefactors such as the Herr P. Th. Prencke, whose donations included a Jaguar and an ocelot, or the Captain E. Meier, who donated a pair of cardinals, could boost their prestige even further because their names appeared in the company of even more distinguished patrons, sometimes even those as illustrious as His Majesty, the King of Sweden, who donated a moose, or the King of Württemberg, who donated a Yak.¹⁴²

Equally, the name of the same Herr Schuldt mentioned above, also appeared in the introductory pages of the zoo guide along with that of the prominent benefactor, Senator Godeffroy, for their joint contributions to the cost of the zoo’s bear cages. Other notable contributors were also acknowledged there, such as the Herr General-Consul de Craecker for his sponsorship of the entrance gate.¹⁴³ Thus, philanthropy could be used to demonstrate affluence as well as to confer social status through affiliations.

Indeed, such conspicuous displays of surplus wealth and social standing, whether inside or outside the bourgeois home, were also bound-up with the pursuit of recreational and leisure activities. It was a distinguished circle of citizens who used their spare time to ostensibly benefit the city by founding a zoo or who could travel and donate animals collected on their journeys. More

¹⁴¹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniß*, 13.

¹⁴² StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 78-9. On the other hand, foreign travel was not an imperative if one merely wanted the benefit of seeing their name appear on the registry. For instance, Herr J. G. W. Brandt donated three squirrels (*Sciurus vulgaris*) to the zoo (*Ibid.*, 78).

¹⁴³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniß*, 7.

modestly, for that matter, not everyone could afford to visit the zoo and have an unhurried meal in the restaurant or enjoy one of the Cologne Zoo's numerous parties or concerts.¹⁴⁴

To be sure, orchestral concerts at both the Cologne and the Hamburg Zoos were important and regularly featured attractions. For example, newspaper articles in the Cologne *Stadt Anzeiger* in 1907 reported the performance of concerts on June 16 and June 18 as well as performances by the Cologne Song Circle (*Kölner Liederkrantz*) on July 7 and an orchestra's production of *William Tell* on July 10 in the Cologne Zoological Garden.¹⁴⁵ Earlier in the zoo's history, account books for the Cologne Zoo also show expenses for three concerts in 1882, for three concerts in 1883 and for four concerts in 1885.¹⁴⁶ Newspaper advertisements between 1906 and 1914 reflected a trend to increase the number of concerts making them a staple of the zoo experience. By 1906, there were daily concerts performed by a military band featuring, for example, Scottish overtures by Gade and the music of Grieg, Wagner, Rossini, Cavallo and Bilse.¹⁴⁷

The cost to attend a concert in the Cologne Zoo in 1906 was 50 Pfg.,¹⁴⁸ but special events could cost much more. For instance, in 1910, a celebration of the

¹⁴⁴ This is not to say that the working class had no leisure pursuits, only that they lacked the means to participate in many of the activities associated with the upper classes.

¹⁴⁵ HASK 950-243, Zeitungsausschnitte über der Zoologische Garten (1907-27): *Stadt Anzeiger* (Cologne), July 7, 16, 18, 1907.

¹⁴⁶ HASK 950-214 Kassabuch (31 October 1882 – 31 December 1889): 1 November 1882; 24 April 1883; 18 May 1885.

¹⁴⁷ HASK 950-248 Zeitungsinserate (1906-1931): *Stadt Anzeiger*, 6 June 1906.

¹⁴⁸ HASK 950-248 Zeitungsinserate (1906-1931): *Stadt Anzeiger*, 3 May 1906. See also HASK 950-248 Zeitungsinserate (1906-1931): *Stadt Anzeiger*, 1 and 15 July, 1906. Note that it was apparently not unusual to charge admission for zoo concerts. The Zoological Garden in Münster, which charged a regular admission to the zoo of 30 Pfg. for adults and 10 Pfg. for children, charged adults "20 Pfg. reduced, so that all people, who are not already association members, subscribers or owners of shares in the Zoological Garden are entitled to entrance to the Zoological Garden; to visit the gardens and the concerts together they have to pay 50 Pfg. (children 40 Pfg.)"

zoo's 50th anniversary featured a double concert with the music of the Male Vocal Association, the Cologne Circle of Song (*Männergesangverein Kölner Liederkreis*) and dinner in the White Hall followed by a dance. Admission for the evening, featuring a festively lit water fountain in the flamingo pond, cost 5 Marks.¹⁴⁹ A Winterfest held in December that same year featured "dinner at small tables" followed by a ball. Tables could be reserved for 3 Marks; tickets to the ball cost an extra Mark for guests who were neither Zoological Society subscribers nor shareholders.¹⁵⁰

Although I can find no evidence of a comparable party schedule, concerts were also an important attraction at the Hamburg Zoological Garden. In 1880, the *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* advertised that during the summer, between mid-May and mid-September, concerts would be held on Sunday, Monday and Friday afternoons.¹⁵¹ The concerts themselves appear to have been free of charge and the surviving documents suggest that they could occur at least as often as twice a week, held outdoors in the open concert area, weather permitting.¹⁵² Later, in 1904, the zoo began publishing the *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, the glossy magazine mentioned above. Although it contained a variety of articles on the history and animals of the zoo, it called itself a "concert newspaper." It was

(StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: "Aus dem Zoolog. Garten zu Münster", *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 15 [August 1880]).

¹⁴⁹ HASK 950-248 Zeitungsinserate (1906-1931): *Stadt Anzeiger*, 21 July 1910.

¹⁵⁰ HASK 950-248 Zeitungsinserate (1906-1931): *Stadt Anzeiger*, 3 December 1910.

¹⁵¹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no. 1 (April 1880).

¹⁵² Otherwise the concerts could be held in the indoor concert hall. (StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten [1904-1907]: *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, nos. 3 and 4 [1904] [for concerts held on the 12th and 17th of July]). For more on the construction of the outdoor concert facilities and landscape, including photos, see StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten [1904-1907]: Heinrich Bolau, "Unser Konzertplatz." *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 2 (1904).

available for 10 Pfg. on all concert days and included the music program for that event.¹⁵³

Still, even if the Hamburg Zoo's concerts were theoretically available to all zoo visitors, in addition to requiring leisure time, concerts also helped to distinguish better classed patrons from the common zoo visitor through a demonstration of *Bildung*. Certainly an ability to appreciate the zoo's varied music program, which emphasized classical music, signaled a more cultivated sensibility. Although the Hamburg Zoo's concerts included a good variety of less well-known composers and marches, Wagner and Beethoven were frequently on the "playlist" of both zoos.¹⁵⁴ In fact, for 13 consecutive years, the Cologne Zoo held a memorial concert to mark the day of Richard Wagner's death.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, concerts were not only background music; audiences at the Hamburg Zoo were seated in a formal chair arrangement that directed their attention towards the orchestra and conductor giving concerts a decorous atmosphere.¹⁵⁶

Of course, this does not mean that the working classes were not present at zoo concerts. They might have been the workers who served during and cleaned up after concerts and party-goers. Or they might have chosen to enjoy the concert music as audience members or a small distance away from the audience. In fact, a

¹⁵³ StAHH A585/157 Kapsel 3 Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg* (April/May).

¹⁵⁴ For example, see above as well as StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 6 (1904) (concert of September 8) and no.4 (1904) (concert of July 17); and HASK 950-248 Zeitungsinserate (1906-31): *Stadt Anzeiger*, 4 July 1906 (concert of June 5).

¹⁵⁵ HASK 950-243 Zeitungsausschnitte über den Zoologischen Garten (1907-1927): *Stadt Anzeiger*, 16 February 1913.

¹⁵⁶ See images in StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Bolau, "Unser Konzertplatz."

magazine article that was actually about Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* also described the popularity of a zoological garden's Cheap Sundays "among the less wealthy, the tradesmens' and workers' circles". The author described their enthusiasm for seeing the animals. In his words, "One can only be happy about the lively interest, as these people only go for the joy [of seeing] the diversity of exotic animals, and not because of the concerts – although after all, they also like to listen in on these – but even less than they go for other reasons."¹⁵⁷ Clearly, the author's claim that the less privileged zoo visitors were not interested in the concerts is undercut by his admission that they actually did like to hear the music.

Certainly, the presence of the working class validated middle-class difference, but it also enabled workers to become students of *bürgerliche* demonstrations of wealth and comportment.¹⁵⁸ In fact, the appropriate behaviour for such events was explicitly prescribed in a short newspaper article announcing a series of concerts at the Cologne Zoo. The article requested that guests reserve their "conversations about the art" until the end of the evening when they may then go "out onto the beautiful and brightly lit terraces to relax and refresh themselves."¹⁵⁹

In this way, not only were the working classes being schooled by example in *bürgerliche* behaviour, so too were the middle classes. For although Tony Bennett has argued that efforts made by British museums and at the Great Exhibition aimed to elevate the working classes and to instruct them in

¹⁵⁷ HA, magazine articles: W. Henz, "Der neue Hagenbecksche Tierpark in Stellingen bei Hamburg," no publication information, 1907.

¹⁵⁸ For more on this formation of social discipline and the working classes see Bennett, *Museum*, 59-88; Bruckner, 28-9, 37.

¹⁵⁹ HASK 950-243, Zeitungsausschnitte über den Zoologischen Garten Köln (1907-1927): *Stadt Anzeiger* 29 May 1911.

appropriate deportment, it should be remembered that the systems of self-surveillance he describes applied to the middle classes as well.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, directives made in newspapers and zoo guides were more probably intended for the middle-class audience that was likely to purchase them. Like the lower classes, the middle classes did not innately know how they were to behave, but learned through explicit instruction, such as in the newspaper article above, and by watching the behaviour modeled by others.

To be sure, zoo visitors seeking to distinguish themselves as members of the middle classes understood the importance of demonstrating *Bildung*. At the zoo, one way of indicating an intellectual inclination was by carefully studying a zoo *Führer* or “*Verzeichniß der Lebenden Thiere*” (*Catalogue of the Living Animals*) such as that published by the Hamburg Zoological Society. Even the earliest zoo guides, written by the zoo’s first director, Dr. A. Brehm, who was well-known for his engaging writing about animals, referred to animals by their scientific names, not just their popular names. Indeed, as time went on, and as will be discussed further in Chapter 3, the zoo guides increasingly sought to present an image of sober science that threatened to overwhelm even the most serious-minded visitor with the dry cataloguing and description of the literally hundreds of animals kept in the zoo. Whether or not visitors who conscientiously adhered to the zoo *Führer* and map were really interested in differentiating, for example, the 16 varieties of birds, including the common magpie, incongruously housed in the Turkey House (*Das Hockohaus*), is doubtful.¹⁶¹ At any rate, it is evident that the

¹⁶⁰ Bennett, *Museum*, 68-73.

¹⁶¹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau. *Führer* (1891), 19-21.

task of methodically reading about and identifying each animal in the zoo would have been overwhelming, if not impossible in a single day's visit, since by 1891 the program listed 619 varieties of animals, not including those found in the aquarium.¹⁶² Nevertheless, or perhaps, because the *zoo Führer* were so weighty and scientifically oriented, when visitors carried and consulted them they adopted a demeanour that seemed to reflect the *Bildung* of their middle-class contemporaries.

Yet, while this kind of *gebildete* behaviour may have been adopted based on observation it was also prescribed. Hamburg Zoological Garden Guidebooks advised visitors that they should view the animals by following the suggested route, usually indicated on a map, through the zoo. In addition, since changes were frequently made to the animal displays, visitors should also compare the names shown on the cages with those in the books. Also, they should only feed those animals for which the signs indicated it was permitted; otherwise, as before, visitors should not offer or throw "any kind of object" into the animal enclosures and should not tease, harm or torture the animals.¹⁶³

Some later editions of the Hamburg *Zoo Führer* went even further to instruct visitors in how to affect an appropriate demeanour. For example, although guidebooks usually indicated especially interesting or rare animals,¹⁶⁴ a handbook

¹⁶² Ibid., 100-1.

¹⁶³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel I, Zoologischer Garten: "Vorbermerkung" to A. E. Brehm, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg. Eine kurze Beschreibung der in ihm zur Schau gestellten Thiere*, 8th ed (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1865), 3-4. The 1863 guide indicated that appropriately nutritious food was available for sale for some animals (Ibid.), which incidentally is a fundraising practice still used at Hagenbecks' zoo.

¹⁶⁴ For example see StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel I, Zoologischer Garten: "Vorbermerkung" to Heintz Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten*, 40th ed. (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1901), n.p.

from 1911 added that signs on the cages contained the latest scientific information and that referencing these in the handbook would make it even easier for visitors to find a particular species and genus. Finally, readers were advised that “several well demarcated groups, such as the big cats, bears, cattle, aquatic and terrarium animals” were often housed in separate locations because of their differing space requirements and other living conditions. Visitors should therefore take note of the remarks regarding these different animals groups in the guidebook.¹⁶⁵ In this way, the handbook specified the way in which visitors should take an appropriately scientific approach to viewing the animals.

To some extent, newspaper articles featuring the Cologne Zoo served a similar purpose, often acting as guidebooks that subtly instructed readers and potential zoo visitors in the modes of proper behaviour at the zoo. These articles, often not more than a paragraph or two, usually presented the zoo’s current “highlights.” For example, one article briefly described the growth, ability and diet of a young giraffe at the zoo, quickly described where a young llama was housed and advised readers that the zoo had an “extensive collection of water birds” with several types of “valuable” black and black-necked swans, including babies, which were “proof of the remarkable fertility of this species coming from Australia.”¹⁶⁶ In this way, these zoological descriptions offered subtle directions for *gebildete* behaviour – what to see, how to view it and how to talk knowledgeably about it.

¹⁶⁵ StAHH A 585/159 Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: “Vorbemerkung” to J. Vosseler, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1911), 1.

¹⁶⁶ HASK 950-243 Zeitungsausschnitte über der Zoologische Garten (1907-1927): *Stadt Anzeiger*, 8 Jan. 2011.

However, as much as I agree with Tony Bennett that museum directives about visitor comportment functioned to discipline and regulate civil society,¹⁶⁷ I would further argue that at the same time, such instructions also served to reinforce, if not articulate, class difference by drawing attention to appropriate and inappropriate behaviours. For example, in the previously mentioned 1907 article about the new Hagenbeck Animal Park, the author referred to the educational role of zoos in general:

It is precisely the cheap Sundays that show how among the less financially endowed, the tradesmens' and workers' circles, the need exists [*lebt*] namely to become more exactly acquainted with the animal world abroad. They come out with their families and walk patiently for hours from cage to cage, from one animal group to another. And even when most of the instruction that the father gives to his children would not stand up to the discriminating ear of the naturalist, that is not so bad, as the schooling one gets from regular visits and the attached instruction corrects any possibly erroneous lines of thinking. One can only be pleased at the lively interest, as these people only go to the diversely exotic animal world out of pleasure, not because of the concerts – although they do after all like to listen in – but less than [they go] for other reasons.¹⁶⁸

Moreover, the rhetorical display of otherness described in Bennett in which the objects on display were intended to represent difference to the viewing public, did not just articulate an imperial rhetoric that differentiated imperial subjects from “uncivilized” objects, i.e. peoples over whose bodies power was exerted. I would argue that in articulating what was deemed both proper and improper behaviour, the zoo guides put the entire crowd on display and in this way articulated a class rhetoric in which the spectacle of disruptive visitors, such

¹⁶⁷ Bennett, *Museum*. 66-69, 87.

¹⁶⁸ HA, magazine articles: W. Henz, “Der neue Hagenbecksche Tierpark in Stellingen bei Hamburg.” no publication information 1907.

as the aforementioned Johänn and his bride, served as a means of demarcating class.¹⁶⁹

This is clear, for example, in a zoo guidebook, which explicitly differentiated the intellectual quality of visitors through their behaviour and attitudes towards the animals and which also authorized other visitors to intervene against unruliness. A Hamburg Zoo guide urged, “The honourable visitor is herewith also politely requested, to the best of his ability, to deter ignorant people who somehow tease, bother or torment the animals or throw unsuitable food and [thereby] harm them.” In later years the warning was changed, at first simply imploring people to mind their behaviour in the park and then again later adding the physical threat of removal for misbehaviour.¹⁷⁰

Moreover, compliance with the implicit and explicit rules of behaviour also highlighted differences in how diverse visitors used the zoo, thereby further suggesting their social standing. As the *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* pointed out, “. . . the real, genuine interest, which proves itself through more than sensation-seeking and the paying of admission, is lacking for it [i.e. the Zoological Garden], above all, in the circles of the Hamburg population – namely, the interest which they take in the inhabitants of our zoological garden and, beyond that, the study of their lives that this demands. In other words, an interest which promotes and has the effect of educating and teaching us.”¹⁷¹ That is, there

¹⁶⁹ Bennett, *Museum*, 67.

¹⁷⁰ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniß*, 4; For another example see StAHH A 585/159 Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: “Vorbemerkung” to Heinr. Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg*, 35th ed. (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1891), np.

¹⁷¹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Der Zoologische Garten-Anzeiger,” *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger*, no. 1 (April 1880).

were those (many) visitors who went to the zoo to amuse themselves by gaping at and disturbing the animals and then there were those (desirable) visitors who sought to improve themselves through their zoological studies.

No doubt, Dr. Vosseler wished to encourage the kind of interest in zoology demonstrated by one amateur scientist. The Cologne eye doctor, Dr. Stiel, had enough interest in animals to write to the director of the Cologne Zoo in order to discuss a disease of macaques and further research on pavians.¹⁷² In contrast, people like “Johänn” and his bride, whose (mis)behaviour on the way to the zoo had been so newsworthy, seemed simply to be hoping for a cheap way to celebrate their wedding.

Clearly, officials worked hard to distinguish zoos as institutions of high culture and learning.¹⁷³ For example, in Hamburg Dr. Vosseler asserted that “Even if it is a private institution, on the grounds of the newly established relationship and the effect of its range, the zoological garden may certainly consider itself as a member of the series of Hamburg’s scientific institutions.”¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, lest there be any doubt about the cultural status of the zoo, Vosseler asserted that “The value that a zoological garden manages to give its visitors is not to be assessed in Marks and Pfennigs, but is, like other mental stimulants

¹⁷² HASK 950-234 Verschiedener Schriftwechsel: From Dr. L. Stiel, Köln, 18 June 1914.

¹⁷³ The constant effort made by zoo directors to distinguish their institutions as places of high culture persists today. Randy Malamud points out that this urge underpins the attempt by Bronx Zoo director, William Conway in the 1990s, to have the zoo’s name (along with that of the Central Park Zoo, the Queen’s Zoo and the Prospect Park Zoo) changed to refer to them as “Wildlife Conservation Parks” (Randy Malamud, *Reading Zoos: Representations of Animals and Captivity* [Washington Square, New York: New York University Press, 1998], 79, 81). Likewise, one of Conway’s predecessors, William T. Hornaday, preferred the name “New York Zoological Park” over the “odious nickname”, the “Bronx Zoo” (Hanson, 29-30).

¹⁷⁴ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, 7.

(theater, concerts, scientific collections, museums), non-material.”¹⁷⁵ Cologne Zoo Director Dr. Wunderlich made a similar equation by describing how the growing interest in natural history and the influence of Darwinism had “. . . a deep-reaching influence on the intellectual life of the Civilized Peoples [*Geistesleben der Kulturvölker*] . . .”.¹⁷⁶ In this way, zoo administrators characterized their institution as synonymous with advanced, civilized society.

Still, although the message that the zoo was intended for education, not entertainment, was a frequent theme it was one that often lacked veracity, for from the outset neither the Hamburg nor the Cologne Zoo founders had envisioned the zoo’s role as strictly scientific. In fact, the mandates of both zoos were surprisingly similar. The statutes of the Cologne Zoo expressed its mission to be:

- a. to advance the knowledge of Natural Science, especially zoology and botany;
- b. for holding festivities, as well as suitable place for gatherings of diverse kinds of amusements.¹⁷⁷

Likewise, the Hamburg Zoological Garden was established “for the study of nature, especially that of animals, and for the recreation and education of the people.”¹⁷⁸

There were practical reasons for this dual mandate that sought to cultivate a lively social scene alongside the scientific aims of the zoo. One reason was financial. In a 1911 address to the *Verein für Volksbildung Köln-Nippes* on “The

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 1-2.

¹⁷⁶ HASK 1010-32, Zeitungsartikel: Ludwig Wunderlich, “Die Bedeutung des Zoologischen Gartens für die Volksbildung,” *Stadt Anzeiger*, 19 March 1911.

¹⁷⁷ HASK 950-2-3, Statuten den Zoologischer Garten, A.G.: 21 Feb. 1859.

¹⁷⁸ Reichenbach in *New Worlds, New Animals*, 52.

Significance of the Zoological Garden for Public Education,” the Director of the Cologne Zoo, Dr. Wunderlich, asserted that the high cost of running a zoo “. . . forced zoological gardens to also devote their attention to pleasure through the building of great halls and restaurants, through concerts and other organizations, in order to draw in visitors, so as to gain new means for the upkeep and expansion of their zoological departments. That, however, these always exercise . . . [illegible] the power of main attractions, proves the great demand that dominates on all Sundays and especially on the so-called cheap Sundays.”¹⁷⁹

Moreover, the popularity of the zoo as a recreational establishment spoke to the need identified by the “June 14, 1858 Sitting for the Cologne Police Commission,” which examined the proposal to build a zoo. As the committee’s report explained, “The administration reports that, as everybody knows, the City of Cologne possesses few things, which are intended to offer entertainment to citizens”¹⁸⁰

Indeed, it was fairly clear that the zoo itself was intended specifically to appeal to the values and needs of middle-class citizens. In arguing in favour of granting city land to the Hamburg Zoological Society, Senator W. Marr articulated the zoo’s role in the “promotion of popular scientific goals.”¹⁸¹ More pointedly, Garthe contended that “The businessman at the counter, at the desk or other such profession that keeps him sealed in behind four walls, is not in a

¹⁷⁹ He also added that zoos could not focus solely on their scientific role, because unlike botanical gardens, zoos did not enjoy the financial support of the city or the state (HASK 1010-32: Wunderlich).

¹⁸⁰ HASK 608-74, Zoo, 1857-1905: “Sitzung der Commission für Polizei-Angelegenheiten zu Köln am 14. Juni 1858,” 5.

¹⁸¹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Richter, “Geschichte,” no. 11.

position to roam across mountains, fields, forests and marshes in order to delight in seeing them. At the end of the day's burdens and troubles, he is happy if he can simply go out into the open air and if he can refresh his tired eyes on the pure misty air, the dark green of the distant forests [and] the silver reflection of the reed encircled lakes."¹⁸²

To be sure, the difficult urban existence of the middle class, far removed from nature, was a frequent concern. Accordingly, as the above-mentioned story of the father and son who visited the Cologne Zoo ends, the pair make their way home and the father reflects on the day. The boat that carries them is sailing down the river, away from the pleasure of the zoo and towards the city. The father laments, "But a quiet mourning draws across my mind, while I think about the soft, good and in-beauty-rejoicing heart of my little man and on the rich, pitiless prose of life and of humanity – on the hatred of existence – that from the shore and out of the big city rings out, ever more clearly, over to me."¹⁸³ Thus, the story contrasts the blissfully innocent child and the pleasures of a day at the zoo with the bitter, adult existence of the city.¹⁸⁴

Similarly, Hamburg's *Zoologische Garten-Anzeiger* portrayed urban dwellers, especially the middle class, as needing to rejuvenate themselves through nature. In the 1880 article, "The Exotic Caged-Bird Hobby," Dr. Karl Ruß argued:

The striving to be blessed with any kind of enjoyment of nature, is hidden within the educated as with the uneducated, and this appears to be especially true, the more that the working person is buried in their

¹⁸² HASK 608-74 Zoo (1857-1905): "Prospectus", 15-16.

¹⁸³ HASK 950-243 Zeitungsausschnitte: Ritter.

¹⁸⁴ Note that this formulation reproduces the association discussed in Chapter 1, in which a close proximity to nature was identified with a childlike and uncivilized state. In contrast, modern civilization is regarded as developmentally mature.

profession or business, in material acquisitions or in persuing ideals. But whoever is chained so much to his occupation that he can never or only, at most, seldom, get out certainly seeks to create himself a substitute through any kind of natural objects. And there we have an explanation for the widespread hobbies with plants, birds, amphibians, small or large orangeries, pet birds, aquariums, vivariums and all the rest of the like. If we now maintain the idea that such hobbies once had their justification, they now hold a certain intrinsic appeal for every educated person, to observe them [plants and animals] from all aspects.¹⁸⁵

This theme of middle class separation from and longing for nature also demonstrated itself in other ways. Another *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* article appearing that same year, “A Round-trip Ticket: A Word of Admonishment for the Rusty Big City Dweller,” described a ten day round-trip holiday for 7.40 Marks from Hamburg through the surrounding east Holstein area. Clearly, the trip was aimed at people of means and a certain amount of leisure time, although not those who were extravagantly wealthy or completely free of the need to work. The travelogue described “Everywhere forest and water, everywhere mountain and valley, green in every shade, a paradise for the big city person accustomed to dust and grey walls.”¹⁸⁶

Still, as with the zoo itself, this brief sojourn into nature did not actually entail living close to nature or ‘going natural.’ The article concludes by describing the affordable pleasures of the Hotel Gremsmühlen, where “a room with two

¹⁸⁵ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Dr. Karl Ruß, “Die Liebhaberei für fremländische Stubenvögel,” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 13 [July 1880]). Certainly Ruß regards a longing for nature to be innate within all classes of society. However, his emphasis on hobbies and “every educated person” reveals his view that the better classes tended to labour more indoors. Of course, factory workers also laboured indoors, but Ruß’s association of the collection of flora and fauna with *Bildung* suggests his view that there was a class of people that worked near nature (the working class) and another class that presided over nature through its collection and study.

¹⁸⁶ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Ein Rundreisebillet. Ein Mahnwort für den eingerosteten Großstädter.” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 15 (August 1880).

beds, a beef steak with all the trimming for two people, as well as tea three times and plenty of bread, costs 8.90 M[arks] all inclusive – so, not too much, when one accepts that the hotel combines all the comforts and all the elegance of all the big city establishments of its kind, into one.”¹⁸⁷ Likewise, members of the middle class who sought respite from city life, but yet still wished to enjoy its comforts, could readily satisfy this paradoxical demand at the zoological garden with its amicable blend of refined *Gesellschaft*, such as musical concerts and fine dining, in a natural setting.

Fittingly, in arguing that the zoo and its social attractions were an antidote to urbanization and the decline of nature, Dr. Vosseler of the Hamburg Zoo asserted:

Even more seldom, one comes across an appropriate recognition of the influence of such a creation for the whole of the population as a counterweight against the disadvantages of city life. . . . It [the zoo] is the only centrally located park in the rising sea of houses that offers citizens entertainment and diversion through its scenic beauties – the enjoyment of nature and recreation, through its tasteful presentations such as concerts, displays, light shows, etc. – where young and old can at any time take a walk in the open air to keep their distance from the noise of the street.¹⁸⁸

Thus, while Vosseler and others reasoned that the solution to some of the stresses of modern life was, in Garthe’s words, to gather every kind of animal from all the world’s different habitats and environments “into one spot” into a zoo,¹⁸⁹ the nature assembled there was intended to be more of a refreshing and pleasantly

¹⁸⁷ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Ein Rundreisebillet. Ein Mahnwort für den eingerosteten Großstädter,” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 15 (August 1880).

¹⁸⁸ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p.

¹⁸⁹ HASK 608-74, Zoo (1857-1905): “Prospectus”, 16.

cultivated classroom and park rather than an answer to Rousseau's call to go 'back to nature'.

Yet in seeking to encounter nature from this "civilized" stance, German *Bürger* were able to draw a line between themselves and the natural world. The very contrast between nature and the accoutrements of a comfortable middle-class lifestyle highlighted their bourgeois difference from the natural world and their identification with modern European civilization.¹⁹⁰ Although one might enjoy fresh air and green trees, to be otherwise too close to nature would imply a state of primitiveness not befitting a member of modern German society.

Indeed, whether at a hotel or at the zoo, by wishing to enjoy and experience nature while still removed from its roughness, middle-class Germans revealed a desire to civilize and subdue the natural world. In establishing a scientific demeanour, a fine restaurant, indoor and outdoor concert areas, colourfully illuminated water fountains and lit pathways among caged representatives of the animal kingdom, the zoo showed how the imposition of so-called civilization could make nature pleasant, comfortable and tame.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ Harriet Ritvo makes a similar point (Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 217-218).

¹⁹¹ This theme will be further examined in Chapter 4. The combination of "nature" subdued by "Kultur" was also manifested in the women's fashion industry, which turned the raw materials taken from animals' bodies into *haute couture*. For example, an article from the *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* on parrots described the use of feathers taken from parrots in Neu Guinea: "Whereas through the progress of Culture the feather work of the so-called savages is, at least in America, ever more displaced, in recent time, the all-powerful fashion [industry] has known how to make itself useful in that our ladies wear colourful feather bushes on their hats . . . However, as with the Indians, the feather industry, which incidentally was an essential one, has by and by disappeared, as will also, to the advantage of ornithology, the feather mania of our ladies reach its end (StAHH A 585-157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Eugen Richter, "Unsere Schwätzer in Zoologischen Garten. (Fortsetzung)." *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 24 [September 1880]). Thus, when the fashion industry ceased to "civilize" the body parts of birds, ornithologists would do so through their application of science to the birds.

However, while on the one hand the zoo was characterized as a remedy for the scourges of modern life, it was, on the other hand, the process of modernization that had actually given rise to the middle class. Therefore, a state of tension existed whereby the middle-class reality depended upon the rise of capitalism, urbanization and the commodification of labour, but at the same time the conditions of this modern life could be difficult to bear. In this context, the zoo proved to be both the intersection and the remedy for this tension. Within the zoo, German *Bürger* could retreat to an environment that both contradicted and upheld modernity, while at the same time the zoo maintained and demonstrated their social status.

Given this context it is not surprising that the rise of zoos was seen as more than just the development of a new pastime; it was linked explicitly to modernity itself. For instance, Dr. Vosseler argued that through the zoological garden, “Closeness to the living environment roots humans to their native soil, awakens and maintains the sense of home (*Heimatsinn*), the love of nature and her creatures, as the best counterbalance against the social harm of modern life.”¹⁹²

Indeed, Vosseler regarded the zoological garden as part of a new epoch inextricably associated with progress and development. In his recollection, “The time of the founding [of zoos] falls in the years of great progress in the descriptive natural sciences in the middle of the previous century, when Darwin, Brehm and other greats asserted their deep reaching influence on zoology and biology and the desire to extend knowledge of living beings led to the foundation of zoos in other

¹⁹² StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1. Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p. Note that there is also an implicit suggestion that zoos foster national identities.

big cities (Berlin, Cologne, Vienna, Stuttgart).¹⁹³ Likewise, the Cologne Zoo's

Dr. Wunderlich explained in a public lecture:

Since the publication of Alexander von Humboldt's *Kosmos* and the controversies that went on from there, an extraordinary fondness for studies of natural science made itself felt in the wider public, . . . then began the time that a new worldview was developed on a natural scientific foundation. Through it, the neglected study of natural science, especially zoology, suggested itself to followers and opponents of the new teaching, as the modern human saw it as necessary to take a position on the important questions thrown open by Darwin's theory.¹⁹⁴

In this way, the emergence of natural science, especially zoology and its public representative, the zoological garden, was characterized as part of a modern, new phase in German history, marked not just by extraordinary changes, such as urbanization, but also by a dramatic discursive shift, sparked particularly by Darwinism and a widespread spirit of scientific inquiry.

Accordingly, since proponents saw the zoo as a manifestation of a new era of German historical development, they also sought to differentiate it from its predecessor, the menagerie.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, while these advocates tried to claim that zoos had the scientific status of museums, they also sought to elevate it to an even higher role in furthering the knowledge of natural science.

Already in 1858, Garthe had adopted these positions. In his "Prospectus" he argued that:

Some of our esteemed readers do not, perhaps, regard the foundation of a zoological garden with the desired goodwill and fondness and they object that the numerous museums are completely adequate for acquainting us with nature, and that what is missing is complemented by the menageries

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ HASK 1010-32, Zeitungsartikel: Wunderlich.

¹⁹⁵ Indeed, Elizabeth Hanson, a historian of American zoos, has pointed out the tendency of zoo historians and stakeholders in our own era to characterize the history of zoos as one of continual progress through three phases, menagerie, zoological garden and conservation park and continuing inevitably upward to the future (Hanson, 163).

that are shown now and then. We would agree with you if we were able to accept that an acquaintance with the outer form, as a museum, in part, represents it, is a sufficient knowledge of nature. This is, however, not so. One could just as well argue that the possession of a portrait of a beloved person could replace the real [person]! If one wants to object that travelling menageries could be regarded as a substitute for the life, which is missing from the museums, so can these only be judged in a very limited scope, as they are only available to the observer for that moment and can never be sufficiently comprehensive and substantial; they allow only for the sight of the animal in a narrow space.¹⁹⁶

More than 50 years later, in 1911, Cologne Zoo Director Dr. Wunderlich still advanced the same argument stating:

With the opportunity to learn, the thirst for knowledge also grew and steps were taken towards the foundation of numerous natural history museums in which the zoological collections formed an especially outstanding department. But one did not just want to study the animal world based on stuffed hides. The travelling menageries, which laid their main emphasis on the training of animals, also did not satisfy the ever increasing demands and so, in the important cities of Germany, efforts grew to establish zoological gardens aimed at the examples of Paris and London (that were also followed in Amsterdam in 1838).¹⁹⁷

That same year, 1911, Hamburg Zoo Director Vosseler also argued along similar lines, disputing the image of the zoo as a facility dedicated to mere entertainment, while asserting its scientific importance. "In wider circles our institute counted as little more than a place for entertainment," he complained.¹⁹⁸ He then went on to advance the role of the zoo by making the case that "Education and culture are not only based on seeing, but also understanding, observing, deducing. The impression of living, moving and active animals is

¹⁹⁶ HASK 608-74, Zoo (1857-1905): "Prospectus", 13-14. Garthe's argument that the menagerie only permitted the observation of animals in confined quarters is ironic since the cages in zoos at that time, although bigger than those of a menagerie, were hardly ample. By contrast, the amount of open park space given to zoo visitors was, relatively speaking, much greater. In this way, it was largely the visitor who was no longer confined to close quarters.

¹⁹⁷ HASK 1010-32, Zeitungsartikel: Wunderlich, "Die Bedeutung des Zoologischen Gartens für die Volksbildung," *Köln Stadt-Anzeiger* 19 March 1911.

¹⁹⁸ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p.

replaced neither through museum objects, nor illustrations, but is, instead, only to be won in a zoological garden.”¹⁹⁹

This concern to elevate the role of zoos was perhaps ironically the result of the dual mandate that committed the Cologne and Hamburg institutions to both education and entertainment. Despite this appeal to both sets of bourgeois values, the social aspect of zoos clearly risked trivializing the institution, hence, while still seeking to maintain the recreational portion of their mandate, zoo officials also attempted to play-up the importance of their zoological attractions in promoting *Bildung*.

Indeed, this dilemma speaks to the emergence of middle-class anxieties about proletarian deportment at German *Völkerschauen* documented by the historian Sierra Bruckner. Bruckner argues that the perceived tendency towards *Schaulust* (sensation-seeking) and undisciplined behaviour in general, was seen to indicate the decline in the cultural capital of the *Bildungsbürgertum*. She suggests that the *Völkerschauen*'s nexus of entertainment and education, commercialism and science were at the root of this discourse.²⁰⁰ Likewise, as we have seen, the Cologne and Hamburg Zoological Gardens each to varying degrees embodied the same set of paradoxes and tensions.

Yet, while currently the dominant narrative of zoo history suggests that the rise of public zoos in the nineteenth century epitomized the spread of public education and science, this requires qualification. Certainly zoos tried to instruct visitors about animals through their presentation of taxonomies and descriptions

¹⁹⁹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p.

²⁰⁰ Bruckner, 129-130.

in the zoo *Führer*. Newspaper articles featuring various zoo residents also offered readers information about all kinds of foreign and wild animals, possibly even exciting enough interest to prompt a visit or letter, such as that of the eye doctor Stiel, to the zoo for further education. In addition, zoo founders and administrators had clearly indicated their desire to forge connections with other scientific institutions. However, the extent to which patrons broadened their knowledge of wild animals as a result of their excursions remains to be seen.

As I have shown, the social attractions offered at the zoo played a prominent role in drawing visitors and subscriptions. All the same, it is apparent that concerts, restaurants and other such highlights were, as Dr. Vosseler lamented, necessary to sustain the zoo's livelihood. This suggests that the enlightenment of the public did not simply flow unidirectionally into the empty and waiting minds of the masses. The public which visited the zoo, though not exclusively limited to any single or homogeneous class, actively decided the ways in which they would participate in the experience through a give-and-take relationship that helped to shape the institution of the zoo.

Finally, to summarize and then conclude, the constant interplay of paradoxes and tensions was the very foundation of the zoo. As the comments of Garthe and others reveal, the middle classes saw themselves as having a special need for respite from the modern life with which they were equated. The zoo was intended to fulfill just that need. The "natural world" of the zoo, with its trees, ponds and caged animals offered visitors the chance to escape the offices and crowded buildings of the city. Yet, although the zoo was supposed to ameliorate

the absence of nature in modern civilization, it also suggested a division between “nature” and “Culture” – even if the subjugation of flora and fauna in the park-like setting of the zoo showed that the wildest creatures of nature could be tamed and made fit for civilized life [contained and rendered harmless to civilization]. If the “natural” setting of the zoo, with its restaurants, concerts and so on was more than a little contrived this only helped to emphasize the status of the visitor as too civilized and too far removed from nature to experience it in its rawest state. In other words, nature at the zoo at once served as a remedy for and a reinforcer of middle class identities.

For, as we have seen, this ironic situation was emblematic of the *Bürgertum*. While zoos were equated with the growth and strength of cities and suggested the presence of a robust bourgeoisie, they also represented respite from the *bürgerliche* existence. At the same time, the zoo embodied the hallmarks of middle-class status, such as leisure, *Bildung* and imbrication in the capitalist economy as its agents and consumers. Yet in themselves these things did not constitute the *Bürgertum*. Instead, they were the characteristics that signaled a social status that was seen as the height of human social development. This, in turn, spoke to an overarching middle-class sense that their social ascendancy was the manifestation of a new epoch characterized by a level of civilization that was completely alienated from nature and all it represented. Thus, the very paradoxes of the zoo, its competing demands for *Bildung* and recreation, nature and civilization were, in fact, the embodiment of the *Bürgertum* itself.

The Cologne and Hamburg zoos, self-consciously created by and for the middle classes, operated both as a forum for and an extension of *bürgerliche* identities. Although the zoo was not the exclusive domain of the middle classes, it provided a space in which its members could gather and build collective identities through a display of civilized bourgeois lifestyles that emphasized their distance from nature, whether that meant merely strolling through the zoo grounds and enjoying the animals and open air, carefully studying the zoo guidebook or dining and attending concerts.

Clearly, the self-perception of the middle classes, namely that they represented a new historical era, does not diverge from the dominant narrative of zoos, which sees the emergence of public zoos as a historical turning-point. However, as I have shown, the suggestion that zoos represented the progress of democratic ideals that are typically (and perhaps erroneously) equated with the rise of the *Bürgertum* is much less certain. Still, although zoos in Germany emerged in a number of different ways, including the inheritance of aristocratic animal collections as in Berlin, and through the efforts of local philanthropists in Hamburg and Cologne, it seems clear that once they were established zoos did serve as an expression of middle-class identities. As Dr. Garthe declared, “That which has been created is also my work”.²⁰¹

Yet for all that, the impact of this work was never exclusively confined to the middle classes. Instead, the interactions that took place at the zoo influenced the kinds of knowledge that was produced about *all* of its visitors. It also extended

²⁰¹ HASK 950-1-1, Gründung der Zoologischen Garten. A.G. (1857-186): D. Garthe, “Einrichtung eines zoologischen Gartens in der Umgebung von Köln,” *Kölnische Zeitung*, no. 223, Beilage (13 August 1857).

knowledge about the animals in the exhibits themselves; for as much as zoos were about being seen, they were also about seeing.

Part II:
Human Animals?

Chapter 3: Fixing Identities at the Hamburg Zoo¹

“It was a beautiful summer morning when Karl and Wilhelm, two boys of the ages 10 and 12 years, walked at the side of their beloved father towards the city. The boys were full of joy and pleasure as their father had promised them a visit to the famous zoo, there, in that very place. . . . They had only just entered through the beautiful pergola at the zoological garden . . .” when they were met by the “proud ruler of the animals,” the lion, to whose growls they were immediately drawn. As the story continues, the author briefly describes his impressions of the lions before the trio moves hastily on to the next cage, that of the “bloodthirsty tiger.” Next, they move quickly to “the polar bears, the most dangerous predator[s] of the high North” and they continue on until eventually the father and sons conclude their swift tour of the zoo, bringing the account of their zoological excursion to a close with a description of a pelican, whose “exceptionally long beak” possessed “a skin sack for the accommodation of caught fish”.²

In this short illustrated book, *A Walk through the Zoological Garden (Gang durch den zoologischen Garten)*, Ernst Treuberg recounts in pictures, prose and verse, a family outing to an unnamed German zoo. As seemingly personalized as the book is in reproducing the trio’s journey through and impressions of the zoo, the book is surprisingly generic in both its linear approach and its reductive

¹ A version of this chapter has been published: Angeles Espinaco-Virseda, “One of Every Type: Collection, Description and the Production of the Generic Animal at the Hamburg Zoological Garden, 1863-1911.” *Brock Review* 12, no. 1 (2011): 1-20.

<http://www.brocku.ca/brockreview/index.php/brockreview/article/view/328>

² Ernst Treuberg, “Gang durch den Zoologischen Garten,” (no publishing information, c. 1900), n.p. (Author’s collection).

and essentialized representation of the animal inhabitants.³ Indeed, in this sense Treuberg's account resembled a *Guide through the Zoological Garden of Hamburg (Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg)*.

Consistently, Hamburg Zoological Garden guidebooks encouraged a systematic approach to viewing animals by following a prescribed route through the zoo during which salient characteristics of each animal were pointed out.⁴ This resembled popular German approaches to natural history in the nineteenth century. Friends of Nature associations and the activities of civic zoologists not only bridged the popular and scientific worlds of natural history, but imbued nature with social and ethical meanings. These approaches reflected and reinforced the notion that the systematic mapping, cataloguing and analysis of nature could make it better understood.

In an attempt to educate visitors, Hamburg Zoo directors between 1863 and 1911 used varying degrees of anthropomorphism and factual description in their handbooks and other literature. Yet the guidebooks also reflected civic zoological tendencies that combined an emphasis on taxonomy and anatomy with practical knowledge about animals and a broadly environmentalist concern. Zoo descriptions of captive foreign and wild animals included a range of physical and psychological characterizations as well as information about the animal's usefulness or receptiveness to being tamed. As a result, animals were objectified

³ The book is divided into two parts. The first part consists of a series of poems illustrated by colourful drawings of the relevant animals, presented in the same order as is recounted in the second part of the book in which the author uses a third person narrative to describe the father's journey with the two boys.

⁴ Harriet Ritvo has also noted that English zoo guidebooks prescribed a linear route through the zoo (Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and other Creatures in the Victorian Age* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987], 218).

and reduced to biologically determined creatures whose identities were fixed and interchangeable.

At the same time, the civic zoological emphasis on collection and conservation generated tensions similar to those reflected in the anthropological *Typensammlung* (Collection of Types). Implicit in this approach was that the natural world was something separate from German society, even as foreign and domestic animals were seemingly incorporated into an artificial German landscape. In effect, the zoo provided a liminal space which mediated between animals, as representatives of the natural world, and civilized German zoo visitors. Paradoxically, although the knowledge produced by the zoo informed visitors' – and perhaps even Treuberg's – perceptions of the animals there, ultimately it did not accurately reflect the condition of wild animals.

This examination of the Hamburg Zoological Garden will roughly cover four sections focusing on the creation and growth of the Hamburg Zoo; volunteer nature associations and civic zoology and their representation in the Hamburg guidebooks; the objectification and commodification of animals in the guidebooks; and ideas about the rationale for collection, which were shared by the zoo and in anthropology. I begin by providing a short overview of the basic development of the zoo's holdings and physical setting at the time of its opening in 1863. I then briefly discuss the activities of nineteenth-century nature associations such as the Friends of Nature and more extensively, civic zoology. We will then see that the basic characteristics of civic zoology are exemplified in Brehm's guidebooks, particularly the emphasis on animals' utility and affinity for

humans. A broader examination of the way in which the guidebooks of Brehm, Bolau and Vosseler commodified and objectified animals in both words and images will follow, although some attention will also be given to the small newspaper, the *Zoological Garden Reporter* (*Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*), and the concert magazine the *The Zoological Garden in Hamburg* (*Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*).⁵ Next, I will turn my attention to animal collection at the Hamburg Zoo and its role in fixing, essentializing and generically standardizing animal identities into representative “types.” This treatment parallels that of the images of indigenous peoples in the Godeffroy literature discussed in Chapter One, as well as the motivations for collection as a means of preserving/conserving indigenous cultures and animal species. Finally, this chapter will show how the Hamburg Zoological Garden’s self-proclaimed role as an agent of conservation revealed its position as a liminal space existing between nature and culture.⁶ In this space, it will become clear, animals existed much like cultural artifacts divorced from their original context. Their existence and the identities ascribed to

⁵ A fourth publication, the book *Bilder und Skizzen aus dem Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* (*Pictures and Sketches out of the Hamburg Zoological Garden*) by R. L. Brehm (Hamburg: M. H. W. Lühsen, 1865), also showcased and described the zoo’s inhabitants for both a popular and a specialist audience. However, my focus in this paper is limited to materials that likely accompanied the zoo visitor on his/her excursion and which therefore most directly structured and shaped the zoo experience. As suggested in the article’s prologue above, zoo handbooks played a most important role in informing the visitor’s perceptions. Guidebooks advised the best route and approach to systematically viewing the animals and were intended to be used at the time of the visit. Similarly, the magazine, *The Zoological Garden in Hamburg*, provided the zoo’s concert listings, making it helpful to have in-hand, but it also provided articles related to its exhibits. Furthermore, the magazine and the handbooks were relatively inexpensive and available for purchase at the zoo. In 1891, the handbook cost 30 Pfg. The magazine, of which copies are available for the years 1904-1907, cost 10 Pfg. The zoo newspaper, the *Zoological Garden Reporter*, for which some copies from the year 1880 are available, was free of charge and was therefore available to all zoo patrons. Clearly, in contrast to the book, which would have been much more expensive and was chiefly intended for the regular zoo visitor (*Ibid.*, VI), the other three publications were more broadly accessible and linked to visitors’ more immediate and perhaps, only, experience of the zoo.

⁶ For example, this location is illustrated by the way in which the zoo was a venue for the both the display of wild animals and for the Kultur of the symphony orchestra.

them as captives in the zoo were only a simplified and incomplete reflection of their life in the wild.

I now begin with a short examination of the early development of the Hamburg Zoological Garden. In its first years, the Hamburg Zoo was a relatively modest affair. A handbook from 1863 listed the zoo's occupants as consisting of many species with counterparts native to Europe, including elk and other varieties of deer and ungulates;⁷ predatory birds such as falcons, eagles and owls; squirrels; and water birds including pelicans and various types of geese and gulls. The most foreign or exotic animals were the wombat of Australia; the caribou and bison found in the "Buffalo House"; a tapir and a capybara from South America; an emu from "New Holland" (Australia); a silver lion and a puma donated by the King of Hanover; a Canadian lynx; kangaroos; parrots; seals; llamas and alpacas. The zoo also possessed a camel, a dromedary and three types of bears, a "Landbär" (Kodiak Bear), "the baribal, or American black bear" and a polar bear.⁸ There were also plans for a wolf enclosure, which was completed by 1865.⁹ In addition, the zoo had facilities for the future acquisition of elephants, hippos and rhinos.¹⁰ Nevertheless, with the exceptions of the bears, the cats, the camel, the dromedary and the bison, the zoo initially lacked most of the "charismatic megafauna" described by the modern zoo director and zoo critic David Hancocks.

⁷ In German, the term "Elch" translates as "elk" but refers to moose. Since "elk", also called "Wapiti," denotes a somewhat different animal for English speakers, I translate "Elch" as "moose." Both are members of the deer family.

⁸ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: A. E. Brehm, *Verzeichniss der lebenden Thiere des Zoologischen Gartens. Bemerkungen für die Besucher* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1863), 10-75.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

These included giraffes, elephants, zebras, hippos, rhinos and other large mammals that comprise the standard for most zoos,¹¹ including Treuberg's zoo.

Yet the Hamburg Zoo did not remain small for very long. Only a half year after opening, the zoo had acquired 300 species. The upward trend continued. At the height of the zoo's success, just prior to World War I, examples of 1,000 different species could be found within the zoo's collection of 4,000 animals. The zoo also acquired additional "megafauna," including a Cape lion and a Burchell's zebra, both of which, as it turns out, were the last examples of their subspecies before they became extinct in 1888 and 1915 respectively. The zoo also achieved other, less dubious distinctions. In April 1864, just short of a year after the zoo's opening, the Hamburg Zoological Garden provided Germany with its first public aquarium. As a result, until approximately 1883, the zoo had an animal collection that was unsurpassed in its variety and which then became second only to the Berlin Zoo.¹²

Similarly, the growth of the Hamburg Zoo continued in other areas. The original grounds, largely completed by 1862, were pleasant, but there were still many improvements to be made. In the first years after the opening of the zoo, the open-air concert area was "barren, it lacked any trees, any shade".¹³ However, by 1868, a gift of Linden trees, presented to the Zoological Society by the Chief Justice-President Dr. Eduard Schwartze, did much to beautify the grounds, soon

¹¹ David Hancocks, *A Different Nature: The Paradoxical World of Zoos and Their Uncertain Future* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 165.

¹² Herman Reichenbach, "A Tale of Two Zoos," in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century* eds. R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 52-53.

¹³ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Heinrich Bolau, "Unser Konzertplatz." *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 2 (1904), 2.

growing into a thick canopy. The concert area also had “a simple wooden music pavilion,” which was replaced in 1878 with a “beautiful gazebo for music” (*Musiktempel*) donated by the then-president of the Zoological Society, Herr Heinrich Freiherr von Ohlendorff.¹⁴ In addition, the death of the previous president, Ernst Freiherr von Merck in 1863, who had initiated the foundation of the zoo, prompted an 1864 decision by the Society’s General Assembly to authorize the building of a “Winter Building”, called Merck-Hall, containing a memorial bust of the departed president. At the same time, the Assembly also resolved to build a restaurant.¹⁵ Both buildings were to be adjacent to the concert area, but initially only the centre portion of the Merck-Hall, containing the monument, was constructed. The remainder of the building, the restaurant, was not completed until approximately 1900.¹⁶

Nevertheless, contemporary representations showing the new Zoological Garden’s neat paths, fenced outdoor enclosures, ponds, trees and occasional buildings, convey the pleasant feel of a typical German landscape (figure 15).¹⁷ The small buildings found within the animal enclosures tended to have traditional

¹⁴ Ibid., 2-3.

¹⁵ StAHH A585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: H. Donnerberg, “Zur Geschichte des Gartens,” in *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg. Eine kurze Beschreibung der in ihm zur Schau gestellten Thiere*, 8th ed., A. E. Brehm (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1865), VII-VIII.

¹⁶ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: H. Donnerberg, “Zur Geschichte des Gartens,” in *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg*, A. E. Brehm, 40th ed (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischer Gesellschaft, 1901), VII, map.

¹⁷ The property was later described by the Hamburg Zoo Director Dr. Julius Vosseler as “originally a large desert,” which “demanded considerable sacrifices of effort, time and expenses to work on and its cultivation” (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: J. Vosseler, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten in Hamburg* [Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1911], 2).” However, it is not clear how accurate this description was, since the zoo’s own accounts of the Senatorial debates about the transfer of the land to the Zoological Society refer to the presence of a public “swimming pond” on the property (StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Eugen Richter, “Geschichte des Zoologischen Gartens in Hamburg,” *Zoologischer Garten Anzeiger* no. 11 [July 1880]).

German facades of stucco, wood (*Fachwerk*) and roof thatching. Examples of this style include the “Moose House” and the “Deer House,”¹⁸ although this style was not limited to the confinement of native or non-predatory animals. The “Kangaroo House” (figure 16), the “Ostrich House” and “Predator Gallery” also included examples of this style.¹⁹ Less homey, although far from richly exotic, was the “Little Wombat House” (figure 17), which vaguely evoked a Renaissance style through its use of columns and a circular, corrugated roof peaked with a small, decorative sphere.²⁰ The zoo’s “Bear Kennel” simulated the appearance of a German castle or stone fortress. The building was described in the handbook as “until now, still one of the grandest buildings of our garden.”²¹

¹⁸ A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 1, 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19, 50. 52.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 56. This enclosure was made possible through donations from the president of the Zoological Society, Baron Ernst von Merck, who also donated the Fishotter Basin, and Senator Godeffroy, Consul Lieben and P. A. Schuldt (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 2-3). It seems to have been a common practice in Germany to confine bears to enclosures resembling castles. Both the Cologne and Berlin Zoos also had such enclosures (Klaus Klamman and Gunther Nogge, *Kölner Tierwelten* [Köln: Wienand Verlag, 2001], 120; Harro Strehlow, “Zoos and Aquariums of Berlin,” in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss [Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996], 65). Since the Berlin Zoo’s “bear castle” was one of its original buildings, it may be inferred that it was also the first of its kind in Germany. (For an illustration showing this enclosure in 1847, see Heinz-Georg Klös, Hans Frädriich and Ursual Klös, *Die Arche Noah an der Spree: 150 Jahre Zoologischer Garten Berlin. Eine tiergärtnerische Kulturgeschichte von 1844-1994* [Berlin: FAB Verlag, 1994], 59). Interestingly, the Jardín Zoológico de la Ciudad Buenos Aires, built around 1900, also had bears enclosed in a faux “German gothic castle” (Mullan and Marvin, 50). Obviously, though, the presence of this type of enclosure in a colonial setting among other so-called “exotic” enclosures gives the display an entirely different meaning than that represented in German zoos.



Figure 15. Hamburg Zoological Garden (*Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* [1865]).²²



Figure 16. Kangaroo House (*Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* [1865]).

²² StAHH A 585-159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Illustration by T. J. Zimmerman in A. Brehm, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg*, 8th ed. [Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1865], back cover illustration. Unfortunately the copyright holders for the images reproduced in Figures 15-26 and 28-29 could not be traced. The author would gladly receive any further information pertaining to these images.

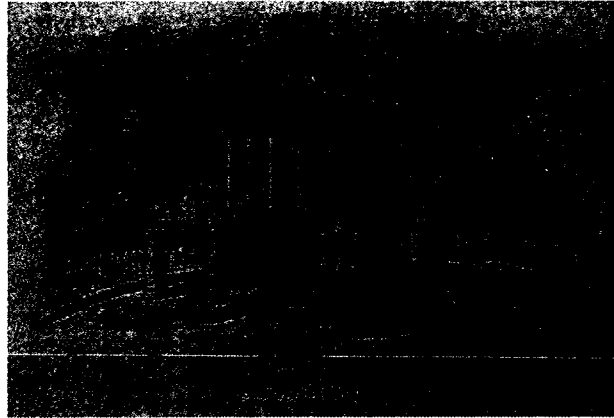


Figure 17. Wombat House (*Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* [1865]).

Alternatively, the exterior of the “Egyptian” styled “Wading Bird House” (later called the “Flamingo House”) featured several painted columns terminating at the top with a lotus motif; walls and a portico covered in Egyptian-themed paintings; and two small replicas of the sphinx crouched in front of the portico, or “Temple”, positioned where one would have expected to find stone lions in front of a neo-classically styled building.²³ In this way, the Flamingo House tried to correlate the theme of the enclosure with the Egyptian habitat of some of the wading birds that inhabited it. In a lengthy article largely discussing the various birds housed in that exhibit, Bolau ends with a brief discussion of architecture. “The flamingos have their home in the Zoological Garden together with the Egyptian Ibis and several other birds in one building that is, fittingly, a small reproduction of an Egyptian temple.” He then refers to “the Sphinx Boulevard”, the wall paintings decorated “to old Egyptian taste” and “the winged sun disc with

²³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 58; StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Heinrich Bolau, “Flamingos und Flamingohaus,” *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 4 (1904), 4. The zoo guidebook for 1911 also refers to – and shows – a newly completed “Straussenhaus” that appears to have been completed in an Art Nouveau/*Jugendstil* style, which in itself references the exotic. See StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 39-40.

the Egyptian cobra” above the door. Given the implied familiarity of their surroundings, Bolau concludes that “There our birds from the Red Sea and from the Nile must certainly be happy!”²⁴

Similarly, although less explicitly, an Ostrich House built many years later (circa 1911), boarded running birds and wading birds as well as some reptiles, amphibians and insects, which together seemed to evoke both the Orient and the natural forms suggested by its *Jugendstil* (art nouveau) architecture. In this way, these two buildings, the Flamingo and the Ostrich houses, indirectly referenced the geographic origins of some of the animals they sheltered, even if they did not actually refer to the animals’ natural habitat.

However, it should be added that, while attempting to mimic the ancient world, the architecture of both the Wombat House and the Egyptian Flamingo House – although not the Ostrich House built decades later – also resembled the classically influenced buildings, such as banks or museums, found in many contemporary German towns and cities. The actual architecture of the Flamingo House only suggested Egypt because of the ornamental details like the paintings and the replica sphinxes, rather than because of the explicit architectural style, which had columns and a portico. Otherwise, the structure of the buildings would not have appeared to be particularly “Egyptian.” Likewise, as I have pointed out, the Wombat house evoked Italian architecture. As a result, with the emphasis

²⁴ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Bolau, “Flamingos und Flamingohaus,” 5. This claim was, of course, ridiculous. Clearly, what the birds (whether of Egyptian origin or otherwise) would have most enjoyed about their surroundings was their access to the pond adjacent to the “Temple”. Although birds were sometimes housed within the flamingo house, the building was otherwise purely decorative in that visitors did not appear to have access to it (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 58).

being on *Fachwerk* (tudor style) and only secondarily on other vaguely classical or foreign architecture, for essentially the first forty years of the Hamburg Zoological Garden, the architecture of the animal enclosures largely evoked the domestic German landscape.

To be sure, the Hamburg Zoological Garden enclosures often attempted to place animals into a specifically German context, especially when zoo architects attempted to replicate the natural world. Enclosures such as the “Wolf’s lair”, “Chamois Mountain” and “the pond in front of the waterfall grotto”, which housed “marsh and water birds”, were all intended to convey a sense of authentic habitat, even if they were sometimes surrounded by visible metal fences.²⁵ Clearly, then, a walk through the early Hamburg Zoological Garden bore a greater resemblance to a journey through the German countryside, dotted with forests, farmhouses, castles and the grander buildings of the occasional city or town, than it did to the far-off places evoked by the richly exotic Berlin Zoo.²⁶

Certainly, this was in marked contrast to the magnificent exoticism of the Berlin Zoo. Under the directorship of Heinrich Bodinus, formerly director of the Cologne Zoo, the Berlin Zoo was transformed between 1869 and 1873 from “a park with few enclosures and scattered animal houses to an animal collection with spacious animal houses and numerous enclosures, new ponds, and an ever-growing restaurant with band stands.”²⁷ A grand Egyptian-themed enclosure in

²⁵ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer* 33, 65, 74.

²⁶ In contrast, to the Berlin Zoo, the Hamburg Zoo never achieved (and only weakly attempted) to capitalize on the popular fascination with the exotic. By the time the zoo closed its gates for the last time in 1929, it still had only its Ostrich House and Flamingo House as examples of the taste for “exotic” animal enclosures (Reichenbach, “Two Zoos,” 53). Moreover, the Flamingo House was not a later addition to the zoo. It had been there since at least 1865.

²⁷ Strehlow, 66-67.

Antwerp had likely influenced Bodinus' tastes in zoo architecture.²⁸ During this phase of the zoo's growth, he undertook the construction of a "mosque" for antelope, an Indian temple for pachyderms and a "Moorish" bird enclosure. One of Bodinus' successors, Ludwig Heck, also formerly of the Cologne Zoo, continued the exotic transformation of the Berlin Zoo. His tenure saw the addition of a marvelous Japanese-inspired house for wading birds in 1897 and a magnificent ostrich house resembling an Egyptian temple, a knock-off of the elephant house in Antwerp, was built in 1901. However, architects of the Berlin version worked closely with experts at the Berlin University to faithfully replicate the Egyptian hieroglyphs and paintings which embellished the exterior.²⁹ Although both the Cologne and Berlin zoos exhibited a trend towards the exoticization of their displays, the Berlin Zoo's architecture developed into the premier German example of this tendency.³⁰

In a discussion of zoo architecture at the Jardín Zoológico de la Ciudad Buenos Aires, built around 1900, the zoo scholars Bob Mullan and Garry Marvin describe the way in which zoo animals were often decontextualized and housed in enclosures intended to emphasize the strangeness of the animals and to evoke distant societies rather than natural habitats.³¹ Obviously the enclosures at the Hamburg Zoological Garden reified a different sensibility. Rather than giving visitors a symbolic "world tour" the German landscape of the zoo suggested the naturalization or domestication of the zoo's captives. So, for example, although

²⁸ Hancocks reports that the Egyptian House in Antwerp was a giraffe house (58).

²⁹ Strehlow, 66-68; Hancocks, 58.

³⁰ Hancocks, 57.

³¹ Bob Mullan and Garry Marvin, *Zoo Culture* 2nd ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press), 50.

the Ibis was originally native to Egypt the Hamburg Zoo's first director, Alfred Brehm, pointed out that these birds, though plentiful in Europe, were no longer found in their homeland.³² Moreover, as a kind of reservoir of animals the zoo offered an intermediate space into which wild animals could be incorporated into German society.

In addition, the act of moving through the zoo's ersatz landscape of ponds, hills and wooded areas in order to observe wildlife was in some respects reminiscent of the nature walks undertaken in the first half of the nineteenth century by "friends of nature" volunteer associations. In their original form, these walks were intended to contribute both to the *Bildung* and to the literal environmental mapping of the German states, particularly their insects, flora and geological features. Nature societies copiously produced guidebooks that visitors used systematically to undertake the study and experience of the natural wonders of a particular locality.³³ According to historian Denise Phillips, these guidebooks were "meant to help their successors navigate geographic territory in predictable ways." This "informed movement", she argues, ". . . counted as a valuable form of knowledge."³⁴

Similarly, zoo guidebooks prescribed particular routes through the zoo. The first handbooks published by the Hamburg Zoological Society opened with advice to visitors that an accompanying map of the grounds would assist in

³² StAHH A585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 59-62. Brehm did not clarify the reasons that the Ibis seems to have died-out in Egypt but had proliferated in Europe.

³³ Denise Phillips, "Friends of Nature: Urban Sociability and Regional Natural History in Dresden, 1800-1850," *Osiris* 18 (2003): 43-47.

³⁴ Phillips, 45-46. Phillips' assertion is part of a larger essay exploring the aims, activities, membership and political associations of the Isis Society, a civic natural history society in Dresden in approximately the 1840s.

ensuring that none of the zoo's attractions was overlooked.³⁵ To be sure, all guidebooks available up to and including the year 1911 contained maps showing the best route, clearly articulated through the use of directional arrows and the sequential numbering of each exhibit. The 1865 guidebook very explicitly advised zoogoers that "with reason, the path to tread is marked out with black lines, which are dotted at the points at which the visitor (*Beschauer*) must turn back." Nevertheless, this edition of the guidebook also allowed that not everyone was able to undertake a complete tour of the zoo. "For visitors who have little time and only wish to see certain animals, a table of contents of the sections is enclosed."³⁶ Yet, the zoo directors still endeavoured to direct the attention of visitors. In 1891, a handbook advised readers that "The **boldface** numbers identify animals of particular interest or rarity [original emphasis]."³⁷ Similarly, in 1911, visitors were advised that "A comparison of the nameplates on the cages, which are detailed according to state-of-the-art science, and the table of contents and the text of the guidebook, will make it easier to find particular species and genres."³⁸

However, it should be noted that the logic of the zoo's recommended route seemed to be guided by a variety of motives and ideas. Since its inception, some of the zoo's animals were grouped according to their habitat. For instance, wading birds were placed near a tributary of the zoo's ponds and a Wolf's Ravine provided a naturalistic outdoor setting for its occupants. Also, a house for wading

³⁵ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, "Vorbemerkung."

³⁶ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, "Vorbemerkung."

³⁷ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Heinrich Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1891), "Vorbemerkung."

³⁸ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, "Vorbemerkung."

birds was located near the so-called Waterfall Grotto. This suggests that part of the logic determining the placement of animals was driven by an attempt to arrange the animals somewhat naturally – that is, in the environments in which they might be found in nature. This approach also added authenticity to the visitor’s experience of the wild animals.

However, the placement of animals in the zoo also appears to have been constrained by space and the practical considerations of having visitors move easily and sequentially from one exhibit to the next. Once the exhibits were relatively permanently established by the building of a shelter, it was unlikely (though not impossible) to change locations. The sequence of the route did change as exhibits were added to the available spaces in the gardens, but obviously, it would have been costly to constantly demolish and rebuild or relocate the enclosures. As a result, if, as one might have expected from a modern, scientific zoo, there was any intention to literally walk visitors through any kind of a strong evolutionary narrative³⁹ – and from the outset, there did not appear to be one – then changes to the zoo’s collection would have impeded this.

Nevertheless, in keeping with its self-professed “scientific and public educational” role,⁴⁰ all the Hamburg Zoo handbooks, regardless of director or year of publication, did to some degree reflect a commitment to presenting and furthering knowledge of scientific classification systems. For example, the

³⁹ For more on display and the evolutionary narrative, see Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” *New Formations* no. 4 (Spring 1988): 87-93.

⁴⁰ StAHH, A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die wissenschaftliche und volksbildende Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens im Herzen der Großstadt. Nach einem Vortrag gehalten am 1. Mai 1911 im St. Georger Verein von 1874 von Prof. Dr. Vosseler* (Hamburg: Schröder & Jevé, 1911), n.p.

guidebooks composed by Bolau between 1891 and 1903 also indicated particular classificatory groupings, such as the “Family: Vulture” or the “Family: Falcon”.⁴¹ Indeed, the great number of birds held at the zoo offered opportunities to distinguish and classify animals. There were numerous bird enclosures throughout the garden, but at the most populated bird house visitors were advised that “We rank the numerous occupants of this house in systematic [taxonomical] order.”⁴² The animals were, for example, grouped under the heading “I. Parrots”, followed by a general description of their features, then followed by subgroupings such as “a. cockatoos” and “b. parakeets and long-tailed parrots” and these were then again broken down into additional sub-categories such as Macaws, Conures [= *Aratinga* Parakeets or *Keilschwanzsittiche*], Afro-Asian Ringnecked Parakeets [*Psittacula* or *Edelsittiche*], Brotos [*Brotogeris* Parakeets or *Schmall Schnabelsittiche*] and more.⁴³ Still, in its most minimal form, a commitment to taxonomy was seen in the use of each animal’s Latin name along side of the common name. This was the standard for every available guidebook published between 1863 and 1911.⁴⁴

As the Bolau example above suggests, individual animal displays were also often grouped according to their taxonomical or familial relationship, although, again, these groupings did not appear to follow each other in an explicit progressive or logical sequence. For instance, the zoo guide from 1863

⁴¹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten (1891): Bolau (1891), 6-7.

⁴² StAHH A585/159 Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten (1891): Bolau, 69.

⁴³ StAHH A585/159 Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten (1891): Bolau, 69-74.

⁴⁴ Note, however, that Brehm did not use scientific names when he referred to animals not held by the zoo. So, for instance, in discussing the utility and importance of two types of buzzard, for which he provides the Latin names, he does not give the scientific name of the Ibis to which he compares them (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 11).

shows that the first enclosure housed different varieties of moose, elk and deer together. However, although the zoo also had a second exhibit of members of the deer family it did not appear on the route until after the displays of predatory birds and the wombat enclosure.⁴⁵ That is, the zoo's two displays of members of the deer family (which were first and fourth on the designated route) were separated by exhibits of other, unrelated animals. By 1865, this sequence had been modified somewhat. By inserting one new exhibit and by simply modifying the directions on the map (rather than actually moving the enclosures), the order of the displays was changed so that the first three enclosures to be viewed featured deer and elk. These were followed by the obviously unrelated predatory bird display and the wombat house. The latter was, however, followed more appropriately by the kangaroo display.⁴⁶

Still, perhaps more than those of his predecessors, Dr. Julius Vosseler's 1911 guidebook tried to transcend the physical limitations of the zoo. To be sure, Vosseler asserted that even though "several well-defined groups such as, for example, the big cats, bears, cattle, aquatic and terrarium animals are distributed in distant enclosures (*Gelasse*), for reasons of best space utilization, and more often because of the different living conditions",⁴⁷ he nevertheless made clear that the animals should not simply be understood as a random collection. The fact that orderly disruptions had to be explained and excused indicates the importance of scientific principles of organization to the Hamburg zoo.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 9-27.

⁴⁶ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 1-20.

⁴⁷ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, "Vorbemerkung."

In an effort to make these principles more salient, Vosseler referred readers to the enclosures of different, but still related types of animals housed elsewhere in the zoo. For example, in his description of camels, which were housed with Togo ponies, dwarf ponies and dwarf zebus, Vosseler pointed out that the next closest relatives of the camels are the llamas, alpacas and guanacos and he indicated their locations in the zoo. Similarly, in the section on rodents, he pointed out the kangaroo houses, the beaver enclosures and other related animals.⁴⁸ This was an attempt to make the familial relationships between different varieties of animals more clear even if the relationship between some of the grouped animals, like the ponies, zebu and camels were unclear.⁴⁹ In this way, Vosseler insisted that the practicalities of animal care aside, the classificatory order of nature was to be borne in mind even when practical circumstances prevented it from being made fully manifest.

It should be noted that despite the lack of an explicit evolutionary narrative, with its basis in the physical relationship between species and subspecies, taxonomy was by implication concerned with the question of human and animal origins. As Vosseler declared, “The stock of such wild species that are to be seen as the progenitors of house pets is to be expanded.”⁵⁰ On occasion

⁴⁸ Ibid, 12, 22-23.

⁴⁹ Tony Bennett has argued that in the nineteenth century, museums shifted away from the eighteenth century tendency to display and group objects on isolated tables according to their external characteristics. Instead, he asserts that museum objects were inserted into historical contexts that highlighted succession and progress. In keeping with this, biological and geological objects could be contextualized within a narrative of evolutionary development (Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” *New Formations* 4 [Spring, 1988]: 88-90). However, as discussed above, the zoo did not strictly adhere to the new schema for display. Instead, there was an attempt to group animals taxonomically.

⁵⁰ StAHH A 585/157. Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Julius Vosseler, “Vorschläge zur Hebung des Zoologischen Gartens Hamburg” (Hamburg: no pub., 1909), 10.

Vosseler even indicated the ancestral origins of an animal, such as the white dingo, which was “apparently introduced and went feral in ancient times.”⁵¹ In Vosseler’s opinion, the zoological garden “will be in a position to deliver masses of study materials – that are now desired by outside universities for knowledge of forms and species, for the study of comparative anatomy, evolutionary history and biology – to teachers and students.”⁵² So, for the learned, the basic information contained in a brief catalogue entry could still speak to the question of animal and human genesis. In this way, the mere identification and classification of animals was a profoundly human-centred endeavour.

To be sure, this adherence to taxonomy was the dominant approach at the zoo even though, as Michel Foucault pointed out, there are myriad systems through which things can be ordered depending upon how they are understood and evaluated.⁵³ In this way, the Hamburg Zoo’s classificatory groupings suggested the primacy of animals’ biological and ancestral relationship to each other, rather than, say, their geographic or topographical relationship, as Carl Hagenbeck’s displays would do later.

Yet cracks in the zoo’s system still permitted a view of classificatory alternatives. For instance, in itself the existence of a “Predator’s Gallery” suggested that animals could be grouped in ways that did not reflect their ancestry. Still, the title of the exhibit was actually somewhat misleading in that, as

⁵¹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2: Vosseler, 39.

⁵² StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, 6.

⁵³ Foucault’s entire book is a comparison of the different discourses for ordering things in the Renaissance, the Classical Age (beginning about 1650) and the modern age of the early 19th century (Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* [London & New York: Routledge, 1989]).

the 1865 guidebook pointed out, it was exclusively occupied by cats.⁵⁴ That is, that the display did not elaborate on or contain other types of predators.⁵⁵ Even when a new “Predator’s Gallery” was later built it remained devoted to the display of cats. However, this demarcation did subtly suggest that in comparison to other predatory animals, cats were regarded as the archetypal killers.⁵⁶ Clearly, this suggests the overall lack of an overarching coherence – or at least that there were a variety of themes and motives behind the placement of some of the displays at the zoo and in the guidebook route in general.

On the other hand, if there is any evidence of a slight narrative logic it is perhaps that the endpoints of the tour, the restaurant, concert hall and aquarium epitomized German progress. As I have argued in Chapter 2, the restaurant and concert hall were well identified with bourgeois refinement and civilization. To this I would add that the building of an aquarium – Germany’s first – also

⁵⁴ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 50-51. Despite this broad categorization, the Predator’s Gallery mainly contained members of the cat family, such as the lion, jaguar, puma and tiger. It also frequently housed hyenas and very occasionally a wolf (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 55-58; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 50-51; StAHH A 585/159 Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 29-32; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Heinr. Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten*, 40th ed. (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1901), 41-44; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 23-24).

⁵⁵ Later, with the opening of a new “Predator’s Gallery,” the building would become a “Winter House,” meaning that the animals would be housed according to their physical need for warmth. In other words, the animals were assembled there according to the practical considerations of captivity. As a result, such disparate animals as the Dingo and the “Malaysian Sun Bear” shared the building (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau, 1891, 56). In 1863 a bear was also a resident of the gallery due to extenuating circumstances that prevented him from being housed with the other bears (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 56).

⁵⁶ In Brehm’s characterization they were “the most perfect and most terribly armed of all predators, powerful, agile, astute, fairly intelligent, cruel and bloodthirsty like no other mammal.” But Brehm also presented a qualified portrayal of their aggressiveness, clarifying that “unprovoked they seldom attack humans; provoked or cornered: always (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 51).” Still, by 1911, a “small predator’s house” did represent more diversity. Along with smaller cats, it displayed dogs, martens, civets and predatory animals such as “small bears” and raccoons (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 65-67).

represented a significant technical achievement. It was not unusual for the zoo trade journal, *The Zoological Garden*, to include articles dedicated to the technical aspects of aquaria.⁵⁷ In this way, a walk through the “nature” of the zoo was concluded with reference to these symbols of bourgeois culture and expertise – in a word, *Bildung* – and if the nature contained in the zoo was captive and even constrained, this only served to underscore not just the power, but also the ability of the bourgeoisie who were responsible for the zoo.

To be sure, if the zoo had wanted to illustrate an evolutionary continuum, it would have begun with the aquarium, since the first life forms are believed to have originated in the water. It would have also ended the zoological portion of the tour with a display of primates. Instead the zoological portion of the tour ended with the seal display. The aquarium was actually only listed after the restaurant and the concert hall.

Furthermore, additions to the zoo meant that in 1911, the guidebook followed its listing of the restaurant, concert hall and aquaria with a new item: the exhibition area where pony, donkey and camel rides were available to children and where *Völkerschauen* were also sometimes held.⁵⁸ Although, in fact, the Exhibition hall and outdoor exhibit area were not actually physically located in near proximity to the aquarium, it nevertheless followed it in the order of the route suggested by the guidebook. This may have simply been a matter of organizational priorities: visitors should first view the animals at the zoo before

⁵⁷ For random examples, see D. F. Weinland, “Unser neues Seewasser-Aquarium,” *Der Zoologische Garten*, no. 7 (July 1862): 149-151; D.F. Weinland, “Eine Luftversorgungs-Maschine für Aquarien,” *Der Zoologische Garten*, no. 8 (August 1862): 187-188; and F. Junge, “Zur Luftspeisung der Aquarien,” *Der Zoologische Garten*, no. 3 (March 1879): 72.

⁵⁸ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 70- 71.

making their way to the “extras.” Even so, this arrangement did seem, again, to highlight the position of the bourgeoisie. If their status was confirmed in the refinement and expertise of the concert place, restaurant and aquarium, the act of subordinating animals to the children who rode them and, even more, the articulation of the discourses of race played out in the ethnographic displays served to powerfully reinforce the status of the German zoo visitors.⁵⁹

On the other hand, the guidebooks’ tendency to point out the most remarkable specimens as well as the overall tone of the *Führer* is consistent with a different bourgeois trend associated with the second half of the nineteenth century referred to by the historian Lynn Nyhart as “civic zoology.”⁶⁰ In contrast to the more explicit research and theorizing associated with universities, naturalists working in cities without universities, such as Hamburg, tended to concentrate their efforts upon the development and taxonomic identification of specimen collections. This kind of research appealed to the lay public, whose interest in the natural world centred upon the local environment as well as on foreign or particularly unusual specimens.⁶¹

Popular writing and the building of public institutions stood at the core of civic zoology. Yet its practitioners also achieved some empirical and theoretical

⁵⁹ For more on these discourses see Hilke Thode-Arora, *Für fünfzig Pfennig um die Welt: Die Hagenbeckschen Völkerschauen* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1989). See also Chapter 3 in Nigel Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* (Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins, 2002), 81-142; Chapters 2 and 3 in Eric Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2008), 63-140; and Sierra A. Bruckner, “Spectacles of (Human) Nature: Commercial Ethnography between Leisure, Learning, and Schaulust,” in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 127-155.

⁶⁰ Lynn Nyhart, “Civic and Economic Zoology in Nineteenth-Century Germany: The ‘Living Communities’ of Karl Möbius,” *Isis* 89, no. 4 (Dec. 1998): 628.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 627-8.

scientific contributions, which were received with mixed reviews by academic contemporaries. Notably the civic zoologist Karl Möbius overcame remarkable social and educational barriers to gain not only a professorship at Kiel University, but also the directorship of the most important natural history museum in Germany at the time, the royal Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin.⁶²

The activities of the volunteer nature associations and civic zoologists reflected the idea that the best way to understand the natural world was through a systematic study of it. By implication, then, nature was something that was fixed. It need only be mapped and analysed in order to be understood. Moreover, as was especially clear in civic zoology, this went far beyond nature itself. The interest in practical knowledge and the environment had significance extending to the human-animal relationship. To study an animal was to learn about more than just anatomy, or classification; it was a way of knowing and understanding animals in relation to human aspirations, values and endeavours.

Certainly, the efforts of natural history enthusiasts and civic zoologists to identify and classify nature, not to mention the meanings given to the natural world through this process, were reminiscent of an 1837 hymn by Wilhelm Hey (1789-54). The song, which took its title from the opening verse, described not just the importance of counting and mapping nature, but also the centrality of naming, or identification, in determining existence and the nature of that existence:

Do you know how many little stars are fixed upon the blue firmament?
Do you know how many little clouds make their way far across the whole world?

⁶² Ibid., 608-9, 628.

God the lord has counted them,
So that He does not miss a single one, in the whole great number.

Do you know how many little mosquitoes play in the bright, blazing heat?
How many little fishes also cool themselves in the clear tide?
God the Lord called them with names,
So that they all came into being, so that they could now be so happy.⁶³

Indeed, as we will see throughout this chapter, the three successive directors of the Hamburg Zoological Garden played a similar role in presiding over the zoo and its publications. In fact, many of the zoo's early key players were well-known in Hamburg for their civic zoological work. For example, Heinrich Adolph Meyer, who succeeded the Baron Ernst von Merck as President of the zoo's administrative board, was a highly successful manufacturer, who financially and intellectually supported the scientific research of Karl Möbius. Möbius, too, was on the board of the Hamburg Zoological Garden and in addition to his academic achievements and museum work he also published and lectured to popular audiences. Both Meyer and Möbius were active in the leadership of Hamburg's Zoological Museum and it was through their collaboration that Germany's first public aquarium was built at the Hamburg Zoological Garden.⁶⁴

Still, the most prominent of the Hamburg Zoo's civic zoologists was its first director, Dr. Alfred Brehm, whose great reputation as a natural history writer earned his books a place in virtually every middle-class home. In fact, he was Germany's most successful nineteenth-century natural history writer,⁶⁵ although his zoological experience was primarily with birds.

⁶³ Wilhelm Hey, *Weißt du, wieviel Sternlein stehen* (1837).

⁶⁴ Nyhart, "Civic and Economic Zoology," 619, 624-625.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 628.

As a child Brehm had learned from his father how to hunt and prepare bird specimens, as well as how to care for living birds.⁶⁶ Therefore it is not surprising that he was most expansive when talking about the Hamburg Zoo's bird collection. In a single early edition of the zoo guide his comments on birds stretched to nearly 14 pages in an 80-page guide. His discussion of the water birds in another enclosure at the zoo's pond was nearly 6 pages long. This is not to mention the smaller sections devoted to the two enclosures containing the various types of chickens and ostriches, and a woodpecker as well as the wading birds, sandpipers and cranes at the zoo's grotto,⁶⁷ all of which, of course, also reflected the zoo's substantial collection of birds.

It was Brehm who authored the Hamburg Zoo's earliest guidebooks and the engaging style for which his writing became known is evident within them. More to the point, his writing in the handbook contains examples of the various characteristics of civic zoology, a kind of popular science focused on practical zoology; public education; taxonomy; a broad interest in ecology and ethology; and an anthropocentric view that configured exotic animals within accounts about their colonial and imperial acquisition or their relationship to humans.⁶⁸ Although

⁶⁶ Herbert Weidner, *Bilder aus der Geschichte des Zoologischen Museums der Universität Hamburg: Die Zoologischen Sammlungen im Naturhistorischen Museum zu Hamburg während seiner Kollegialverfassung 1843-1882* (Hamburg: Selbstverlag des Zoologischen Instituts und Zoologischen Museums der Universität Hamburg, 1993), 163.

⁶⁷ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 10-24, 29-34, 53-54, 60-62, 65-67 and 76-80. Still, despite his great ornithological experience, Brehm makes the remarkable claim that "The larger types of eagles are also to blame for hunting human children (Ibid., 18)."

⁶⁸ The overall style of natural history produced by civic zoologists had a distinct character or pattern. According to Nyhart, it was "one in which the living animals of the zoo and aquarium, along with the conditions of their maintenance and reproduction, were primary objects of attention; in which the specimens, after death, were more often stuffed or preserved whole for display in museums and classrooms than dissected for analysis; in which strictly taxonomic problems shared the turf with questions concerning biogeography, ecology, and animal behavior;

it would be misleading to suggest that every one of Brehm's guidebook descriptions reflected all of the qualities of civic zoology – indeed, as the zoo expanded its collections, space requirements would impose some limitations on the length of the text – his 1863 “Directory of Living Animals” nevertheless contains many good examples.

In the first place, the very purpose of the guidebook was to direct the visitor's gaze towards the animals, which in keeping with civic zoological endeavours, made the animals the main focus of their attention. In addition to the common names of animals, Brehm makes reference to their Latin names, as he does with all animals mentioned in the guidebook, thereby providing a space for taxonomy along with the other kinds of zoological, practical and historical/mythological information so common to civic zoology.

For example, in describing the first animals in the handbook, the different varieties of deer and moose, which Brehm names both scientifically and colloquially, he makes reference to the geographic distribution of moose by referencing stories about the ancient Teutonic heroes, Siegfried and Albertus Magnus. He also adds that the prehistoric ancestor of the moose was known as the “*Riesenhirsch*”, literally the “giant stag” (called the “*grimme Schelch*”, roughly

and in which exotic specimens not only represented their abstract classificatory type but also stood for entire stories about voyages of commercial and imperial gain, and also often for stories about human relationships to nature.” As a final point, Nyhart states that “another aspect of civic zoology was that useful knowledge was understood to be part of the picture”, which gave it a role in issues ranging from agricultural and pest management problems, to environmental protection questions and “the education of the future citizens of the state” so that “a set of civic values through the medium of natural history” was ultimately articulated (Nyhart, “Civic and Economic Zoology,” 628-9).

translated to the “fierce wild horse”) in the Nibelungen.⁶⁹ In this way, Brehm places the moose into the context of human – and specifically, German – history and myth.

Brehm’s description of the moose also covers a range of other civic zoological topics including biogeography, animal maintenance, behaviour and captivity. For instance, he describes the moose’s appearance, natural habitat, and diet. He then adds:

[It] runs awkwardly, but quickly and tirelessly; is mentally not well-gifted, but probably hot-tempered and quick to charge (*raschlustig*); only lets itself be imperfectly tamed and is difficult to deal with; propagates itself poorly and can only thank the strict hunting laws in Germany, Russia and Scandinavia, which were enacted to protect it, for its conservation It [the zoo’s animal] originates from Sweden and has become accustomed to captivity since its youth.⁷⁰

In addition, Brehm’s remarks suggest an important feature of civic zoology: the centrality of the human relationship to animals. In the above example, he suggests that moose owed their existence to the human laws that restricted hunting. This provides a subtle message about conservation while also suggesting that – even in the wild – these animals are dependent upon humans. In this way, Brehm articulates the human role in preserving the dull and nonprolific brutes, while at the same time centering natural history within larger issues about the environment.

⁶⁹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss* 9. For an explanation of the use and translation of the middle high German word, “*Schelch*” in this myth, see Heinrich Tischner, “Etymologie: Schelch.” *Der Kreuzdenker: Gedanken, Ideen, Aufsätze*. <<http://www.heinrich-tischner.de/22-sp/2wo/wort/idg/deutsch/s/schelch.htm>>, accessed 22 May 2012.

⁷⁰ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 10. In German, the word “*Elch*” translates to “*elk*” but it actually refers to a moose. See the explanatory footnote above.

Finally, however, this educational role and environmental perspective of Brehm's civic zoological approach did not only focus on conservation. More often it was expressed in ideas about the animal in relation to agriculture and human attempts to manage and exploit the environment. As a civic zoologist Brehm seemed to place a high value on an animal's utility. For example, even though the native black kite (*Schwarzbrauner Milan* – l. *Milvus ater*) and the kite or glead (*Königsweih* – l. *Milvus regalis*) were sometimes in conflict with human interests, killing young rabbits, ducks and chickens, their main food was mice.⁷¹ In Brehm's opinion, because of their ability to manage pests, this made the birds worthy of preservation and human protection. Likewise, although the common buzzards (*Mäusebussarde* – *Buteo vulgaris*) were "lethargic, ignoble raptors" he asserted that their usefulness for controlling mouse populations was so great that "for that reason they should be at least as holy as the ibis was to the ancient Egyptians." Similarly, Brehm asserted that, because of their tremendous appetite for mice, "With the single exception of the **eagle owl** [Uhu], owls are exceedingly useful birds, of which the hunting, capture or the otherwise persecution, should be strictly punished [original bold]."⁷²

This, although his otherwise relatively unkind appraisal of owls states that they "fly perfectly silently, lightly, but somewhat slowly, have an awful screeching or muffled, hollow voice, which appears to be very terrible to superstitious people and have given certain poets material for such equally hollow-sounding phrases. [The owls] have sharp senses, but are mentally very

⁷¹ Ibid., 11-12.

⁷² Ibid., 11, 22.

limited. striking, but not very sociable, very angry at everything brightly lit and are, so to speak, at odds with the whole world.” In contrast, Brehm declares that because the Uhu ruthlessly hunts virtually any animal, including the Hirschfalk, hedgehogs and even sleeping birds, “Greater than the use that they provide is the damage which they wreak.”⁷³

Furthermore, Brehm appears to be even less enthusiastic about hyenas than he is about owls other than the Uhu. “They [hyenas] belong to the most revolting of predators there are. Their cowardice and stupidity make them as hateful as their shrieking and howling voices, as their uncleanliness, and so on.” Nevertheless, the animal is redeemed by its utility when he concedes that, “. . . In their homeland they become useful: they are destroyers of carrion [*Aasvertilger*].”⁷⁴

On the other hand, Brehm’s exceptional distaste for the personality of the camel could not be overcome by his appreciation for its usefulness. “Camels are the largest ruminants, but also the ugliest and the most uncharming.” While acknowledging the camel’s remarkable physical capabilities and indispensability to the desert peoples, he maintains that, “Next to its useful characteristics, the camel combines all of the vices which a house pet can have: it is stupid, foolish, timorous, stubborn, rebellious, indifferent and malicious to the highest degree. Whoever has ‘sailed’ for months with the ‘noble ships of the desert’ as I have,

⁷³ Ibid., 23.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 57-58.

only he is in a position to pass judgement on the camel. and if that [judgement] cannot also turn out positively, at least it will be fair.”⁷⁵

It is, however, worth noting that in these comments about camels, Brehm makes the comparison to a house pet. This reference to domesticated animals is an association he also makes elsewhere. For example, about the hyena he remarks that, “Indeed, they let themselves be tamed almost as completely as other dogs.”⁷⁶ Similarly, in addition to discussing the usefulness of the mongoose for its killing of snakes, he states that “Those captured soon recognize, with thanks, the good deeds that they receive, become very tame, let themselves become accustomed to having a space to move about in and to go into and give pleasure through the trusting and pleasantness of their nature. In our facility [*Wirtschaftshause*] we possess a pair of them, which have become housepets.” Similarly, the kinkajou (*Wickelbär*) is “gentle, trusting, very receptive to caresses and not very difficult to maintain, as it accustoms itself soon to the most varied diet.” Brehm also adds that in its native Brazil the kinkajou is, in fact, kept as a pet.⁷⁷ Clearly, Brehm places great importance upon the way in which an animal adapts to its captivity and the response it gives to caregivers. He is the most positive when the relationship is one in which the animal is easily tamed and responds well to human attention and affection.

Therefore, even animals which are commonly feared and despised, such as the wolf and the prairie wolf, receive laudatory treatment from Brehm, since as

⁷⁵ Ibid., 69-70. Note also that Brehm’s reference to his own experience in the desert reflects the way in which an animal could represent a story of adventure as was characteristic in civic zoology.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 57-58.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 50, 52.

members of the dog family they are the quintessential pets. Brehm explains that “Dogs allow themselves to be easily tamed and like to join the company of humans. Our wolves and the coyote prove this. Dogs are good-natured, sociable and very intelligent. Therein lies the main reason that they are so easily tamed.”⁷⁸

Yet, as a result of this emphasis upon tameness, even though the dog is an indiscriminate predator, Brehm is willing to overlook this challenge to human interests, which is in striking contrast to his condemnation of the Uhu, whose hunting activities he condemns. Indeed, Brehm simply states that “Notwithstanding these characteristics, they [dogs] are enthusiastic hunters and threaten all the animals which they can overcome in their territory.”⁷⁹

On the other hand, even though the camel is an indispensable, prized and entirely domesticated animal, living only among humans and never in the wild, Brehm strenuously objects to its unpleasant demeanour and rejection of human companionship. As a result of its tremendous multi-purpose usefulness, the camel has become a “very useful slave”, but Brehm objects, “That says it all. Slaves – mindless, stubborn, forced – nothing more. But the camels are in no way slaves with noble self-denial, bowing to humans. All of the grand mental characteristics imputed to them, ‘their heavenly gentleness, their angelic patience, their self-denial worthy of a noble soul, etc.’ lurk in the heads of those ignorant of nature [and in those of] enthusiastic authors and storytelling travelers, but are in no way with foundation.”⁸⁰ In other words, it is not enough that the camel is domesticated. Rather, the problem is that it has not fully submitted itself to human

⁷⁸ Ibid., 57.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 57.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 69.

authority and worse. unlike dogs or the mongoose. does not care for humans in the least.

Although in many ways Brehm's characterizations of animals seem enlightened, in that he sometimes champions unpopular animals such as wolves and he points out the important roles of some animals within the environment, such as controlling pests or clearing away filth, this seemingly holistic approach is undercut by the centrality of human interests in relation to the activities of animals. In seeking to convey practical knowledge about animals, Brehm implicitly describes the nature of the human-animal relationship, underscoring the fact that it is, above all, an anthropocentric relationship. For example, when he explicitly states that the "fish eagle or sea hawk [Osprey] . . . is the bitterest enemy of the owner of a carp pond,"⁸¹ he counterposes the interests of humans with those of animals and thereby suggests that animals do not have an inherent right to existence. Rather, their right to existence is determined by their rapport with humans. His various references to the protection given to some animals, whether through hunting laws or deification, clearly place the power of life and death over entire species into human hands.⁸²

Still, Brehm's civic zoological approach to the natural world was no worse and probably much more progressive than many of his contemporaries'. He was a convinced Darwinist and believed that animals and humans were related,⁸³ so

⁸¹ Ibid., 18-19.

⁸² In another example, he states that seals "are very intelligent, careful and brave, can also be easily tamed. Because of its fur and oil they are relentlessly and cruelly persecuted by humans [so] that without weak reproduction their rampant decline can not be stopped (Ibid., 76)."

⁸³ I am not asserting that civic zoology itself could necessarily be equated with hostility to the environment. That would require a study outside the scope of this dissertation, which is focused

much so, that in the introduction to the first volume of his 6-volume series, *Illustrierten Thierleben* (1864-69), he declared that “The human is, . . . seen from the perspective of the researcher of nature, really nothing more and nothing less than a mammal.”⁸⁴ Indeed, he had a genuine enthusiasm for the study of the natural world, which is clearly conveyed to his readers. Yet his writing unwittingly positions the reader/zoo visitor in such a way as to create a clear distinction between humans and animals.

Certainly, the Hamburg Zoo often treated the animals in its care as mere commodities. I have already mentioned in the previous chapter that animal antlers and surplus animals as well as aquarium animals and breeding animals could be purchased from the Hamburg Zoological Garden. However, in the world of science and public education, there was also a trade in animals. The Hamburg Zoo had an arrangement with the Hamburg Natural History Museum whereby the zoo donated the bodies of deceased animals, worth about 2,000-3,000 Marks annually,

specifically on the Hamburg Zoo. Furthermore, civic zoologists could be quite environmentally conscious. Karl Möbius’ research on oysters concurred with observers of the oyster fisheries in Ceylon that overfishing had severely depleted the resources there. He also noted that the quest for pearls extended to the oyster beds of Europe and concluded that in all areas these beds were “ruled and exploited in nearly all its provinces by the European spirit of enterprise (Citation and quotation from Nyhart, “Civic and Economic Zoology,” 617).” It should also be added that Möbius possessed an equally well-developed sensitivity to the plight of workers, including colonial workers. He concludes his 80-page work, *Die echten Perlen: Ein Beitrag zur Luxus-, Handels- und Naturgeschichte derselben*, published in 1857 for the Realschule of the Johanneum in Hamburg, with a remarkable statement: “Who knows, [sic] how many hundred times the divers went under and what a pile of mollusks they must have collected before the seventy to eighty [matching] pearls of a string came together. The most precious ornament of the rich is yielded from the troubles and dangers of poor workers: in the hot sand of India and Brazil they search for diamonds; in the dark shadows of the mountains they dig for gold; and in the abysses of the sea they dive for pearls (Quoted in *Ibid.*, 616-617).”

⁸⁴ Quoted in Pamela Kort, “Naturgeschichten’ in Deutschland: Alfred Edmund Brehm und John Heartfield,” in *Darwin: Kunst und die Suche nach den Ursprüngen*, eds. Pamela Kort and Max Hollein (Cologne: Schirn kunsthalle Frankfurt and Wienand Verlag, 2009), 228.

to the museum to make use of their hides and skeletons.⁸⁵ In exchange, the museum provided the zoo with necropsy results for each animal as well as access to the mounted specimens, which were used for lectures given to zoo shareholders and subscribers.⁸⁶

However, this commodification also relates to other forms of animal objectification at the Hamburg Zoo. In keeping with its civic zoological intention to provide useful information Brehm's handbooks frequently commented on the taste of an animal's meat or pointed out other products, such as fur, which could be taken from the animal's body. For instance, Brehm casually commented about the common pheasant that "The quality of their meat requires no special mention." Similarly, of the "Sandgrouse" (*Fausthuhn*), Brehm explained that "Its meat is pleasant tasting, but tough. This is the reason, nevertheless, for the persecution which the flying fowl must suffer from humans and desert predators."⁸⁷ About the beaver, he explained that "As significant as the damage, is also the use that the animal can offer. Its fur is, after all, well paid, but it is not the most valuable [thing] on the beaver. Castor, the contents of two glands which can be used for medicinal purposes, is much more valuable."⁸⁸

The addition of illustrations to the zoo guides in Brehm's 1865 booklet, however, added a further dimension to this treatment of animals.⁸⁹ In the 1865

⁸⁵ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, 3; Weidner, 161.

⁸⁶ Weidner, 161. It should be noted that public lectures and the use of mounted animals were characteristic of civic zoology.

⁸⁷ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 78-79.

⁸⁸ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 77.

⁸⁹ The content of the older guidebook was largely retained in the 1865 version, although not always in the same order or groupings. It was also expanded with new descriptions and images of animals.

edition there were twelve images. All of them depicted animals in the zoo's enclosures. With the exception of the birds at the waterfall grotto,⁹⁰ all of the illustrations show both the animals and the physical structure of the enclosure – buildings, bars and fences. At first glance, these artistic representations may not seem that remarkable. Much like a photograph, they are intended to convey the actual appearance of the zoological garden and replicate the visual experience of the zoo visitor. The images situated the animals directly within the zoo and its enclosures. It should be added that, characteristically for civic zoology, this visual strategy focused attention on the zoo's own animals and the conditions of their maintenance. Indeed, they underscored the role of the zoo as a place for containing animals.

Furthermore, of these twelve illustrations, seven of them also depicted zoo visitors as they viewed the captive animals, thereby drawing attention to the act of observation itself. This does not negate my arguments in Chapter 2, in which I suggest that humans themselves were under observation. On the contrary, it suggests the multiple valences of observation found at the zoo. Zoo visitors may have been observed but they were also observers. The guidebook illustrations clearly articulated zoo visitors as observers and the captive animals as the observed. The visible barriers of the enclosures demarcated the boundaries between human and animal, while images of people looking at the confined animals within reinforced the distinction between visitor and captive, human and animal, subject and object.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 65.

In addition, with only the exception of the illustration of the Wombat House, there is no possibility of an alternative view, of seeing the animal's perspective looking out from within the enclosure towards the zoo visitors. Yet even in the wombat illustration (figure 17, page 170 above), where the enclosure appears to be circular and therefore permits a frontal view of two visitors, a man and a boy, looking in from the other side, it is clear that it is the animal that is the object of attention. Rather than adopt the animal's perspective by showing its back as it looks upon its observers, the animal is shown facing the direction of the reader, not returning the gaze, but on the contrary is scratching itself and oblivious to being observed.⁹¹

In fact, in none of the images do animals look towards the observer. The animals are always shown as completely indifferent to zoo visitors. Indeed, in many cases, such as that of the kangaroo house, the predatory bird cage and the "wolf's lair", the enclosed animal is barely visible, or as in the cases of the "predator's gallery" or the bear's cage, not visible at all!⁹² It is only the enclosure and the people moving towards it or looking into it that are depicted. In other words, in no case in these illustrations, do animals observe humans. When they are depicted they are the objects of attention. When they are not shown, it is the act of observation that is represented. In this way, the status of the zoo visitor is reinforced by the privileging of his/her perspective.

⁹¹ Ibid., 18. Interestingly, the book *Bilder und Skizzen aus dem Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* contains a similar image by the same artist, Th. F. Zimmerman, of the wombat in its enclosure. In this case, no visitors are shown looking at the animal, which instead looks towards the reader. However, the image is consistent with others in the book that direct the viewer's gaze to the bodies of the animals, in isolated enclosures or in a natural setting, rather than replicating the zoo visitor's experience as occurs in the guidebooks (R. L. Brehm, 81).

⁹² Ibid., 6, 19, 33, 50, 56.

However, Brehm's representation of animals was not the only approach used by the zoo guides. Indeed, his tenure at the zoo was short. He left in 1866, after only 3 years as the Hamburg Zoo's director.⁹³ The zoo continued with the acting leadership of various individuals for the next nine years.⁹⁴ Then, under the zoo's subsequent director, Dr. Heinrich Bolau, who assumed the position in 1875, the handbooks would undergo a number of changes. Clearly, under Bolau's influence, whose tenure ended in 1909 after nearly 34 years,⁹⁵ the guidebooks contained less anthropomorphism, although as we will see, Bolau still sometimes used this device, especially in other zoo publications.

The turn towards more "scientifically objective" descriptions in the handbooks is not surprising. Like Brehm, Bolau had strong ties to Hamburg's civic and academic zoology circles, but more importantly, Bolau was a scientist in his own right. Not only had he been a member of the Hamburg Natural Science Society and Möbius' successor as the Headmaster for the Knowledge of Nature at the *Johanneum* Junior High School (*Oberlehrer für Naturkunde at the Realschule des Johanneums*) in Hamburg, but he had also published on ornithology. Furthermore, prior to his return to Hamburg, he had been considered one of

⁹³ Brehm's departure from the zoo was controversial, although the actual reasons for the parting of ways were never made fully public. Brehm had already tendered his resignation on February 26, 1866 effective May 1, 1867. However, things came to a head in discussions about the planned building of the zoo's restaurant, bird and reptile houses, whereupon he was immediately fired on November 28, 1866 (Weidner, 168).

⁹⁴ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Eugen Richter, "Geschichte des Zoologischen Gartens in Hamburg (Fortsetzung)," *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 21 (September 1880).

⁹⁵ Weidner, 191-3.

Professor Rudolf Leuckart's more prominent doctoral students at the University in Giessen.⁹⁶

Early in the 1860s Leuckart (1822-98) had been a leading zoologist whose meticulous comparative research on invertebrate morphology had in 1848 made a major contribution to taxonomy. Although Leuckart did not incorporate Darwinism into his own research he was nevertheless well-disposed to the theory and once offered a lecture course on the topic.⁹⁷ Bolau's zoological approach was likely influenced by his training and his supervisor's interest in anatomical comparison, taxonomy and Darwinism.

To be sure, Bolau's handbook still exhibited some continuity with Brehm's earlier versions. For example, Bolau, who had frequently lectured on natural science topics, was an interesting and humorous speaker.⁹⁸ Accordingly, his handbook, like Brehm's, was written in a relatively engaging manner, although Bolau had a tendency in the guidebooks to discuss the zoo's animals in more detached, descriptive terms with considerably less anthropomorphism. For instance, in describing a type of owl, popularly called the "Little Owl" (*Steinkauz*) (also called the "*Leichenhuhn*," meaning literally, "Corpse Chicken"), Bolau concluded a brief physical description with the remark that "She is fairly plentiful in our surrounding area, flies at night – sometimes against lit windows – and cries 'kuwitt,' which superstitious people believe sounds like '*komm mit*' [trans. 'come

⁹⁶ Ibid., 193.

⁹⁷ Lynn K. Nyhart, *Biology takes Form: Animal Morphology and the German Universities, 1800-1900*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 96-97, 175-176, 390.

⁹⁸ Weidner, 192.

along’].”⁹⁹ Similarly, in a manner that recalled, though did not replicate, Brehm’s use of historical references, Bolau commented that “The hippopotamus was already brought back alive to Europe by the ancient Romans. Then more than 1300 years passed before one of these interesting creatures reached our part of the earth.” He then explained that the first hippo arrived at the London Zoo in 1850 and was followed later by another. He also mentioned efforts in Amsterdam to raise young hippos.¹⁰⁰

Surprisingly, however, although the Hamburg Zoo’s Indian elephants had been given names, “Anton” and “Valy”, Bolau resisted the temptation to anthropomorphise them. The only personal information that he stated was that Anton had journeyed 5 months by boat to arrive in Hamburg on July 24, 1871.¹⁰¹ Probably as a way of securing good will and future assistance, Bolau did, however, see fit to mention that the ship on which Anton had been transported was named “Linda” and that her services had been donated by the Hamburg businessman, Carl Woermann, a strong supporter of the zoo.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 55.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 97-8.

¹⁰¹ In a two-part series of articles on Anton, the zoo’s Indian elephant, was described in the first article in a similarly generic way. He is mentioned at the beginning of the article as lead-in to describing Indian elephants in general. It should be added, however, that exceptionally, the second article in the series focuses on Anton as an individual, describing his arrival in Hamburg and at the zoo and then, anthropomorphically through the “voice” of Anton describes his experience of the move to his new building enclosure (StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten [1904-1907]: Heinrich Bolau, “Erste ‘Anton’ – Nummer,” *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg* no. 5 [1904]: 1-3; StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten [1904-1907]: Heinrich Bolau, “Zweite ‘Anton’ – Nummer,” *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg* no. 6 [1904]: 1-4). Even so, after his death, Anton was replaced with another elephant, generically named “Anton II” (StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 67-68).

¹⁰² StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 94. For brief information about Woermann see Weidner, 194 and 286. Bolau did, however, occasionally anthropomorphize Anton elsewhere. See StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Bolau, “Zweite ‘Anton’-Nummer,” 2-3. An unattributed article also anthropomorphized Anton. See StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u.

In fact, rather than individualizing the zoo's elephants too much, Bolau opened his discussion of the Indian elephant by declaring that this type of animal "is represented by two nice pieces",¹⁰³ thereby reducing elephants that might otherwise have become zoo "pets" to mere objects (while also suggesting the way in which individual animals could stand for the entire species).¹⁰⁴ Moreover, his additional remark that Anton was "a very valuable gift" reinforced the animal's status as an object and further implied that the elephant's importance was mainly monetary.¹⁰⁵ In this way, interesting though Bolau's guide was, his rather impersonal commentary nevertheless reinforced and perpetuated the objectification of the Hamburg Zoo's animals.

Yet, although Bolau's approach was somewhat different from Brehm's, Bolau continued his predecessor's practice of commenting on whether particular animals were receptive to human contact. For instance, Bolau stated that the pleasing and intelligent chimpanzee was "on the best of terms" with its keeper and that it was "also trusting of strangers".¹⁰⁶ Bolau also explained that although the wombat was "a good-natured creature that lets itself be touched, caressed and even carried in arms", as a result of its "sluggishness and stupidity" it was largely

Zoologischer Garten, (1904-1907): "Jubiläum im Dickhäuterhause unsers Zoologischen Gartens," *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg* no. 2 (1906): 2, 5.

¹⁰³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 93.

¹⁰⁴ On the special status of zoo animals which are "sentimentalized and, symbolically at least, domesticated, converted into a kind of public pet" see Harriet Ritvo on the elephants Jumbo and Chunee in *The Animal Estate*, 226-232.

¹⁰⁵ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 94.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

indifferent to human attention and showed neither “aversion” nor “affection”.¹⁰⁷

Clearly, Bolau did not hesitate to discuss how well animals related to humans.

Like Brehm, Bolau also frequently pointed out whether or not particular animals were useful. For example, Bolau stated that kestrels were unfortunately misunderstood birds which were useful for the consumption of grasshoppers and mice. On the other hand, Bolau did not feel that the Fischotter was unjustly pursued by hunters, as he commented that in addition to its valuable fur, the animal’s consumption of fish “caused considerable damage”.¹⁰⁸

Nor did Bolau have any compunction about explaining how animal bodies could be put to use or otherwise consumed. For instance, Bolau stated that in Mongolia, China and neighbouring lands, the yak had long been kept as a “house pet”, adding that “His significant physical strength can be used to advantage for pulling and carrying loads; milk and meat are pleasant tasting; the hair and especially the tail are highly prized – these as decorative objects and signs of rank – it is [equivalent to] the so-called horsetail standard of the Turks.”¹⁰⁹

By the same token, in an article on lobsters in the concert magazine *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, published during Heinrich Bolau’s tenure as director, his son, Hermann Bolau, declared that “With the pleasing development which our high seas fishery is undergoing, he [the lobster] will also very gradually become a regular, not excessively expensive part of our delicatessen businesses.”

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 12-13. Accordingly, perhaps, Bolau concluded by remarking that the wombat was said to be tasty meat (Ibid.).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 11, 66.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 69. In this instance, Bolau does not even describe the appearance, physiology or diet of the animal. Instead, his only other comments relate to its temperament: “Wild yaks are diligently hunted. The tame [yak] demonstrates a good-natured disposition. Only during mating season is the bull very vicious, wild and excited (Ibid).”

The younger Bolau then continued by devoting considerable space to a personal anecdote concerning free time on a ship when the passengers caught their own meal of lobsters. He then concluded with the remark that “he must be fresh and not too little!”¹¹⁰

Curiously, with respect to the hippopotamus, Heinrich Bolau appended his remarks about the use of the animals to his statement about the animals’ own diet, as though the two ideas were somehow related: “Like all pachyderms, the hippopotamus nourishes itself on vegetables of different types. His meat is supposed to be tasty. His teeth produce a good ivory. His thick skin lends itself to making excellent whips.”¹¹¹ Whether or not Bolau was implying a hierarchy in which vegetarian animals as non-predators were ranked below predators and therefore regarded as appropriate for human consumption, it is clear that his commodification of animals not only objectified them, but in some sense reduced them to an assemblage of mere parts representing diverse products: labour, flesh, milk, tail, teeth and skin.

Even though Brehm had also been guilty of this, the introduction of new images to Bolau’s handbooks accentuated this objectification. Among the 22 illustrations found in the 1891 zoo guide, 5 of the 14 new images showed only isolated parts of the animals in question. Specifically, they showed the head of an eagle and the head of a boar, both in profile, as well as two images, a top view and profile of a snake’s head showing its fangs and tongue and a comparison of

¹¹⁰ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Hermann Bolau, “Der Schlankhummer,” *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 1 (1904): 2-3. For a brief synopsis of Hermann Bolau’s life, see Weidner, 193.

¹¹¹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau. (1891): Bolau, 98.

African and Indian elephant teeth showing a top view of their molars (figure 18).¹¹² The later 1901 edition, which no longer contained any of the images from Brehm's guide, also included the figure of a hippopotamus head in profile.¹¹³

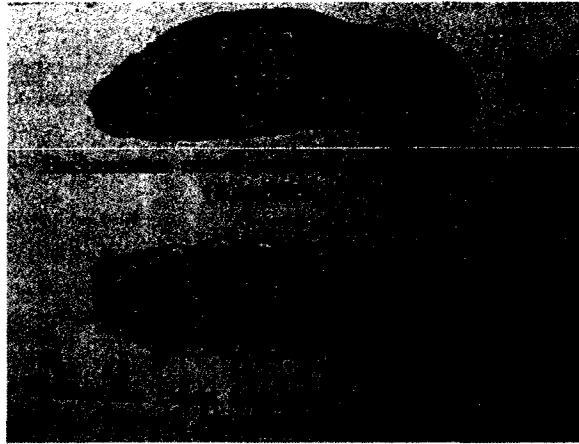


Figure 18. Molars of an Indian and an African elephant (*Führer durch den Zoologischer Garten zu Hamburg* [1901]).¹¹⁴

Although these were not the predominant form of representation – there were also 9 new images showing animals in a natural setting (figure 19) – these images of fragmented, decontextualized bodies nevertheless suggested an increasingly reductive approach and the scientific tendency to isolate animals into biological components for more detailed study. To be sure, such images reflected Bolau's zoological training with a comparative anatomist such as Leuckart. Accordingly, an article about predators in the *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, which was published during Bolau's tenure stated, "If we dissect the animals more precisely, then we find the following more or less general characteristics in

¹¹² Ibid., 8, 39, 52, 95. Image from StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1901), 116.

¹¹³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1901), 118. This edition also included an image of a chimpanzee eating fruit on a platform and holding a rope.

¹¹⁴ This image appeared in both the 1891 and 1901 guidebooks. However, because the illustration caption is better placed in the latter image, I have selected that image over the earlier image discussed.

the build of the predator.” The article then continued to analyse these animals in great detail.¹¹⁵



Figure 19. “Otter” (*Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* [1891]).

Indeed, had it not been for the visible absence of medical equipment in some of the guidebook’s fragmented images, the profiles such as that of the boar or the snake (figures 20 & 22) would have resembled those found in medical illustrations of a vivisected dog (figures 21 & 23).¹¹⁶ The visual perspective in the handbook suggested the particularized gaze of the scientist intent on the investigation of a specific anatomical or physiological question. Furthermore, the anatomical detail of the disembodied heads in the guide’s woodcuts were so precise that they might as well have replicated the ‘actual’ visual experience of a vivisection.

¹¹⁵ Image from StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 66; StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Unsere Raubthiere im Zoologischen Garten”, *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no.1 (April 1880). “Zergliedern” has three possible meanings, to analyse, dissect or dismember, all of which support my argument, although the term “dissect” is generally the translation applied to plants and animals.

¹¹⁶ Images from StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 39, 52; and Hermann Stenz, *Die Vivisektion in ihrer wahren Gestalt.: Unwiderlegliche Tatsachen aus der Fachliteratur* (Berlin: Weltbund zur Bekämpfung der Vivisektion, nd.), 43-44.

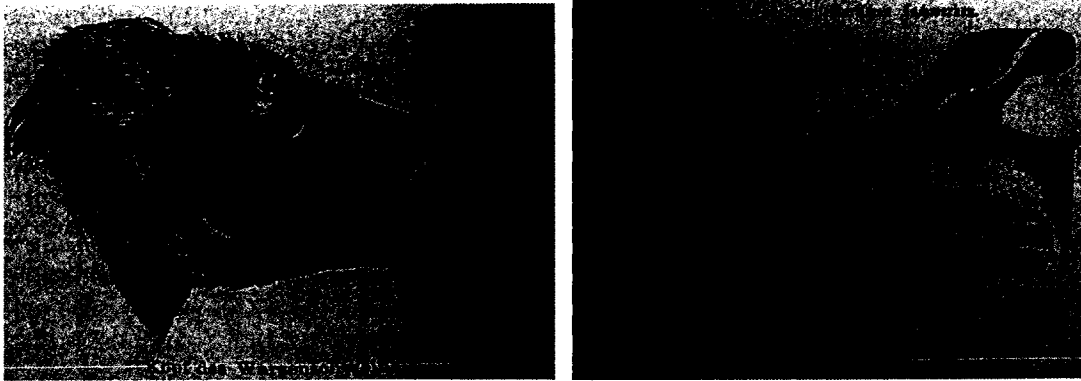


Figure 20. “Head of the wart hog” (*Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* [1891]).

Figure 21. “Illustration of a vivisection from specialist literature” (Stenz, *Die Vivisektion in ihrer wahren Gestalt. Unwiderlegliche Tatsachen aus der Fachliteratur*).

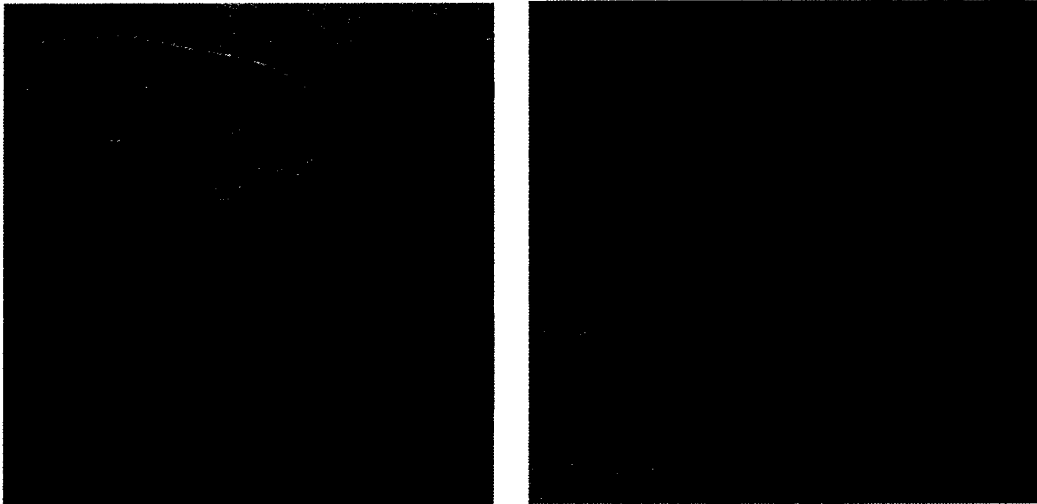


Figure 22. “Head of the cross adder” (*Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* [1891]).

Figure 23. Vivisection of a dog (Stenz, *Die Vivisektion in ihrer wahren Gestalt. Unwiderlegliche Tatsachen aus der Fachliteratur*).

In addition, as we saw in Chapter 1, in the *Journal des Museum Godeffroy* the reduction of the body of the Other into parts deemed to characterize particular races was not an unusual pursuit among scientists. Indeed, the 50 pages of analysis in works such as *Ein Beitrag zur Kraniologie der Eskimo (A Contribution to the Craniology of the Eskimo)*, by Dr. Bruno Oettking, illustrates the extent of

this type of scientific interest.¹¹⁷ The pursuit of physiognomic truths led both to the literal sectioning of human bodies into constituent parts, especially skulls, but also to their figurative sectioning through the minute examination of human remains. Animals appear not to have been different from non-European human specimens in this respect.

Moreover, another type of image found in Bolau's later handbooks contributed to the objectification of animals albeit in a different manner. By 1901, illustrations showing animals in the zoo's own enclosures had been completely removed from Bolau's guidebook. Instead, with the exception of the image mentioned previously of a hippo in profile, the old images were replaced with 12 new images of animals shown in natural settings of varying detail (figures 24, 25 & 26), which were added to the earlier illustrations of this type and to the fragmented, isolated images of animal bodies.¹¹⁸



Figure 24. “Bison or American Buffalo” (*Führer durch den Zoologischer Garten zu Hamburg* [1901]).



Figure 25. “Otter” (*Führer durch den Zoologischer Garten zu Hamburg* [1901]).

¹¹⁷ Bruno Oettking, *Ein Beitrag zur Kraniologie der Eskimo*, with an appendix by Berhard Hantzsch, “Abhandlungen und Berichte des Zoologischen und Anthropologisch-Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden” (Berlin: Teubner, 1908).

¹¹⁸ Images from StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoological Garten: Bolau, (1901), 1, 81. Some other images had also been replaced: the boar's head and the rhinoceros. An old image of a fish otter, figure 20 above, was replaced by this new image of a fish otter (fig. 25).

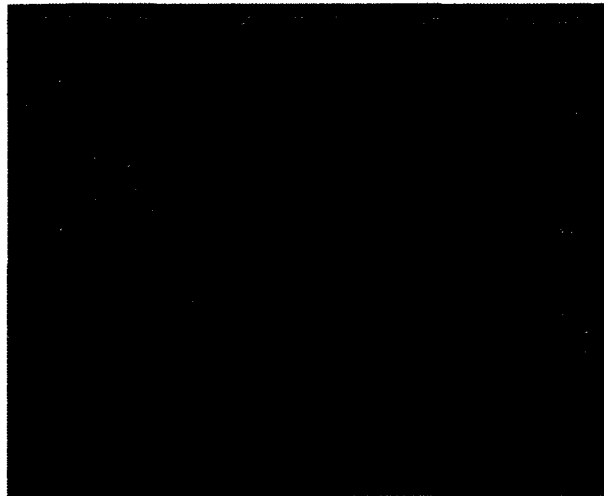


Figure 26. “Central European Red Deer” (*Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* [1901]).

As with the anthropological images discussed in Chapter 1, the two styles of depictions, often presented together, rendered animal bodies into scientific objects. The guidebooks’ older images of isolated, fragmented and decontextualized animals directed an analytical gaze toward the details of the body, emphasizing its physical qualities. On the other hand, the newly added illustrations of animals in naturalistic settings visually “captured” them in such a way as to encourage narrative fantasy – as though a hunter, adventurer, animal collector or natural scientist on an expedition had just glimpsed the animal. Indeed, a striking illustration ca. 1890-95, likely for a periodical, shows a wild boar fleeing through the forest. Although the boar’s dynamism would have been unusual for a handbook illustration, the tightly framed image of an animal in its natural habitat could otherwise easily have been used in the zoo guide, except that the boar’s body was marked with a “target” – the title of the image (figure 27).¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Stiftung Historische Museen Hamburg/Altonaer Museum: “Bilderbogen Schiessscheibe,” Verlag Gustav Kühn, Neuruppin.

Clearly, taken together, the zoo guide's detailed and realistic illustrations of animals in isolation and in context suggested a gaze that focused attention specifically on their bodies, contributing to their objectification.



Figure 27. “Target. Wild boar” (“Bilderbogen Schiessscheibe”, Verlag Gustav Kühn, Neuruppin. Permission of the Stiftung Historische Museen Hamburg/Altonaer Museum).

Moreover, this penetrating and, at times, analytical gaze was reflected in and even fostered by the guidebooks, which taught zoo visitors how to observe animals by directing their attention to specific identifying characteristics and anatomical details. As a result of the growing number of animals in the collection it was necessary for the guidebooks to be brief in their descriptions. In Bolau's handbooks, the majority of entries were limited to one or two sentences describing either geographic distribution, diet, appearance, temperament, utility or some combination of these (plus the name and location of the animal's donor if there was one). So, for instance, a typical entry, such as that for the Southern Pig-tailed macaque (*Schweinsaffe*) stated that it “had its name from the short, somewhat twisted tail that is not unlike the same body part on a pig. From Java, Sumatra and

Borneo.”¹²⁰ Where the animals, such as birds, were very numerous, the book’s descriptive comments were often even briefer: “**Sun Parakeet**. – *Conurus solstitialis* – very rare, predominantly splendid yellow and red. Gift of Mr. Carl Heidorn in El Callao Venezuela [original boldtype].”¹²¹ If anything then, time and space considerations necessitated a reductive approach to the animals’ descriptions.

Nevertheless, despite the need to efficiently catalogue a great number of animals, the zoo guides still had to point out details that would aid visitors in identifying and distinguishing the animals from one another. Thus, it was not uncommon to find very precise entries remarking on subtle or minute characteristics. For example, the Nilgai antelope (*Nilgau-Antilope*) was described as “. . . large, long-legged, less slender than her relatives.” The sable antelope (*Rappen-Antilope*) was “one of the most imposing antelopes, is deep black-brown in colour and has an upright mane on its neck.” In comparison the gazelles were “small, highly delicate little animals of the most slender build and light brown colouring. Known for the beauty of its eyes.”¹²²

Such careful physical description was especially important for birds, whose numbers at the zoo were great but whose bodies were generally small, making them more difficult for visitors to see and to differentiate. So, for

¹²⁰ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 25.

¹²¹ Ibid., 72. The latin and/or common name of this bird appears to have changed so it is possible that a Keilschwanzsittich might be referred to here. See Otto Finsch, *Die Papageien, monographisch bearbeitet*, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1867), 491. <
http://books.google.de/books?id=snk-AAAAcAAJ&pg=PA491&lpg=PA491&dq=Conurus+solstitialis&source=bl&ots=eEJ0OcQU2-&sig=7ktx_IXHCnUM8DCFp_gJhHHtUtU&hl=de&sa=X&ei=EXm-T6tQoo-IAvjemcgN&sqi=2&ved=0CEEQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=Conurus%20solstitialis&f=false>.
 Accessed 24 May 2012.

¹²² All quotes StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 68.

example, the grey goose was described as “. . . of well-known grey colour, has an orange-coloured beak with white tip” Next, the bean goose (*Saatgans*) was described as “. . . very similar to the previous, the point of the beak and where it meets the head is black [*Schnabelgrund*], feet orange-coloured” This was followed by the description of the pink-footed goose (*kurzschnäbelige Gans*), which was “. . . smaller than the bean goose, has red feet and a dark pink ring around its beak.”¹²³

Then again, although all the descriptions did not necessarily focus on visual appearance, they could be equally precise and detailed, such as when Bolau documented the growth of the zoo’s rhinoceros. His 1891 handbook included a table recording the increase in the pachyderm’s shoulder height almost yearly from 1.37 m in 1871, the year after its arrival, to 1.73 m in 1882.¹²⁴ Similarly, although no table was provided, Bolau still listed the height of the zoo’s Indian elephant “Valy” over the course of 5 different years.¹²⁵

Likewise, although the zoo’s other publications had more space and had a more popular approach, the contributors could still be extremely zealous in their careful descriptions and detailed analyses. An article from Bolau’s *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* generically described the anatomy of cats, devoting great attention to their precise description. For instance, in addition to other physical features, the teeth and tongue were described: “The canine teeth . . . form large, strong, barely curved cones, which predominate more than other remaining teeth and can reveal a truly destructive effect. In opposition to these, the striking little

¹²³ All quotes *Ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 96-97. The table also shows the equivalent measurements in Hamburg measurements.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 95. Measurements were given in metres only.

incisors disappear. In opposition to these, even the teeth that are excellent for chewing (that are strong [and are] sharp prongs that oppositionally cut into one another), really cease to be molars [and] appear to be weak and insignificant. The raw, sharp tongue is compatible with this bite. It is thick and fleshy and especially remarkable because of its fine, horn-like barbs, which sit upon raw warts and are oriented towards the back.”¹²⁶

Similarly, in a short article from the *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg* concert periodical, Bolau discussed the klipspringer (*Oreotragus oreotragus*), a small antelope from Africa. Although his description was brief, it was precise. It mentioned, among other things, that “The klipspringer is small. It has only a height of 55-60 cm. to the shoulders. A small head that tapers in front into a delicate snout, sits on his slight neck.”¹²⁷

Clearly, the use of meticulous description intensified the scientific gaze, which analysed and mapped the bodies of animals. Indeed, this approach focused visitors’ attention specifically on the body devoid of any information concerning social or psychological traits. Since the body was the primary means of animal identification this implicity encouraged the notion that animals were essentially only physical entities.

Additionally, this suggested that if an animal did possess other qualities that these were uniform and biologically determined. For example, another article in the *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* series on “Our Predators” made the

¹²⁶ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Unsere Raubthiere im Zoologischen Garten. (Fortsetzung.) A. Die Katzen,” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 3 (May 1880).

¹²⁷ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Heinr. Bolau, “Der Klippsspringer,” *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 5 (1904), 5.

comparison that “In their entire nature, dogs show that they are much less dependent on exclusively animal nourishment and permit the conclusion that accordingly, they will also be less murderous and greedy for blood than cats are. . . . The facial expression shows this very clearly, as the dog’s face speaks to us in a friendly manner and never lets the defiant self-confidence and the wildness that are revealed in the cat’s face become especially noticeable.”¹²⁸

Moreover, the more intelligent an animal was, the more it was thought to be able to overcome its physical drives and its biologically determined existence and, therefore, the more it was thought to resemble humans. In the same article comparing dogs with cats the author claimed,

The tame dog and the wild fox act with true sensible reflection and carry-out carefully thought-out plans, the outcome of which they have estimated in advance with as much certainty as possible. It is this intelligence which has bound dogs so closely to humans and sets them above all remaining animals. At the same time, one must then always consider that the dog is a predator used to dominating other creatures and despite his intelligence is willingly and on rational grounds, subordinate to the higher human mind. Even with the whole of the species living in the wild, this higher intelligence shows itself in the great care, caution and suspicion with which they execute all of their movements. Only the most furious hunger is in a position to transform such conduct into the opposite behaviour.¹²⁹

Plainly, the ability to subordinate the demands of the body to the rationality of the mind suggested an inverse relationship in which intelligence was opposed to the corporeality of animality as civilization was opposed to nature.¹³⁰ With humans

¹²⁸ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Unsere Raubthiere im Zoologischen Garten. (Fortsetzung.) B. Die Hunde,” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 6 (May 1880).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*; It is also worth noting that like Brehm, the unnamed author of the article placed a high value on an animal’s capacity to be tamed.

¹³⁰ This perspective resembles Norbert Elias’ argument that manners became more refined with the development of civilization, although he, of course, did not make any equation with brutishness and stupidity (Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization*, trans. Edmund Jephcott. [Oxford: Blackwell, 1994]).

situated at the top of the hierarchy, the greater a species' intelligence, the less it was dominated by the physical and the less it was considered to be a brute.¹³¹

Yet, if an emphasis on the body signaled a scientific trend developed under Bolau's leadership, a variation of this trend was continued under the directorship of Dr. Julius Vosseler, who assumed the role in 1909 after working for the Prussian government at a biological/agricultural institute in German East Africa.¹³² In Vosseler's guide, a pronounced scientific detachment was manifested by his significantly brief remarks about animals, which were primarily identified by their geographic distribution and a brief physical description. Most comments were only a sentence long. Generally, Vosseler's remarks did not extend beyond two sentences, unless elaborating on an animal especially uncommon in zoos, such as the beaver.¹³³ Unusual animals such as the kangaroo also received somewhat more attention.¹³⁴

As a result, the guidebook was almost devoid of subjective evaluations of the animals. Instead, animals were stripped of all characteristics other than those pertaining to their anatomy and abilities. A typical catalogue entry, like that for polar bears, stated the animals' Latin name and that it was "mainly a carnivore, swims and dives superbly, hunts fish, seals, etc. N. polar region." In another example, the serval cat was simply described as "long-legged and short-tailed,

¹³¹ Note that adjectives such as "physical", "bodily", and "instinctive" may be synonyms for "animal". These associations can also be related to a Cartesian perspective.

¹³² G. Grimpe, "Julius Vosseler zum 70. Geburtstag," *Der Zoologische Garten* 4, no. 10/12 (1931): 314-315.

¹³³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 18.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

with strikingly small head and large ears. South and Central Africa.”¹³⁵ Indeed, in the most extreme examples of brevity an animal was identified only by its scientific name and geographic distribution.¹³⁶

Yet despite this extreme reductiveness, Vosseler still shared the anthropocentrism of Brehm and Bolau. This was suggested by his references to whether or not an animal could be tamed or was especially “quick to learn”, both of which reflected an animal’s receptiveness to human attention. However, in these instances Vosseler’s overall opinion of an animal was elaborated little beyond his characteristically brief comments. Still it is sometimes possible to discern an echo of Brehm’s appreciation for tameness, in which approval for companionable or compliant animals overrode other negative qualities. The zoo’s unnamed and “very quick to learn” chimpanzee, for example, was described as having withstood 10 years of captivity despite his frail constitution and was, additionally, possessed of an “extraordinarily cheerful nature”. Furthermore, although Vosseler concluded that the Kakadu was harmful to coconut plantations, he also tempered his criticisms of the bird as “one of the worst screamers, but learns easily”.¹³⁷

As the last example suggests, Vosseler’s human-centred approach also reflected Brehm’s and Bolau’s preoccupation with whether an animal might be

¹³⁵ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 43, 65.

¹³⁶ For examples see StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Vrezeichniss*, 77; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 56. *Ibid.*, 24 has an example giving only the common and Latin names; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 35, 37, 39. An example in *ibid.*, 34 lists common and Latin names only; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1901), 14, 30, 48. An example in *ibid.*, 9 lists common and Latin names only; StAHH A 585/15,9 Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 7, 10, 37, 42. An example in *ibid.*, 9 lists common and Latin names only. Many examples also included the name and location of the person making the donation.

¹³⁷ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2 (1911): Vosseler, 19, 54.

considered “useful” or “harmful”.¹³⁸ At times, however, Vosseler could be ambivalent. He stated that the “devourer of rubbish and omnivore” marabou was partially beneficial and partially destructive, adding that the bird also produced “fragrant” feathers.¹³⁹

This remark, of course, also illustrates Vosseler’s explicit objectification of animals. Like the zoo directors before him, Vosseler frequently pointed out that an animal yielded a tasty meat or was valued for other commodities that it yielded.¹⁴⁰ Clearly, Vosseler’s stark commentary did not preclude the objectification of animals any more than the lavish descriptions of previous directors did.

On the other hand, Vosseler’s spare, scientific approach was undercut by the apparent confusion of images in his handbooks. Despite the sleek and modern-looking appearance of his handbook, it nevertheless contained a pastiche of perspectives including those from previous guidebooks. For instance, even with the addition of a large number of photographs, the handbook still included a woodcut of Wapiti resting in the forest (Figure 26 above) and another image of a perched “Mandarin Duck”, both of which were retained from Bolau’s earlier edition of the guidebook.¹⁴¹

Remarkably, Vosseler’s guide also included an anthropomorphic image of a chimp wearing a bib, sitting beside a dinner bell on a table with tablecloth and a

¹³⁸ For examples see *Ibid.*, 12, 14, 15, 38.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁴⁰ For examples see *ibid.*, 6, 37, 45, 64.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 33. Interestingly, the same woodcut of the mandarin duck was used by the animal dealer August Fockelman in an advertisement for his business. See advertisement at the back of *ibid.*

pitcher, sipping from a spoon (figure 28).¹⁴² This anthropomorphism is striking when compared to the more natural looking image of a chimp found in one of Bolau's handbooks, which showed a woodcut of a chimp resting on a table or platform surrounded by grass, holding a rope in one hand and eating a piece of fruit in the other.¹⁴³ Not even Brehm had ventured into this kind of anthropomorphism used here by Vosseler, which superficially altered the appearance and manners of an animal rather than humanizing it through descriptions of character. As will become clearer in Chapters 4 and 5, such images seemed to convey some of the new discourses surrounding animals that emerged with the opening of Hagenbeck's Tierpark.

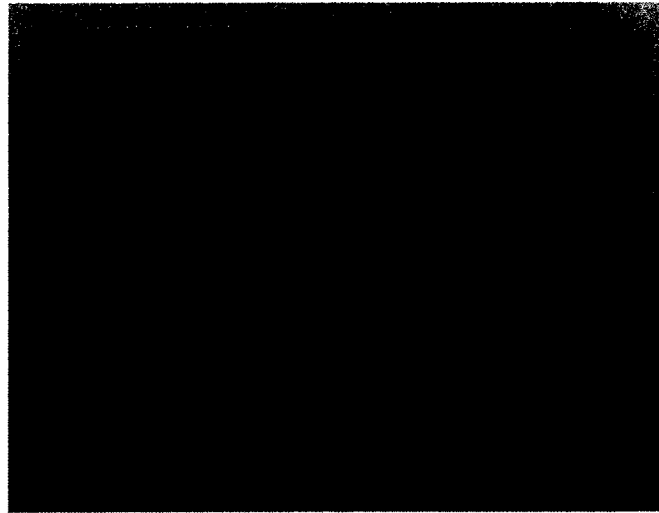


Figure 28. “Chimpanzee at mealtime” (*Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* [1911]).

Like previous handbooks, however, the majority of the images in Vosseler's guide were of two types. Most frequently the animals were photographed (rather than drawn) fairly closely framed, in relative isolation

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁴³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 33.

against a backdrop, such as an enclosure, sometimes with the bars or walls visible. Conversely, they might be seen set in context against a naturalistic setting, such as a photo of a beaver shown gnawing a tree beside another chewed-off tree stump and another image of water birds shown at one of the zoo's ponds.¹⁴⁴

Yet, despite the disparity between the two types of images, they were nevertheless unified in that they both reproduced contemporary depictions of non-European peoples as described in Chapter One. As in Bolau's handbook, these images resembled anthropological representations which objectified native peoples by focusing attention on their isolated bodies. At the same time, the other type of image, which placed the animals within a natural setting, created a narrative fantasy that imparted an equally objectifying documentary effect.

Still, somewhere in between these last two styles of photograph were images in which the animal's enclosure was clearly recognizable, but shown neither as a stark background nor a natural setting. This self-referentiality was compounded when a zookeeper was also shown handling the animal as was sometimes the case (figure 29).¹⁴⁵ Equally, there were several photographs which showed animal enclosures but not the animals which resided within them. These featured several of the zoo's finer buildings: the interior of the "Kangaroo House", the "Large Bird House" and an exterior view of the new "Ostrich House".¹⁴⁶ In these ways, by drawing attention to the condition of animal

¹⁴⁴ For examples of animals shown in isolation see StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 24, 67. Among the stark images was also a photograph showing the full body profiles of a long and a short-snouted crocodile, thereby making a subtle comparison (Ibid., 27). The beaver is seen on *ibid.*, 18. For other examples of natural settings see *ibid.*, 31, 35.

¹⁴⁵ For examples see *Ibid.*, 23. Image from *ibid.*, 68.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 11, 40.

maintenance and by explicitly referring to the zoo's staff and enclosures, or by sometimes showing visitors enjoying the zoo's facilities and exhibits. Vosseler's guide, like Brehm's, reproduced the zoo visitor's gaze and reinforced the division between subject and object at the zoo. Moreover, these images drew explicit attention to the existence of the zoo itself, as a facility for the care and containment of animals. In other words, it drew attention to and made manifest the role of the zoo as a place which mediated between visitors and the public.



Figure 29. "Anton II." (*Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* [1911]).

Yet the range of pictorial styles found in Vosseler's guidebook also reflected the difficulties and confusion surrounding the character and function of the Hamburg Zoological Garden after the opening of its hugely successful commercial rival, Hagenbeck's Tierpark in Stellingen/Hamburg in 1907. In the first years after it opened, Hagenbeck's Tierpark drew more than a million visitors annually. This far exceeded the attendance rates of the Hamburg Zoo, which at its peak attracted just over half that number.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ Reichenbach, "A Tale of Two Zoos," 52.

The perception that the Hamburg Zoo was unable to hold its own against its pioneering competitor was evident among industry insiders. The Berlin Zoo director Ludwig Heck had earlier reproached Vosseler's predecessor, Bolau, for his lack of interest in Hagenbeck's most interesting shipments of animals and for his complaints about their "terrible prices".¹⁴⁸ Heck also attributed (perhaps erroneously) Bolau's resignation from his post as zoo director to the realization that "with Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* coming into fashion, [he] could not hold off the fall of the old sites of public education."¹⁴⁹

In addition, a succession of publications arguing for the continued presence and importance of the Hamburg Zoo indicated that its existence needed to be justified. Vosseler authored a 1909 booklet entitled, "Proposals to improve the Hamburg Zoological Garden" and another in 1911 called, "The Scientific and Public Educational Importance of a Zoological Garden in the Heart of the Metropolis".¹⁵⁰ Indeed, if other Zoological Gardens, such as Cologne, were at the same time also attempting to assert their role through similar arguments,¹⁵¹ the situation of the zoo in Hamburg was more acute. Its 50-year cost-free lease of city land was due to expire at the end of 1911, and Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* was, literally, sitting in Hamburg's back yard. Booklets such as "Considerations for the Future of the Zoological Garden and the former Graves in front of the Dammtor"

¹⁴⁸ Weidner, 192.

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Weidner, 192

¹⁵⁰ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, "Vorschläge," n.p.; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartensn*, n.p.

¹⁵¹ HASK 1010-32: Ludwig Wunderlich, "Die Bedeutung des Zoologischen Gartens für die Volksbildung," *Stadt Anzeiger* (19 March 1911).

argued for the need to allow the Zoological Garden to remain in its original location.¹⁵²

While the Hamburg Zoo sought to assert its “scientific and public educational” role,¹⁵³ which was also suggested by its “Zoological Garden” designation, Hagenbeck’s appeal lay partly in its innovative and impressive displays which seemed to offer visitors a more authentic experience of wildlife.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, according to contemporary sources, among the differences between a Zoological Garden and a Tierpark, which will be considered more fully in the next chapter, was that in the latter “the individual groups of animals are not strictly systematically ordered . . .” as they were in the zoological garden.¹⁵⁵

Still, the professed intention to systematically collect and categorize animal species for display remained, prompting the Hamburg Zoo to try to acquire as many examples of different animal species and subspecies as possible. As one contemporary journalist explained, in contrast to a Tierpark, “In the zoological garden, stand as many species of animals as possible, with one or a few representatives mostly in narrow cages or also in larger enclosures, but always strictly separated according to the species.”¹⁵⁶

To that end, in the early years of the zoo the guidebooks sometimes mentioned when particular animals were desired to complete the collection. For

¹⁵² StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Martin Haller, *Betrachtungen über die Zukunft des Zoologischen Gartens und der ehemaligen Begräbnisplätze vor dem Damthor* (Hamburg: Strumper & Co. 1909).

¹⁵³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p.

¹⁵⁴ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: W. Henz, “Der Neue Hagenbecksche Tierpark in Stellingen bei Hamburg” (publication title unknown, 1907), n.p..

¹⁵⁵ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: W. Henz, “Hagenbecks Tierpark zu Hamburg” (publication title unknown, 1904), n.p..

¹⁵⁶ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Henz, “Tierpark in Stellingen,” n.p.

example, Brehm appealed to a sense of civic competition when he hinted broadly that a certain member of the ostrich family “belongs to those animals which we still lack, but which are especially wished for. Only the Garden in London owns it and, in fact, already for many years.”¹⁵⁷ Under Bolau, the zoo’s collection expanded to more than 600 varieties of animals by 1891 and to more than 800 only 10 years later.¹⁵⁸ Even so, in 1909, Vosseler continued to call for the expansion of the collection. He wanted to complete specific areas of the collection such as invertebrates, so as to include insects, as well as expanding the collection of the German and European vertebrates, particularly fish, amphibians, reptiles and mammals.¹⁵⁹

Furthermore, in Vosseler’s view, Hamburg’s status as a port city made it possible for it “to gather valuable information about the life and existence, in the wild, of exotic animals in their homeland, to make many species known to science for the first time or to bring them to procreation, and to be of service to other gardens by professionally taking receipt of, and sending them, animals that arrive from abroad, to once more, benefit the general public.”¹⁶⁰ In this way, Hamburg’s advantageous location encouraged and facilitated the zoo directors’ zeal for collecting while also reflecting a belief in the scientific value of collecting in and of itself.

¹⁵⁷ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel I, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 60.

¹⁵⁸ For these numbers I have used the number of animals itemized in the zoo guides themselves.

¹⁵⁹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel I, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, “Vorschläge,” 9.

¹⁶⁰ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel I, Zoologischer Garten u. Zoologische Gesellschaft: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, np.

Indeed, the enthusiasm for collection was underpinned by the notion that to know one animal of a particular species or sub-species was to know all animals of that particular species or sub-species. Essential knowledge of an animal could be obtained through its possession and by observation of its physical and mental characteristics. In this respect, the zoological garden resembled the anthropological *Typensammlung*, the mass collection of human and cultural artifacts intended to differentiate supposed racial types according to their common psychological traits and physiognomy. However, the *Typensammlung* relied upon the observation of large numbers of specimens in order to characterize each ethnic “type”, whereas, as I will discuss next, the zoo used only a single representative to characterize each “type” of animal.

Moving from display to display with guide in hand, zoo visitors were presented with an essentialized portrait of each species and sub-species of animal. All the characteristics of a particular type of animal were embodied by the individual representatives found in the zoo’s collection. What was true of one animal was true for all animals of that type. So, for example, Brehm declared “In their mentality [llamas] are all the same; they are stupid, stubborn and malicious.” Or he sweepingly declared that “Europe has the **badger**, the **beech marten** and the **genet**, Asia the **musang** and **Mungos**, Africa the **civet** and the **ichneumon** (Egyptian mongoose), Australia the **marsupials**, America the **kinkajou** and the **coatimundi**. In their lifestyle and behaviour, these animals all have much in

common. Namely, they are all more or less capable predators [original bold type].”¹⁶¹

Although this tendency to generalize was especially evident in Brehm’s expansive and anthropomorphic descriptions, the notion that one animal could synecdochically represent all animals of its type was the very premise of the zoo; one animal was to stand for all members of the same species. This assumption was what enabled Bolau to state unequivocally that the “spotted crane . . . accustoms itself easily to captivity and quickly gives up its initially shy, withdrawn nature.”¹⁶² Equally, it was on the basis of this assumption that Vosseler could state that the Central European red deer was “smaller, but more handsome and of a prouder build and bearing than the wapiti.”¹⁶³ Without a doubt, the assumption that all animals of a particular species were uniform enabled Brehm, Bolau and Vosseler to speak about temperament and physique as though they were invariable.

Indeed, it was through such portrayals in the zoo’s various publications, which employed physical descriptions sometimes combined with anthropomorphic traits, that animal “types” were characterized. At their most minimal, these characterizations focused purely on one feature: “One laughs about the drollness of the monkeys, is surprised at the unexpected agility of the bears, is

¹⁶¹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 46, 68. Brehm mentions the badger in this passage, but he then qualifies his remark in the next paragraph by saying that the badger is the only exception to this rule, since it is too lazy to be a thief. See his and my comments on the badger below. A note on translation: the original text refers to “Rauhbeutler.” This seems to be a typographical error. Instead, I have translated the term “Raubbeutler,” meaning marsupial.

¹⁶² StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 17. The *gesprenkelte Sumpfhuhn* (*ortyometra porzana*) seems to be a name and classification no longer in use. As far as I can ascertain, the spotted crane is the same animal.

¹⁶³ StAHH A 585/159 Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 5.

amazed at the majesty of the lions, the height of the giraffes or the massiveness of the pachyderms . . .”¹⁶⁴ These portrayals obviously reduced animals to the simplest of entities.

But frequently the zoo literature presented animal “types” as a combination of both physical and mental attributes. For instance, Brehm explained that, “All true eagles (*Edeladler*), characterized through claws feathered down to their toes, are in their actions, the kings among the birds. Courage and self-confidence in their own strength flashes out of their eyes. Their bearing is proud, noble. Their movements are fairly light, their flight is splendid, very gliding, swift and unflagging. The voice is loud, piercing.” In another example about martens Brehm declared that “All characteristics and requirements of real predators are united within them: [a] suitable physical build, that is, [a] slender body, sharp teeth and claws for climbing, agility and dexterity, sharp senses, intelligence, cleverness, cunning and [an] insatiable thirst for blood.”¹⁶⁵ By the same token, Bolau described Rhesus monkeys as “large, strong animals with the head of a dog, cheek pouches and very developed weals on their buttocks”, whose “wildness, cunning and malice” made them unpopular in their homeland.¹⁶⁶ Even Vosseler occasionally strayed into such portrayals, describing all varieties of baboon as “Characterized by their size and strength, also, above all, by their ugliness. Their natures are also as spiteful and cunning as their eye[s], especially as he the male [baboon] is known to be the tyrant of the weaker members of the

¹⁶⁴ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines zoologischen Gartens*, n.p.

¹⁶⁵ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 17-18, 47.

¹⁶⁶ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 25.

horde.” Even more succinctly, Vosseler simply declared that the “nature and build” of the parrot was “extremely characteristic”.¹⁶⁷ Thus, by describing animal “types” in purely physical terms or by mixing physical traits with psychological qualities, zoo directors gave the impression that all the qualities described were uniform and, when seen in combination, immutable and inherently linked.

Given this essentialization, then, it is not surprising that the Hamburg Zoo directors frequently switched between references to animals as a group and references to them as individuals, letting one animal serve as a representative of an entire species or sub-species. For example, in an article on antlers, Bolau explained that “It would tire the reader excessively if I wanted to describe the antlers of the 70-80 types of deer that live in Europe, Asia, America and North Africa. For that reason, I will confine myself to the largest deer, the wapiti, which is superbly depicted in our illustration, and to our Central European red deer.”¹⁶⁸ In another striking example, Brehm refers to badgers by the name of a character, Grimbart, from an epic poem by Goethe, *Reinicke Fuchs*, at once giving the animal individuality while at the same time reducing it to a generic creature, since this is also a folk name for badgers in general: “**Grimbart**, the badger . . . is too lazy for the craft of theft. Whatever lies in his path will be taken along – more than that, nothing. The hunt is laborious and Grimbart is inclined to tranquility. A secure cave in a crevice or under tree roots in the forest is his primary need. Here he can sleep away the whole day and besides that, the whole winter [original bold

¹⁶⁷ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 21 and 53.

¹⁶⁸ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Heinr. Bolau, “Geweihbildung,” *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 6 (1904), 4.

type].”¹⁶⁹ Similarly, Vosseler used this strategy to briefly refer to the moose as “the ‘fierce wild horse’ of the Song of the Nibelungen”, as Brehm had done before him.¹⁷⁰

Occasionally, when the individual animal at the zoo was recognized, it was still only to support generalizations. For example, according to Brehm, the hawk was “a highway robber and a tramp of the worst kind. Our young female strangled and devoured her older mate – and certainly not out of love! More need not be said about the character of the hawk.”¹⁷¹

Indeed, exceptions did not undermine, but rather underlined the rule by drawing attention to it. Vosseler remarked that although in captivity Kreuzotter snakes usually refused to eat, the one held by the zoo had repeatedly taken food.¹⁷² Even more, Brehm asserted that “They are only brave when they are driven by hunger – and it is exactly for this reason that our **domestic dog** makes such a notable exception among his familial kin [original bold type].”¹⁷³ In this way, the importance of individual deviations was negated by reference to an essentialized norm.

Furthermore, an example from Bolau’s series on “Our Beavers” illustrates not just the way in which the author moved easily between references to animals in general and animals in particular, but also shows how anthropomorphism,

¹⁶⁹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 46. Following this passage, Brehm takes a similar approach to the fox, which he refers to as Reinicke, although the animal is only mentioned here because of its relationship to the badger and is not actually one of the animals in the enclosure under discussion. See *ibid.*, 46.

¹⁷⁰ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 5; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 9.

¹⁷¹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 21-22.

¹⁷² StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 28.

¹⁷³ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 57.

which might have individualized animals, was compatible with this process. First, the article began by broadly and briefly discussing the appearance and abilities of infant beavers in general. Bolau then continued by describing the antics of the zoo's "two offspring – we would almost like to call them Max and Moritz" and the care given by "Frau Mama" and "Herr Papa" beaver. Yet, although this anthropomorphism humanized and individualized the animals and, in this case, made them endearing, their anthropomorphic representation was never truly separate from their generic representation. Indeed, Bolau concluded his article by explaining that the zoo had previously possessed other beavers. Although they eventually perished, he matter-of-factly explains, "it took a long time to replace them; only last year the opportunity presented itself to acquire a nice pair of Canadian beavers."¹⁷⁴ In this way, despite the seeming individualization of the zoo's animals, they were still only interchangeable representations of types.

The use of individual captive animals to represent all wild animals of a particular species was the equivalent of the way in which anatomical illustrations of human body parts stood for an idealized norm. The historian Thomas Laqueur has shown that illustrations representing "*the* human eye or *the* female skeleton . . . must postulate a transcendent norm. But there is obviously no canonical eye, muscle, or skeleton, and therefore any representation making this claim does so on the basis of certain culturally and historically specific notions of what is ideal,

¹⁷⁴ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Heinr. Bolau, "Unsere Biber. I. Biber mit Jungen," *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 5 (1906), 1.

what best illustrates the true nature of the object in question.”¹⁷⁵ Likewise, captive animals and their accompanying descriptions were intended to represent what was thought to be a ‘true’ version of each wild animal.

Since each animal represented an essentialized norm in which physical and psychological qualities were conflated, its physical presence was the embodiment of an animal “type.” It was not just that a particular animal was intelligent, stupid, stubborn or tame, *all* animals of that type were considered to bear these qualities, which were biologically endowed. This was no different from the way in which we saw in Chapter one that the Godeffroy scientist Kubary described the entire people of Korrer as indolent and lazy,¹⁷⁶ attributing psychological qualities to race.

Moreover, as we have seen, animal “types” were frequently judged according to their usefulness and amenableness to human society. These were, of course, subjective evaluations much like that which judged aboriginal people according to a Eurocentric standard of what constituted civilized behaviour. In fact, descriptions of animals as useful/destructive or tame/untame were equivalent to the qualities of “lazy” or “treacherous” so often used to describe aboriginal peoples in the Godeffroy literature (the Tetens memoir and the journal). In both cases, these normative categories reflected subjective judgements of compatibility with, and acquiescence to, the demands of modern German society.

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 166.

¹⁷⁶ J. Kubary, “Bericht über meinen Aufenthalt in Palau.” *Journal des Museums Godeffroy* 1, no. 4 (1873/74), 191.

This observation, then, helps us to understand the role of the zoo as a collector of animals. First, it must be understood that in seeking to amass a large collection of representative “types” the Hamburg Zoo was able to justify its action on ethical and environmental grounds. As Vosseler explained: “So the Garden supports the school and the family, and with that the organism of the state in ethical and moral education, [and] contributes directly to the efforts of the animal and nature protection movement. If it not only presents to its little visitors as many typical animal forms from the homeland as possible – among them about 100 species of German birds – it also, through a far-reaching outlook, gives them the forbearance to make contact with their favourites so as to befriend them [the animals].”¹⁷⁷

This ethic could also be applied to other animals, for the conservationist position adopted in the name of the collection, also came into play when the zoo acquired endangered species. Hamburg Zoo literature produced by all three of the zoo’s directors frequently pointed out instances where species in its collection were rare or threatened by extinction.¹⁷⁸ For instance, in an article in one issue of the the zoo’s concert magazine, *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, Bolau described at length the wanton slaughter of bison or buffalo in North America. In fact, he spared no words in making his condemnation of the wholesale extermination of North America’s largest land animal extremely clear. In the

¹⁷⁷ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, *Die Bedeutung eines Zoologischen Gartens*, n.p. Note that Vosseler also articulated the educational and moral objectives of civic zoology.

¹⁷⁸ For examples from the handbooks see StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 9, 36, 64; StAHH A 585/159 Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 3, 21-22, 29; StAHH A, 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 47, 56, 69 respectively.

article, he stated that between 1860 and 1880 alone “have 15 million been slaughtered” and condemned “the greed of the poachers” and “the wretched craving for glory” of the “sportsmen” who hunted the bison. In no uncertain terms did he describe the buffalo as the “victims” of the “murderous desire to hunt and the profit-seeking of greedy humans”. In this way, Bolau was able to present the zoo as an advocate and haven for threatened animal species. Indeed, Bolau’s concluding paragraph stated that “Today the bison which are preserved in the Zoological Garden are almost the only ones still living – the sad remainder of a great race.”¹⁷⁹ In another example, Vosseler’s handbook remarked that the common raven (*Kolkrabe*), was “very decimated through the advance of Culture and as a pest to hunters.”¹⁸⁰ In this way, by drawing attention to its endangered status, Vosseler suggested that the only place one was likely to see a living example of this bird (or any other threatened species) was at a zoo. Thus, just as the *Typensammlungen* of anthropological museums sought to preserve and display the artifacts of far-off dying peoples and cultures, the zoo represented itself as a reserve for rare and vanishing species.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Heinr. Bolau, “Der amerikanische Bison,” *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 5 (1904), 3-4. The same article was reprinted in 1906. It appeared under a different title and also had additional paragraphs at the beginning and end to include mention of several other species included in the same enclosure. Some of the photos were also different. See StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologischer Garten (1904-07): Heinr. Bolau, “Büffelgehege” *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 6 [1906]: 1-2.

¹⁸⁰ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 18.

¹⁸¹ One sees this parallel relationship in the United States where the future co-founder and director of the Bronx Zoo in New York, envisioned the creation of zoological park in which it would be possible to breed endangered animals such as the bison. This led first to the creation of a zoo at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. (Elizabeth Hanson, *Animal Attractions: Nature on Display in American Zoos* [Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002], 26). The reservation system created for North American aboriginal peoples might be seen as the human equivalent of the conservation park. In the words of Karl May with respect to natives: “So that it does not die-out, one grants the bison a sanctuary up in the National Park of Wyoming. Why does

Yet, the zoo's self-appointed role as a nature conservatory also deflected attention away from its position as a participant in the international animal trade which had contributed to the decline of species. No doubt, the prestige associated with the possession of rare animals contributed to the trade, as did the high price that a hunter or trader could fetch for such an endangered creature. Furthermore, zoo visitors themselves were implicated in the animal trade. As Vosseler observed, "The public demands more change, its expectations have risen and are less constant than before."¹⁸²

The paradox of the zoo was akin to that of the anthropological museum which sought to collect and preserve as many examples of extinct or near-extinct peoples and human cultures as possible. The fact that European contact had caused the demise of various indigenous groups remained in the background behind the endeavour to acquire as many artifacts as possible before a tribal culture was lost. Likewise, although Bolau was outspoken in his condemnation of the killing of bison he, like Brehm and Vosseler, had no basic objections to the hunting and capturing of animals in general. Bolau's contempt for hunters was directed only at those he thought were wasteful and greedy rather than at the trade in animals as a whole. After all, the zoo guidebooks themselves had played a role in commodifying animals through their frequent and various references to the usefulness and/or tastiness of animal bodies.

one not also offer the former rightful master of the land a place where he can live securely and grow mentally? . . . (Karl May, *Winnetou I. Ungekürzte Volksausgabe*, Vol. 1, 2320 ed. [Vienna and

Heidelberg: Karl May Taschenbücher im Verlag Carl Ueberreuter, 1953], 7)."

¹⁸² StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 1, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, "Vorschläge," 23.

Furthermore, when it came to such animals as the tiger, whose activities conflicted with humans, none of the zoo's directors condemned hunting.¹⁸³ Indeed, Bolau expressed gratitude that the man-eating Bengal tiger had nearly been "purged" from some Indian provinces by hunters.¹⁸⁴ Similarly, in an article about the lynx, Bolau stated in almost approving terms that "The significant harm that our predator that exists in the wild does, the insatiable murder wreaked upon goat and sheep herds, has prompted the forester as well as the farmer to relentless pursuit of the thief."¹⁸⁵

Clearly, embedded within the paradox of both anthropological and zoological collecting was the problem of contact with so-called civilization (Kultur). In the case of aboriginal people, contact with Europeans had led either to their physical death through the spread of previously unknown diseases or through the cultural death brought by adaptation to, or adoption of, European culture. Once changed, these peoples were no longer judged to be original or authentic. No effort was made to stop their decline, which was seen as an inevitable consequence of progress. The role of anthropologists was merely to preserve the remnants of these cultures.

On the other hand, animals were collected somewhat differently in that the question was not whether or not contact with European civilization had rendered animals inauthentic. To be sure, animals could be changed by their exposure to humans. As we have seen, zoo directors frequently and approvingly reported if an

¹⁸³ For examples see StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 22; StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 54-55.

¹⁸⁴ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 31.

¹⁸⁵ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 3, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten (1904-1907): Heinr. Bolau, "Lüchse," *Zoologischer Garten in Hamburg*, no. 3 (1904), 4.

animal could be tamed, made into a pet, or was “quick to learn” (*gelehrig*). Yet at the same time, zoo animals were presented as biologically determined representatives of fixed types. This discursive contradiction was very much like that of anthropologists who complained that native cultures were being changed by European influences at the same time as they rushed to preserve what they judged to be the remnants of supposedly static human societies. In the case of animals, the zoo was purported to display wild animals even as it was a medium for incorporating wild animals into civilization and for showing whether an animal was receptive to civilization in both meanings of the word.

Nevertheless, unlike the anthropological museum which gathered and presented the vestiges of human cultures, the zoo ultimately served as a repository for the preservation of as many living animal specimens as possible regardless of whether these were judged to be wild or tame. If animals were particularly useful, harmless or charming, but not capable of surviving against human activities, such as hunting, then the protection of the zoo helped to minimize the impact of civilization and maintain the species within it. If animals conflicted with humans by, for example, preying upon livestock or, worse, attacking humans or if they were simply too difficult to tame – in short, if they were savage and uncivilized, then, like the tiger, they rightly faced extinction outside of the contained and neutral space of the zoo. In either case, the zoo served both as a mediator and a liminal space between nature (animals) and culture (European civilization and zoo visitors).

This was well illustrated in cases where zoo directors had differing views of an animal's relationship to civilization. In the opinion of Alfred Brehm, the wolf was unjustifiably slandered in most natural histories. Despite his view that it was as "cruel and voracious" as other dogs, he suggested that the zoo's captive animals proved that they were not vicious or untamable and could on the contrary be friendly and affectionate,¹⁸⁶ suggesting that through the mediation of the zoo, the wolf could be capable of civilization and was even compatible with civilization.

On the other hand, Bolau characterized wolves as "one of the most harmful predators. An inhabitant of all of Europe, through civilization (*Cultur*), in the last century he has been driven ever further back. . . . in Winter he develops cooperative societies that, [when] they [the wolves] are mad through hunger and cold, even pose a danger to armed humans."¹⁸⁷ In these ways, Bolau suggested, wolves were incompatible with human societies and the only place for these wild animals to safely exist was confined to the liminal space of the zoo, which mediated between nature and civilization.

Yet, whether tame or not, the conflict between the wolf and human culture eventually came full circle. By 1911 Vosseler's handbook stated simply and briefly that the wolf was a "well-known predator, wiped-out in Germany, formerly spread out across all of Europe. Now and then our pair raises puppies."¹⁸⁸ In other words, having lost the contest between nature and European society, the nearly extinct wolf existed now only in the liminal space of the zoo.

¹⁸⁶ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Führer*, 33.

¹⁸⁷ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Bolau (1891), 49.

¹⁸⁸ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: Vosseler, 36.

where it was preserved like a living artifact, for the curiosity of the zoo-going public.

But, like any artifact or cultural remnant, once it was removed from its original context, its meaning changed and was often diminished through the reductive exercise of labeling and description. Animals which might in the complexity of their natural environment have exhibited more individualized and varied behaviours as they responded to their habitat and to different social relationships,¹⁸⁹ were reduced to static objects by their confinement to zoos. Indeed, despite quoting a lengthy exposition by Brehm about the many qualities of parrots, including that they were proud, brave, loyal, hot-tempered, cruel and cunning, the author of a *Zoologischer-Garten Anzeiger* article ultimately had to conclude that Brehm's observations mainly reflected the qualities of captive animals: "In their nature, however, they show considerable variation All of these characteristics become modified through captivity and taming, at times they are even totally changed, so that we no longer believe that we have any kind of parrot in front of us at all."¹⁹⁰ Thus, paradoxically, although the Hamburg Zoo intended to help Germans to "know" wild animals, ultimately it was only a generic and simplified representation of a captive animal that was conveyed.

Clearly, as I have shown, knowledge of the animals themselves was produced through the zoo guidebooks and other literature under the direction of the zoo's directors, Alfred Brehm, Heinrich Bolau and Julius Vosseler. The

¹⁸⁹ Jane Goodall's studies of chimpanzees in Tanzania are a good example of the complexity of wild animal "societies."

¹⁹⁰ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: Eugen Richter, "Unsere Schwätzer im Zoologischen Garten. Schluß," *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 25 (September, 1880).

representation of nature at the Hamburg Zoological Garden had its basis in already established approaches to understanding nature in Germany. Natural history associations, such as the Friends of Nature, and of civic zoology as a whole encouraged the systematic analysis and classification of animals. Likewise, in the ersatz German landscape of the zoo, the principles of taxonomy were to be conveyed to visitors. Moreover, the practice of civic zoology encouraged an analysis that emphasized not just the zoological aspects of the animals, but also the relationship of animals to humans. Accordingly, the guidebooks of the Hamburg Zoological Garden often reflected these civic zoological tendencies, which frequently had the effect of objectifying and commodifying animals. Furthermore, anthropomorphic and/or scientific representations of animals fixed and essentialized animal identities and reduced animals to interchangeable objects which were judged according to their utility and tractability. Ultimately, efforts to amass a comprehensive collection of animal types and to preserve rare and endangered species reflected the same impulses and paradoxes that underpinned anthropologists' attempts to catalogue and characterize human races. Ironically, the very process of confinement and description, both behaviourally and discursively, altered the Hamburg Zoo's animals. As a result, the very premise of zookeeping – that each caged animal was a representative of its wild counterpart unchanged by captivity – was confounded.

In this way, the representations of animals at the Hamburg Zoological Garden were the product of middle-class ways of seeing and knowing. However,

in the business empire of Carl Hagenbeck, middle-class ideals and aspirations could also be realized – complete with another set of paradoxes.

Chapter 4

Hagenbeck and the Civilization of Modern Germany

Up until now, this dissertation has focused mainly on the public zoological garden as part of the first wave of zoo building that occurred in Germany after the first half of the nineteenth century. However, the beginning of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a new development in zoo-building that would ultimately generate an important shift in the discourse of zoos. In 1907, Carl Hagenbeck, a renowned animal trader and impresario, opened his own zoo, or *Tierpark* (Animal Park) as he called it, in Stellingen, a suburb of north Hamburg. Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* was an instant success in no small part due to his innovative and picturesque approach to displaying animals, which included the use of landscape panoramas and barless enclosures. In its first year alone, the *Tierpark* attracted more than 800,000 visitors only to continue to rise to more than a million visitors annually by 1910.¹

The historian Nigel Rothfels has shown that Hagenbeck's innovations can be traced back to his earlier approaches to the training and display of animals for circuses and exhibitions, and the display of aboriginal peoples for the numerous "ethnological" *Völkerschauen* (literally, "People Shows) he staged. Moreover, Rothfels argues, many of the approaches founded or popularized by Hagenbeck constituted the transformation of his image from an animal catcher and trader to a

¹ Lothar Dittrich and Annelore Rieke-Müller. *Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913): Tierhandel und Schaustellungen im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1998), 205.

modern Noah and benevolent friend of indigenous people and animals.² Rothfels also points out and examines the contradictions in Hagenbeck's image as a businessman and animal lover. Hagenbeck was often represented as the benevolent ruler of an animal park "paradise" where animals enjoyed an illusory freedom and sanctuary.³ Although I support Rothfels' contentions, in this chapter I want to further consider the discourses surrounding Carl Hagenbeck's innovations, displays and image. I want to add that Hagenbeck's approach to animals was part of other discourses about work and social discipline, which were related not only to modern middle class discourses about *Bürgerlichkeit* (see chapter 2), but also to colonial and imperialistic ideas, all of which Hagenbeck himself exemplified in his own life and work.

To do this, I show that as the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries progressed, within the discourses of Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* and his overall approach to animals – which still resonates today – animals were configured in ways similar to non-European Others: as biological and social inferiors in need of European guidance and improvement. Indeed, if we return to Chapter 1 it is clear that Hagenbeck's innovations in animal training and display mirrored Captain Tetens' desire to civilize indigenous peoples. Hagenbeck was prominent in the staging of *Völkerschauen*, which presented non-European and/or indigenous peoples of various ethnic identities performing scenes from their daily lives to a

² Nigel Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 141, 176, 183, 187-188.

³ See Rothfels' Chapter 4 in *Savages and Beasts*.

curious European public.⁴ Similarly, his Stellingen zoo was supposed to showcase animals as they would have been seen in their natural environment. Still, if conventional zoological gardens tended to suggest that animals had fixed identities that were uniform and physically determined, Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* had a tendency to suggest that animals' identities were fluid and malleable. Animals should be regarded as individuals that could, in contrast, truly be tamed and even made useful – in a sense, civilized – and improved in the same way that Europeans intended to do with colonial peoples. Although wild animals were dangerous and uncivilized, they could be tamed and educated into middle-class values and behaviours. As the quintessential modern *bourgeois* man, Hagenbeck pointed the way for the treatment of animals in Germany.

After beginning this chapter with a brief overview of Hagenbeck's life and work, I will examine contemporary biographical and autobiographical treatments of Hagenbeck to show how his dual images as an iconic businessman and *Tierfreund* ("friend of animals") developed and solidified. Next, I will consider Hagenbeck's "gentle" approach to animal training and contemporary ideas about wild animals, especially the idea that wild animals needed to be handled with brutality and that they posed a threat to public safety. Circuses and wild animal shows, such as those of Isaac van Amburgh, reflected Germans' anxieties about the threat of human and animal Others and the desire to see them subdued. Therefore, this section will be followed by a more detailed discussion of Hagenbeck's efforts to "educate" animals. In effect, these efforts appeared to

⁴ For a comprehensive treatment of the *Völkerschauen* see Hilke Thode-Arora's seminal work *Fünzig Phennig um die Welt. Die Hagenbeckschen Völkerschauen* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 1989).

subdue and civilize animals and suggested that *Hagenbeck's Tierpark* was a site where nature was transformed, improved, pacified and civilized. Finally, I will compare the similarities between colonial discourses of race articulated in 1908 in the *Reichstag* with Hagenbeck's approach to animals. In this context, I build on Rothfels' assertion that the *Tierpark* (Animal Park) concealed and deflected questions about animal captivity.⁵ I suggest that by showing that animals could be humanely civilized, Hagenbeck's innovations resembled a benevolent and beneficial version of colonialism. Thus, Hagenbeck's dissonant personae as both a formidable animal trader and an animal lover were united in an idealized image of a new kind of Master. In the emergent German empire animals were among the new subjects.

* * *

I begin now by considering the life of Carl Hagenbeck. The Hagenbeck animal trade, we are often told, had its origins in 1848 when local fishermen delivered six seals inadvertently caught with the fish, to the family business of Carl Claes (hereafter referred to as Claes) Hagenbeck, a Hamburg fish monger. The resourceful senior Hagenbeck put the hapless seals on display to great success and from then on made various forays into the display of wild animals. The eldest son of seven children from Claes's first marriage was Carl, born in 1844. Already at an early age, Carl assisted his father with the family business. In the late 1850s, when Carl was still only a teenager, Claes asked his son to choose between the fish business and the animal trade. Carl opted to manage the family's

⁵ Rothfels, 197-199.

animal trade. By 1866 the young Carl gained independence from his father and by 1872 at the latest, he assumed complete ownership of the animal business.⁶

In the nineteenth century the European animal trade was underpinned by the expansion of colonialism. For instance, in the 1840s, for the purpose of developing diplomatic relationships exotic animals were often given as gifts to French and English monarchs. In addition, French colonial officials, in particular the businessman and consul M. Thibaut in Egypt, also took part in the capture and export of wild animals, which were bought by traveling menageries. In England, the animal dealers Charles Jamrach and Charles Rice also imported animals, although primarily from India and Australia rather than Africa.⁷ In Germany, the fast pace of zoo building that began with the opening of the Cologne Zoo in the 1860s soon gave the Hagenbeck business new markets.⁸

Accordingly, in 1864, while the business was still under his control, the senior Hagenbeck, Claes, contracted the Italian animal trader Lorenzo Casanova to provide him with African animals. Although still dependent upon the British animal market and whatever animals were serendipitously brought to the harbour in Hamburg, the arrangement with Casanova turned Hagenbeck's animal business into the definitive European source for "Nubian" (Sudanese) animal imports. Then, in 1870, Carl Hagenbeck concluded arrangements that gave the firm access to an even greater supply of animals. Together with his brother-in-law, the

⁶ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 16; Herman Reichenbach, "Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark and modern Zoological Gardens," *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History* 9, no. 4 (1980): 573-574.

⁷ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 18-19.

⁸ Wilhelm Fischer, *Aus dem Leben und Wirken eines interessanten Mannes* (Hamburg: Max Baumann, 1896), 16-17, 21-22. Reichenbach, "Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark," 573.

English animal trader Charles Rice, the younger Hagenbeck would share the costs and profits from the import and sale of large shipments of animals (Hagenbeck in continental Europe, Rice in the U.S. and England). The pair collaborated until Rice's death in 1879.⁹ Other collaborations, such as those with William Jamrach and with his own step-brother, John, also helped Carl Hagenbeck secure a supply of animals from India.¹⁰ In addition, in 1874, in order to accommodate his own large imports of animals rather than merely relying on middlemen to supply him, Hagenbeck relocated the family menagerie from the Spielbudenplatz in Hamburg's St. Pauli district to larger quarters in the Neuer Pferdemarkt district of the city, where he could hold animals in separate lion, monkey, elephant, reptile and predatory bird houses, while they awaited sale. As he had done at the old, two-acre location, he could also charge admission – 50 Pfg. per adult – to see the animals.¹¹ The new facility would remain the seat of the Hagenbeck animal trade until the opening of Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* in Stellingen, a suburb of Hamburg, in 1907.

In the meantime, however, the Hagenbeck business also diversified from a menagerie and animal trade to include animal training, with a brief venture into the circus business as well as, notoriously, the *Völkerschauen*. In 1874, growing competition in the over-supplied animal trade as well as low animal prices relative to the costs and risks associated with the import of exotic animals forced

⁹ Lothar Dittrich and Annelore Rieke-Müller, 21, 23.

¹⁰ Reichenbach, "Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark," 575.

¹¹ Herman Reichenbach, "A Tale of two Zoos: The Hamburg Zoological Garden and Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark," in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. R. J. Hoage and William A. Deiss (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 55; Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 25-27.

Hagenbeck to seek out new business opportunities. In 1880, Hagenbeck had fallen on hard financial times and was forced to borrow money from family members. Yet, ever resourceful, he hit upon the idea of selling groups of trained animals.¹² Not only could he outdo his competitors by adding value to his animals, but he could sell a number of animals at once. Already in early 1880 he had sold a group of trained hyenas, bears and dogs to the menagerist Caspar Steiner and his wife. Steiner's wife showed these animals as the trainer "Miss Cora". By the 1890s, trained animals had become a Hagenbeck specialty, not only for Carl, but especially for his brother Wilhelm who exclusively trained animals in a facility erected at the Neuer Pferdemarkt menagerie in 1875. Together the two men popularized the so-called *Zahm Dressur* (roughly translated, "gentle training") method, an approach purported to rely on positive reinforcement and the nature of the animal rather than on brute force. The method apparently originated in the 1830s with the French animal trainer Henri Martin, whom Hagenbeck knew personally,¹³ although more often it was – and still is – attributed to Hagenbeck himself.

In addition, Hagenbeck's travel to the United States had introduced him to the "big top" circus.¹⁴ Such a circus, it seemed, would be a good way to cover the cost of maintaining his surplus elephants following his "Ceylon" *Völkerschau*.¹⁵ Without the burden of having to construct an actual building, Hagenbeck would be able to take the performers, trained animals and artifacts from the Ceylon show

¹² Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 32-34.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 174.

¹⁴ Reichenbach, "Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark", 576.

¹⁵ Ortwin Pelc and Matthias Gretschel, *Hagenbeck: Tiere, Menschen, Illusionen* (Hamburg: Hamburger Abendblatt, 1998), 54.

on the road across Germany to places where the *Völkerschau* was still a novelty. So, in 1887 he founded “Carl Hagenbeck’s International Circus and Singhalese Caravan.” which soon changed its name to “Circus Carl Hagenbeck.”¹⁶

This venture proved to be brief and plagued with problems. On opening day in Hamburg, a severe storm destroyed the circus tents and a falling post nearly crushed Hagenbeck. On another occasion in 1888, as his circus elephants marched in a Munich parade, the animals became frightened and started to stampede causing panic in the crowds. In 1889 Hagenbeck drew his American-style tent circus, the only one that was solely his own, to a close.¹⁷

However, he did not give up on circuses entirely. For example, “Carl Hagenbeck’s Zoological Circus” appeared at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago under the direction of Hagenbeck’s brother-in-law Heinrich Mehrmann, who performed with a large group of mixed predators. That show, too, was beset by problems. First, fears about the Hamburg cholera epidemic of 1892 forced Hagenbeck to quarantine his animals in England before they could be transported to the United States. Then, when Mehrmann suddenly fell ill before the show’s opening, Hagenbeck himself had to show the animals. This was his only appearance ever as a circus trainer. Furthermore, although the show was the second most visited exhibit at the fair, its success was marred by

¹⁶ Ibid., 54; Matthias Gretschel, Klaus Gille and Michael Zapf, *Hagenbeck ein Zoologisches Paradies* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2007), 91; and Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 148. Note that Dittrich and Rieke-Müller refer to this circus as “Carl Hagenbeck’s International Circus and Menagerie”. See page 176.

¹⁷ Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 148-149; Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 176.

disagreements with Hagenbeck's American partners that resulted in great financial losses.¹⁸

At the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair Hagenbeck was again represented, this time by "Carl Hagenbeck's Trained Animal Show". Thereafter his son Lorenz took the show on tour through the United States under the name "Carl Hagenbeck's Greatest Shows, Triple Circus, East India Expositions". Afterwards, the circus was to be sold; however, Hagenbeck's American partners instead continued to travel and to use his name without consent. For years, Hagenbeck waged a legal battle over this issue, although it remained unresolved due to the outbreak of World War I.¹⁹

Still, other circus-style shows followed. "Carl Hagenbeck's Wonder-Zoo and Big Circus" appeared in 1910. A show in Buenos Aires and another in London in the winter of 1913/14 was mounted under the direction of his son Lorenz. After Hagenbeck's death in 1913, Lorenz and other Hagenbeck family members continued touring with circus shows – even during World War I – until 1953 at which point the business was given up entirely.²⁰ Interestingly, despite his critical successes, Carl Hagenbeck himself had, according to his own account,

¹⁸ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 51-52, 177

¹⁹ I am unable to firmly establish the name of the circus which toured the U.S. after the St. Louis World's Fair. Pelc and Gretschel refer to it as "Carl Hagenbeck's Trained Animal Show" (p. 74). Gretschel, Gille and Zapf only refer to its original incarnation at St. Louis World's Fair, "Zoological Paradise and Trained Animal Circus" (p. 88). As an official Hagenbeck biography, I have used Dittrich and Rieke-Müller's title, "Carl Hagenbeck's Greatest Shows, Triple Circus, East India Expositions" (Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 177). For an account of Hagenbeck's difficulties with all of this and all of his troubled American and circus ventures, see for a primary account Wilhelm Fischer, 47-52 and for a secondary account, Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 46-53.

²⁰ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 177-178.

little interest in circuses and found the people involved with them to be thoroughly dishonourable.²¹

Nevertheless, as we have seen, after the failure of his traveling circus Hagenbeck continued to mount international exhibitions featuring trained animals performing spectacular feats. At the Hagenbeck Pavilion in Chicago's World's Fair, bears walked the tightrope, hippos performed on the trapeze and crowned, ermine-robed lions were carried in tiger-drawn chariots.²² Although the show also included other, diverse animal acts, such as the Russian clown M. Beketow and his "Trained Pigs and Wild Boar" or Lily, "The Smallest Elephant in the World," it was the Hagenbeck acts that were most remarkable. One signature act created by Wilhelm and Carl featured a lion riding on the back of a horse. The twelve performances of the second part of the show featuring Heinrich Mehrmann began with "The Bear on the Barrel", followed by "Tigers on the Tricycle". The program then worked up to a spectacular finish with the "Steeple Chase of the Boarhounds – Leaping over living hurdles of Lions and Tigers", then the "Triumphant Drive of the Lion Prince – Dressed in Royal Robes and Crowned, drawn in his chariot by two Bengal Tigers and having two Boarhounds as footmen," and finally "The Great Zoological Pyramid – Consisting of Lions, Tigers, Panthers, Leopards, Bears, and Dogs."²³

I have devoted considerable attention to Hagenbeck's animal performances because, as Rothfels has suggested, this was not merely an isolated

²¹ Carl Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen: Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen* (Berlin-Ch.: Vita, Deutsches Verlagshaus, 1908), 134, 137.

²² Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 150-151.

²³ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 152-153.

aspect of Hagenbeck's career trajectory. In fact, Rothfels argues that it was through the experience of mounting circus acts, which were themselves spawned directly by the *Völkerschauen*, that Hagenbeck first began to think innovatively about the exhibition of animals.²⁴ Eric Ames also suggests continuities between Hagenbeck's *Völkerschauen* and his animal displays.²⁵

I therefore now turn to the *Völkerschauen*, which gave rise to the circus acts and ultimately the animal panoramas. Hagenbeck's first *Völkerschau*, an exhibition of Sami or "Laplanders" as they were then advertised, appeared in 1875 on the property of his large Neuer Pferdemarkt business. In comparison to other contemporary *Völkerschauen*, Hagenbeck claimed that his show was an entirely genuine, uncontrived exhibition of an exotic culture. Although the differences between Hagenbeck's earlier shows and other shows of the same ilk might actually have been rather difficult to discern, his predominant and repeated emphasis was nevertheless on authenticity.²⁶ Through the course of his long career, Hagenbeck mounted an enormous succession of People Shows: "Nubians" (four shows of various Sudanese) between 1876 and 1880, "Eskimos" in 1878, another "Laplander" show in 1878, "Hindus" in 1878, Patagonians in 1879, Labrador "Eskimos" in 1880/81, Fuegians in 1881/82, Australians in 1882, Kalmucks in 1883/84, the so-called Bella Coola natives of Northwest Coast

²⁴ Ibid., 81, 148.

²⁵ See specifically Eric Ames' comments in *Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments*, pp. 142-143, as well as Chapters 3 and 4 in which the immersion experience of the *Voelkerschauen* and the *Tierpark* panorama are discussed. The continuities and discontinuities between zoological zone pictures and the *Völkerschauen* are discussed on pp.72-74 (Eric Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2008).

²⁶ Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 88-90.

Canada in 1885/86, a Cameroon show in 1885/86 and the “Singhalese” or Ceylon shows of 1883/84, 1885/86 and 1887/88.²⁷

In particular, these last two Ceylon shows pointed out a trend particularly evident in Hagenbeck’s later *Tierpark Völkerschauen* towards larger and more elaborate shows. The Ceylon exhibitions included more than 50 “exotically” dressed performers, including magicians, acrobats, musicians and artisans in “little Indian villages”. In addition, many of these seasoned entertainers also filled their calendars between April and October, 1888, by performing in “Carl Hagenbeck’s Circus and Singhalese Caravan”.²⁸

Even though Hagenbeck temporarily ended his direct involvement with the organization of *Völkerschauen* in 1888, he was nevertheless still a financial contributor to a “Hottentot” show held in 1887/88. He also permitted other *Völkerschauen* to appear under his name, including the appearance of two “Eskimos” in his “Ocean of Ice Panorama” in 1896, another show of East Indians in 1898 and the display of South Sea Islanders for the St. Louis World’s Fair in 1904.²⁹

Although the English colonies and the United States had no prohibitions on the display of aboriginal peoples taken from their territories, some jurisdictions, such as Denmark by 1880 and Germany after 1891, did prohibit the export of their subjects for display.³⁰ Still, with the opening of his *Tierpark* in

²⁷ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 148-157, 160-163.

²⁸ Ibid., 162-163.

²⁹ Ibid., 166.

³⁰ H. Thode-Arora cited in Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 171. In the United States the Bureau of Indian Affairs even facilitated the professionalization of native peoples as performers in anthropological exhibitions and Wild West shows by providing prospective employers, such as the

Stellingen in 1907, which offered a large and more permanent display venue. Hagenbeck once again began to mount *Völkerschauen*. These shows were even more expensive and elaborate than before. For example, the 1909 Ethiopian Show consisted of about 100 members of a Christian tribe of Africans. In 1910 Hagenbeck exhibited “Laplanders,” East Indians, “Cowboys” and Oglala-Sioux Indians. In 1911 he showed “Eskimos,” Kalmucks, Indians and Kikuyu (Massai). In 1912, Hagenbeck exhibited approximately 90 Egyptians (72 adult and 18 children) as “Bedouins” in an “Arabic city” under the banner “On the Nile: Colourful Images out of Egypt, the Wonderland of the Pyramids”.³¹ The “city” was essentially an imposing and elaborate set in which the native performers presented the “everyday life” of bazaars, crafts, acrobatics and magic against a backdrop of the Gizeh pyramids, mosques, houses and palm trees. In 1913, Hagenbeck presented “Burma” (although the show was organized by the Norwegian anthropological collector and trader Adrian Jacobsen) and, finally, prior to World War I in 1914, the “Nubians” were once again exhibited,³² although Hagenbeck had already died the year previously.

Shows on such a magnificent scale were only possible because of the large, permanent space available at the *Tierpark*. The park was located several kilometers outside of Hamburg and it was not accessible by public transit, although at the time that Hagenbeck acquired the land a residential suburb and appropriate changes to transportation were being proposed for the area. At any

Hagenbeck recruiter Johan Adrian Jacobsen, with a standard employment contract and assistance in contacting government officials at various Indian reservations (Ames, 48-49).

³¹ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 172-173. For more on this highly theatrical display, see Ames, 138-140.

³² Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 173.

rate, Hagenbeck had few other options to expand. A comparably large piece of land was simply not to be had in the city. In 1901, he initially purchased fourteen hectares to which he later added another eight and then again another ten hectares for the building of his animal park.³³

On this relatively vast property Hagenbeck was able to fashion a zoo of a kind that had never been seen before. In particular, the “Paradise Panorama” was the crowning glory of the zoo. The entire panorama consisted of several visual ‘layers’ which could be viewed together as an entire landscape, but which visitors also passed between and approached separately. The first layer consisted of a large lake featuring different groups of birds. The next layer was a steppe filled with grazing animals and ungulates. Behind that layer was a rocky cavern for predators, which was later limited to lions only, and finally, the fourth and last layer was an artificial mountain divided vertically into sections for ibex, mountain sheep (*Mähnschaf*) and other climbing animals (*Thar*). Visitors could also climb the staircase in the back of the mountain and view the landscape from above. The scene was unobscured by metal bars although, in fact, the animals did not mingle, but were separated by moats. Overall, the panorama gave visitors the impression that they were standing in a large foreign landscape, inhabited by remarkably peaceful animals, which were enjoying fresh air and freedom. The effect was – and is still today – quite impressive.

The *Tierpark* in Stellingen was the culmination of Hagenbeck’s efforts to maximize his investments in animals and people. The spacious property served as both a training and a holding facility for the display animals, most of which were

³³ Ibid., 196-197.

also offered for sale (although this was not immediately obvious to visitors). At the same time, the park provided a venue for the spectacular *Völkerschauen*, which, like the Paradise and Polar panoramas, offered visitors the illusion of an authentic experience of the exotic and as Ames points out, together contributed to the entire “immersion” experience of the Animal Park.³⁴ To be sure, the *Tierpark* as a whole was not unlike the *Völkerschauen*, which were chiefly commercial – not colonial – endeavours intended to affirm preconceived ideas about foreign peoples;³⁵ rather than present an accurate depiction of peoples and animals, they presented what visitors expected – even demanded – to see.

Not surprisingly, the *Tierpark* was an instant sensation. In contrast, although the Hamburg Zoological Garden had previously been on sound financial feet and still hosted about a half a million visitors after the opening of the *Tierpark*, its attendance nevertheless declined by more than 80,000 visitors that year. Obviously reacting to this situation, Hagenbeck’s former customers, the various directors of the Zoological Gardens of Germany, stopped buying his animals. After 1910 and until the beginning of World War I, most German zoos no longer purchased their animals from Hagenbeck, preferring instead to buy

³⁴ See Ames, Chapters 2 and 3.

³⁵ Anne Dreesbach argues that the *Völkerschauen* were not mere instruments of colonialism. On the contrary, she argues that these shows were different from the interests of colonial propaganda. Instead, the *Völkerschauen* were the product of commercial interests, which profited from the desire of scientists for “research material” and the popular demand for entertainment that did not disrupt stereotypes of foreigners. Ultimately, the rise of film and tourism supplanted the *Völkerschauen*, contributing to their decline (Anne Dreesbach, *Gezähmte Wilde. Die Zurschaustellung “exotischer” Menschen in Deutschland 1870-1940* (Frankfurt & New York: Campus Verlag, 2005).

from his competitors, particularly Louis Ruhe who as a result then rose to become the most important animal trader in Germany.³⁶

Zoo directors across Germany, starting with Dr. Ernst Schäff of the Hanover Zoo, reproached Hagenbeck for the park's poor accessibility at the edge of town and for not being scientific. Among other things, Schäff took exception to the display of animals in the open air as "theoretically absolutely desirable", but nevertheless "practically unworkable". The panorama, he also complained, did not serve to properly educate the public. The animals roamed freely among each other and were difficult to distinguish, not to mention that the variety of animal species paled in comparison to that of the Hamburg Zoo. In addition to raising other objections, such as the risk of disease spreading among the animals, Schäff concluded his critique, which was published in the *Hamburger Correspondent* on January 1, 1909, by dismissing the *Tierpark* as a "Trade and show enterprise on a grand scale."³⁷

Other directors continued the attack. For example, the Berlin Zoo Director Dr. Ludwig Heck soon followed on January 28 in the *Berliner Tageblatt* with his own criticisms of Hagenbeck, mentioning, among other things, the financial difficulties of the "institute of public education", the Hamburg Zoo, and in comparison denigrating Hagenbeck's zoo as "show business". Then in April, 1909, Dr. Kurt Priemel of the Frankfurt Zoo objected to the unsystematic and geographically incorrect presentation of the animals and, indeed, to the fundamental approach to display in general, which, as Schäff had also

³⁶ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 71, 236-237; For more on this boycott, see *ibid.*, 71.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 243-244, quotes from 243.

complained, did not segregate the animals and which, along with the viewer's relatively large distance from the animals, made it difficult for visitors to differentiate species – species that were, in Priemel's opinion, not even represented by the best exemplars. By this he seemed to have meant that the animals did not seem to have been chosen because they best embodied the iconic traits of a particular species or sub-species. In particular, he seemed to object to the lack of strong, adult male animals on display.³⁸

Clearly, the thrust of the directors' hostilities towards Hagenbeck's accomplishment centred upon the challenge that the *Tierpark* posed to the Zoological Garden's very claim to existence. As we have seen in the previous two chapters, German zoological gardens such as the Hamburg and Cologne Zoos, had argued their legitimacy by actively differentiating themselves both from menageries and museums. Unlike menageries, zoo advocates insisted that theirs was a scientific and educational endeavour and a congenial gathering place for *Bürgerliche* socializing and entertainments. Moreover, unlike the museum, the zoological garden did not display dead, stuffed animals; it presented living animals moving about in enclosures in the pleasant gardens of the zoo – which also presented a contrast to the cramped cages of the menagerie – and offered visitors a glimpse of wild animals in their most natural form.

Now, however, there was Hagenbeck's *Tierpark*. Not only did this park blatantly and very successfully offer itself as an entertainment venue, an “attraction” (*Sehenswürdigkeit*), as Dr. Heck had sneered, but Hagenbeck had also

³⁸ Ibid., 246, quotes from 244-245. For a full account of the scientific reaction, including some limited support for Hagenbeck's *Tierpark*, see *ibid.*, 243-251.

managed to enter into the realm of science by addressing himself to the problem of acclimatization – although not to the satisfaction of some zoo directors – that so concerned many zoological gardens at the time.³⁹ Ames has convincingly argued that Hagenbeck’s *Tierpark* was above all a mass entertainment venue.⁴⁰ However, in my view this is what made the sting of his scientific accomplishments even greater. At any rate, now did Hagenbeck not only display animals out of doors in his Polar and “Paradise” or Southern panoramas, but he wanted to extend his scientific endeavours into the realm of hybridization and domesticated animals (*Nutztiere*). For instance, at his new facility, Hagenbeck wanted to cross zebus (*Gutscherzebus*) with European goats to produce cattle hardy enough to graze in summer and winter so as to prevent the tuberculosis infections which arose from animal confinement. Hagenbeck’s *Tierpark* even usurped the zoological gardens’ claim to presenting animals in their most natural form. The “biological principle” or the “treatment of the animal according to nature”, as the zoologist and Hagenbeck assistant Alexander Sukolowsky described it,⁴¹ was realized in the open-air display of animal groups against the “natural” setting of the panorama. Thus, in one stroke, Hagenbeck had usurped both the entertainment and scientific roles of the traditional zoological garden and turned the institution on its head. All that was left to zoo directors was to complain that the Animal Park was not educational.

In a 1907 magazine article, one enthusiastic contemporary commentator, W. Henz, described all of the wonderful attributes of the new *Tierpark* and

³⁹ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 245, 248, Heck quoted from 245.

⁴⁰ See especially Ames, 179-197.

⁴¹ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 206, 214.

explained why he thought it was superior to a zoological garden. He explained the difference between the *Tierpark* and a zoological garden making specific reference to the Hamburg Zoological Garden, and Hagenbeck's *Tierpark*:

The new Animal Park is not a zoological garden in the conventional sense of the word and does not want to be that either. A need for a new creation of that type did not present itself in Hamburg. But it [the Animal Park] offers an excellent addition to it. It stands in relation to one of those [zoological gardens] the way that a lively written *Tierleben* (*Lives of Animals*) does to a systematic zoological textbook, something like Brehm's *Tierleben* to the natural history of Giebel. In the zoological garden stand as many species for viewing as possible, mostly in narrow cages or in larger enclosures, but always strictly separated according to the species. Certainly, in the Hagenbeckian *Tierpark* we mostly find fewer animal types than in a well stocked zoological garden. However, with a larger number of species, and almost always with the most interesting, one often meets an astonishingly large group of specimens and, with that, a constantly changing stock. In a visit to the zoological garden one always sees the same animals⁴²

Henz did not seem concerned by Hagenbeck's apparent disinterest in displaying a complete zoological collection of species. On the contrary, he found the zoological garden's scientific and educational emphasis on collection to be boring, thereby negating their effectiveness as a tool for *Bildung*.

Moreover, Henz praised the *Tierpark* for presenting animals in a natural manner:

Of the large predators, a number of individuals or pairs are housed in cages. But then one also sees lions, tigers, panthers and so on, in large groups peacefully united next to one another. In the zoological garden, the opportunity presents itself more to study the outward appearance of animals, whereas, exceptionally, in the *Tierpark* one can observe the life and interactions of the different individuals and species with and between themselves. So at his first visit, [this] reporter did see a number of elephants on a large meadow working completely out in the open under the instruction of the keeper. And it was peculiarly touching to see these mighty colossuses that one is accustomed to observing always only in

⁴² HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: W. Henz, "Der neue Hagenbecksche Tierpark in Stellingen bei Hamburg," (Publication title unknown, 1907), n.p.

narrow cells. here without any barriers like a herd of cattle indulging themselves in the open.⁴³

Henz also declared the *Tierpark* to be a fully scientific endeavour: “So Hagenbeck’s attempts at acclimatization stand on thoroughly concrete, scientifically incontestable ground.” By the same token, he asserted the ethnological and anthropological importance of the *Völkerschauen* (which, of course, could be elaborately presented on the spacious new Stellingen property) and backed his claim by indicating the endorsements of such scientific luminaries as Rudolf Virchow, Adolf Bastian and Albert Geoffroy St. Hilaire.⁴⁴

Finally, Henz concluded by summarizing the value of the *Tierpark*. “So, the new, admirable creation of Karl Hagenbeck means more than just a first-rank attraction, but both a powerful undertaking in the practical sense of business, with scientific value and public welfare endeavours and a forward view, combined in the best possible way.”⁴⁵ Clearly, Hagenbeck’s *Tierpark* had appropriated and supplanted the scientific, educational and entertainment claims of the zoological garden, although some of the contemporary critiques also appeared to reflect the same class anxieties about “sensation-seeking” that Sierra Bruckner has identified in her examination of the German *Völkerschauen*.⁴⁶

Yet, even if the stunning success of his *Tierpark* secured Hagenbeck’s place in the history of zoos, his reputation as an animal trader and trainer of the highest order was already established well before that. To be sure, Hagenbeck’s

⁴³ Ibid.; Of course, seeing animals being instructed by an animal keeper undermined the natural appearance of the elephants, but Henz does not seem to recognize this contradiction.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ HA: Henz, “Tierpark in Stellingen,” n.p.

⁴⁶ Sierra A. Bruckner, “Spectacles of (Human) Nature: Commercial Ethnography between Leisure, Learning, and *Schaulust*” in *Worldly Provincialism: German Anthropology in the Age of Empire*, eds. H. Glenn Penny and Matti Bunzl (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

large, international base of customers had made him the top animal dealer in Europe and North America, but two biographies also promoted his business and secured his status. The first, *Lebensbeschreibung des Thierhändlers Carl Hagenbeck* (*Biography of the Animal Dealer Carl Hagenbeck*) self-published by Hagenbeck in 1887, was written by a Hagenbeck friend and associate, the animal painter and illustrator Heinrich Leutemann. The second, *Aus dem Leben und Wirken eines interessanten Mannes* (*Out of the Life and Legacy of an Interesting Man*) by Wilhelm Fischer, soon followed in 1896. The latter appears to have been a promotional piece that described Hagenbeck's preparations for a North Pole panorama, a precursor of the panoramas that would later be permanently situated in the *Tierpark*. That same year Hagenbeck had obtained a patent for his "natural scientific panoramas".⁴⁷

Nevertheless, what is striking about these two biographies is the way in which they present Hagenbeck as a heroic businessman who is described in highly laudatory, often larger-than-life terms. For example, Leutemann describes the animal trade as an "adventurous business". Also, although Leutemann admits that his biography does not concern itself with "a great statesman, war hero, scholar, writer or artist",⁴⁸ he nevertheless introduces his subject almost reverentially. He states that he believes it is both his calling and his duty to write "the life course of a man still living among us . . .".⁴⁹ Later, Leutemann concludes his chapter on the early years of Hagenbeck's business career by referring to the young man's great

⁴⁷ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 184, 189. For a description of the original plans for the panorama see Fischer, 54-55.

⁴⁸ Leutemann, 7, 47.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

“gift for selling” and recounting the Berlin Zoo Director Bodinus’ declaration that “No-one can sell like you [Hagenbeck] can!”⁵⁰

By the same token, Fischer’s commissioned biography of Carl Hagenbeck, whom the author sometimes refers to as “the Master”,⁵¹ is at least, if not more overtly celebratory than Leutemann’s. For instance, in describing the early growth of Hagenbeck’s business, Fischer explains that the young animal trader managed to gain control over the animal market in Hamburg in opposition to the then director of the Hamburg Zoo, the celebrated Alfred Brehm, who had hopes of establishing his Zoological Garden as a center for the animal trade.⁵² In relating this instance of friendly business rivalry, Fischer describes Hagenbeck as cautious (*Umsicht*), but also as a man of action (*Rührigkeit*) and energy. Furthermore, Fischer underscores Hagenbeck’s youthful boldness in challenging and defeating the “talented experts” like Brehm. Like Leutemann, Fischer quotes Bodinus’ declaration of Hagenbeck’s tremendous salesmanship.⁵³ Clearly, Hagenbeck’s success against the esteemed Brehm is taken as an indication of the animal trader’s own towering stature.

Indeed, Fischer concludes that Hagenbeck could not have been such an expert buyer and seller if he had not been “an excellent authority on animals” whose “knowledge, impressed and convinced everyone that he came into contact with in his business. To convince the leading experts, he understood that he had to

⁵⁰ Ibid., 16. The original text uses an incomplete set of quotation marks (and an exclamation point) on the end of the word “Verkaufstalent”. It appears that the quotation marks are erroneous.

⁵¹ Ames, 116 states that the biography was commissioned. For references to “Der Meister” see the headings for Chapters 1 and 2 (Fischer, 11, 20), as well as Ibid., 23, 49.

⁵² Fischer, 18. Leutemann also makes some reference to Brehm’s attempt to make the Hamburg Zoological Garden an agent in the animal trade (Leutemann, 15).

⁵³ Fischer, 17-18.

prove, in a forceful manner, the value and merit of the animals being sold.”⁵⁴ In this way, Fischer clearly celebrates Hagenbeck as the equal of his more educated peers.

Even more, Fischer explains that “Hagenbeck is more than a salesman, he is a pioneer in the service of science, the most outstanding expert on the lives of animals and above all things, out of his experience from his rich practice, a master of the animal psyche.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, he adds that, “Indeed, what Brehm as a theorist was, that is Hagenbeck as a practitioner.” Clearly, according to Fischer, young Hagenbeck’s innate talents and practically acquired knowledge of animals could hold their own against the prominent and well-educated zoological specialists whose respect Hagenbeck had earned.⁵⁶

Leutemann also suggested the connection between Hagenbeck’s success as an animal trader with his superior knowledge of animals. For instance, he argued that Hagenbeck’s employees benefited from his skillful example. He modelled quick and appropriate actions when animals suddenly threatened, thereby ensuring an excellent safety record for his animal businesses. In comparison, Leutemann argues that injuries and deaths caused by wild animals at

⁵⁴ Fischer, 18-19. The translation has been altered somewhat from the original text which reads: “Wissen, jedermann, mit dem er geschäftlich in Berührung kam, imponirte und überzeugte. Er verstand es, den Einwendungen des bedeutenden fachgelehrten gegenüber den Werth und die Vorzüge des zu verkaufenden Thieres in eindringlichster form nachzuweisen.”

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁶ By the same token, a travel book by Jules Huret described Hagenbeck as “in no way a simple animal dealer, rather a passionate zoologist. So, for example, he makes experiments with the most varied crosses” (Jules Huret, *In Deutschland. II. Teil. Von Hamburg bis zu den Polnischen Ostmarken*, trans. E. von Kraatz [Leipzig, Berlin & Paris: Grethlein & Co., n.d.], 255).”

menageries and zoological gardens were frequent.⁵⁷ Once again, Hagenbeck was portrayed as standing well above his peers.

Still, if we examine Leutemann's and Fischer's accounts of the origins of the Hagenbeck animal trade and then consider them in relation to Hagenbeck's autobiography, *Von Thieren und Menschen (Of Beasts and Men)*, originally published in 1908, it is clear that for as much as Hagenbeck's fame rested upon his dealings with animals, it was nevertheless his reputation and enormous success as a self-made middle class businessman that formed the basis of his public identity. Indeed, this is evident already in his earliest biography. There Leutemann introduced the life and work of his subject by discussing, first, his own relationship and early experiences with Hagenbeck and then next describing the expanding family fish business of Claes Hagenbeck in some detail. In Leutemann's account, the fish business was not just an incidental starting point from which the Carl Hagenbeck success story is launched. Instead, Leutemann devotes considerable attention to detailing the business of trawling, killing and gutting fish for meat and caviar, for it is against this backdrop that readers are introduced to a serious young Carl who, early on, learns the value of hard work, independence and perseverance against adversity. Only gradually from within this context does Leutemann show the emergence of the animal trade when in 1852 the ship's Captain Mayen brings the senior Hagenbeck a polar bear for sale. Together, Leutemann tells us, father and son go to sell the bear to a "dealer in objects of natural history". From then on, the pair continued to acquire other

⁵⁷ Leutemann, 34-35. For another example in which Leutemann refers to Hagenbeck's skill in handling a potentially fatal animal attack see p.37.

animals for sale⁵⁸ and Carl's role in the business is one of ever growing responsibility.

Similarly, after a laudatory introduction, Fischer's biography also emphasizes the importance of Hagenbeck's identity as a businessman, although Fisher's account highlights Hagenbeck's agency in obtaining success. Beginning with an account of "The Master's Youth and Development" the reader is almost immediately informed that "The father did not have it in mind to make 'educated people' out of his sons. From the abnormal pull of the present, that endangered the old truth of the two good German adages – [the] 'morning hour leaves you with gold in your mouth' and 'artisanal work has a golden foundation' – he was spared. Through his own strength and his own hard work, he wanted to gain his goal of becoming a distinguished man and he has indeed become one." Like Leutemann, Fischer describes how father and son work at first together as animal dealers and, then, the junior Hagenbeck more independently.⁵⁹ Hagenbeck's background in the fish business is really only briefly mentioned, however, as a way of explaining Hagenbeck's strong work ethic. As a result, much more than Leutemann's biography, Fischer's cursory account of the family business portrays Hagenbeck as a man of self-determination whose career was launched from, rather than made from within the family fish trade. Still, the focus remains on Hagenbeck as a self-made businessman.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 7-13. The Captain's name appears as "Main" in Hagenbeck's autobiography. In addition, Hagenbeck does not complete the story. He does not mention his own role or what his father did with the polar bear. Instead, he uses the story as an example of his father's boldness and spirit of enterprise [*Unternehmunggeist*] (Hagenbeck, 34).

⁵⁹ Fischer, 11-16.

Yet, significantly, Fischer's biography differs from Leutemann's in the date and its accounts of the beginning of the Hagenbeck animal trade. Specifically, in what seems to have become an official version of the story, Fischer states that "The actual beginning of the animal dealership dates from the beginning of March, 1848" when several fisherman brought the senior Hagenbeck a number of seals they had inadvertently caught in their fish nets. After first exhibiting the seals locally, Hagenbeck Sr. takes them to Berlin to show them, although political unrest there prompts him to quickly sell the seals on credit – which he knows will not be paid – and flee the city.⁶⁰

Why should Fischer have related this story, which does not involve Carl at all and which amounts to an aborted first venture into the animal trade? Indeed, why should Fischer have revised Leutemann's account of the origins of the Hagenbeck animal dealership and the 1852 date? The answer is suggested by the revised date itself. It marks the year in which revolutionaries across Europe, from Great Britain to Romania, demonstrated for democratic reforms. Although ultimately attempts by German liberal leaders assembled in Frankfurt in May, 1848 to create a constitutional monarchy and forge a "small German" state foundered when the Prussian King refused to govern with a "crown from the gutter", the events of 1848 nevertheless represented the spread of national and liberal ideals and movements to Germany.

Although it might seem that the concurrent emergence of the Hagenbeck animal business and German liberalism was merely a serendipitous but irrelevant coincidence, Fischer makes specific reference to the violent confrontation that

⁶⁰ Ibid., 12-13.

occurred in Berlin. The author lightheartedly states that the elder Hagenbeck's business trip with the seals to Berlin was unsuccessful as a result of "the case-shot and charming 'blue beans' [bullets], that reported themselves as guests", which prompted Claes Hagenbeck to hastily leave the city.⁶¹ Although this anecdote might seem to undermine the Hagenbecks' association with liberalism in that it shows the elder Hagenbeck fleeing rather than joining the revolutionaries, it nevertheless directly situates the nascent Hagenbeck animal dealership within the revolutionary year and movement.⁶² In a sense, the dealership is born from within the political strife of liberalism. Like a baby, it merely emerges from the forceful throes of childbirth.

Moreover, Hagenbeck's connection to liberalism is affirmed by the fact that he clearly sought to distance himself from the radicalism of the republican working classes. Although initially the revolution in Berlin centred upon such demands as universal male suffrage, an expansion of civil liberties and calls for a representative government, the common cause of workers and the bourgeoisie was soon divided over conflicting goals. The bourgeoisie sought to establish their power in a class-based society and to promote their capitalist interests. Workers, on the other hand, sought more than a bourgeois democracy. They wanted the rights and representation of a republican government.

In these ways, Hagenbeck's anecdote forges a link between liberalism and the emergence of the family business, which stands as a representative of the rise

⁶¹ Ibid..

⁶² It might also be added that the revolution or the revolutionaries are not really discussed, and given that Fischer approaches the topic in a good natured way, the overall impression is not a negative one.

of the German small businessman. Since the Hagenbeck animal trade and the revolution seem to have been brought forth at the same time and since Hagenbeck uses his tale to convey his political allegiance to the bourgeoisie, it is implied that Hagenbeck is the product, if not the personification of a modern, liberal Germany.

Likewise, when we consider Hagenbeck's autobiography, *Of Beasts and Men*, ghostwritten by Phillipe Berges,⁶³ the revision of the origins story also points to an attempt to associate Hagenbeck – as the embodiment of middle class ideals – with German liberalism. Hagenbeck, too, identified “the stormy year 1848” as “The beginning of the transformation of the fish business, that was certainly only a foodstuffs dealership, into an animal business”. He also explained his choice of 1848 as the origin of the animal trade, first by calling the previous fish business a food business and then by rationalizing that his father's exhibition and sale of the captured seals was exceptional because it was “the first of its kind for my father, as this time it [the show] had nothing to do with domestic animals . . .”⁶⁴

Yet, Hagenbeck's explanation suggests that his father had dealt in the animal business more seriously at other times, just not with wild or exotic animals. What Hagenbeck was presumably referring to was his father's regular contributions to the spectacles found at the “Hamburg Cathedral” (*Hamburger Dom*) amusement park. Early on in his autobiography, Carl recounts how his father, whose show name at the Dom was “Swan neck” (or “*Schwonenhals*” in dialect), had in 1853 put a 900 lb. pig on display. This was only one of numerous

⁶³ Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, 13.

⁶⁴ Hagenbeck, 31.

such displays for, we are told. “In those years, my father took care never to let the fair go by without displaying some kind of a rare or peculiar phenomenon from the animal world.” In another unspecified year, Claes had purchased a llama for display, although when the animal suddenly died before the show opened, his father fobbed off an ordinary deer in its stead. Nevertheless, Hagenbeck writes “that also that crude enterprise [i.e. the pig exhibition] carried the name Hagenbeck, yes, that this or another similar show from past times was the root out of which the widely branched enterprise, that is now centralized in Stellingen, grew-up in the course of a half century.”⁶⁵ In this way it seems much less clear – even to Hagenbeck – that the family animal business began definitively in 1848.

While this might seem like hair-splitting, it is important because it shows that Hagenbeck could have legitimately chosen from any number of dates to mark the inception of his business: 1848 was as valid a choice as 1852 or 1853 or the unspecified year the llama was purchased or whatever year Claes Hagenbeck first started exhibiting domestic animals at the Hamburger Dom. Yet, in contrast to Leutemann, both Hagenbeck and his biographer/publicist Fischer chose to identify the revolutionary year 1848 as the birth of the animal business.

Moreover, the date must be considered in relation to Hagenbeck’s consistent characterization as a heroic business success story and as the quintessential self-made man. Indeed, Hagenbeck’s autobiography seems to have solidified his iconic middle-class image, particularly as the book followed quickly on the heels of his triumph at Stellingen, which may be seen as his crowning achievement in a career marked by numerous innovations and successes.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 18-21.

To be sure, what is striking about the memoir is that despite its title, *Of Beasts and Men*, it is as much about Hagenbeck's business as it is about animals. For instance, Hagenbeck seldom failed to mention when some particular venture resulted in a financial profit or a loss. In one example, Hagenbeck recalls how as a 13 year-old he made his first large financial transaction after committing himself fully to the animal trade: much to his father's dismay, the young entrepreneur had purchased 280 South American beetles packed in a cigarette box from a ship's boy who sold the insects for about 20 Pfennig per beetle. However, we are told, the enterprising young Hagenbeck then took the insects to a local master baker and amateur entymologist who advised him where to sell the beetles and that he should not get less than 1-2 Marks per insect. The happy result for Hagenbeck was a sale price of 100 Thaler. On the other hand, in a chapter devoted to the capture of wild animals, Hagenbeck remarks wryly that the small expedition he funded to Tierra del Fuego "concluded with a loss of 10 000 Marks and a profit of three Upland Geese. One would agree with me that the three geese were bought at a somewhat high price."⁶⁶

In fact, Hagenbeck even discusses prices tangentially. In a chapter on animal training, Hagenbeck recounts how he engaged a man who had offered his services as a seal trainer. The trainer, he recalls, was hired for 25 Marks per week, plus another 100 Mark tip for each of the 5 successfully trained animals. After 4 months, the trainer had earned himself an extra 500 Marks and Hagenbeck in turn sold the seals to the circus promoter P. T. Barnum for the large sum of \$2500 U.S. dollars. One might have expected that since the chapter in which this story

⁶⁶ Ibid., 46, 211-212.

appears is entitled “The Training of Wild Animals” that the discussion would be centred solely upon Hagenbeck’s more humane approach to training animals, which he does indeed discuss at length, yet this is what makes the anecdote so odd. The story is more about “the best seal business, which was made since the foundation of the firm” than about the way in which the unnamed trainer had “transformed” the seal “performers” into animals that could strike a tambourine, strum a guitar, or shoot a pistol. On the contrary, the training process is completely ignored in this story.⁶⁷ Instead, what it indirectly illustrated was how value could be added to the ‘raw material’ of young untrained seals and highlights the business genius of Hagenbeck: the ability to achieve maximum profits from the simplest of assets.⁶⁸

Yet as a result of the memoir’s emphasis on the business talent, which carried Hagenbeck from his modest origins to the peak of success, the autobiography paints a picture of a man who is at once ordinary and extraordinary, a characterization not at odds with his previous biographers.⁶⁹ A short report in a Berlin newspaper describing one of the Kaiser’s visits to the *Tierpark* validates this impression: “He [the Kaiser] listened with great interest as

⁶⁷ Ibid., 351-352. The paragraph following this anecdote goes on to state that California sea lions are even more clever and agile than seals, but given that Hagenbeck devotes no discussion to how the seals were trained, the remark about the sea lions seems to be more of a strategy intended to return the chapter to its topic of dressage following the author’s digression.

⁶⁸ It also points up the truth of Hagenbeck’s own assertion with interviewers that diversification was the key to his success: “ ‘The business with living animals,’ declared Hagenbeck, ‘is the most difficult which exists . . . Had I not branched out my business in such a way that through shows, *Völker* exhibitions, trained animal groups that I also shipped out for hire, always created various sources of income, I would have been in a difficult position and through the animal business alone, gone under long ago’ (HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Phillipp Berges, “Beim König der Tiere. Ein Interview mit Karl Hagenbeck,” [no newspaper title], Köln, 19 September 1907), n.p.”

⁶⁹ Phillipp Berges, Hagenbeck’s ghostwriter, followed the same approach in an article he wrote about Hagenbeck. Berges described his affinity for languages, including “animal languages” and declared that “He could certainly also drape his chest [*Vorderseite*] with medals and decorations, but they rest quietly in some hidden drawer (Ibid.).

the old gentleman recounted the origin of the *Tierpark* and how, out of very small beginnings the current large enterprise began. He thought of the great difficulties that had set themselves against him, but that were luckily now overcome.

Afterwards, according to the *Hamburg Free German Papers* [“*Hamb. Frdbl.*” i.e. *Hamburger Frei Deutsche Blätter*] the Kaiser said laughingly to those around him, ‘Our finance ministers could learn from Mr. Hagenbeck!’⁷⁰ Certainly, here was Hagenbeck, a common man, who had endured difficulties like so many other men, but who also possessed more ability than the high-ranking members of the German government.

Without a doubt, there was no effort to conceal Hagenbeck’s relatively humble origins. On the contrary, Hagenbeck himself devoted a chapter to his youth and to a discussion of his father’s earliest business ventures. As mentioned above, Hagenbeck’s involvement in the family business since early childhood was proudly disclosed as the source of his stellar success. Not only did these references validate the middle-class value of work, but they also authenticated Hagenbeck’s identity as an honest, hardworking business man.

On the other hand, Hagenbeck’s memoir also draws attention to his familiarity and involvement with Hamburg’s less seemly side. For example, the autobiography makes it clear that as a *Hamburger Jung* (Hamburg lad), Hagenbeck spoke the local dialect. Hagenbeck also humorously describes his father’s various animal displays – some of them fraudulent, like the above-mentioned deer/llama – at the Hamburg Dom. He also refers to his association

⁷⁰ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: “Ein Wort des Kaisers,” *Berliner Zeitung (am Mittag)* 22 June 1908, n.p.

with various well-known Hamburg locals, such as the street vendor “*Aalweber*”, who spoke only in verse and whose portrait also appears in the book. “Who did not know *Aalweber*?” asks Hagenbeck rhetorically. Certainly, readers are told, the young Hagenbeck did, as *Aalweber* was a loyal customer of the fish business. Hagenbeck also describes the equally celebrated Hamburg local referred to only as Dannenberg: “The famous man was not handsome as his face, which was framed by black sideburns, was disfigured by a sunken nose. In his ears he wore little rings, in the way that one still sees today with sailors. The unpleasant exterior was the opposite of such a decent interior and Dannenberg displayed such an incredible [ability to] work. There was no work that this man, who was actually an actor by profession, had not tackled . . .”⁷¹ Clearly, however, despite being hardworking and achieving his own level of fame, Dannenberg was more of a colourful character than a bourgeois icon.

Of course, all of this only serves to make the trajectory of Hagenbeck’s life seem more remarkable. Although the memoir opens with Hagenbeck’s early years in Hamburg’s colourful “St. Pauli” district, it closes with a section that illustrates the height to which Hagenbeck has risen. The penultimate chapter discusses the various aristocrats, dignitaries and well-known people, such as zoo directors and the circus impresario P. T. Barnum, who Hagenbeck worked with and/or befriended. Finally, the autobiography – and Hagenbeck’s life and career – are literally crowned by the final chapter, which is entirely devoted to recounting the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II – to whom the book is dedicated – to Stellingen.

⁷¹ Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen*, 25 (portrait). 27-28, 478.

Still, the arc of Hagenbeck's memoir suggests, as did his biographer Fischer, that despite his remarkable rise to success as an animal dealer and zookeeper, Hagenbeck was not a man to put on airs. In Fischer's words, "That is Hagenbeck. That after the success of his work, his service and his personality, he is not a vain *parvenu* proves the worth of this man and his character. Honoured by potentates and princes of science, he has remained a simple Hamburg citizen, who does not shy, if need be, to lend a hand himself: tireless, full of the joys of life, not making a big thing out of his successes, a man among the people, not the so-called famous man. Nevertheless he could appear with the aplomb and the requisites of Stanley, in a way that maybe even Stanley himself could not."⁷² Similarly, according to one newspaper reporter, although Hagenbeck was a man of remarkable talent he was also down-to-earth and humble as evidenced by his easy movement between foreign languages, "animal languages" and Low German (*Plattdeutsch*).⁷³ In other words, Hagenbeck moved between all classes of people (and animals) as easily as he did between languages. Not only was he as modest as he was great, but he was as comfortable among the *hoi polloi* as he was among the elite of Europe and North America. He could as easily roll up his sleeves and get his hands dirty working as he could don a top hat and cordially make chit-chat with the Kaiser as he escorted his majesty through the Stellingen Tierpark.

Taken together, these portrayals allowed Hagenbeck to appeal to a broad audience. Not only was he a middle-class poster boy and a heroic hometown boy made good, but he was Everyman, who could stand with – and for – every class of

⁷² Fischer, 9.

⁷³ Berges, n.p.

German. In this way, as the embodiment of not only middle-class success, but also of a certain degree of class mobility, Hagenbeck may be seen as the personification of liberal ideals and the modern German nation.

Yet, all of this is not to ignore the other aspect of Hagenbeck's great talent and public persona: that of the "animal lover" (*Tierfreund*). In Hagenbeck's own words, he had an "inborn love of the animal world" and was "in the first place" an "animal aficionado".⁷⁴ As Rothfels has suggested, the opening of the Stellingen Tierpark helped to transform Hagenbeck's image from that of a feared animal catcher into the benevolent ruler of an animal Paradise and the kindly Noah of animal conservation.⁷⁵ Indeed, Hagenbeck's memoir is striking for the way in which it juxtaposes the inner workings of the often ruthlessly utilitarian animal business with his countless declarations of love for and friendship with animals.

To be sure, Hagenbeck's affection for animals is evident throughout the text. For instance, in discussing the menageries of various European nobles, Hagenbeck describes the great pleasure he derived from walking through the private park of the Baron Rothschild in England: "Maybe only he who is himself a true animal lover, can imagine the feeling of elation of such a stroll. For me, there is no greater pleasure than to be in my park, supplied with animal feed, and to walk from one enclosure to another, to see the animals come to my call, and to wonder at the affection and love of the creatures for their caregiver." Elsewhere Hagenbeck explains the essentials of caring for animals: "Next to feed and play, stands the third big emotional factor, love and friendship – that is only another

⁷⁴ Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen*, 139.

⁷⁵ Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 175-176.

form of love.” In a chapter on elephants, Hagenbeck declares that “In a short time, we [Hagenbeck and the elephant “Bosco”] were the best of friends.” In another on “Predators in Captivity” he mentions a pair of 5 year-old North African lions: “they remained for only two months in my possession, but this time sufficed, if I may say so, to establish a friendship for life.”⁷⁶

It then comes as a jolt to the sensitive twenty-first-century reader to learn the subsequent fate of such animals. Despite having formed a bond with them, Hagenbeck does not keep the animals. Rather, they are sold, albeit not necessarily without sorrow, to zoos, circuses or menageries – whoever has the money to buy them. Of the two North African lions, Hagenbeck writes “I interacted daily for a good while with both animals and separated from them only with regret. The one got to the Zoological Garden in Hamburg, the other to Cologne.” Likewise, the fate of the elephant: “After about six weeks [of animal training], my American [circus owner] departed delightedly with Bosco and achieved such a remarkable success over there with this animal, that he always had sold-out houses and earned a lot of money. . . . Four months later, the happy owner of Bosco was in Europe again, [with] his pockets full of money. He wanted to make further purchases. I helped him with that then as well and he was sent off satisfied.”⁷⁷

Still, although Hagenbeck was starkly aware that unsold animals constituted a “devouring capital” (*fressende Kapital*) that he could not keep for very long before the cost of upkeep exceeded the value of the animal, on occasion he did forget the bottom line. In one case, Hagenbeck was so attached to a

⁷⁶ Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen*, 245, 270, 372, 407.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 245, 271.

particularly beautiful and tame Siberian Tiger that he “was only able to part from him with difficulty”; he did not sell the cat for more than a year. Even more remarkable was “the old chap”, the lion “Triest”, who in Hagenbeck’s words “is already in my possession for eighteen years and receiving charity.” According to Hagenbeck, his “old companion”, was an “Artist” who “had seen a good part of the world on his artistic travels.” The old lion was a veteran of Hagenbeck’s trained animal shows in the Chicago 1893 and the St. Louis 1904 World’s Fairs but his “work” was now finished and he had retired to circumstances “better than some artists who have gotten old in the human world.” According to Hagenbeck, “‘Triest’ also earns his good fate. He is tame, loyal and devoted, like a dog . . .”. As a reward for his good behaviour, in retirement at the *Tierpark* Triest lived “. . . the existence of an old noble pasha.”⁷⁸

For Hagenbeck the sale of the animals was not seen as a betrayal of a “friendship”. It was a fact, whether fortunate or unfortunate, of business. Although he might love and care well for his animals, ultimately they must be sold and he experienced gratification, not regret, when they crossed paths again. In his autobiography Hagenbeck happily recounted how the animals he once cared for still enthusiastically recognized him, sometimes even responding to the mere sound of his voice. Even after long periods, stretching to years of separation his animals still joyfully greeted him in a reunion of “old friends”.⁷⁹

To be sure, the problem of Hagenbeck’s seemingly contradictory treatment of animals was the nature of his business as a whole. Despite his

⁷⁸ Ibid. 134, 247-248.

⁷⁹ For accounts of their reunions, see Hagenbeck. Ibid., 246, 271-272.

stinging appraisal of *Wild Dressur*, for example, there is no evidence that he stopped selling animals to anyone who wanted to purchase them or to those who might re-sell them into cruel circumstances. In fact, at least several animals Hagenbeck sold were mistreated. In his memoir, he recounted how a client once complained to him that a recently purchased lion had died. Hagenbeck suspected that the previously healthy lion had died of abuse. His suspicion was later confirmed when he saw the dead animal's bloodied carcass and clear evidence of severe beating with clubs and metal rods.⁸⁰ In another instance, Hagenbeck lamented with obvious horror, the extreme cruelty suffered by a pair of bears, which Hagenbeck's client had re-sold to what were referred to as "gypsies." The new owners starved the bears then gave them only salt herring to eat so that eventually in their thirst they also drank alcohol. When the bears laid in a drunken stupor, the "gypsies" broke off the animals' canine teeth, cut out their claws with wire cutters and attached nose rings and a neck leash so that when they awakened, the animals dumb with pain, were rendered harmless.⁸¹ Still, despite his palpable and justified outrage, Hagenbeck never seemed to question his role in selling his "friends" into uncertain futures.

In this way, despite Hagenbeck's assertion that his "innate love of the animal world . . . still rules all of my undertakings", the key features of his public image – the gentle animal lover and the calculating businessman – nevertheless constitute a striking dissonance. How do we reconcile the Hagenbeck who declared that "The hippopotamus mother loves her child just as much as every

⁸⁰ Still, when the client originally asked what he should do with the dead animal Hagenbeck crisply replied, "Pickle him if you like (Ibid., 334-335)."

⁸¹ Ibid., 393.

other mother” with the Hagenbeck who elsewhere explained that the shooting of animal mothers in order to capture the babies was a “sad necessity” of the animal trade. Notwithstanding Hagenbeck’s unintentionally ironic claim that “It is impossible to operate a business such as ours without one being an animal lover.”⁸² we may begin to address this problem by considering Hagenbeck’s notion of “*Zahm Dressur*”, the humane approach to animal training he promoted, and how this relates to contemporary ideas about the human-animal relationship.

Up until Hagenbeck’s popularization of *Zahm Dressur*, according to his memoir, the most common approach to training performance animals was through what he sometimes termed “*Wild Dressur*”, a difficult to translate term, which could literally but vaguely be translated to mean “wild training” or, as opposed to his “gentle” or “tame” approach, “savage training”. In contrast to his own practices of *Zahm Dressur*, Hagenbeck characterized the other method of training animals as “cruelty to animals” in which “The aids of the animal trainer of earlier times were the whip, the cane and the red-hot iron.”⁸³ With clear sympathy for the animals and even a little sarcasm, Hagenbeck described the typical means of the traditional training method:

The whole trick is in that through blows and through touching the animals with the hot iron, one puts fear into them, that at the mere site of the instruments of terror they flee through the cage and at the same time jump over any obstacles with which one has closed-off the way. If, however, the animals managed to make it that far, they were normally already badly injured. Many years ago at an auction in England, I once saw four “trained” lions, that had all of their whiskers singed and the muzzles were

⁸² Ibid., 139, 193, 209.

⁸³ Ibid., 332.

terribly burned. Naturally at that time, it did not belong to the rarities, that the animal tamers were attacked and torn to pieces [by the animals].”⁸⁴

Hagenbeck believed that animals that were abusively trained were less predictable and much more likely to – and even justified in – attacking their handlers. “The lions and tigers in captivity that become man-eaters in this way have no blame attached to them. Their better selves were completely suppressed. One has transplanted them into an intolerable existence and in the end, when they attacked their tormentor, they acted only in self-defence.”⁸⁵

Nevertheless, even if according to Hagenbeck, there were a number of old German trainers, who primarily toured with their animals through Germany and Austria, who deviated considerably from this cruel approach and treated their animals humanely,⁸⁶ it is all the same clear that for whatever reasons, the possibility of a performing animal attacking its handler was not an unlikely possibility. Indeed, the likelihood that an animal would run out of control was great enough that in order to protect the public, the Police-President Richthofen of Berlin had in 1885 imposed a ban against the “public performances of wild animals, namely from trained lions in the local theatres and circuses”.⁸⁷

Nor were Richthofen’s concerns unfounded, at least if the newspapers were to be believed. Certainly newspaper accounts of animals attacking their trainers were fairly common. For instance, on February 4, 1891, the *Berliner Zeitung* reported that during a performance in Chemnitz a 20 year-old female lion

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 335.

⁸⁷ GStA I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 306a, Lit. A, Nr. 11, Bd. 2: Polizei-Präsident von Richthofen to Königliches Staatsminister und Minister des Innern Herrfurth, Berlin, 19 January 1891.

tamer had been attacked by a lion.⁸⁸ In that same year, the *Vossische-Zeitung* reported that in Belgrade 3 tigers had attacked their tamer just as the performance was about to begin.⁸⁹ And only a few months previously, *Die Berliner neuesten Nachrichten* reported the “**Scene of Horror in the Lion’s Ring** [original bold type]” in the municipality (*Gemeinde*) of Alt-Becse in which a lion trainer, Anton Kludsky, managed to save himself from a lion attack after he momentarily shocked the animal by throwing a pail of water at it.⁹⁰

However, it should be noted that Richthofen’s ban on wild animal shows was not just based upon a concern that an escaped or out-of-control animal would attack members of the public, but also upon the danger that an ensuing panic among the spectators posed to public safety.⁹¹ For example, it was reported in a Berlin theatre newspaper, *Das kleine Journal*, that in Moscow on May 13, 1891 a female lion tamer, Fräulein Zenaide, was attacked by first one and then all of her lions. “Screams and a terrible panic occurred”, which resulted in many injuries as the public sought to flee the building.⁹²

Still, there was a certain tension surrounding the danger posed by wild animals, since the public clearly enjoyed seeing a certain degree of violence and even bloody spectacle. When the travel writer Jules Huret recounted his visit to

⁸⁸ LAB A. Pr. Br. 030-05 Polizeipräsidium Berlin-Theaterpolizei Nr. 1552, p. 20: “Vermischte Nachrichten”, *Berliner Zeitung*, 4 February 1891.

⁸⁹ LAB A. Pr. Br. 030-05 Polizeipräsidium Berlin-Theaterpolizei Nr. 1552, p.53: no title, *Vossische-Zeitung*, (Abend-Blatt), 19 October, 1891.

⁹⁰ LAB A. Pr. Br. 030-05 Polizeipräsidium Berlin-Theaterpolizei Nr. 1552, p.46: “Schreckensszene im Löwenring”, *Die Berliner neuesten Nachrichten*, no. 409 (16 August 1891).

⁹¹ GStA I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 306a, Lit. A, Nr. 11, Bd. 2: Polizei-Präsident von Richthofen to Königliches Staatsminister und Minister des Innern Herrfurth, Berlin, 19 January 1891.

⁹² LAB A. Pr. Br. 030-05 Polizeipräsidium Berlin-Theaterpolizei Nr. 1552, p.23: “Von Löwen zerfleischt”, *Das kleine Journal*, Bei-Blatt, no. 129 (13 May 1891).

Hagenbeck's animal park he enthused about Hagenbeck's ability to tame wild animals to be like housepets. Nevertheless, Huret concluded his account by sharing his fantasy of vanquishing wild animals. "In thoughts, I see myself – how I go into action, well-armoured and armed, against these ancient enemies of humanity and in tight, close combat strangle or kill them as it is described in old legends. I envy the tamer that whips them. I like to see it when they [i.e. the animals], growling, tear up bloody pieces of meat and I would like to be present at an enormous bloodbath of tigers, panthers, rhinocerusses and elephants."⁹³

Furthermore, in 1898 members of the "Graz Bird Lovers" complained to police that the feeding of live rabbits, chickens and pigeons to giant snakes constituted "an anger arousing, morally brutalizing cruelty to animals" and demanded that this practice no longer be carried out in public. The directors of the offending "Vivarium" responded "that in other large animal [facilities] or zoological gardens, these feedings were also carried-out publically." The police in Vienna sought confirmation from their Berlin counterparts that this was true. In fact, came the response, it was mostly rats and mice that were fed to the snakes.⁹⁴ Still, it is clear that had there not been a certain degree of public interest in seeing such spectacles, the leadership of the vivarium would not have taken up the practice. Nor would the zoo have permitted similar, though less sensational demonstrations in public.⁹⁵

⁹³ Huret, 263-264. Huret completed his vision by expressing his sympathy for an old, toothless lion that is terribly abused by a young steer in an Arena in Roubaix. Apparently it is cruel for one animal to attack another, but not for a human to whip or strangle an animal (Ibid., 264).

⁹⁴ LAB A. Pr. Br. 030-05 Polizei Präsidium Berlin-Theaterpolizei Nr. 1552, p. 138: To the Polizei-Präsidium Berlin, Abteilung I, 25 April 1898.

⁹⁵ For other documents relating to the feeding of live animals to wild animals, see also GStA I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 306a, Lit. A, Nr. 11, Bd. 2: letter of 18 April 1871.

In fact, by at least 1891 the Hamburg Zoological Garden used its guidebook to announce the feeding times of its large and small predators, predatory birds, bears and foxes along with those of the seals, sea lions and pelicans.⁹⁶ While the flesh eating animals were presumably fed only dead animals, it is nevertheless worth noting that with the exception of the omnivorous bear and foxes, all of the animals fed as part of a show were meat eaters.⁹⁷ Apparently there was no interest in seeing the exclusively vegetarian and/or non-predatory animals, such as the elephants or buffalo receive their non-meat meal. Clearly, the eating of raw meat intrigued the public in a way that the eating of plants did not.

Certainly there is a difference by degrees between watching an animal consume an already dead meal and enjoying the violent spectacle of a predator killing its prey. However, as suggested in Chapter 1, (presumed) aboriginal practices of headhunting and cannibalism as well as simply not using tableware and/or eating with the hands, all highlighted how uncivilized and animal-like indigenous peoples were assumed to be. To watch an animal gulp down raw (or even live) meat or fish in whatever manner, then, was to confront the clear distinction between the savage beast and civilized man.

Indeed, in 1839 when Queen Victoria visited the animal tamer Isaac Van Amburgh's show at the Theatre Royal on Drury Lane the animals had had their food rations specifically withheld for 36 hours. Of course, the animals were

⁹⁶ StAHH A 585-159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Heinr. Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag des Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1891), inside front cover. Note that Hagenbeck's memoir refers to a photo of a grouping of trained animals, which included 2 dogs, a polar bear and another bear, as "predators". This designation might explain the appeal of seeing bears eating: they were thought to be fierce animals.

⁹⁷ Since fish is a flesh food, I include it in the category of meat. The fox, like the bear, is an omnivore.

ravenous when the Queen later privately visited and observed them “in their more excited and savage state, during the operation of feeding them”. The starved animals’ voracious appetites and their attempts to take food from each other were taken as confirmation of their essential bestiality, of the “fearful savageness of their nature, when out of control of the one hand [van Amburgh’s] whose authority they acknowledged.”⁹⁸

Yet, Queen Victoria’s pleasure was dependent upon the belief that the animals she observed were completely wild and untamed and that, at the same time, their ferocity and savagery could be contained. In fact, therein lay the appeal of Van Amburgh’s whole show: for 32 years, between 1833 until his death in 1865 he had made a career out of donning a Roman gladiator’s costume and appearing to beat back the threat of attack by his supposedly vicious lions, tigers and leopards.⁹⁹ Dubbed “The Lion King,” van Amburgh’s show claimed to illustrate portions of the Bible.¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, in one novel incarnation of his act, van Amburgh toured Europe in a “New Historical Spectacle,” a theatrical production called *Mungo Parke or the Arab of the Niger*. Although it should be noted that the show was prohibited in Hamburg, van Amburgh was an international star and the show had already been performed in London and Paris and was ultimately headed for St.

⁹⁸ O. J. Ferguson, *A Brief Biographical Sketch of I. A. Van Amburgh and an Illustrated and Descriptive History of the Animals Contained in his Menagerie* (New York: Samuel Booth, 1860; Kessinger Legacy Reprints, n.d.), 15.

⁹⁹ Rothfels, 158. According to van Amburgh’s biography, “On one occasion, the Queen [Victoria of England] supposed that Mr. Van Amburgh possessed some strange and heretofore unaccounted system of sorcery, or some unknown talismanic art, connected with the whip which he used . . . (Ferguson, 13).

¹⁰⁰ John Culhane, *The American Circus: An Illustrated History* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1990), 17, 20.

Petersburg.¹⁰¹ This three act play about the doomed 2nd expedition of the African explorer and “discoverer” of the Niger, Mungo Parke, played at Davidge’s Royal Surrey Theatre on June 29, 1840. In the show, Van Amburgh played “a Native named KARFA TAURA, who preserved his [Parke’s] Life after his escape from the Moorish Chief ALI [original emphasis]”. Essentially, the play offered van Amburgh a narrative and a plausible setting in which he could do what he did best, which was to thrash the animals in his menagerie in a “fierce contest with the beasts” – even if publicity for the show cautioned that “wild animals are introduced as necessary illustrations to the Story . . . and are not its sole object as in similar Entertainments [original emphasis removed].”¹⁰²

However, what makes the play interesting is the role of van Amburgh, a white American who normally performed as a Roman gladiator, now cast as Karfa the heroic and faithful “Arab”. In this character, van Amburgh embodies the ideal native who exemplifies the values that Europeans sought to inculcate into aboriginal peoples: self-sacrificing “fidelity” to the “Master”, to borrow the words of the play’s own material. This is all the more clear when Karfa is contrasted with the evil, vengeful and cruel Moorish Chief Ali and his “Hatred to Europeans.” Furthermore, very much like the vile Moors in the play are the animals, the wild beasts who on “Every side . . . crouch or glide about” waiting to attack Parke once he falls asleep. When these treacherous animals are not plotting

¹⁰¹ StAHH Senat 111-1 Cl. VII Lit. F 1 Nr. 14 vol. 2. In England, a number of melodramas were written for van Amburgh (Ferguson, 13). In 1833 in New York, van Amburgh also appeared in a melodrama entitled *The Lion Lord; or The Forest Monarch* (Dominique Jando, “Strange Beasts from Foreign Lands.” in *The Circus: 1870s-1950s*, Noel Daniel, ed. [Cologne: Taschen, 2008], 231).

¹⁰² StAHH Senat 111-1 Cl. VII Lit. F 1 Nr. 14 vol. 2.

to kill him, they are nevertheless bloodthirsty enough that Karfa's mere presence in "the caverns on the desert filled with the tenants of the forest" is enough to incite an attack. Clearly, set against Parke and Karfa, the natives and animals occupy the same discursive space as dangerous, if not treacherous Others: "He [Parke] has escaped from men to fall a sacrifice to animals". As a result, when van Amburgh, the residue of whose well-known Roman gladiator persona intertwined with his role as the faithful native subject, outwits the Moors and beats back their inadvertent agents the threatening animals, he does not just enact the role of a Europeanized native, but also the role of the European himself, who demands loyalty and submission from his foreign subjects, both human and animal. Indeed, in the play, Karfa's final victory over the savage beasts suddenly becomes van Amburgh's victory when the program proclaims "the Extraordinary courage of the intrepid van Amburgh And [sic] proofs of his supremacy over his Wild Herd".¹⁰³

To be sure, van Amburgh's supremacy depended upon the impression that he was, in fact, defeating fierce animals and not already tamed animals. The danger which animal trainers supposedly faced was, obviously, part of the feat. There was no trick in showing, rather like a bully, the forced submission of weak or already defeated animals. Instead, the heroism and the superiority of the tamer could only be represented if animals that were presumed to be threatening and independent were shown acquiescing – even if, as in the case of van Amburgh, these were the same animals with which he traveled and repeatedly performed. Indeed, despite Hagenbeck's declarations about the effectiveness of *Zahm*

¹⁰³ StAHH Senat 111-1 Cl. VII Lit. F 1 Nr. 14 vol. 2.

Dressur in achieving animal docility and compliance, even he stoked fears about the danger of wild animals in a poster showing a trainer attacked by a lion.¹⁰⁴

Without doubt, audiences were attracted to shows in which they believed that the animals, even those that followed the tamer's commands and performed tricks without resistance, were wild and difficult to control.

The basis for the illusion that performing animals posed a constant threat was suggested by the animal tamer Julius Seeth, who had once worked for Hagenbeck. When Seeth formally protested the Berlin police ban on performing animals, he claimed that some of the newspaper reports of animal attacks, which the police used to justify the ban, were untrue and merely intended as publicity. So, for example, he declared that the above-mentioned Fräulein Zenaide, whose real name was Senide, was alive and well, living in Russia and still performing with lions, bears and wolves. As for the reported attack, there had been “no public panic, as the wound of the lady was only very small, hardly worth mentioning; the public itself had not noticed a wounding of the lady and the newspaper articles were only an advertisement – the lady herself would confirm this.” Similarly, he dismissed another such reported animal attack as “Likewise only an advertisement, as the director often grabs for such clumsy advertisements when a circus' business is going badly.” With respect to a lengthy article that appeared in the *General-Anzeiger* in Frankfurt a/M., about Seeth's own rebellious lion “Romeo,” who was later shot and killed behind the scenes, Seeth explained that he had written the article himself and requested its publication as, again, a means of advertisement when business was slow. There had been no public panic, he

¹⁰⁴ See Ames, Plate 13.

insisted. On the contrary, the public believed that the scene had been part of the show and had remained calmly seated, unaware of what was going on. Nor did they witness the lion later being shot. In fact, Seeth concluded, newspaper reports of animal attacks were so unreliable that in his own words, “Myself, I have read my death announcement very often already. I have been torn to pieces hundreds of times by a lion. They have buried me about 10 times; my children and my wife, as a widow, have mourned; and I still live today as a person full of *joie de vivre* and still do not think at all about dying.”¹⁰⁵

It is difficult, then, to assess the accuracy of the newspaper reports, but the possibility of animals getting out of control was nevertheless a real one. Seeth himself inadvertently admitted that Fräulein Zenaide’s and his own animals had become unmanageable, even if, as he claimed, the public had not perceived it. In fact, his own lawyers indicated that in the Frankfurt incident the lion “Romeo” had lost its mind.¹⁰⁶ In addition, Seeth had also been involved in another incident in Paris, involving the lion “Nero,” in which one of his assistants in the ring, Eduard Gehring, wrote a detailed account to a friend, Captain van Beeker, of the events during which Seeth was seriously wounded. In the letter, which van Beeker forwarded to the Berlin Police, Seeth had been hospitalized for 6 weeks as a result of the attack.¹⁰⁷

Still, this tension between deliberate sensationalism and the fact that trainers did their best to conceal the horror of real animal attacks from the public points up a rather different urge underpinning the appeal of wild animal-taming

¹⁰⁵ LAB A. Pr. Br. 030-05 Polizei Präsidium Berlin-Theaterpolizei Nr. 1552, p. 282-283.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 279, 282-283.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 262-265.

shows. What the public wanted to see was not a lion tamer being torn apart by his rebellious/treacherous subject. On the contrary, they wanted to see, as a synopsis of van Amburgh's "Mungo Parke" play declared, "The animals completely subdued!"¹⁰⁸ That is, they wanted to see menacing creatures that had been brought under control. They wanted to see man and beast coexisting, albeit under the domination of man.

In fact, there are a number of depictions of van Amburgh resting peacefully among his somewhat threatening menagerie that speak to this kind of unequal truce. For instance, an 1839 painting by Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1873) shows van Amburgh dressed in his gladiatorial clothes, lounging in the cage of a circus wagon surrounded by his animals (figure 30). In the painting, van Amburgh is shown reclining against a calm looking lion, coolly stroking the snarling tiger draped over his leg and gazing towards the equally threatening lioness lying at his feet. There are also two leopards. One is seated above and somewhat to the front of van Amburgh at the corner of the cage. It gazes into the distance past the curious public outside, while the other, seated in front of van Amburgh, grimaces menacingly at the tamer and at the lamb which leans against van Amburgh for protection.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ StAHH Senat 111-1 Cl. VII Lit. F 1 Nr. 14 vol. 2.

¹⁰⁹ Wikimedia Commons: Edwin Landseer, *Isaac van Amburgh with his Animals* (1839) (Royal collection, Windsor Castle), Wikimedia Commons <<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Landseer.amburgh.jpg>> accessed 3 May 2012.



Figure 30. Isaac van Amburgh and His Animals (Painting by Edwin Landseer, 1839, Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. *This work is in the public domain in the United States, and those countries with a copyright term of life of the author plus 100 years or less*).

Similarly, in a series of promotional images for van Amburgh, the first image shows the gladiatorial van Amburgh draped over a reclining lion, while a disinterested leopard in the background looks away from the scene and a lioness rests calmly beside the lion. A tiger, however, is perched on a relaxed van Amburgh. The tiger's behaviour is ambiguous. It has its mouth open and appears to be growling, but also has its tongue outstretched as though licking van Amburgh's face. Next, in the second image, van Amburgh is crouched over a lion, whose mouth he holds open while he inserts his head into the lion's mouth. One cat, a tiger, appears to be trying to bite van Amburgh from behind, but the other tiger remains seated and observes the scene with curiosity while the lioness in the background ignores the scene altogether and looks off into the distance. Likewise, a leopard beside van Amburgh pays little heed to the drama and instead washes its paws. The third image in the series features van Amburgh with a child, also

dressed in Roman garb and clutching a lamb. The child stands straddling a lion and van Amburgh's knee, forming something rather like a gymnast's pyramid. In fact, van Amburgh and his young companion seem to have struck a pose: van Amburgh rests on one knee with his right arm held up and back in the air behind him while he holds the child with his left hand. Similarly, the child standing astride van Amburgh and the lion holds his free right arm up in the air behind him. Although the unconcerned-looking van Amburgh and the youth seem intent on holding this pose, the lion, in contrast, snarls at a lioness and leopard which are threatening the trio from the front. In the back, a menacing tiger also threatens the group. Only the fourth and last image of the series shows van Amburgh actually battling the animals: three leopards, of which one is perched on his back and head, 2 lions, of which he holds one back by its mane, and a tiger, which van Amburgh holds by the throat.¹¹⁰

What is striking in these first three images is the ambiguous nature of van Amburgh's relationship with the animals. As much as some of the animals appear to be relaxed and perhaps even devoted to van Amburgh, it is clear in every scene that these animals remain wild. Even if we understand the first illustration to show van Amburgh in relative harmony with his animals, each of the subsequent images in the series shows at least one animal threatening van Amburgh, suggesting that none of the animals is truly tamed. Although some of the wild animals may at times appear to lie peacefully with van Amburgh, at any moment they could rise up against him. In this way, depictions of van Amburgh's approach very much resembled Captain Tetens' characterization of perfidious

¹¹⁰ StAHH Senat 111-1 Cl. VII Lit. F 1 Nr. 14 vol. 2.

Chinese and indigenous peoples (Chapter 1). Clearly, the images of van Amburgh suggested that the wild beasts were only temporarily subdued; were it not for the brute force of the tamer they would readily attack their master.

In this respect, that is, in the belief that animals fundamentally always remained wild, Hagenbeck was no different from van Amburgh (or from Tetens and his views of non-Europeans). Indeed, Hagenbeck cautioned his readers that “But also, as tame as the animals have become during the training and as well as they get along among themselves, by nature they always remain wild animals, whose character to a certain degree is unpredictable – and unpredictable for many of them as they advance in age.”¹¹¹

Yet, where Hagenbeck differed from van Amburgh and others who sought to subdue and train their animals through intimidation and pure violence was in his advocacy of ‘*Zahm Dressur*.’ In this approach, although the station of animals was relatively unchanged – they were still deemed subordinate to middle-class Europeans and subject to their wishes – they nevertheless enjoyed better treatment and in this way, a more cooperative rather than confrontational relationship. As Hagenbeck said, “Also for the animals that were transported from the open wilderness, a more humane time has dawned.” In other words, animals could still be caught and confined for human purposes, but at least they would not be subjected to the level of cruelty endured by captive, trained animals previously. Now, in this new era, according to Hagenbeck, animals would no longer be taught to hate and fear their masters, but instead, would learn to trust them.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Hagenbeck, 342.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 332.

Accordingly, in ensuring the good foundation of this new relationship, the greatest responsibility lay with the trainer. In the first place, it was up to the tamer to choose not only young and beautiful animals, but also to carefully observe the animals and select only those which exhibited the personality traits that made them suitable for training. Then, once training began, the trainer must institute “a friendly, fair treatment of the animals supported by the system of reward and punishment, but also in this task, to study the character of each individual animal.” He must discern and differentiate the “docile from the aggressive, the obedient from the rebellious”. In fact, the “modern trainer” must also possess “angelic patience”.¹¹³ That is, the tamer was rather like a ruler who must govern fairly, strictly and wisely, but who, to that end, must also know and understand his subjects.¹¹⁴

In this way, Hagenbeck also elevated the role of the trainer who must clearly be someone possessed of superior talent and abilities. He was not just someone who ruled with brute force – with a kind of “gunboat diplomacy” that entailed the crude and indiscriminate application of pain and terror. Instead, he exercised skillful leadership. As Hagenbeck asserted, “Only whoever possesses the gift to be able to observe these individual characters in animals, has the talent and the vocation to be a trainer.”¹¹⁵

Indeed, the new style of trainer was also a teacher, who must be able to recognize the latent abilities of an animal to free that potential, although, of

¹¹³ Ibid., 337-339, 342.

¹¹⁴ Similarly, in Chapter 1, Captain Tetens advocated dealing with non-Europeans in a fair but strict manner, although he does not seem to have discussed patience.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 337.

course, not for the benefit of the animal, but rather for the purposes of the trainer: “Already early on, the trainer must recognize which animals are suited for his purposes and which are not.”¹¹⁶ Indeed, it is clear that Hagenbeck conceived of his project as a school and the animals as his students. He articulated this clearly, stating that in contrast to the cruel methods of *Wild Dressur*, his approach had “truly earned the name of a school.”¹¹⁷

Accordingly, in a 1907 newspaper article, Hagenbeck’s interviewer, Phillip Berges, referred to the new zoo as a “nursery” (*Kinderstube*).¹¹⁸ Furthermore, in addition to referring to his “training school”, Hagenbeck identified the animals as “proteges” (*Zöglinge*) or occasionally, his “charges” (*Schützlingen*).¹¹⁹ Completing this configuration, Hagenbeck also referred to his brother-in-law, the well-known Hagenbeck trainer Heinrich Mehrmann, as “an excellent teacher of his animals”.¹²⁰ In fact, according to the travel writer Jules Huret, Hagenbeck even described his pedagogical approach as based on that of Pestalozzi.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 338. Not all animals were suited to training for performance, but rather only those select few whom the trainer identified. Hagenbeck states that in his first attempts to introduce the *Zahm Dressur* method, he found that of 21 lions, he judged only four to be suitable for training. Of course, for as much as he may have been correct in trying to discern the individual aptitude of each animal, it is also evident that this approach was also a boon to his business. Obviously most people would not have the financial means, space or desire to amass that many animals only to select a few for training. This meant that customers relied on Hagenbeck to provide trainable or trained animals, to which, of course, value was added and he could increase his profits.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 332.

¹¹⁸ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Berges, n.p.

¹¹⁹ Hagenbeck, 338, 391, 434. Hagenbeck also simply refers to his “school” (Ibid., 345).

¹²⁰ Ibid., 468. For another example, see 339.

¹²¹ In Huret’s book, Hagenbeck describes the Pestalozzi method as “gentleness combined with strictness, hardly a lash of the whip now and then in order to bring the animals to submit to the assignment It is precisely the same method as with children.” Interestingly, Hagenbeck also joked to him that he could tame mother-in-laws (Huret, 260-261).

Implicit within this teacher/student relationship was also a paternalistic tone that became further evident when Hagenbeck described the animals in his possession as children. For instance, he explains that “Like children, so do particular animal individuals demand more encouraging caresses than others. As a result of a stubborn, if not also a vicious character, some want to be handled with stringency.” Or he described how “As in a school for small children, here too, work is not done in the first few hours. First, the animals now learn to get to know each other, play with one another and with the teacher, and acquaint themselves with the new surroundings.”¹²²

Furthermore, as students the animals were not merely trained, they received an education. For example, Hagenbeck refers to the way in which the animal trainer Cooper, who had a similar approach to *Zahm Dressur*, selected only the most intelligent animals for “an education”. By the same token, Hagenbeck sometimes also called his performing animals “artists”.¹²³ Even more, when discussing the training of anthropoid apes (“*Menschenaffen*”), Hagenbeck referred frequently to their “education”.¹²⁴

Moreover, this education did not simply involve the training of animals to obediently perform tricks and to co-exist peacefully with the trainer and other animals. To be sure, the animals could learn to sit quietly on pedestals and tigers could be taught to pull a chariot in which a lion wore a crown and robe. Yet what is striking about many of these tricks is their emulation of a range of human social

¹²² Hagenbeck, 338-339.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 333, 340.

¹²⁴ On the same page, Hagenbeck uses this term twice, as well as calling the apes “students” (*Schüler*), “four-legged pupils” (*vierbeiniger Zöglinge*) and simply “pupils” (*Zöglinge*) (Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen*, 434).

and cultural refinements. (The obvious anthropomorphism will be discussed further in the next chapter). For example, a polar bear might “kiss” his trainer or a performing sea lion might wear a bib and sit at a table. A caption in a *Tierpark* guidebook photo, “Lion’s bath” even shows a lion accepting a sponge bath from a keeper.¹²⁵ Even more obvious for making this point were the “ape dinners” in which *Tierpark* visitors could observe the orangutans Jacob and Rosa and the chimp Moritz feasting on fruit, milk and bread for breakfast, and for lunch, drinking diluted wine and ostensibly enjoying the same meals as were served in Hagenbeck’s “private house”. As Hagenbeck described it:

The keeper has accustomed the three apes to manners so much that it is a joy to look at the animals. . . . During the meal, the apes sit patiently on chairs at the set table and wait for the things that will come. The soup is skillfully scooped out with the spoon. If the animals see themselves unobserved, then this one or that one forgets one time and uses his lips – that nature especially developed for them and sent with them into the world with – instead of the spoon. One word from the keeper and the civilized ape [*Kulturaffe*] who has fallen out of his role, grabs at once for his spoon.¹²⁶

“*Kulturaffe*”, indeed. As Philipp Berges enthused, Hagenbeck had

. . . a so-called ape school in which orangutans and chimps, are trained – as one would little humans – through a proven trainer, probably the best in the world, the Englishman Reuben Castang. First, they are taught good manners: they must eat, drink and, generally, at all opportunities conduct

¹²⁵ HA, photo collection; HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Wilhelm Fischer, “Die Raubtierdressur. Eine Studie aus dem Leben der Raubtiere,” *Der Interessante Erzähler*, no. 18 (1908), (photo); and HA, guidebooks: *Führer durch Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark in Stellingen* (Hamburg: Carl Hagenbeck’s Eigentum & Verlag, 1913), 17.

¹²⁶ Hagenbeck, 432. This passage also clearly articulates the reward-and-punishment method of “*Zahm Dressur*” in a way which is jarring and even disturbing to the 21st century reader, who might have supposed that Hagenbeck had dispensed with the use of force against animals altogether. Hagenbeck writes, “The keeper masterfully understands how to communicate with the animals. They pay exact attention to his words, understand what he wants from them and, accordingly, act very intelligently. While Jacob and Rosa are very sensitive to reproachful words, let alone to punishment with blows, Moritz is on that score, much less so. From that, if the keeper wants to get something out of him – should he, for example, be photographed, then the stick must be very near, otherwise the keeper can be sure that he will be viewing the photographer’s camera from somewhat greater proximity (Ibid. 432-433).”

themselves like well brought-up children. Then there are lessons. In a word, one wants to find out how far the intellect of the anthropomorphs can be developed through interaction with humans. One can already observe a wonderful result this autumn. Completely without assistance, the chimpanzee Moritz rides on a bicycle through the whole *Tierpark*. The orangutans go for walks, on two legs, through the garden without letting themselves be deterred from their task by the public.¹²⁷

Moreover, the education of animals included making them into productive workers, which took the Hamburg Zoo directors' great appreciation for useful animals a step further. For instance, during the "ape dinners," Moritz had also been trained to act as the waiter: "He must drag along the meals – a job that he looks after with great seriousness. After the meal he must also clear the table." Indeed, if Moritz' labours were as much about the performance of work as actual work his performance nevertheless made animal work explicit. To be sure, animal labour appeared throughout the *Tierpark*. For example, Hagenbeck also employed zebras to pull carriages, he used elephants to build his animal park and an account of the quantities of foodstuffs consumed by the animals at the *Tierpark* mentioned that "the rations increase when the animals work". In fact, on one of Kaiser Wilhelm II's visits to Stellingen, the Emperor was treated to a demonstration of the work elephants.¹²⁸ In addition, Hagenbeck's experiments with acclimatization and hybrids were often aimed at making animals more productive. For example, he proposed that crosses between zebu and cattle native to Argentina and Brazil

¹²⁷ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Berges, n.p.

¹²⁸ StAHH Kolonialinstitut 364-6 C I a 4 a (zebra photo); Hagenbeck, 418, 432, 479 (photo of elephant demonstration); and Gretschel, Gille and Zapf, 41 (photo and caption of work elephants). For an insightful analysis of the performance of work in Hagenbeck's *Völkerschauen*, see Eric Ames, 83-85. For other photos of elephants working or demonstrating work, see HA, guidebooks: *Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark Stellingen-Hamburg* (Carl Hagenbecks Eigentum und Verlag: n.d.), 48. For other images of animals pulling coaches or carrying people see *Ibid*, 49.

would yield an animal with greater “ability to pull” and “produce good work animals.”¹²⁹

But there is more to this than merely demonstrating the remarkable abilities of animals. Much like efforts to improve the “bestial” working classes, animals were being civilized. In the minds of many members of the middle classes, working-class people were not simply uncouth, but they were also immoral and lazy, and as a result, were responsible for their own poverty. In contrast middle-class ideology attributed the success and wealth of the bourgeoisie to hard work, education and moderation in all things, particularly celebration, sexuality and alcoholic consumption. As a result, reformers’ efforts to improve the working classes focused not upon alleviating the obvious conditions of poverty, but instead, centred upon the inculcation of self-restraint, especially where vice was concerned, and a strong work ethic, both of which were presumed to be lacking in the lower classes.

Similarly, Hagenbeck’s exemplification of the good bourgeois man who had distanced himself from the working-class revolution in Berlin and who educated animals to be well-mannered and productive workers, resembled middle-class reformers who tried to improve the working classes.¹³⁰ When Hagenbeck trained animals to do work, his efforts suggested that animals could be educated to be real workers who earned their keep by contributing to the societies into which they had been transplanted. This training not only instilled the

¹²⁹ Hagenbeck, 373-374.

¹³⁰ As we already know, it was actually Hagenbeck’s father who had fled the revolutionaries in Berlin, but the story was relayed in connection to the foundation of the younger Hagenbeck’s business.

discipline of work, but also reflected self-discipline in general. Animal work showed that animals were no longer guided by their baser instincts to eat, fight, mate or whatever else might occur to them at the moment. Instead, they focused on their tasks and were civilized by the self-discipline which they acquired through their training. They also fulfilled their proper gender and familial roles. For instance, an article on Hagenbeck's Animal Park explained about a particular lioness that "Having fulfilled her artistic responsibilities in the Arena, the mother returns to the nursery in order to carry out her motherly duties with touching faithfulness."¹³¹ In other words, the lioness was seen to enact the role of a virtuous and moderate working-class woman who fulfilled her obligations (doing two jobs) and did not stray from her familial role in order to laze around or mate with other lions. In the case of the "ape dinners," these performances could also reflect the value of moderation, for instance, by showing animals not indulging in gluttony or excessive alcohol consumption when they dined, although the mixed meanings of alcohol consumption will be discussed further in the next chapter.

The education of Hagenbeck's animals to middle-class manners and values, then, represented efforts to improve and civilize them – to "raise them," in both senses of the word, to a higher level of development, which was reflected by their acquisition of middle class behaviours. To reiterate, Berges' newspaper article describing the training of the chimps and orangutans by the well-known English trainer Reuben Castang stated that the animals became "none other than little humans. First, they are taught good manners: they must eat, drink and,

¹³¹ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: R., "Bei Hagenbeck," *Die Hamburger Woche*, no. 12 (n.d.).

generally, at all opportunities conduct themselves like well brought-up children. . . . Even more, an article on animal training declared that “Robbed of his freedom, the mane encircled, royal master of the desert is very soon civilized.”¹³² Clearly, it could be said that in inculcating animals with middle-class manners and a sort of work ethic, animals were being civilized as modern Europeans themselves had been.

Accordingly animals seemed to follow the same developmental trajectory of urbanization and modernization as Europeans. In the city, a harmonious society was dependent upon the proper conduct of the inhabitants. Essentially, at the *Tierpark* animals were taken from the wild and educated to become citizens of what Hagenbeck described as resembling a city: “the visitor certainly sees the occupants of a well populated city, [but] without taking part in their private life.”¹³³ Similarly, the title of an article by Dr. Hans M. von Kadich also suggested that Hagenbeck’s animals inhabited a territory of their own: “Karl Hagenbeck’s animal state [*Tierstaat*].” Whether or not von Kadich envisioned the *Tierpark* as a city-state like Hamburg, it is clear that he perceived it as a modern realm. In Hagenbeck’s words, the *Tierpark* was a “city of animals”.¹³⁴

¹³² HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Berges, n.p.; and Fischer, 1. The article by Fischer also explained the difficulty of training polar bears, “as the polar bear is, as said, not to be ‘civilized’ (2).” Although the author implies that although the bears are trained to do tricks, they are not actually civilized, his remark nevertheless underscores that training was intended to be a way of civilizing animals. He suggests that the animals are both resistant to training and dangerous. This suggests, again, the equation between the pacification of animals and their civilization.

¹³³ Hagenbeck, 404. Hagenbeck also bred animals in captivity so that, in fact, not all animals were truly wild, although probably the majority were.

¹³⁴ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Hans M. von Kadich, “Karl Hagenbecks Tierstaat,” (Publication information unavailable): 1209-1214; and Hagenbeck, 417. This also corresponds to Ames’ assertion that the ethnographic “villages” erected at Hagenbeck’s *Tierpark* were a complex blend of elements that explicitly referenced fantasy and the “real” to give visitors an “immersion”

The comparison to a city was apt in the sense that it suggested the development of the modern landscape. It was not unusual for the Animal Park to be described as having cultivated a formerly fallow site. An article in *Die Hamburger Woche* described the transformation of the property in Stellingen: “Through the movement of 40 000 cubic meters of ground an uncharming plain developed, with the help of our highly developed horticultural architecture, into a hilly, gently rising terrain that with its charming ponds, its rich floral decorations, fills every eye that finds joy in beauty, with delight.”¹³⁵ Similarly, a souvenir book stated that the park “was transformed from a wilderness into a charming, picturesque landscape in a few years.”¹³⁶

The latter was actually rather an overstatement, since as the photo accompanying the guidebook shows, although the field was certainly remote and relatively uninhabited it was hardly a “wilderness”. In fact the original site had been devoted to agriculture. Specifically, it had been a sparsely treed potato field with only a single house on it.¹³⁷ Ironically, the zoo’s improvements to the land, such as the Arctic and Paradise Panoramas were themselves intended to recreate a “wilderness” – on the very site that had supposedly been claimed from nature. Still, the handbook’s embellishment underscores the notion that Hagenbeck’s

experience (see Ames, Chapter 3, “Hagenbeck’s turn to Fiction”, especially 134-140. For additional background see also Chapter 2, “The Living Habitat”, especially 70-88.).

¹³⁵ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: R., “Bei Hagenbeck,” *Die Hamburger Woche*, no.12 (n.d., ca.1906-7). The quote is preceded by the statement that “In a few years, out of a bald, sandy expanse overgrown with weeds, a landscape came into being that almost teaches us to believe in the wonders in 1001 Nights.” The reference to “1001 Nights” would seem to undermine my suggestion that the landscape was improved and modernized, but I suggest later in this chapter that Hagenbeck’s also existed as the representation of a colonial landscape.

¹³⁶ HA, guidebooks: *Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark Stellingen-Hamburg* (Carl Hagenbecks Eigentum und Verlag, n.d.), 6-7. The English text identified this change even more dramatically by describing the original landscape as “*howling* wilderness [emphasis added] (Ibid, 6).” Note that the guidebook also had accompanying text in French and Spanish.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 12 and Hagenbeck, 170; Gretschel, Gille and Zapf, 27-8.

Tierpark was promoted as a site where nature was transformed, improved and civilized.

Indeed, Hagenbeck's "revolution" in animal keeping was clearly seen as having radically transformed both the physical realm of Stellingen and the relationship between humans and captive animals. If in Hagenbeck's city animals were made useful, well-mannered and educated, their training and for that matter the idea of their civilization, depended upon their pacification. The foundation for all this was social discipline, or at least the appearance of it. Specifically, the "deceptive freedom", as Hagenbeck called it, created by the moats that separated visitors from the animals and which also kept predators from attacking their prey,¹³⁸ gave the impression that the animals were compliant and peaceful of their own will.

As in some of the depictions of van Amburgh, the lion and the lamb did lie down together; however, in contrast, at Hagenbeck's the illusion was created that the animals were not just temporarily but, rather, completely subdued. For instance, a magazine reporter, W. Henz, marveled at the effect of the displays: "The backdrop of this large park will be completed with a powerful, jagged, rocky landscape upon which one can admire the most agile [animal] climbers. The whole middle part of this rocky area will be completed with a large grotto in which a number of lions, tigers and panthers lethargically hang around. As the barriers are skillfully concealed, there is seemingly nothing standing in the way of their getting into the paddock of the grazing animals and, thus, to their favourite prey." Likewise, Berges described a scene at the *Tierpark*: "Outside it [the path]

¹³⁸ Hagenbeck, 400.

goes past the newly outfitted, marvellous ‘nursery,’ where very young lions, tigers, bears, monkey, dogs, pigs and other animals play so peacefully with one another as in the past in paradise”¹³⁹

Nor did the animals seem to pose a danger to humans. Visitors to the Animal Park, who knew from circuses and from Hagenbeck himself that wild animals could be dangerous and unpredictable, could now safely observe the apparently unrestrained animals. As one writer explained, “The most interesting group, however, is without doubt the dwelling of the lions and tigers of various species and ages, that stroll in complete freedom on enormous boulders that separate the public with a broad moat”¹⁴⁰ Even more remarkably, enthused another, “If one has the pleasure to see, as in our picture, Herr Hagenbeck himself, or one of his employees, walking around between the fierce predators and playing with them, then one can understand the meaning of the name ‘animal paradise’.”¹⁴¹

To be sure, as the creator of this Eden, Hagenbeck’s image was important to the illusion of animal docility. A newspaper article concerning one of Hagenbeck’s upcoming shows asserted that Hagenbeck was extremely careful and that neither he nor any of his many employees had ever been attacked by an animal. “Besides,” the article continued, “the training of all the animals took so long, that any kind of an accident, even only a harmless irregularity, appears to be

¹³⁹ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Henz, “Tierpark in Stellingen,” n.p.; and Berges, n.p. Actually, this was like so much else associated with the animal park, mostly an illusion. In fact, some of the animals in the panoramas had to be separated to keep them from fighting with one another (Ames, 181). For more on the idea of Hagenbeck as the creator of an animal “paradise” see Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁰ The rest of the sentence continues: “. . . while above them on the steep ridge live the wild goats and ibexes (HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: R. “Bei Hagenbeck,” n.p.

¹⁴¹ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Henz, “Tierpark in Stellingen,” n.p.

absolutely out of the question.” Indeed, Hagenbeck’s appearances in the animal enclosures were well-publicized. There are numerous images of him standing among the park’s lions and at least one postcard showed a smiling Hagenbeck seated near a crowd of walruses being fed by their keeper.¹⁴²

Equally, however, other images suggested that Hagenbeck’s direct physical presence was not required to keep the animals subdued as it was for van Amburgh.¹⁴³ The animals seemed to be just as tame with zoo staff. Postcards produced by the Park showed, for example, “The animal keeper Barry” snuggled “with the walrus ‘Pallas’”, while another showed an unidentified man, probably also a zoo keeper, posed with his arm around a walrus accompanied by a seal. A *Tierpark* guidebook also showed a lion being washed down by keepers while two other lions calmly looked on.¹⁴⁴

Furthermore, also in contrast to van Amburgh, in these cases the human presence was not explicitly authoritarian. The animals were not restrained by the threat of brute force. They did not seem to be controlled, but rather were controlling themselves and sometimes, it was implied, they were even friends

¹⁴² LAB A. Pr. Br. 130-05 Polizei Präsidium Berlin-Theaterpolizei Nr. 1552, *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (1892); and HA, postcard collection.

¹⁴³ Still, the figure of Hagenbeck, whose name was attached to the park and whose talent with animals had been described in biographies, his autobiography and in countless newspaper and magazine articles, loomed over the park. Even without his physical presence, Hagenbeck’s genius was understood to be part and parcel of the display and represented the confluence of all of his previous successes. Indeed, the Hagenbeck scholar Eric Ames has shown that “Hagenbeck” was actually a brand, meaning that the name conjured up particular associations with foreign peoples and animals and also represented particular ideas about the high quality of his productions (Ames, 115-123).

¹⁴⁴ HA, postcard collection; and HA, guidebooks: *Führer durch Hagenbecks Tierpark* (1913), 17.

with humans.¹⁴⁵ It was as though they had been fundamentally transformed by Hagenbeck's gentle tutelage and pervasive influence.

Pacification is, of course, the basic objective of social discipline, a fictitious freedom in which the self-regulating subject does not appear to be controlled by any external or dominating force, but rather appears to govern his or her own behaviour.¹⁴⁶ In this respect, Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* was an improvement over the achievements of his trained animal shows, because these always depended upon the control and direction of the tamer visible in the ring. In contrast, the animals in the panoramas seemed to be pacified regardless of whether or not Hagenbeck or an animal keeper was present. They did not try to attack visitors or other species.

Still, just as with the performing animal shows, the wonder of these feats of animal training and display depended upon the belief that the animals were essentially wild. As mentioned above, Hagenbeck himself had cautioned his readers about the innate and immutable wildness of animals. In fact, a 1912 poster produced for the *Tierpark* also presented an image that reinforced this message. It showed a vicious lion standing over a prone animal trainer dressed in a bright red suit, which colour also evoked blood. The scene was set in a rocky desert with a fleeing horse in the background, while a pistol and something resembling a cowboy hat lay in the foreground. While the idea of an animal trainer riding around on a horse in a barren, western wilderness inhabited by lions seems

¹⁴⁵ The fact that the human-animal relationship had apparently been broadened so that people other than animal trainers could commune with wild animals makes it possible to suggest that *Tierpark* visitors themselves imagined themselves moving freely among the animals.

¹⁴⁶ See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Westminster, MD: Vintage, 1995).

improbable. to say the least, the image nevertheless evokes the fear and danger associated with circus animals and exploits these associations by transposing them onto a setting that resembles the rocky formation of the lion's enclosure at the *Tierpark*.¹⁴⁷ In this way, the image served as a reminder to Animal Park visitors that although Hagenbeck's animals might appear docile now, they had nevertheless been – and might even still be – wild and dangerous.

Indeed, such reminders were necessary since Hagenbeck complained that, “To the audience that with secret dread attends performances by the animal tamers, it would seem to appear as though I am here just chattering with schoolyard tales and as though the predators are really only a type of flesh-eating lambs.” However, the public's false impression was not unfounded since the cute tricks and the propaganda associated with Hagenbeck's gentle approach to animal training were at odds with this message. For example, polar bears in the shows of Hagenbeck's brother Wilhelm, who specialized in training animals for the family empire, were shown as gentle and loving when they “kissed” their trainers and they presented a jolly and playful appearance when they glided down a giant slide into pool of water. Not surprisingly, then, it was necessary to offset these impressions with a controlled display of the bears' fierceness (and the trainer's

¹⁴⁷ Image from Ames, Plate 13. This poster might originally refer to the earlier panoramic effects created by Hagenbeck for his circus shows. A similarly described backdrop was used inside the metal cage in which Hagenbeck's animals performed. Ames offers an interesting description and discussion of this as a precursor to Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* panoramas (148-150). However, surprisingly Ames does not use the poster to support his argument that Hagenbeck experimented with and based his Animal Park panoramas on other forms of nineteenth century panoramas (See Chapter 4, “The Art of Hagenbeck's Zoo”, especially 141-178). I think this poster does, however, clearly show how the panorama of the circus merged with the visual experience of the zoo panorama.

superiority) through a staged wrestling match with one of the tamers.¹⁴⁸ As an article about Wilhelm Hagenbeck's shows explained, "The confidence with which Hagenbeck compels his animals to work deceives the onlooker about the dangerousness of the situation in which the trainer finds himself in the company of these untrustworthy, treacherous and unpredictable chaps . . .".¹⁴⁹

In this respect, the *Tierpark* panoramas represented an improvement over the trained animal shows in that the natural settings reinforced the notion that the animals were both wild and unrestrained. For instance, a 1908 book article by Jules Huret enthused, "What a scene! 6-700 animals united without visible partition or metal bars in a large amphitheater. The public is not supposed to see how they [the animals] are separated from it [the public] and from each other." Likewise, according to an 1897 *Illustrierten Zeitung* description of a Polar Panorama, a precursor of the Nordland Panorama in the *Tierpark*, ". . . No hindering barrier appears to separate the fierce beasts from the viewer, no bars separates them from us, so that we would like to believe that they could pay us an unwanted visit."¹⁵⁰

The removal of visible barriers between the visitors and the animals signaled the possibility of direct interaction and in effect, it was this potential that generated part of the thrill for spectators. Just as there were those people who were, as Hagenbeck complained above, titillated by the danger associated with

¹⁴⁸ Hagenbeck, 251; and HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: W. F., "Wilhelm Hagenbecks Raubtierdressur-Schau," *Neue Interessante Blätter* 18 (1908), 224, 226. See also the photos (225-226).

¹⁴⁹ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: W. F., 224.

¹⁵⁰ Huret, 257; and Quote from Dittrich and Rieke-Müller, *Carl Hagenbeck*, 188.

seeing wild circus animals perform, the *Tierpark* offered a similar thrill. It offered a glimpse of danger without any risk.

To be sure, the experience of close contact with wild animals was the basis of much of the Animal Park's appeal. If, as I have argued in Chapter 3, the Hamburg Zoological Garden suggested that visitors were exploring a German landscape, the Hagenbeck panoramas gave visitors the feeling that they were now exploring a foreign landscape. Indeed, as the scholar Eric Ames has shown, ethnographic "villages" erected at Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* were a complex blend of elements in which the boundaries between the spectator and the spectacle were fluid, while fantasies and "reality" were explicitly referenced to give visitors an "immersion" experience.¹⁵¹ Likewise, at the *Tierpark* animals were supposedly being represented in their most natural or wild form on a native landscape, thereby rendering the entire park into a foreign place.¹⁵²

Furthermore, the prospect of such a foreign experience was also made into a viable fantasy through the growing importance of overseas tourism. Although long distance travel was clearly not available to the majority of Germans, the rise of the tourism industry suggested that travel was not merely for adventurers, scientists and sailors, but also for those seeking a new leisure activity. Now people could imagine themselves in a new role as tourists in exotic places.

Clearly, Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* appealed to Germans' exotic fantasies in the same way as the travel industry did. For instance, in 1912 the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* carried advertisements for "Journeys around the world" and "Cooks

¹⁵¹ See Ames, Chapters 2 and 3.

¹⁵² For a useful discussion of zoogeography and Hagenbeck's not strictly geographical displays, see Ames, 172-179.

Nile Steamer”.¹⁵³ These two ads showed striking, although highly stereotypical tableaux of exotic places that resembled scenes from Hagenbeck’s *Völkerschauen* and from his Animal Park. The first advertisement (figure 31), which was for round-the-world travel, shows a large statue of Buddha in front of a large body of water balanced by a warf on one side and a train with a mountain on the other. Likewise, a souvenir booklet of the *Tierpark* shows a “Pond with Japanese Island”, which shows an imposing temple-like statue set on a small island between two bridges (figure 32).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ HASK: *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, no. 710 (13 August 1912) and no. 941 (27 October 1912).

¹⁵⁴ HA, guidebooks: *Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark Stellingen-Hamburg*, 34.

In the second advertisement (figure 33), for Cook's travel, the upper arch of a supposedly Egyptian gate, adorned on either side with identical carved portraits, presumably of a pharaoh, hint at the wonders behind the gate and enclose a picturesque scene of a palm tree, and a caravan crossing the dessert sand in front of the pyramids. Likewise the iconic Hagenbeck gate framed the entrance to the *Tierpark* with figures of lions, bears and elephants, flanked by a North American Indian and a "Nubian" suggesting itself as the symbolic entrance to exotic places (figure 34).¹⁵⁵ Certainly these similarities suggest that Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* referenced highly stereotypical images that appealed to Germans' fantasies about foreign lands and to the growing interest in overseas travel.¹⁵⁶

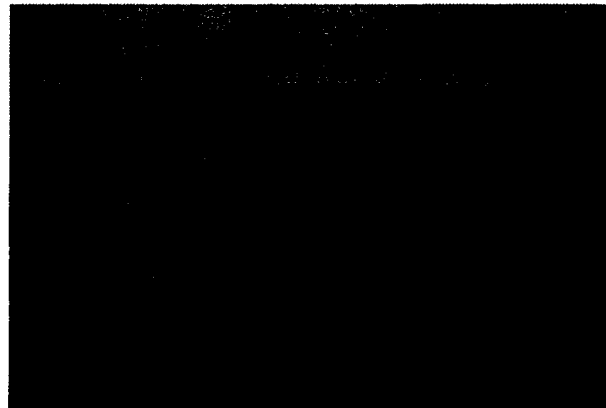
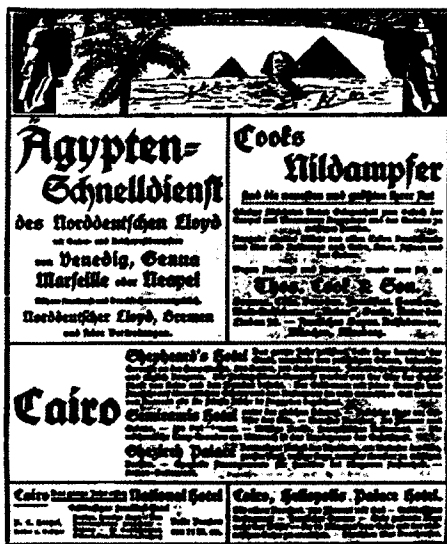


Figure 33. "Cook's Nile Steamer" (*Kölnische Volkszeitung*).

Figure 34. "Entrance to the Tierpark Stellingen" (*Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark Stellingen-Hamburg*. Archiv Hagenbeck, Hamburg)

¹⁵⁵ *Kölnische Volkszeitung* nr. 941 (27 October 1912); and HA, guidebooks: *Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark Stellingen-Hamburg*, 14.

¹⁵⁶ Of course, Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979) is the seminal work dealing with racial stereotypes and discourses about "the Orient".

Indeed, the *Tierpark*'s miniature train even replicated a short journey through distant territory. As Berges described it, "Next to the ancient [i.e. the dinosaur exhibit], however, also the modern, as a miniature train drives all the way around the lake: eight hundred meters long, pulled by a small high-speed locomotive that is now being built by Borsig, while the remaining parts are being delivered by Krupp. The train drives through the tunnel twice and under delicate bridges that swing over the lagoon. The stopping place, however, is a Japanese Teahouse, a type of pile dwelling which projects into the lake."¹⁵⁷ In colonial discourses, the train was an important symbol of European progress. In Reichstag discussions about the German colonies, the train was referred to as "civilizing" the land and was a practical tool for developing new settlements and relocating workers.¹⁵⁸ Clearly, Hagenbeck had wrought a foreign landscape, but also, it was implied by the presence of the train – an important symbol of European progress – a subdued and perhaps even colonized landscape of exotic places.

For, if the *Tierpark*, with its *Völkerschauen* and panoramas offered visitors a tour of foreign people, animals and landscapes, it is also apparent that at Hagenbeck's Park attitudes about non-Europeans merged with those about animals. Indeed, Hagenbeck's efforts to make animals productive had a clear parallel in racial discourses of civilization, such as those that appeared in an article about the private animal park, Ascania-Nova, of Friedrich von Falz-Fein, a Russian landlord of German descent. The author, Dr. Heck, explained that

¹⁵⁷ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Berges, n.p.

¹⁵⁸ "... in a land civilized through trains . . ." (StAHH Kolonialinstitut 364-6 A. I.1: "Reichstag. – 124. Sitzung." [17 March 1908], 4028 [A])." Ibid., 4041 [B]).

“Similarly calm, good-natured animals, like the bison and similarly massive, imposing figures, [like] the common eland, [are] also, so to speak, born pets! That since time immemorial, in their homeland they have not been that [i.e. pets], one can only, in spite of all humane attitudes, take as proof of the inferior intellectual quality of the Negro, who in his altogether childish, and not to mention innocent rootlessness and thoughtlessness hardly knew how, in a considered manner, to exploit any of the whole of nature that surrounds him.”¹⁵⁹ Without doubt, Heck regarded the domestication of animals to be indicative of a superior cultural and by extension, racial, status.

In fact, the correspondence between Hagenbeck’s ideas about animals with contemporary ideas about race, civilization and the colonial relationship in Africa becomes clear if we examine discussions following a presentation made to a 1908 session of the *Reichstag* by the the State Secretary Dernburg of the German Colonial Office. In that debate the parallel between colonial discourses and Hagenbeck’s treatment and approach to animals is striking. For example, State Secretary Dernburg suggested to the Reichstag that ultimately their colonial aims depended upon “a government of justice and goodwill towards Whites and Coloured.” He also insisted that the future of “. . . the German rule was based on the respect of the Whites of the German race . . .”. According to Dernburg, “This respect, however, was best maintained through a strict self-discipline of such socially higher-placed Whites” and necessitated “the elimination of such elements

¹⁵⁹ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: H. Heck, “Im zoologischen Paradiesgarten. Herbsttage in Friedrich Falz-Feins Tierpark zu Ascania Nova,” (no publication data available), 228. Note that the title page of the author gives the first initial of the author as “H.” however, at the top of subsequent pages, the initial is given as “L.” suggesting the possibility that this article was written by Dr. Ludwig Heck, the director of the Berlin Zoo.

– those elements, which try to undermine this respect to the natives through injustice, brutality and self-interest.” Accordingly, “The Negro shall be made into a willing and obedient charge and the means [for this] lie in a sharpened punishment for insubordination and a dispassionate administration of justice for Blacks as well as Whites. Only in that way, will he gain trust in the White government . . .”¹⁶⁰

Likewise, as we have seen, Hagenbeck’s *Zahm Dressur* emphasized that successful animal taming depended upon the role of the trainer as a just and humane master who looked after the interests of the animals but who also judiciously administered punishment and rewards. Clearly, excessive and harsh punishment was counterproductive, although, equally, the implicitly clear division of roles was essential for achieving the trust, cooperation and obedience of the animals.¹⁶¹

Accordingly, both the colonizer and the trainer played a pivotal role in their respective relationships and both had a duty to know their subjects. Just as Dernburg pointed out the need for the colonist to gain “an accurate and intimate knowledge of the Negro character, his habits and a respect for these [things]”,¹⁶² Hagenbeck emphasized that it was an animal trainer’s responsibility to understand the character of each animal he worked with. By this means only could the colonist or the animal trainer make appropriate demands and draw out his

¹⁶⁰ StAHH Kolonialinstitut 364-6 A. I.1: “Reichstag. – 124. Sitzung.” (17 March 1908), 4025-4026.

¹⁶¹ In a general way, this notion is consistent with Susanne Zantop’s argument that Germans imagined themselves to be the ideal colonial masters, fair and just (*Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997).

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 4026.

subject's full potential. In this way, Mastery was construed not as the indiscriminate imposition of the ruler's or trainer's will, but instead as a kind of tailor-made governance that benefitted its subjects. As with colonial discourses, it was the linchpin of the idea that with skillful tutelage, animals could be educated or raised-up.

Furthermore, the endeavour to civilize indigenous people, as well as animals, was seen to depend greatly upon their introduction to work and productive labour. Indeed, as I have suggested in my discussion about the importance of work in relation to ideas about class, above, work was regarded as a critical aspect of European enculturation, which was virtually synonymous with the act of civilization. By the same token, in the Reichstag, the themes of making Africans into better workers and improving them through European culture were touched upon repeatedly. For instance, the National Liberal member of parliament, Dr. Arning, proposed to the Reichstag that although "the indigenous culture is, of course, important and must be cultivated" the production of "India rubber or coffee or something like that" would stop Africans from being nomadic: "One can only make the people settle down by giving them cultures that they cannot transfer [to another place]". The Freiherr von Richthofen, a German Conservative Party member of parliament, also expressed hopes of improving indigenous peoples through work by asserting that "the introduction of tradesmen can bring the natives directly onto other stages of development". By the same token, another *Reichstag* member, Dr. Spahn of the Centre Party, clearly articulated Germany's aims when he declared to the Reichstag that "The necessity

to train the Blacks to work is shown through experience. A Christianization, a civilization of the Blacks can only be made possible through training to work". He added further that, "It is work that prevents the natives from sinking back into barbarism, the memory of which has been preserved and that is, perhaps, missed with regret. If he [the native] falls back into barbarism, then everything that we have expended for him, is expended needlessly."¹⁶³ In other words, it was German-mandated work that would draw Africans into European culture and into civilization itself.

The historian Andrew Zimmerman has recently shown that, in fact, at the turn of the twentieth century, Prussian officials in Germany were engaged in a mission to "civilize" the African colony of Togo through the development of cotton plantations based on models (and racist discourses) developed in the Southern states after the American Civil War. Both Germans and African American leaders, especially Booker T. Washington, hoped that the work of producing cotton would improve Africans as a race as well as the circumstances in which they lived. Through the development of plantations and their work, Zimmerman asserts, Africans would be disciplined into habits appropriate for their race, gender and sexuality. Work in the service of German colonialism would simultaneously elevate Africans and ensure that prescribed social and racial hierarchies, essential to the development of global capitalism, were maintained.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Ibid., 4042, 4032 and 4048.

¹⁶⁴ Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Likewise, as I will show, the whole endeavour of importing animals and compelling them to work as performers of tricks, objects of display or as beasts of burden, was a comparable form of enculturation and civilization. As part of their labour, Hagenbeck imposed European-conceived roles and behaviours upon animals that suggested their refinement and improvement – their Europeanization. This is apparent in the examples of animal training described above, in which circus animals, in Hagenbeck’s words, “worked” with one another and had to be “polite” and not attack their “colleagues”. It was equally apparent in the way that apes were forced to act as waiters or dine with good human table manners in the “ape dinners” at the Animal Park. Again, if an ape reverted to its natural way of eating, Hagenbeck explained, “One word from the keeper and the civilized ape [*Kulturaffe*] who has fallen out of his role, at once grabs for his spoon.”¹⁶⁵ Even when animals worked as display objects at the *Tierpark*, where they seemed to live without the need for barriers, their task was to appear subdued. In fact, most of the big cats in the Predators’ area had received some degree of training to maintain this illusion.¹⁶⁶

Even if not all of the animals at Hagenbeck’s were displayed in panoramas or cageless enclosures, many of the animals had nevertheless been acclimatized, which also related to their work. Hagenbeck was well-known for his achievements in adapting animals to the European climate and it was the foundation for much of his success with the *Tierpark*. Acclimatization enabled his animals to work productively year-round as display animals in and outside of

¹⁶⁵ Hagenbeck, 339, 351 and 432.

¹⁶⁶ Ames, 181.

panoramas. It also enabled animals to work on his ostrich farm at the park, which supplied feathers for the ladies fashion industry.

As one author described acclimatization, it was basically a form of animal domestication. Acclimatization prescribed a work role (beast of burden, companion animal, etc) and demanded that an animal adapt itself to the dominant culture: “On the contrary, he [Hagenbeck] directs his attention to acclimatizing them [i.e. foreign animals], in order to facilitate their adaptation not just to their new surroundings, but also to the northern climate. If just like the human, most of our house pets in the whole world have been able to become acclimatized, why should it not be the case with the animals of the wild that have not yet been tamed!”¹⁶⁷ In effect, then, acclimatization entailed animal labour that led to the taming or civilizing of animals.

However, if acclimatisation resembled enculturation that occurred on German rather than indigenous (colonial) soil, the production of hybrid animals, in contrast, entailed the creation of completely new work animals, mixtures of foreign and domestic animals that were often intended for colonial European agricultural and military purposes abroad. Still, even though the animals were of mixed blood, they were supposed to be Europeanized wild animals. This is suggested in a description of one of Hagenbeck’s experiments with zebras and zebroids: “I had repeated opportunities to watch and to follow how in a short period of eight days at Hagenbeck’s in Hamburg and Stellingen, wild caught and newly imported thoroughbred zebras were completely broken in, sometimes with a horse companion, but also frequently without one, and how they, who had never

¹⁶⁷ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Henz, “Tierpark in Stellingen,” n.p.

before felt a bridle in their muzzle or a harness on their body, willingly carried out their work like the best little horse, only more spiritedly in their actions [and with] more endurance in their service. And of the zebroids there is even better to say, although all of their virtues can not be related here”¹⁶⁸ In other words, a wild animal such as the zebra was civilized by domestication and hybridization to the degree that it performed as well as – and better – than any domestic horse. Even more than the domesticated zebra, hybridization made the zebroid docile and suitable for work – specifically work on behalf of European colonialism – which was its reason for being.¹⁶⁹

Clearly, work was essential to the idea of civilization, but without doubt, the motive for creating African and animal workforces reflected an imperialistic mixture of economic self-interest and condescending European ideas of benevolence directed towards the subordinate groups. State Secretary Dernburg reflected these mixed aspirations when he asserted that an expansion of the railway would create jobs for African workers and “draw them into activity”.¹⁷⁰ This, in turn, would produce “an extraordinary number of strong workers” to further colonial development. However, he also asserted that since railway development would make food supplies more available and increase the value of their products, Africans would benefit from an improved “lifestyle” and “the

¹⁶⁸ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Hans M. von Kadich, “Zebroiden. Eine praktisch-zoologische Zukunftsfrage” (publication title unavailable, 1903).

¹⁶⁹ This is, as Dr. Sweeney points out, quite different from the perception of the colonial “Mischling” or “Half Breed,” which was deemed highly undesirable.

¹⁷⁰ For an extensive examination of German colonial expansion and the “education towards work” of Black Africans in the context of German colonial societies and missionaries and the parliamentary debates on the topic, see Michael Schubert, *Schwarzer Fremde: Das Bild des Schwarzafrikaners in der parlamentarischen und publizistischen Kolonialdiskussion in Deutschland von den 1870er bis in die 1930er Jahre* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003).

penetration of European culture among the natives”. As Dr. Arning, also a member of the Reichstag declared, “. . . for that reason, we did not only go to Africa in order to impose a couple of million taxes or for the sake of indigenous cultures. Rather, we went there for general cultural reasons and because we must create value from raw materials.”¹⁷¹ In this way, the so-called “worker’s question” was as much about economics as it was about “civilizing” Africans.

Likewise, Hagenbeck regarded his animals with a similar imperialistic mixture of paternalism and business acumen; he concerned himself with his animals’ well-being and “education”, but he also used them to increase his wealth. Undoubtedly, he took his responsibility for the animals he imported seriously. However, as I have already discussed, it is clear that the depth of his friendships with animals was limited by financial considerations. For as much as he regarded his animals as individuals and treated them with affection by, for instance, indulging them with sugar cubes or other treats, ultimately animals were property to be disposed of in the best interests of the Hagenbeck business empire.

Hagenbeck’s paternalistic language resonates with colonial attempts to elevate indigenous people to new “levels of development [*Bildungstufen*]” to return to a term used by von Richthofen. Moreover, when Hagenbeck later began to champion the cause of endangered animals, his image as a protector of animals – note that colonies were also often called “*Schutzgebiete*” or protectorates – became pronounced. Indeed, as I have indicated, Rothfels has suggested that through the *Tierpark* Hagenbeck’s persona was gradually transformed from that

¹⁷¹ StAHH Kolonialinstitut 364-6 A. I.1: “Reichstag. – 124. Sitzung.” (17 March 1908), 4027, 4041.

of a ruthless animal dealer to that of a kindly Noah, the steward of the Stellingen Ark. Of course, by ostensibly protecting endangered animals at the park, Hagenbeck could also then attract visitors wishing to see rare and endangered species. Nevertheless, as Rothfels argues, like the *Völkerschauen*, which were the foundation for Hagenbeck's ideas about animal display, the Animal Park promoted the idea of a benevolent European presence.¹⁷² Still, much like colonial imperialism, Hagenbeck's well-meaning efforts with animals were underscored by his fundamental motivation to expand his empire and to increase his profits.

This combination of paternalistic and capitalistic motives directed at both animals and colonized peoples reflected the same intentions, discussed above, to reform the working classes. I should add that the creation of a disciplined and compliant work force was critical to securing middle-class fortunes, whether in Germany or abroad in the colonies. Certainly, middle-class wealth and society depended upon a stable and productive working class. Employers needed reliable, disciplined workers who did not, for example, observe "Saint Monday" following excess drinking on the weekend. Perhaps even more, middle class social dominance depended upon the subordination of workers regardless of race. Rebellion and insurrection were a threat to their social status. As we saw in Hagenbeck's anecdote about his father's encounter with the revolutions in 1848, the middle classes would flee from such a menace. Efforts to discipline the

¹⁷² Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 175-176, 183. In effect, much like the anthropology museum, which tried to preserve the physical and cultural remnants of dying peoples, the Tierpark was gradually to become an animal sanctuary, where the world's endangered animal species could be preserved alive. Although they might no longer exist in nature, they would still be found at Hagenbeck's. See also HA: C. G. Schillings, *Hagenbeck als Erzieher* (no publishing information, 1911).

working classes. Blacks and animals, then, were critical not just to producing a dependable source of labour, but also to ensuring the social and economic dominance of the middle classes by eliminating the threat of revolt.

As a result, the seemingly beneficent paternalistic relationships, whether between Europeans and indigenous peoples or between humans and animals, were essentially unequal and coercive and they depended upon the colonial subject's clear recognition of, and ultimate submission to, the dominant power. As von Richthofen explained, it was important to show indigenous Africans, "that their own interests were tied up with work and that they never feel so well as they do with a benevolent employer – that they can never save anything so easily as they can there – so that they finally go gladly to work and go back again." But he also argued that, "The difficult job of training to work can not be solved without force, force with consideration. There is an indirect pressure due to the fact that one pulls the natives to communal contributions – to taxes – that, in part, are later transferred to employers." In this respect his ideas were no different than Hagenbeck's notion that in training an animal, although its cooperative understanding was essential, the animal also had to accept that it had no other option but to serve the needs and will of the trainer.¹⁷³

To be sure, civilizing efforts both to create an African work force and attempts to make animals productive through training, display or other work, highlighted European superiority by indirectly pointing out the subjects' supposed deficiencies. They showed how animals and indigenous peoples needed to be or

¹⁷³ StAHH Kolonialinstitut 364-6 A. I.1: "Reichstag. – 124. Sitzung." (17 March 1908), 4033; and Hagenbeck, 341, 353.

had been improved in relation to European – and specifically middle class – values and standards.

Nevertheless, the object of compelling Africans and animals to work seemed to be in some ways as much about articulating a clear master-subject relationship as what was produced. In fact, in the Reichstag, although Dr. Arning affirmed the importance of the railway and certain forms of taxes for solving the “workers’ question”, he also noted that due to a small population size, Germany could not rely only upon African workers. With this in mind, it is striking to note Arning’s assertion of European mastery when he stated the importance of developing the African workforce as a European helpmate, but added that this should occur only “under direct overall supervision by Europeans”.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, a brochure promoting Hagenbeck’s training methods reprinted a 1913 letter by the trainer C. B. Cochran to the editor of *The Observer* that at once referred to the close relationship between animals and humans while exalting the superiority of the (European) tamer. In Cochran’s words, “To see a dozen lions obediently and cheerfully obeying the voice of the trainer is splendid and exhilarating – at once a demonstration of the power of the will of man and of the affinity that exists between him and the dumb creation.”¹⁷⁵ By the same token, an article about Wilhelm Hagenbeck referred to “a sensational, until now, unequalled conductorship of training” with polar bears “at which one really does not know

¹⁷⁴ StAHH Kolonialinstitut 364-6 A. I.1: “Reichstag. – 124. Sitzung.” (17 March 1908), 4041-4042.

¹⁷⁵ HA, pamphlets: “Performing Animals: Mr. C. B. Cochran on Methods of Training,” in *Trained Animals* (London: Gale and Polden, Ltd., n.d.), 7. Cochran also stated that he was collaborating with the Hagenbecks in building a “Wonder Zoo”. Note that the brochure had a photo of Carl Hagenbeck on the cover thereby clearly identifying him with the humane training methods advocated in the brochure.

what one should admire more: the animals or their young master . . .”. In addition, not to put too fine a point on it, Jules Huret said it perhaps best when he declared, “Herr Hagenbeck, who like an inviolable and revered God, strolls about among them [i.e. the animals], takes on something of that mysterious, majestic dignity that their untamable wildness confers upon him.”¹⁷⁶

Equally, just as Dr. Heck’s previously cited denigration of Africans for not domesticating the eland articulates a racial hierarchy based on the ability to exploit the labour of animals, it also suggested the superiority of European men over beasts.¹⁷⁷ It configured the ability to dominate the environment, including animals, as the mark of European civilization. Indeed, in the same article, Heck described a particular ostrich-like bird, the *Nanduhahn*, which appeared to be innately perceptive of and naturally deferential to civilized Germans such as the author. As Heck described the bird, “He was, like some dogs, bad to the point of attacking unclean, badly dressed humans and, quite the contrary, tame beyond measure towards “cultured” [humans]. Even when I stuck myself into some Little Russian [*kleinrussisch*] farmer’s clothes in order to confuse him, he never for a moment stopped running after me and snuggling up to me.”¹⁷⁸ In this way, it is apparent that German efforts to tame and command animals clearly expressed the

¹⁷⁶ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: W. F., 224; and Huret, 264. Huret also added that Hagenbeck’s gentle and jovial personality made him even more likable than he would already have been had he remained a fishmonger (Ibid.).

¹⁷⁷ Likewise Anja Laukötter has suggested the presumptions of superiority and the hierarchy that underlined the anthropological endeavours of Dr. Felix von Luschan on behalf of the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (*Von der “Kultur” zur “Rasse” – vom Objekt zum Körper? Völkerkundemuseen und ihre Wissenschaften zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2007]. See pp. 261-281).

¹⁷⁸ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: H. Heck, 236. *Kleinrussisch* is an antiquated name for a Ukrainian. Note also how earlier Heck also described one of the local Russians: “In the grass, the herdsman mounted on horseback slept the good, daily sleep of the true child of nature [*Naturmensch*] . . . (Ibid., 223)”.

supposedly superior status of middle-class Germans over animals (and non-Europeans) while, of course, implicitly offering a justification for their domination.

Yet, if the parallel in the colonial discourse seems to offer little more than an interesting coincidence, it should be remembered that ultimately, the discourse ran deeper than that. Of course, Hagenbeck was famously involved in the production of numerous *Völkerschauen* and through the animal trade itself he was deeply enmeshed in the web of colonialism. As such, he was exposed to the discourses of race and at the very least an unwitting participant in colonial endeavours, although it should be noted that as the historian George Steinmetz has exhaustively documented in his comparison of Germany's colonies in Southwest Africa, Samoa and Qingdao, there was not a single, uniform expression of colonialism.¹⁷⁹

In fact, Hagenbeck's efforts bear a strong resemblance to the civilizing efforts of Captain Tetens, discussed in Chapter 1, with his young indigenous protégés. If, for example, Tetens demanded certain behavioural refinement from his students, such as that they fully clothe themselves or use cutlery for eating, Hagenbeck demanded that a lion wear a robe and crown and mount a chariot, that a sea lion wear a bib and pretend to sit at a table, and that apes serve and dine at finely set tables. If Tetens judiciously punished his Chinese passengers for their attempted mutiny, Hagenbeck's method judiciously punished animals which attacked each other or opposed the trainer's commands. In both cases, the balance

¹⁷⁹ Georg Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

of power was unequal and the effort involved conformity to European imposed standards of conduct. Indeed, to Hagenbeck's mind, the treatment of subordinate races and species was essentially the same. Consider his remarks in an 1895 interview: "To the comment that it must be really difficult to transfer a society of savages from their homeland directly to the foci of civilization, he answered: 'That is not so bad as you think. The savage must be handled just like a wild animal, that is, with benevolence and firmness.'"¹⁸⁰

Furthermore, although training animals to accustom themselves to being washed or to dine might seem to be only a superficial attempt at Europeanization, it was also the case that around the beginning of the twentieth century there was growing interest in the field of "animal psychology", including among Hagenbeck's own associates, such as Alexander Sokolowsky who wrote the book *Aus dem Seelenleben höherer Tiere (On the Emotional Life of Higher Animals)*. Sokolowsky asserted that animal psychology "seeks to draw out the feelings of captive animals", which would form the basis for more experiments upon the "animal state of mind [*Tierseele*]."¹⁸¹ Certainly in the case of apes, Hagenbeck believed that animals had a latent potential that could be further developed through proper education. He asserted that although previously polar bears had been thought to be "untamable", on the contrary, they had "finally through patient and good treatment proved to be downright quick learning blokes." Furthermore, in his opinion, "the anthropomorphs possessed an exceptionally great gift that will

¹⁸⁰ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: "Ein Vermittler fremder Welten," *Das neue Blatt* (1895).

¹⁸¹ Alexander Sokolowsky, *Aus dem Seelenleben höherer Tiere* (Leipzig: Theod. Thomas, 1910), 25.

first be released by intimate interaction with humans and so, really show itself to best advantage.”¹⁸²

To be sure, the idea that animals could possess or acquire human-like abilities was fairly well circulated in popular German culture. The turn-of-the-century sensation of “Clever Hans” (*der Kluge Hans*), the German horse who appeared to be able to answer basic questions and solve mathematical problems is only the most famous of such cases. In 1912, another “thinking” horse in Elberfeld was also the subject of rigorous scientific scrutiny. In fact, the horse’s owner, Herr Krall, was also the author of a book called *Denkende Tiere (Thinking Animals)*.¹⁸³ And although written for purposes other than to explore the condition of animals, Franz Kafka’s story “A Report to an Academy” about a Hagenbeck-caught ape which develops human abilities in order to gain a measure of freedom from captivity, nevertheless engages with the idea of the humanized performing animal. Even the trade journal *Der Zoologische Garten* entertained the subject of animal consciousness in articles such as “Some Thoughts on the State of Mind of Animals” and “The Concept of Consciousness in Animal Psychology”. Thus, in Minister von Richthofen’s own words, the aim of colonialism was “to make humans out of savages”,¹⁸⁴ the same could be said of Hagenbeck’s efforts with animals.

¹⁸² Hagenbeck, 345, 427.

¹⁸³ Karl G. Schillings, “Nochmals der Elberfelder Pferde” *Kölnische Volkszeitung* (31 October 1912). See also “den denkenden Pferden”, *Kölnische Volkszeitung* (13 June 1912) and Max Ettliger, “Ein letztes Wort über Krall ‘denkende Pferde’” *Kölnische Volkszeitung* (16 September 1912).

¹⁸⁴ D.F. Weinland, “Einige Gedanken über die Thierseele.” *Der Zoologische Garten* no.8 (1 May 1860): 129-134; HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: A. H. Krausse, “Der Begriff des Bewusstseins in der Tierpsychologie” *Der Zoologische Garten* no. 2 (February 1903): 42-43; and

* * *

As I have shown in the story of Mungo Parke and in the Reichstag debates, as well as in previous chapters, Germans' treatment of animals often had a clear parallel within racial discourses found in scientific, popular and imperialistic contexts, suggesting that the boundary between perceptions of non-Europeans and animals was extremely porous. When circuses and animal taming shows, such as those of Isaac van Amburgh, exploited fears about dangerous animals, they also addressed Germans' anxieties about foreign peoples, who, I have shown in Chapter 1, were seen to be treacherous. When van Amburgh proved his mastery over animals (and perfidious Arabs) he reinforced ideas about the danger to, but also the superiority of, white Europeans. Ultimately, though, he suggested that like their human counterparts wild animals remained untamable; at any time they could strike out and attack their European masters.

By the same token, the work of Carl Hagenbeck also reflected the overlap between species and race. Hagenbeck, too, underscored the inherent danger of wild animals, albeit more indirectly. Indeed, between the old-style zoo described in Chapter Three and the creation of the *Tierpark* there remained a continuity in the high value placed upon tamed, useful animals. Still, although his early career as an animal trader suggested the simple capture and domination of wild animals, which was the stock-in-trade of van Amburgh, Hagenbeck's gradual shift to circus, *Völkerschau* and panorama impresario and his emergence as an advocate of *Zahm Dressur* coincided with Germany's growing international and colonial

StAHH Kolonialinstitut 364-6 A. I.1: "Reichstag. – 124. Sitzung." (17 March 1908), 4033. He also uses this phrase on *Ibid.*, 4032.

influence. In fact, in the same way that Captain Tetens upheld racial hierarchy but also asserted that aboriginal people could be civilized (see Chapter One),

Hagenbeck – notwithstanding his accomplishments in advancing the humane treatment of animals – clearly believed in the superiority of humans, particularly Europeans, and their self-appointed role in taming animals. Without doubt, animals were not possessed of immutable and invariable characters as they were often portrayed at the Hamburg Zoo. Rather, as much as an animal reflected the traits of its species, an individual animal's capacity to be tamed and improved varied. Clearly, as my examination of debate in the Reichstag suggests, ideas about how to achieve the submission and cooperation of animals were linked to colonial discourses underpinned by ideas about race, work and civilization.

It is at this point, then, that Hagenbeck's dissonant image as a hardnosed animal trader comes full circle with his image as the benevolent animal lover. With the creation of Hagenbeck's zoological paradise, the *Tierpark*, these ideas about race, work and civilization seemed to be embodied and validated. Indeed, against the background of German colonialism, and particularly the brutal oppression and annihilation of the Herero between 1904 and 1907, Hagenbeck's *Tierpark* offered Germans comforting reassurances about the German *Herrschaft* (rule). The panoramas and their illusion that animals could be given freedom of movement without being confined behind bars, suggested that animals could coexist peacefully with one another and, more importantly, that they posed no danger to Europeans. Not only did Hagenbeck seem to move freely and unharmed among his animals, but when he positioned himself among his animals, as the

benevolent trainer or the gentle proprietor of his animal park. Germans themselves could identify with him. He was, after all, also Everyman. This identification was only increased by watching ordinary animal keepers interact with their charges. Indeed, the premise of the *Tierpark* was that zoo visitors could immerse themselves in a foreign landscape without fear of being attacked. Even more, Hagenbeck had addressed Germans' anxieties about treacherous and unproductive animals (and foreigners and lower classes) when he succeeded in educating the animals into middle-class European values as socially disciplined or tamed, productive workers. Thus, as both a business man and an animal lover, Hagenbeck represented the ideal colonial master; under the dominion of Carl Hagenbeck, the symbol of the modern German nation, the animals had been civilized.

Yet, the identities of the middle classes were never completely secure. Instead, in the web of German transnationalism, which brought together different races, classes and species, the boundaries of identity were constantly called into question. It was within transnationalism, however, that the German *Bürgertum* also found the answers.

Chapter 5

Anthropomorphism and the Other: The Constitution of the German *Bürgertum*

Franz Kafka's 1917 short story "Report to an Academy" is a fictional first-person account by an ape of his abduction by a Hagenbeck animal catcher. In the story, the narrator describes the ordeal he experienced after his capture and how this resulted in his transformation into a highly articulate and celebrated public figure known as "Red Peter." Although Red Peter retains his ape form, he essentially wills himself to speak and to become human in all other respects. Indeed, despite his occasional lapses into the physical habits of an ape, Red Peter's deep introspection and profound awareness of his condition convey the story of a highly intelligent, tragic individual. In many respects he is a more sympathetic character than the humans that surround him. To put it rather simply, the ape seems to be more human than most humans. Indeed, in humanizing an ape Kafka's story points out the flimsy physical barrier that separates human from non-human animals leaving readers to question the basis of humanity.¹

Yet, part of what makes Red Peter's acquisition of human qualities seem so extraordinary is the fact that because his physique does not transform, his animal past is always present. That is, his acquired human-like state is important because physically he remains an animal. This means that his body is a constant reminder of what he was and it highlights the achievement of what he has become. In this way, although in Red Peter's view a return to his original "ape-

¹ I am not suggesting that this was Kafka's intention in writing the story. Some interpretations suggest the story was instead about Jewish identity. However, it is interesting to note that in *The Metamorphosis* Kafka also played with human/animal boundaries through his depiction of a human transformed into a beetle, i.e. the protagonist is dehumanized.

hood” may be virtually impossible, it is clear in the story that he is not human but is instead a remarkably humanized ape.

Still, despite his behavioural transformation, Red Peter’s ascent to full humanity is effectively contained not only by his physical appearance but by his residual physical urges: “If I come home late in the evening from a banquet, from a scientific society, from a pleasant get-together, a small, half-trained chimpanzee is waiting for me and with her I let myself be pleased, monkey-style.”² Kafka’s story, then, suggests that human and animal identities are mediated by discourses about the body. Moreover, it shows paradoxically that identities are nevertheless extremely fluid and impossible to strictly demarcate. Although Red Peter may be nearly human, he is not fully human. Nor, however, is he any longer fully an ape.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, in as much as zoos (or *Tierparks*) might through their very existence assert the difference between humans and animals, in practice the boundaries were very porous and often mediated by ideas about civilization, class and race. Although these concepts asserted that German Culture and civilization were the distinct and ultimate expressions of humanity, as we will see in this chapter, often these ideas failed to clarify the boundaries between humans and animals. Instead, these notions often confused them: those believed to be uncivilized or lacking in Culture, particularly in terms of race and species, belonged to poorly defined and frequently shifting categories. Furthermore, although, “Culture” was as much a marker of human

² Franz Kafka, “Ein Bericht für eine Akademie,” in *Franz Kafka. Romane und Erzählungen* (Frankfurt a. M.: Zweitausendeins, 2004 [original 1917]). 1178.

difference as physiognomy was, to be sure, culture and physique were often seen as linked, thereby adding yet another variable to the question of identities.

For these reasons, anthropomorphism, which is the ascription of human traits, emotions, motives or behaviours to non-human animals (and plants), inanimate objects or other non-living things, is a useful tool for examining the limits – or more properly, the porous boundaries – of human and animal identities. Its wide ranging manifestations may invoke human culture, the body, or both. In this way, anthropomorphism may broadly encompass many of those things that served to distinguish humans from animals. Still, or perhaps because of this, anthropomorphism is a rather nebulous term.

Therefore, in this final chapter, it is the intersection between human and animal identities found within anthropomorphism that I want to explore more closely. Among my conclusions, I show that in keeping with its broad definition, there was not one anthropomorphism, but many anthropomorphisms. It was not singular, but rather could take many forms, which also produced a range of meanings. Furthermore, although it would seem that by definition, the humanization of animals, i.e. anthropomorphism, is straightforward and would therefore elevate the status of animals, I argue that, in fact, it is deeply ambiguous and could also have the opposite effect of denigrating them. On the other hand, anthropomorphisms that elevated the status of animals could sometimes, instead, denigrate humans, particularly those deemed to be of lower classes or races. Still, the over-riding theme of this chapter is that anthropomorphisms are highly ambiguous and have multiple meanings, sometimes even within the same context.

While these meanings may shed light upon inter-species and inter-racial discourses in imperial Germany, they do little to clarify the boundaries between species that concerns me in this dissertation. On the contrary, anthropomorphisms tend to obscure the boundaries between humans and animals.

This examination, then, begins by returning to the publications of the Hamburg Zoological Garden. I examine several expressions of anthropomorphism to show the diversity and range of representations and meanings encompassed by this term: from the relatively innocuous, although slightly subjective, description and characterization of animals, on the one hand, to a more fantastic type of representation that reproduces German moral codes and stereotypical gender roles, on the other. I then continue by using these examples to explore related ideas about evolutionary theory and Social Darwinism and how at times their zoomorphism converged with anthropomorphism to obscure the boundaries between human and animal identities. Next, I turn my attention to exploring anthropomorphisms that represented humanity physically, rather than those that relied just upon the description of human-like traits. That is, I consider instances in which human-like qualities were quite literally embodied by the animals upon which they were imposed. After this, I turn to the examination of the role of anthropomorphic images in various racial discourses and even, in a very limited fashion, touch upon class discourses. Implicit within these is the question of Culture and ideas about what constitutes civilized behaviour.³ Finally, I will conclude by suggesting that anthropomorphisms were neither value neutral nor

³ I refer to "Culture" here with a capital "c" to denote *Kultur* in the German sense, implying more than just common social practices and customs, but also refinement, *Bildung* and civilization).

innocuous, nor were their meanings inherent, fixed or stable. Instead, Germans infused anthropomorphism with a range of meanings including those that related to ideas about social hierarchies, evolutionary theory and imperialism. As much as these anthropomorphisms at times represented attempts to clarify the boundaries between humans and animals, in fact, the variety of sometimes divergent representations and meanings only confused them.

I begin by turning to a few expressions of anthropomorphism found at the Hamburg Zoological Garden in the 19th and 20th centuries. The purpose here, as in the remainder of this chapter, is not to conduct a systematic analysis of anthropomorphism in every context, but rather to begin with a few examples that highlight the various manifestations of anthropomorphism. These will show that it is actually a broad and diverse label that may function in a range of ways, from the relatively innocuous to those that deliver more blatant messages. Ultimately, however, the vast range of anthropomorphisms including, but not limited to those found at the Hamburg Zoological Garden and at Hagenbeck's *Tierpark*, will become obvious throughout the course of this chapter and will be sufficient to support my contention that anthropomorphism had multiple manifestations and diverse meanings.

First, in the publications of the Hamburg Zoo, anthropomorphism was sometimes employed rather inconspicuously in a merely descriptive manner. It was not used to try to humanize the animal so much as it was used to try to convey something about a particular aspect of an animal's appearance or behaviour. To be sure, sometimes it is not even clear whether this kind of

description is truly anthropomorphic. For example, in the Hamburg Zoo guidebook Dr. Bolau described the Central European red deer (*Edelhirsch*) as being “more proud in stature and posture” than the wapiti.⁴ Although pride is certainly a human quality, the term is used here by Bolau to suggest the manner in which the animal appeared to hold itself physically, rather than to describe the deer’s personality. Still, since the physical attribute derives its appearance from the psychological, the two can not be strictly separated.

Certainly, in a similar instance when Bolau describes the golden eagle (*Steinadler*) as having a “dignified, noble bearing”,⁵ the description is equally ambiguous, but spurious. By attributing a human behavioural trait to an animal, Bolau’s evaluation of the golden eagle does not humanize it as much as it conveys Bolau’s own subjective – and culturally derived – (positive) opinion of the eagle (as does Brehm’s of the deer).

On the other hand, anthropomorphism at the Hamburg Zoo could be much more explicit in its humanization of animals, attributing human motives to their behaviours. For example, an article in the *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* reported that “An interesting murder has reduced the zoological garden’s stock of animals by one brown bear and, in fact, the remaining one is the murderer. The two comrades could not get-along with each other.” In addition, the article referred to the surviving bear as a “villain”.⁶ Similarly, a *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*

⁴ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Heinr. Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1891), 2.

⁵ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Heinr. Bolau, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1901), 19.

⁶ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2 Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: H. Bolau, “Aus unserem Zoologischen Garten” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 17 (August 1880).

article devoted to predators explained that “Among the predators, we find admirable, intelligent creatures and we should therefore not be surprised that they soon acquire all the cunning and pretence that their predatory and thieving craft demands. . . . The predators are accustomed to winning and therefore soon develop an ever-stronger domineering nature, cruelty and, last, a frequently insurmountable desire for murder – indeed, really a thirst for blood to a degree that can actually be seen as symbols of certain humans.”⁷ Clearly, the authors attributed human motives to animals, such as murderousness, bloodthirstiness and a lust to kill, that judged animals according to a code of human (and German) moral conduct. In this way “Culture,” specifically European culture, was the yardstick for animal behaviour and the determination of “civilization.”

The intermingling of German morality with anthropomorphism also appeared in a depiction of stereotypical gender roles in the fictional story, “A Drama under Blades of Grass” (*Ein Drama unter Grashalmen*). The story appeared in a series of instalments in the *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, a publication of the Hamburg Zoological Garden. It portrayed the courtship of a pair of insects, a female named “*Smaragdchen*” (“Little Emerald”) and a male called “*Goldpanzerchen*” “Little Golden Armour”. In the story, a rival threatens *Goldpanzerchen* leading to a stand-off between the two males, but the instalment concludes just as the two prepare to do battle for the female.⁸

⁷ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Unsere Raubthiere im Zoologischen Garten” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 1 (1 April 1880).

⁸ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Ein Drama unter Grashalmen” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* no. 21 (September 1880). Note that this is apparently the only portion of the series that remains in the archive. I would be grateful to receive further information about other editions of the *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*.

In the story, *Smaragdchen* is depicted as coy: “Without doubt, she had noticed him and she took refuge in the most hidden place of her leaf boudoir”. In contrast, “The Romeo would not let himself be deceived. Without taking the time to open his wings, he impetuously gave himself a swing and fell down not far from the coquette who was shivering with pleasure and fear.” Indeed, even when he becomes more submissive, the suitor remains gentlemanly: “Now the roles reversed. *Goldpanzerchen*, until now so proud of his noble garb, his fervour and his love, became submissive and full of attention before the beauty.”⁹

Moreover, this gender identification was enhanced through the use of references to the insects’ physiognomy. *Goldpanzerchen*’s name, “Little Golden Armour,” certainly evoked a heroic knight at the same time as it described the male insects’ appearance. Similarly, *Smaragdchens* name, “little emerald”, suggested not only her beautiful colouring and preciousness, but, as the story suggested, that she was the “prize” for the two opposing males.¹⁰ Ironically, it is through reference to inanimate objects that the insects are configured within the realm of human gender roles in a depiction that evoked the ideals of *Hohe Minne* or courtly love in the Middle Ages as well as those of nineteenth-century novels and melodramas. That is, the story spoke in long-established stereotypes.

To be sure, despite its placement in the Hamburg Zoo newspaper, “A Drama under Blades of Grass” was a piece of highly exaggerated

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ In contrast to the beauty of this pair of insect lovers, was the appearance of the male rival: “He was two times as big as the delicate admirer and must have been at least twice as old. His outer appearance betrayed a choleric, quarrelsome, wild nature. His head, his breastplate, his wing covers – everything was black, dull and dirty. His crushed and twisted feelers appeared to already have been damaged in many bloody battles. Even one of his legs was broken and when he walked he moved a dreadful stump of the most revolting appearance, in the air.” All quotes from Ibid.

anthropomorphism intended as a simple piece of entertainment. Although the anthropomorphism engaged readers in the turbulent world of insects, the fanciful story seemed to have little to do with real insects or, for that matter, real humans. Instead, the characters presented stereotypical human behaviour and the sympathetic portrayal of the love-struck insects was at odds with at least one other – perhaps also exaggerated – *Anzeiger* depiction of insects.¹¹ An earlier article, “War of the Ants,” reported that Brazilian ants were a pest that one provincial government was attempting to eradicate. Due to the damage the ants inflicted upon agriculture, “Naturally, the planters have declared war to the death.”¹²

On the other hand, the depiction of the Brazilian ants as ruthless armies of destruction – “they destroy absolutely everything that they run into along their way” – was consistent with the portrayal of the unnamed warrior villain in “A Drama under Blades of Grass”: “His outer appearance betrayed a choleric, quarrelsome, wild nature. His head, his breastplate, his wing covers – everything was black, dull and dirty. His crumpled and twisted feelers appeared to already have been damaged in many bloody battles. Even one of his legs was broken and when he walked he moved a dreadful stump of the most revolting appearance, in the air.”¹³ Clearly, both the story about the Brazilian ants and the villain in the fanciful “Drama under Blades of Grass” depicted the insects as terrible agents of destruction. In these cases, anthropomorphism humanized all the insects in these

¹¹ I found only three substantial references to insects in the available editions of *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*. Two are discussed above. The third referred to insects in several scenarios in relation to the question of animal instinct.

¹² StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Krieg den Ameisen” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 13 (July 1880).

¹³ *Ibid.* and StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2. “Ein Drama unter Grashalmen”.

stories only to the extent that they represented stock characters in melodramas of both love and war and they did little to promote an educated understanding of insects.

Still, the “Drama under Blades of Grass” also related to the article on Brazilian ants in that both suggested the violence of nature. This idea was alluded to with some regularity in the *Anzeiger*. For instance, the newspaper printed “Small Reports” about “Frogs as Enemies of Carp”, which described how frogs sometimes mounted carp, gouged-out their eyes and then remained on the carp to essentially parasitize the fish by taking its food. Another “Report” described an encounter between a rat and a raven, which saw the raven emerge victorious. Although, occasionally, an article did refer to the “Battle between Death and Life,” most did not explicitly use this phrase or any like it.¹⁴ Still, they indirectly reinforced a dialectical world view and the idea of “survival of the fittest.” At the very least they suggested that nature was often a site of constant, violent struggle.

To be sure, the anthropomorphism of the Hamburg Zoo’s first director, Alfred Brehm, a convinced Darwinist, sometimes referred to the conflicts between opposing species. For instance, following his description of the appearance and behaviour of the zoo’s cormorants, Brehm stated that “The great black cormorants are lively, intelligent, but domineering, nasty creatures. Ours tyrannize the whole pond.” In another example, he described the North American and European treatment of bison and wisents (European bison): “He is dying,

¹⁴ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologische Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Kampf zwischen zwei Elbhechten,” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 7 (June 1880); “Aus dem Thierleben, *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 13 (July 1880); and “Die Frösche als Feinde der Karpfen”, *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 17 (August 1880).

although he is not surrendering. Like his relative, the **wisent** . . . doggedly fought by humans, the bison is fleeing further and further back from his mortal enemy, but he does not submit to him [original bold type].”¹⁵

In both examples, Brehm’s anthropomorphism draws on the context of conflict to convey the personality of the animal: the cormorant as an aggressive bully; the bison as nobly defiant, although doomed. In both cases, the strategy serves as a kind of convenient shorthand for characterizing each species and in that way, perhaps also subtly conveys Brehm’s subjective opinion of each. Furthermore, if viewed from the context of evolution, these characterizations made the ascendancy of one animal or the decline of another seem as natural as it was regrettable.

Of course, Germans (and Europeans) would later apply the paradigm of evolutionary conflict to human societies. As is widely known, the concept of evolutionary struggle and, specifically, survival of the fittest had been broadly (and rather crudely) used by Europeans to explain and justify everything from the social hierarchy of the class system and colonialism to world war. In the case of class, the lower classes were seen to have naturally acquired their status because they were, in evolutionary terms, biologically inferior to their upper class counterparts. Likewise, the domination of colonial peoples was portrayed as

¹⁵ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: A. E. Brehm, *Verzeichniß der lebenden Thiere des Garten zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1863), 30, 35-36. Brehm’s sympathetic discussion of the Bison also includes the qualified comment about its tractability: “He reproduces well in captivity, at least in zoos. He can never be tamed [when he is] alone. . . . but if one only looks into the eye of the very young animals, one can easily answer the question of whether or not the bison can be tamed, for himself (Ibid., 36).” In addition, the geneticist R.C. Lewontin has pointed out that Charles Darwin’s theory of sexual selection reflects nineteenth-century middle class gender norms (R. C. Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology: The Doctrine of DNA*. CBC Massey Lectures Series. 1990 [Toronto: House of Anansi, 2003], 10).

representing a natural rule over inferior peoples. Should they perish as the result of European contact, this was only the result of the evolutionary struggle for survival. By the same token, war was seen as an assertion of national superiority and a forum for establishing the principle of survival of the fittest. As in these examples, Europeans drew their ideas about human society from nature, i.e. from evolutionary theory, but also inflated or reshaped them – in this case, into Social Darwinism – and then projected these ideas back onto nature in order to reinforce their own worldview.

This suggests that as much as anthropomorphism might transpose ideas about humans onto ideas about animals, the reverse could also be true: ideas about nature and animals could also be appropriated and applied to humans (zoomorphism). Indeed, Social Darwinist ideals and models could exaggerate the concept of evolutionary struggle to such an extent that it caused zoomorphism to merge with anthropomorphism; at some point they became virtually indistinguishable from one another. If competitive human behaviour was understood in zoomorphic terms as survival of the fittest, then by the same token aggressive, i.e. competitive, animal behaviour could be understood to be anthropomorphic because the behaviour was also human. In other words, a circular logic develops around humans acting like animals and animals acting like humans. The problem is, which behaviours derive from animals and which from humans?¹⁶

¹⁶ It is worth noting that although in modern scientific discourse the charge of anthropomorphism may be used as a powerful condemnation, the reverse approach – zoomorphism – is widely accepted as valid scientific extrapolation. Indeed, an extreme form of zoomorphism, the field of sociobiology has made an entire scientific discipline of it. For a penetrating critique of

Still, for as much as Darwin's scientific identification of the kinship between humans and animals might be used as a way to legitimize prejudice, oppression and/or aggression (especially through Social Darwinism), it also opened up a world of scientific possibility that rendered the boundary between humans and animals fluid from a new perspective. For instance, in his book *Of the Mental Life of the Higher Animals (Aus dem Seelenleben höherer Tiere)*, Dr. A. Sokolowsky, a zoologist and assistant at Hagenbeck's Stellingen Tierpark, suggested his zoomorphic belief that the scientific study of the animal psyche could provide great insights into human sexual behaviour. Animalistic urges atavistically influenced those who stood "under the spell of the natural elements," although Sokolowsky clearly regarded such people as occupying a lower evolutionary rung, nearer to nature, in the human hierarchy: "Here, I am thinking of sex crimes in which the unfortunate [criminal] cannot be held responsible for his actions."¹⁷

On the other hand, an article in Hamburg's *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* (part of a series of articles for which the other instalments are not available) obliquely explored the relationship between humans and animals and the affinity

sociobiology see "A story in Textbooks" in Lewontin, 61-78. In Lewontin's blunt assessment, the field of sociobiology is a sham: "How do we decide that slavery in ants and ant queens are like human slavery and like human royal families? How do we decide that the coyness we see in people is the same as behaviour in animals called coyness? What happens is that human categories are laid on animals by analogy, partly as a matter of convenience of language, and then these traits are 'discovered' in animals and laid back on humans as if they had a common origin. There is in fact not a shred of evidence that the anatomical, physiological, and genetic basis of what is called aggression in rats has anything in common with the German invasion of Poland in 1938 (sic) (Ibid., 69-70)."

¹⁷ Alexander Sokolowsky, *Aus dem Seelenleben höherer Tiere* (Leipzig: Verlag von Theod. Thomas, 1910), 37-38. Sokolowsky had been a student of the Darwinist Ernst Haeckel. For more information on Sokolowsky and his work, see Lothar Dittrich and Annelore Rieke-Müller, *Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913): Tierhandel und Schaustellungen im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), 206-209.

between their behaviours by considering the question of instinct versus intelligent behaviour. Could animals, even insects, consciously respond to their circumstances to solve problems? Interestingly, the article presented the question, which struck at the hallmarks of human identity, intelligence and conscious action, relatively ambiguously. The author referred to research suggesting the link between brain size and conscious action and noted that due to the believed inverse relationship between greater brain size and instinct, most natural scientists did not perceive conscious intention behind the behaviour of insects. On the other hand, the author also cited reports of ways in which both birds and insects had demonstrated a rational ability to solve problems and concluded this article by problematizing the biological inheritance of instinct: “For example, where do the worker bees get their diligence and their skill from? They can not have inherited it from their mother, as she is the queen who possesses absolutely no industriousness! Even less from the father who never works, eating only the gathered food.”¹⁸ In this way, the author’s exploration of whether or not animals could be conscious actors implicitly grappled with the question of whether or not animals possessed the qualities of human intelligence. Were human intelligence and the ability to reason uniquely human?

Clearly, anthropomorphism (and its, zoomorphic counterpart) reflected this tension between human and animal identities. On the one hand, the possibility of rational behaviour conferred human-like qualities on animals. On the other hand, at least as Sokolowsky suggested, human behaviour could be motivated by

¹⁸ StAHH A 585/157, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Gesellschaft u. Zoologischer Garten: “Instinkt der Thiere,” *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*, no. 13 (July 1880).

(animalistic) unconscious innate drives – at least among criminals. Whereas anthropomorphism perceived human qualities in animals, zoomorphism perceived animal-like qualities in humans. To be sure, both recognized the affinity between humans and animals, but the distinction between these identities was not always clear.

Indeed, in one remarkable instance in the handbook of the Hamburg Zoo, Brehm's engaging anthropomorphism was taken to a remarkable extreme in which human and animal identities became completely merged. In a very brief description devoted to the zoo's captive pig, Brehm stated that, "The remotest corner of our garden is good enough for the **pigs** and their particular stall is still not filled. In the meantime, only the Meishan pig (*Maskenschwein*) is accommodated there. It is the ugliest animal of the garden, dull, lazy and sluggish. One often considers it to be a breed of domestic pig. Still, one can certainly ascribe him to an autonomous breed. One can tell just by looking, that it originates from China [original bold type]."¹⁹ Clearly, in this disturbing passage, which evokes Captain Tetens' animalization of the "filthy" Chinese and other characterizations of indigenous peoples as lazy (see Chapter 1), Brehm's concluding statement renders the categories of race and species virtually indistinguishable, making it impossible to separate Brehm's contempt for the pig from an apparent contempt for the Chinese. It is at this point where we see the limits of anthropomorphism in humanizing animals. Anthropomorphism only

¹⁹ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 1, Zoologischer Garten: Brehm, *Verzeichniss*, 52-53. The English name of this pig was difficult to determine. The Latin name given by Brehm to the *Maskenschwein*, *Sus pliciceps*, today actually refers to a Japanese domestic pig. However, the *chinesische Maskenschwein* is consistently referred to as the Meishan pig, which originates in China, so I have presumptively given that as the English name.

elevates the status of an animal if the human with which it is equated is also regarded as a fully worthy human being. Otherwise, as in this instance, the anthropomorphism of an animal converges with the animalization of a human (zoomorphism), making the animal not more human, but rendering it instead into a despised and bestial Other. Of course, at the same time, the human Other is also denigrated by the comparison to a contemptible animal.

As I have discussed in the previous chapter on Hagenbeck, the blurring of the boundaries between humans and animals often occurred at the juncture between race and species. Yet if Brehm succeeds here in merging race with species by drawing attention to a perceived similarity between the Chinese and pigs, his description also threatens to move from an anthropomorphic metaphor to a literal kind of anthropomorphism, where the animal is actually seen to physically embody human characteristics. That is, by concluding his portrayal of the pig with the bald statement that it is obvious that the animal originates from China, Brehm suggests that the pig personifies the presumed racial traits of the Chinese, both physically and culturally; not only does the pig look Chinese, but the pig is lazy like the Chinese. In effect, the pig *is* Chinese. In making the association between the supposed physical and cultural traits of the Chinese, Brehm conflates them and gives them a biological basis.

Yet, the physical embodiment of anthropomorphic traits need not be “naturally” occurring as it was with the Meishan pig. The same effect could also be produced in animals through the imposition of human dress and behaviour. This kind of anthropomorphism did not simply rely upon the subjective

perception of human-like qualities, but rather it explicitly humanized the animal through an enforced mimicry. For example, in the 1911 edition of the Hamburg Zoo's guidebook a photo of a "Chimpanzee at its meal" showed a small ape seated on a small table, wearing a bib and eating from a spoon.²⁰ Similarly, as described in Chapter 5, Hagenbeck's "Ape dinners" – when trained chimps and orangutans demonstrated their ability to emulate the manners of proper diners – as well as a variety of other trained animal performances, such as those involving lions dressed as kings and chimpanzees riding bicycles, also fall into this category. These required animals to enact roles and behaviours that were exclusively human and which unambiguously imitated human behaviour. This kind of anthropomorphism differed from the subjective interpretation of animal behaviour, emotions and appearance because it was a blatant mimicry of purely human behaviours and did not derive from the animal itself. That is, the animal did not choose this kind of role. It was imposed upon it.

Anthropomorphism like this, that was purely physical, made the humanization of the animal extremely visible and in a sense also made it incontrovertible. Anyone who looked at an animal dressed in human clothes and/or engaging in activities that were completely human could not objectively miss the anthropomorphism. Whereas the attribution of human-like emotions or motivations to an animal might be subjective and difficult to prove, the fact that an animal was, say, balancing on a ball or drinking from a glass of water was undeniably anthropomorphic. Of course, the question of whether or not an animal

²⁰ StAHH A 585/159, Kapsel 2, Zoologischer Garten: J. Vosseler, *Führer durch den Zoologischen Garten zu Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag der Zoologischen Gesellschaft, 1911), 19.

might actually have chosen to do such things remained unasked in the background. Instead, the emphasis was placed on the concrete, although superficial humanization of the animal.

Still, whether or not this behaviour was regarded as pure mimicry or a genuine expression of the animal's aspirations remains an open question. As I argued in Chapter 4, the cultivation of human-like behaviour, such as work, in animals could be understood as an attempt to civilize animals. Likewise, the ability to perform was also a kind of "work." Such work, however, was viewed by some scientists as the cultivation of an animal's innate abilities. In *Of the Mental Life of Higher Animals*, Sokolowsky explained that Hagenbeck's *Zahm Dressur* (gentle training) unlocked the latent talent and potential of animals. He stated that this was only possible with captive animals, because, in the first place, this advancement – "that could bring their mental characteristics to their highest development" – depended upon contact with humans and, second, because once removed from its natural environment, an animal was no longer constrained by the need to survive there. In this way, an animal could presumably devote its energies to the development of other abilities. In fact, Sokolowsky argued that the development of tools to aid their survival freed humans from the direct control of nature and permitted the growth of culture, thereby also prompting anthropogenesis. In this way, it is possible that the performances of trained animals may have been viewed as more than just superficial mimicry, but rather as the "work of education" (*Erziehungsarbeit*) – a term which also carries the meaning of bringing someone up – and a manifestation of the "highest

development“ (*höchste Ausbildung*) of animals.²¹ whose nature possessed other dimensions.

Nevertheless, regardless of the motives of the trainers (entertainment versus education/*Erziehung*) and despite the obvious anthropomorphism, the actual meaning of such animal acts was unclear and depended to some extent on what was actually performed. For instance, when – as in Hagenbeck’s signature circus trick – a lion was made to wear a cape and crown and be pulled in a chariot drawn by tigers and attended by dogs as footmen, the effect was somewhat ambiguous (figure 35).²² To be sure, this trick declared the crowned lion as the “King of Beasts” and his triumphal parade through the circus arena would seem to confirm this status. The impressive spectacle of all animals working harmoniously together in service to the supposed ruler of the animal kingdom certainly illustrated the lion’s stature and brought the metaphor to life, perhaps even as an exemplary representation of the way in which monarchy should function.

²¹ Sokolowsky, *Seelenleben*, 21-22, 25, 72. See also 73.

²² HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: W. Henz, “Über Tierdressur” (No publication information, ca. 1908).



Figure 35. “Mehrman with his team of tigers” (Source: W. Henz, “Über Tierdressur.” Archiv Hagenbeck, Hamburg).

Still, the obvious anthropomorphism also worked in reverse to undermine the status of the lion. When a lion was crowned and metaphorically declared King – or at least the “Lion Prince,” as he was referred to in one of the Hagenbeck Circus programs²³ – his power was undercut by the presence of the trainer. The lion was the central character in the performance of, for example, an ancient Roman procession, but in fact, the trick highlighted not just the animals’ abilities, but even more so the ingenuity and abilities of the trainer. For, in fact, it was he who had shaped the animals’ behaviours, he who presided over the entire scene and he who commanded the animals. In effect, as much as the triumphal ride around the ring was the lion’s, it also represented the trainer’s victory. This configuration of power is clearly suggested in an image of the circus trainer,

²³ HA, programs: “Karl Hagenbecks Tier-Zirkus. Nach Skizzen von Fr. Specht” (Eßlingen bei Stuttgart: Verlag von D. F. Schreiber, n.d).

Darling being pulled in a *lion-drawn* chariot (figure 36). although the presence of the trainer Mehrmann in the image above is also not to be missed.²⁴

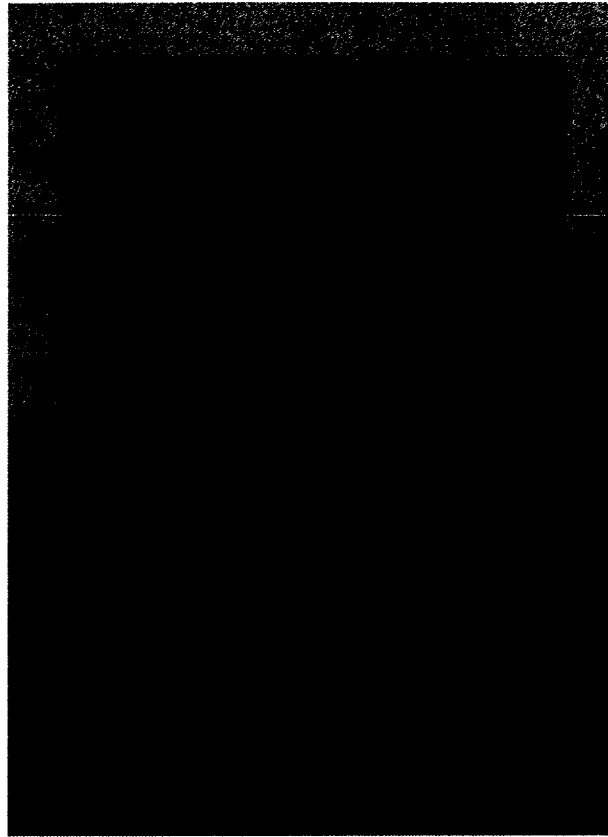


Figure 36. “Darling in his triumph wagon.” (Source: W. Henz, “Über Tierdressur.” Archiv Hagenbeck, Hamburg).

The circus impresario C. B. Cochran claimed that “The whole charm of these animal acts is the spontaneity [!] of the performers” and he immediately followed this assertion by declaring that “To see a number of cowed lions slinking round a ring would be horrible and degrading”. However, his next remark highlighted the superior status of the human, the animal trainer: to return to his assertion, highlighted in Chapter 4, “To see a dozen lions obediently and cheerfully obeying the voices of the trainer is splendid and exhilarating – at once

²⁴ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: Henz, “Über Tierdressur.”

a demonstration of the power of the will of man and of the affinity that exists between him and the dumb creation.”²⁵

Yet, Cochran’s remarks are best understood in the context in which they appeared: they were reprinted in a booklet touting Hagenbeck’s humane approach to animal training. Cochran was speaking to the difference between animals trained to perform through violent intimidation versus the comparatively gentler coercion and cooperation employed in the Hagenbeck method of training animals. Cochran’s view that there was no joy in seeing an animal terrorized into performing seems to reflect a “liberal” vision of training that would have been applicable to the working classes, colonial subjects and perhaps even women. At the same time, his remark could also be understood as either a statement about, or a justification of monarchy. Nevertheless, Cochran’s comments make it clear that animal training was as much about reflecting the glory of “man” – or at least the glory of the tamer who, interestingly enough, could often also be a woman –²⁶ as it was about the animal’s ability to perform.

Certainly it took skill and a degree of self-control on the trainer’s part to be able to teach an animal to perform. Furthermore, as I have argued in Chapter 4, this humane approach also highlighted the role of the trainer as a benevolent master over his subordinates. In this way, despite the apparent valorization of the lion king, at the same time the so-called gentle approach to animal taming also celebrated the trainer. As a result, even when anthropomorphism was embodied in

²⁵ HA, booklets and pamphlets: Letter by C. B. Cochran to *The Observer* of November 23, 1913 reprinted in *Trained Animals* (London: Gale and Polden, Ltd., n.d), 7.

²⁶ The role of gender and circus trainers/tamers is a neglected area that deserves further scholarly exploration.

an ostensibly unambiguous and straightforward manner, such as representing the lion as monarch, it could still be highly ambivalent.

To be sure, as the editor of the trade journal, *The Zoological Garden Der Zoologische Garten*, Dr. D. F. Weinland observed in an article. “On the Introduction of lions to the zoological garden” (1861), that “The captured lion easily becomes tame. The great animal tamers van Aken, Charles and others, associated with their lions as though they were dogs. Indeed, often it appeared to us that the games any old animal keeper played with the noble animal were more to degrade the latter [the lion] than to elevate the dignity and power of the human.”²⁷ Yet the distinction Weinland makes between the attempt to diminish the status of the lion rather than to elevate the status of the trainer is a fine one that hinges upon the ascription of the trainer’s motive. Nevertheless, the net effect of degrading the lion was that the standing of the trainer was, in turn, raised. In this way it is clear that although the anthropomorphism of the regal lion might have been symbolic, it could also be ironic.

Indeed, even though lions were considered regal, as the founder and leader of an international animal-business empire it was Hagenbeck himself who was sometimes referred to as the “King of the Beasts”.²⁸ The Hagenbeck kingdom of animal businesses traded upon the reputation of Carl Hagenbeck. It was he who presided over the various enterprises that captured, sold, displayed and tamed

²⁷ D. F. Weinland, “Zur Einführung der Löwen in den Zoologischen Garten,” *Der Zoologische Garten* II (August and September 1861): 175.

²⁸ See the title of HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: P. Berges, “Beim König der Tiere. Ein Interview mit Karl Hagenbeck,” ((No newspaper title), 19 September 1907), n.p.

beasts in his name. It was Hagenbeck and his ventures which were the subject of biographies and news articles celebrating his achievements.

Moreover, Hagenbeck's seeming ability to subdue powerful animals further enhanced his status as the "King of the Beasts." Although with only a few exceptions it was Hagenbeck's agents and animal catchers, rather than he who actually captured or transported animals across continents, it was nevertheless Hagenbeck who was regarded as the one who procured and delivered the animals to menageries, circuses and zoos. Similarly, it was Hagenbeck's brother Wilhelm and other hired trainers who were responsible for the fantastic animal tricks associated with Hagenbeck. Hagenbeck only ever once played the role of animal trainer, when his trainer and brother-in-law Heinrich Mehrmann, fell ill before the show at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 forcing Hagenbeck to quickly step into the role. Nevertheless, Hagenbeck's popularization of *Zahm Dressur* linked his name with animal taming.²⁹ As a result, Hagenbeck's apparent power over animals – whether as a canny animal trader or a gentle animal trainer – placed him as the de facto ruler of the animal kingdom.

Certainly, well before Hagenbeck became widely known as the kindly master of the *Tierpark*, his dominance over the animal kingdom was well-established through his reputation as a formidable international animal catcher and trader. For example, a contemporary cartoon (circa 1893) with the caption "Hagenbeck is coming!," depicted lions, tigers, elephants, giraffes, hippos,

²⁹ Lothar Dittrich and Annelore Rieke-Müller, *Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913): Tierhandel und Schaustellungen in Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998), 51, 89, 175-177. Hagenbeck's son, Lorenz, brought the shows to Buenos Aires and to London, in 1913/14 and who along with other family members assumed responsibility for the circus shows until 1953 when the business was given up entirely (Ibid., 177-178).

monkeys, snakes and other wild animals fleeing frantically into the jungle at the site of a Hagenbeck wagon coming down the road.³⁰ The animals' reaction suggests that they feared being captured by him.

On the other hand, another cartoon from 1911, also with the title "Hagenbeck is coming," identified Hagenbeck directly with the monarchy and depicted him as exercising a more kindly leadership, although it still featured a performance of his authority and domination. The cartoon shows Hagenbeck riding triumphantly on a camel through Berlin's Brandenburg Gate accompanied by a wide assortment of beasts. The image of Hagenbeck and his animals paying a visit to Kaiser Wilhelm II following the monarch's own trip to the Stellingen *Tierpark* in 1911 clearly links the menagerie to Hagenbeck enterprises: it shows Hagenbeck carrying a banner announcing his name and the entry fee of 10 Pfennig. In addition, instead of fleeing in terror, as they do in the previous cartoon, in this cartoon the animals join Hagenbeck to form a happy procession.³¹ While some animals carry uniformed German officials on their backs, other animals transport their zoo companions. For example, a monkey is shown seated upon a turtle. The monkey, by the way, holds a pencil and notepad and appears to be recording the scene. There are other anthropomorphic references as well, such as a snake on roller skates, which may allude to his association with feats of animal training. Notably, in an image, which I will come back to in a moment, a

³⁰ "Hagenbeck kommt!" in Th. Grätz, Th. Th. Heine, A. Hengeler, A. Oberländer, G. Reinicke and others, *Humor in der Thierwelt. Lustige Bilder aus dem Leben der Thiere aller Zonen* (München: Braun und Schneider, n.d.), 5.

³¹ As mentioned in the previous chapter, Rothfels has suggested that the opening of the *Tierpark* in Stellingen and the more natural environment it offered animals helped to transform Hagenbeck's image into that of kindly Noah who presided over an ark of beasts (Nigel Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo* [Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 2002], 175-176).

crowned lion with an ermine cape walks upright beside Hagenbeck, recalling the signature performance of the Hagenbeck circus.³² In addition, as in the previous cartoon the animals in this illustration displayed human-like knowledge of Hagenbeck and his intentions.

Although a comparison of these two images begs further analysis, I want only to point out that in both cases Hagenbeck was portrayed as the supreme master of the animal kingdom. Whether depicted as a feared animal catcher or as the leader of a colourful procession of happy, human-like beasts it is clear that Hagenbeck's reputation rested upon the idea of his dominant control over animals – animals, it should be noted, which seemed rationally to acknowledge the superiority of his will.

Indeed, if Hagenbeck seemed to be the true ruler of animals, this dominance was epitomized by representations of the way in which lions responded to him. For instance, in the first cartoon, along with the other animals, the lion fled before Hagenbeck's arrival. In the second, despite the lion's regal appearance, it is Hagenbeck who leads the parade. In either case, the phrase, "Hagenbeck is coming" announced the arrival of the true King of the Beasts to whom even the lions would defer. Clearly, in these cases, the depiction of the noble lion was, again, ironic.

Still, in apparent contrast, it was not unusual for lions to be portrayed anthropomorphically as both terrible and regal. For instance, a renowned 1838 poem called "Ride of the Lion," by the German poet Ferdinand Freiligrath,

³² Image in Jennifer Ham, "Taming the Beast: Animality in Wedekind and Nietzsche" in *Animals Acts: Configuring the Human in Western History* eds. Jennifer Ham and Matthew Senior (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 149.

combined both of these characterizations in a poem that portrayed a lion's deadly attack on a giraffe. The poem's vivid imagery describes how the other fearful animals on the savannah observe the lion "ruler" with its claws dug into its "living throne," the giraffe. The poem concludes with the statement, "So the king of the animals rides hard, nightly, within the boundaries of his kingdom."³³

With this in mind, it becomes clear that portrayals of Hagenbeck as the ruler of beasts need not depend solely on the degradation of the lion. Hagenbeck's relationship with the lion Triest, which was apparently the only animal the impresario ever refused to sell, underscored Hagenbeck's status as the supreme ruler of the animal kingdom. To be sure, his great affection for Triest appears to have been both genuine and reciprocated by the lion. An image of Hagenbeck caressing the appreciative cat was used in some of the Tierpark's programs and postcards.³⁴ Yet as we have seen in Chapter 4, when a performing animal retained its aura of dignity and fierceness – when it was presented as mighty – then the human who could subdue it (whether through brutality or in Hagenbeck's case, friendship) benefitted from the animal's vaunted status: it took a powerful person to pacify a powerful animal. In essence, if Hagenbeck could tame lions – and he

³³ Ferdinand Freiligrath, *Ferdinand Freiligrath's Gesammelte Dichtungen*. Erster Band. (Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung, 1870), 152. Date of poem located at "Ferdinand Freiligrath," *New International Encyclopaedia*, Wikisource, last updated 3 November 2010. <http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_New_International_Encyclop%C3%A6dia/Freiligrath,_Ferdinand>, accessed 10 August 2011.

³⁴ For examples, see HA, guidebooks: Schiller-Tietz, *Führer durch Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark in Stellingen* (Hamburg: Verlag von Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark, 1907), 4; and HA, postcard collection: "Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark Stellingen, n.d." which shows the same image as the guidebook with Hagenbeck caressing a lion. The caption below the image reads "Carl Hagenbeck sr. stroking his old veteran, the lion 'Triest,' who served the firm for 18 years and who is now living on charity in the predator's lair." The same postcard image with an abbreviated caption mentioning Triest was also published in 1910 (HA, postcard collection).

didn't even need to use force – then he could be seen as the first among equals – the ruler of kings.

However, the image of the noble lion was not confined to simply elevating the status of the human being. It could, on the other hand, also be used in other ways to subtly poke fun at some humans. Indeed, in a satirical publication produced for their members' banquet in 1880, the Hamburg humour society "*Klimperkasten*" mimicked the Hamburg Zoo's newspaper, the *Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger*.³⁵ This mock newspaper included an article, purportedly about natural history, that wittily described various animals, including the lion. The article featured a cartoon of a smiling lion with ringlets in its mane, dressed in a crown and ermine-trimmed cape. With its paws folded behind its back, the upright and jovial lion reads a sign that prohibits entry into the enclosure behind it. The accompanying text describes an elite lion – the super-refined "society man" [*Salon-Löwe* or literally, the "salon lion" in German], whose activities center mainly upon fine dining – as a way to gently ridicule the French.³⁶

In contrast, the humorist then goes on to describe another, less refined "variety" of lion found in a seedy locale of Hamburg (in the "*Schnapps* Islands," presumably in the colourful harbour area). Accordingly, this type of "lion" is characterized as a drunkard: "They are so tame, that they feed right out of your hand and pocket, nourishing themselves for the most part from rotgut. Their scent

³⁵ In German, a *Klimperkasten* refers to a dilapidated, old piano that tinkles upon playing. The term "rattletrap" conveys the same idea, but it refers to a noisy old car, rather than a piano. Since there is no suitable English equivalent for this word, I have decided to retain the original.

³⁶ StAHH A 507/36, Kapsel 1: "Aus dem Zoologischen Garten," *Billwärder an der Elbe. Von Have'scher Zoologischer Garten-Anzeiger* (15 July 1880). The joke also extends to make the connection between the French city of "Lion," where the majority of the silk clothing that constitutes the female "lion's coat" is apparently produced. See below.

is very spiritual, their appearance somewhat reduced, that is, as one says, *deserted* and empty, which is why, in his famous poem “Ride of the Lion,” Freiligrath also calls them **King of the Desert** [italics added, bold type original].³⁷

In this way, the author cleverly mocks his targets, first the French and then Hamburg’s revellers by presenting the lion as either self-indulgent and “soft” or as seedy and alcoholic to the point of impotent weakness. To be sure, these characterizations derive their humour from the contrast with the terrible king of the beasts referenced in the original poem by Freiligrath. The bloodthirsty lion is reduced to a benign object of ridicule that renders the notion of the regal lion absurd – and by association, then, the human characters being depicted are also seen as absurd.

Yet, the author’s choice of the French as a target is interesting. The *Klimperkasten* article seems to make fun of France’s reputation for high fashion and decadence, suggesting that the French are frivolous and effete. This characterization would seem to appeal to depictions of aristocratic degeneracy dating back to the French Revolution. Furthermore, at the time that the article appeared, in 1880, it had only been a decade since Germany had, much to the surprise of many,³⁸ defeated Napoleon III’s professional army in the Franco-Prussian war, which concluded the unification of Germany. In this way, the author’s jibe seems to depict France (and the French) as an illiberal nation, suffering from excess to the point of weakness – proud and vain, but no longer

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Michael Pratt, “A Fallen Idol: The Impact of the Franco-Prussian War on the Perception of Germany by British Intellectuals,” *The International History Review* 7, no. 4 (Nov. 1985), 544, 548.

regal or mighty – and, in contrast, hints at middle-class Germans’ perception of themselves as a robust, ascendant and liberal nation (the seamy, working-class lush notwithstanding).

To be sure, this also relates to the way that the *Klimperkasten* article also illustrates, once again, that the boundaries between anthropomorphism and zoomorphism were very blurry. Although the lion jokes depended upon the anthropomorphic notion of the lion as king, the butt of the jokes was, in fact the humans who were being portrayed as animals. For example: the “**Society man** [or, again, the salon lion] with black tailcoat and white tie, who spends a lot of time at buffets, feeds himself with ice cream and champagne and is especially at home in France, where he is called **Lion** and, at the same time, is used as a city from which the majority of silk things come, from which, again, the female lion’s hide is fabricated into the shape of robes, coats, etc.”.³⁹

Here, the “lion” dresses and behaves as a human – an upper-class one – but then women’s finery is configured figuratively – zoomorphically – as the coat of a lion.⁴⁰ Similarly, although the Hamburg bar fly (the Desert King) that follows the joke about the salon lion is referred to as a lion, it is clear that the joke actually refers to a human character. In this way, the distinction between anthropomorphism and zoomorphism is impossible to make. Are the animals configured as humans or the humans as animals? In fact, the jokes depend upon the intertwining of the images and the inability to clearly distinguish them.

³⁹ StAHH A 507/36, Kapsel I: “Aus dem Zoologischen Garten.”

⁴⁰ In this example, the lion also becomes completely inanimate when it becomes the city of Lion.

Still, in as much as anthropomorphism might appear to blur human and animal boundaries by ostensibly humanizing animals and thereby drawing the species closer, this ambiguity also meant that in some contexts, such as when it was physically represented, anthropomorphism could have the opposite effect: it could create distance between the identities of “human” and “animal.” For example, the entertainment value of seeing a walrus – “Oscar” – seated at a table, wearing a top hat and bib and looking at a menu, as was sometimes performed in the Hagenbeck circuses prior to 1914, was derived from the obvious absurdity of the situation (figure 37).⁴¹ The animal’s size, ungainliness on land and its sheer unsuitability for fine dining made its placement in such a situation seem ridiculous. Clearly, on its own, no walrus would ever have eaten at a table or worn such silly clothing; if that had been a possibility, it would not have been amusing. Instead, in forcing animals to mimic human behaviours that were completely unsuited to the animal, the performance drew attention to the animal’s physical difference and distance from humans.

⁴¹ HA, photo collection: “Oscar,” n.d.)



Figure 37. “Oscar” (Archiv Hagenbeck, Hamburg)

In comparison, a postcard image of walrus being fed in a naturalistic setting at Hagenbeck’s *Tierpark* by a zookeeper (in the presence of Hagenbeck) had a rather different effect (ca. 1910) (figure 38).⁴² While in themselves the animals in this postcard might have been an unusual sight for early-twentieth-century zoo visitors, what stands out in the image is their apparently friendly relationship with humans, underscored by the fact the animals are being hand fed. Undoubtedly, this scene was just as contrived as that of Oscar the circus walrus. Confining arctic animals to an enclosure in northern Germany and having a keeper feed them from a bucket, rather than permitting the animals to catch their own food was hardly “natural”. To be sure, the animals in the *Tierpark* had learned to respond to the presence of the zookeeper and were rewarded with food just like Oscar the walrus had been. Yet, the point is that whereas in the naturalistic setting the animals seemed to have an affinity for humans, once the

⁴² HA, postcard collection: Carl Hagenbeck in the Walrus pool, n.d.

walrus was anthropomorphized it developed a strangeness that pointed out its distance from humanity.⁴³



Figure 38. Carl Hagenbeck in the Walrus pool (Archiv Hagenbeck, Hamburg)

However, whereas Oscar performed that he was a civilized restaurant patron, the feeding demonstration in the *Tierpark* was intended to show that the animals were wild but nevertheless comfortable with humans. That is, they were “civilized” in a different manner. The “wild” animals conveyed their genuine tameness – or civility – in the way that they peacefully gathered around the zookeeper and Hagenbeck. In contrast, the impression conveyed by the top-hatted Oscar was that although he might affect the role of a proper restaurant patron he was in fact, far removed from one. The dissonance created by his clothing and the fact of his actual physical appearance emphasized Oscar’s difference from

⁴³ Of course, it is possible that as with other anthropomorphisms this performance could be ambiguous and read in a more positive light. Still, I have already used the portrayal of the regal lion to discuss the multiplicity of meanings associated with a single anthropomorphic representation. Instead, my point here is to highlight a different aspect of anthropomorphism, the relationship of Homi Bhabha’s theory of mimicry, as I will show next, to some types of representations.

humans and effectively distanced him from humans more than it made him seem near them. Clearly, anthropomorphism gave him a strangeness that ironically accentuated his difference from humans and, more specifically, minimized his relationship to Germans.

Indeed, such anthropomorphic images could be rather like the idea outlined by the post-colonial theorist Homi Bhabha to describe the effect of Europeanization on indigenous peoples. Bhabha regarded mimicry as “one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge”, albeit a highly ambivalent one. In Bhabha’s theory, in the colonial context, mimicry – the adoption of a colonizer’s language, dress and way of life – does not disguise difference. On the contrary, it draws attention to Otherness. In his words, “Mimicry *repeats* rather than *re-presents* . . .”. He argues that “to be Anglicized, is *emphatically* not to be English.”⁴⁴ Likewise, if anthropomorphism was a kind of enculturation, in that its physical presentation required animals to dress and behave like contemporary Europeans, often the mimicry did not emphasize the animals’ similarity to humans, but rather their difference.

Nevertheless, according to Bhabha, since the colonial text is not completely inscribed upon the indigenous person, the mimicry also distorts and mocks what it is supposed to represent. In this way, it ambivalently reveals vulnerability, but is also disruptive of authority. Whether or not this could be said of anthropomorphized animals, however, remains an open question, particularly as animals themselves had little opportunity for agency within their captivity and

⁴⁴ Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” *October* 28 (Spring 1984): 126, 128.

their mimicry was imposed upon them. I would like to be able to argue that animals' resistance, such as attacks on their trainers, constituted an assertion of self-identity that subverted the anthropomorphic veneer of Europeanization imposed upon them. Unfortunately, however, although this might be true to some extent, the actual incidence of animal attacks occurring at Hagenbeck's, where animals often performed human-like behaviours, was rare. In one interview with a British magazine, Hagenbeck recounted how an elephant had, unknown to him previously been teased, threw him with his trunk. In addition, the *Oldesloer Landbote* newspaper reported in 1913 that a *Tierpark* cashier had slipped into the lion's den and in an attempt to be funny, antagonized an old lion, which then attacked him.⁴⁵ The rarity of these instances at Hagenbeck's leads me – tentatively – to the conclusion that animals instead remained voiceless members of society – true subalterns.⁴⁶

On the other hand, Erica Fudge has proposed that animals can at least be known by understanding how humans defined themselves against the category of “animal.” When humans are understood as an ontological category of analysis, the result, she asserts, is a reassessment of the human-animal relationship and the disruption of anthropocentrism and the human-animal binary. As a result humans

⁴⁵ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: “Men and Women of Today. Mr. Carl Hagenbeck, the King of Wild Animal Trainers,” *Tit-Bits*, 28 July 1900, 413; and “Ein Mann in Hagenbecks Tierpark von Löwen zerfleischt,” *Oldesloer Landbote* (Bad Oldesloe, Germany), 17 March 1913. Taking both cases at face value, in accordance with Hagenbeck's ideas about *Zahm Dressur* only animals that had become agitated through mistreatment attacked.

⁴⁶ Gayatri Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited and with an introduction by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

will be seen as embedded within rather than separate from the greater web of the nature, upon which they are equally dependent.⁴⁷

Still, as this chapter shows, the lack of a clear separation between humans and animals has not resulted in the empowerment of animals or, for that matter, all human beings. Although it is clear that anthropomorphism could draw attention to the differences between humans and animals, it is also important to note that anthropomorphism could differentiate Europeans from non-Europeans – especially indigenous peoples – by using animals as a foil. By definition, the so-called nature peoples were considered to be closer to nature, thereby prompting an association between the animals in the environment and the indigenous population. In this way, a context was provided in which indigenous peoples and the animals associated with their regions could be presented and compared.

For example, a cartoon with the title “In the twentieth century” (c. 1895) and the caption “Effect of Civilization [*Cultur*] on the Elephant Youth in the Congo Region” drew on such comparisons to illustrate the inferiority of Africans. The cartoon showed two young elephants seated upright on their bottoms, like human children, below a tree on the African plain. One of the elephants has a large round earring in its ear and uses its trunk to hold-up a jumping jack that looks like a skirted African.⁴⁸ The elephant laughs with delight as it pulls the string of the toy figure, which throws out its arms and legs, grinning widely. Seated across from the first elephant, the second elephant happily uses its trunk to

⁴⁷ Erica Fudge, “A Left-handed Blow: Writing the History of Animals,” in *Representing Animals*, ed. Nigel Rothfels (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 8-11, 15-16.

⁴⁸ Interestingly, I am not aware of any incidences in which animals are explicitly anthropomorphized to represent non-Whites. The nearest example is this baby elephant with the earring, which Africans were also often depicted as wearing.

turn the crank of a music box it holds on its lap. Several monkeys laugh along with the pair while several giraffes and an ostrich in the distance curiously observe the scene.⁴⁹

Clearly in this image, the elephants are shown as having culturally advanced to the point that they enjoy the same amusements as European children. Indeed, as David Ciarlo notes in *Advertising Empire* (2011), the placement of commodities, including in one specific example, toys, was seen a marker of civilization and a means for colonization. Since one of the young elephants wears an earring, which would have identified it as a native African, it is clear that the animal has been the target of the European civilizing mission. Note, too, that the title of the cartoon image implies that “culture,” synonymous with Western European customs, practices and habits, but also denoting civilization, *Bildung* and refinement, had previously been lacking in the Congo and is only now being introduced to the region, i.e. prior to Europeanization, the Congo had no “culture.” Africans, on the other hand, represented as caricatures by the toy figure’s “primitive” clothing and wildly waving arms and legs, are portrayed as unaffected by European culture and civilization and by implication are developmentally not even up to the level of a child (or an animal). Indeed, like the toy, the African is developmentally stagnant.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Th. Grätz, “Im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert,” in *Humor in der Thierwelt. Lustige Bilder aus dem Leben der Thiere aller Zonen*, Th. Grätz, Th. Th. Heine, A. Hengeler, A. Oberländer, E. Reinicke et al (München: Braun & Schneider, n.d.), 44.

⁵⁰ David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 185-187. For a discussion of symbolic markers such as the earring, see *ibid.*, 191. On Social Darwinism and the biologically determined “Negro soul”, see Michael Schubert, *Schwarzer Fremde: Das Bild des Schwarzafrikaners in der parlamentarischen und publizistischen Kolonialdiskussion in Deutschland von den 1870er bis in die 1930er Jahre*

By the same token, whereas the elephant cartoon portrayed animals as advancing towards civilization ahead of Africans, another anthropomorphic cartoon from approximately the late nineteenth century, also used animals to illustrate Africans' poor adjustment to civilization and thereby, in a similar fashion, to call their ability to progress into question. The first of a set of two cartoons, titled "Illustration of African Culture" shows a bare-legged black African man wearing a top hat and tails and clutching an open bottle of alcohol as he lurches past the tall grasses where a lion lays in wait, watching and licking its lips. The lion says "Ah, finally another Negro again. He's coming just in time!" In the next scene, captioned as "After the meal," the lion sits upright rubbing his head with his paw and leaning against a mound of dirt in front of the grasses. Scattered about him are tattered pieces of clothing, the top hat and the liquor bottle. With tears dropping from his eyes the lion then bemoans "This damn civilization! Soon now, one will no longer be able to eat any Blacks any more without getting one holy hangover!"⁵¹ Although clearly the lion's curse suggests that he himself has not reconciled himself to "civilization," the cartoonist uses the lion's complaint to point out the problem of alcoholism among native Africans. However, rather than critiquing the value of a civilization that uses alcohol to control and exploit indigenous populations, the cartoon's title, "Illustration of African Culture," instead faults Africans for being vulnerable to the effects of that exploitation and suggests that an inferior African culture was to blame, that is,

(Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), 62-64. Schubert describes how Africans were seen as incapable of evolving and becoming "civilized."

⁵¹ A. Oberländer, "Afrikanisches Kulturbild." in *Humor in der Thierwelt. Lustige Bilder aus dem Leben der Thiere aller Zonen*, Th. Grätz, Th. Th. Heine, A. Hengeler, A. Oberländer, E. Reinicke et al (München: Braun & Schneider, n.d.), 99-100.

Africans were simply not up to handling the products of a more advanced civilization.

As the historian Michael Schubert has argued, particularly in the context of the agricultural crisis in the late 1870s and early '80s, Germans had a vested economic interest in the export of alcohol and spirits and, in that period, exports to West Africa did, in fact, triple. As a result, when problems of native alcoholism arose, rather than addressing the source of the problem, the abuse of alcohol could instead serve as a convenient the propaganda tool justifying the German Cultural mission to Africa and the "Education of Negroes to Civilization [Kultur]."⁵²

As for the lion, although he suffers a hangover from the unintended overconsumption of alcohol, his complaint puts him in a position superior to that of his victim in that it demonstrates his awareness of the problem and objection to its effect on him. In both this cartoon and the previous, the critique is all the more scathing because they suggest that even though they are not humans, animals are more capable of civilization than Africans. In other words these kinds of cartoons articulate a hierarchy that configures Africans below animals, although both groups are portrayed as inferior to the European "Civilization" that is the cause of the Africans' and animals' grief.

Not to put too fine a point on it, a similar theme of Blacks' inferiority to animals – and therefore difference from Europeans – occurs in a pair of cartoons (c. 1895) that depict the events of a picnic. The first image depicts a group of Blacks wearing European finery and seated on a blanket at each corner of which a palm tree grows. All of the picnic-goers have exaggeratedly large lips. With the

⁵² Schubert, 109-111.

exception of one man who sings and plays a banjo and wears a banana leaf skirt, the other men are all semi-dressed in formal attire (although, one of the men also wears a prominent earring): pants or shorts with suspenders but no shirts, sometimes with white cuffs on their wrists or with a monocle, and each wearing a top hat or some other type of hat. Both of the women present wear European-style dresses. One has a fashionable lady's hat on the ground before her and each has her hair pulled back partially into a kind of ponytail or bun. One of the women is engaged in passionately kissing one of the men. The other woman seems to be toasting a glass of wine and flirting with her male companion. In the middle of the blanket sits an unattended naked baby seemingly oblivious to everything except the food he eats and the string of the elephant pull toy he holds. On the blanket is an umbrella, ham, cheese, sausage and a large basket of wine bottles. While the man with the banjo sings, several of the men tend to the food and drink. Surrounding the scene, chimps and baboons, perched in the trees look on.⁵³

Yet if this is a colonial version of a European picnic scene, the similarity is about to end. In the next cartoon each of the chimpanzees that had been stationed at the base of each of the four palm trees has now pulled the corner of the blanket up to make a canopy between the tops of the trees. On top of the newly formed canopy now sit the various baboons and chimps who enjoy the food and the drink they have just, literally, "lifted." Several of the primates drink directly from wine bottles. One chimp pours wine over the head of the surprised baby who remained on the blanket and now sits with the apes and baboons atop the canopy. And one

⁵³ Th. Grätz and illegible, "Das gestörte Picknick," in *Humor in der Thierwelt. Lustige Bilder aus dem Leben der Thiere aller Zonen*, Th. Grätz, Th. Th. Heine, A. Hengeler, A. Oberländer, E. Reinicke et al (München: Braun & Schneider. n.d.), 35.

of the baboons holds a bottle of wine over the edge of the blanket to taunt the protesting picnic goers who remain on the ground below. While both of the couples remonstrate against the mischievous primates, the musician holds his broken banjo and looks sadly upward at the stolen picnic blanket. Yet another man lies where he has fallen backwards and the last, with his back turned to the calamity, ignores the chaos while he, like the chimps, drinks directly from his wine bottle.⁵⁴

Part of the intended humor derives from the way in which in the first cartoon the Blacks seem to be mimicking the refined sociability of Europeans. However, in contrast to the European ideal, the cartoon figures' exaggeratedly large lips and the men's inadequate affectation of European formal dress are underscored by references to the exotic – if not “primitive” – setting suggested by the palm trees, the man's earring, the naked baby and the musician's leaf skirt. To be sure, the representation of the musician blatantly references the stereotypical image of both the Black minstrel and the half-naked savage.⁵⁵ To be sure, these visual markers signal the differences between the Black picnickers and their European counterparts. They highlight the difference between the type of respectable people who sought escape from city life in conventional images of European picnics and the uncouth gathering in the cartoon.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ibid., 36.

⁵⁵ In the United States travelling performers in Black Face used songs and skits to parody African Americans as ignorant buffoons. The relationship between the stereotype of the minstrel, characterized by features such as “striped pants . . . mismatched vest and coat, . . . oversize spats” and “a tattered hat.” The appropriation of this racist imagery in German advertising is detailed in Ciarlo, 215-225 (quote is from 216).

⁵⁶ The ideal of the European picnic was indirectly referenced in the painting, *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* by Édouard Manet, which also upset the image of refined European leisure by showing a

In addition, the cartoon further denigrates Blacks by suggesting that the primates have outwitted and deflated the picnickers' pretensions. Contemporary Europeans often regarded Blacks as mere imitators, whose civilized behaviour was shallow and artificial rather than genuine.⁵⁷ Accordingly, with the exception of the musician, the people gathered at the picnic wear some formal clothing. Yet their partial dress and perhaps their sexual impropriety contradict their efforts at sophistication. Whereas the Blacks in the cartoon seem to be ignorant of their inadequacies, the chimps and baboons see through the apparent charade and recognize the Black picnickers as imposters. Moreover, the picnickers are so intent upon their own pursuits that they seem oblivious to the chimps' scheme until their picnic is stolen out from under them, thereby exposing their foolishness. In this way, the cartoonists suggest that the scheming primates are cleverer than the Black picnickers.⁵⁸

Nevertheless, these anthropomorphic comparisons between Africans and animals disparaged Blacks more than they asserted the superiority of animals. Indeed, although Darwin's own views on race are relatively ambiguous and

nude woman seated on a blanket with two fully dressed men (Robert Rosenblum and H. W. Janson, *19th- Century Art* [New York: Prentice Hall/ H. N. Abrams, 1984], 281-282.

⁵⁷ Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*, 127 and John P. Jackson, Jr. and Nadine M. Weidman, *Race, Racism and Science: Social Impact and Interaction* Science and Society Series, ed. Mark A. Largent (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London, 2006), 82-83. On perceptions of the German South West Africans and mimicry, see George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 153-156. On the Chinese and mimicry see *ibid.*, 389-391.

⁵⁸ This scenario would seem to resonate with the amusing tale by Wilhelm Busch in which Fipps the monkey – also the title of the story – outsmarts an African who had hoped to catch and eat him. The clever monkey is subsequently captured by a white man who brings him to Europe, where he creates further mischief (Wilhelm Busch, *Hans Huckebein /Fipps, der Affe /Plisch und Plum* [Zurich: Diogenes Verlag, 1974; original 1879], Projekt Gutenberg-DE, <<http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/4130/1>>, accessed May 3, 2012.)

debatable,⁵⁹ frequently within the context of evolutionary hierarchies, Africans and apes were considered to be closely related. To be sure, Darwin's theory of evolution did not posit a unilinear pattern of development. However, a model advocating social and racial inequalities based on the principal of "survival of the fittest" was advanced by the social Darwinist Herbert Spencer. Moreover, in Germany, Ernst Haeckel, a German zoologist and avid Darwinist, was highly visible in his initiatives to configure humans within evolutionary theory. In his biogenetic law, in which he suggested that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny, Haeckel proposed that just as individuals progressed through a developmental hierarchy of physical, psychological and moral stages, so did different species. Moreover, he added that the culmination of these stages was epitomized by the adult male of northwestern Europe. That is, that just as infants grew into adulthood, so did the human species grow from apehood into savagery and ultimately into its fullest expression, the German male.⁶⁰ So although Haeckel did not shrink from embracing humans' animal origins – on the contrary, he embraced them wholeheartedly – he nevertheless indirectly distanced Europeans from beasts

⁵⁹ For example, Jackson and Weidman assert that Darwin maintained that in evolutionary developmental terms there was significant distance between the various human races and that he also believed that the lower races would eventually die out (71). However, in chapter 7, "On the Races of Man," in *The Descent of Man*, Darwin begins his discussion of whether or not different races constitute different species, by referring to the "so-called races." His subsequent discussion then points out that despite apparently clear racial differences, there is in fact great physical and "character" variation within each race and that they can not be clearly differentiated by distinct boundaries. He eventually determines that at best the "races" may constitute different sub-species, rather than different species altogether. Note that Darwin was nevertheless also an avowed abolitionist (Jackson and Weidman, 69), although, of course, abolitionism in itself does not preclude racist attitudes.

⁶⁰ Jackson and Weidman, 83-84, 86; Likewise, Haeckel suggested that the stages of individual development proceeded to adulthood in a similar manner (Ibid. 83-84.). For a complex, although contested treatment of German Darwinism see Alfred Kelly, *The Descent of Darwin. The Popularization of Darwin in Germany. 1860-1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981).

by positing a human hierarchy in which “primitives” occupied the bottom rung. By implication then, the lower-ranked races stood very near to animals. Indeed, in German Southwest Africa, the Ovaherero native populations came to be seen as savages occupying the lowest rung of humanity.⁶¹ As the German historian Alfred Kelly has argued, many authors asserted that the so-called lower races were closer to apes than to Europeans. Kelly posits that this kind of hierarchy might have mitigated the ignominy of animal ancestry by shifting the weight of it to non-whites, even if Germans themselves were not seen as especially superior. Indeed, the British anthropologist (and banker) John Lubbock, defended Darwinism from creationism by suggesting that the void of information about the “missing link,” which bridged the gap between humans and apes, could be filled through studies of present-day “savages,” Europeans’ evolutionary relatives.⁶²

Carl Hagenbeck himself pointed out the presumed proximity of non-human primates to Africans when he recalled how a junior German Officer Heinecke, who had been stationed in Cameroon, had brought Hagenbeck back a

⁶¹ On racial hierarchy: Jackson and Weidman, 69, 87; Steinmetz, 134. To be sure, the relative standing of a racial or ethnic group was always judged against European standards and perceptions of behaviour. As Steinmetz has shown, in the German colonies there was no single ethnographic discourse that represented all indigenous peoples – no uniform Other. Not only did the discourses vary according to region, but even within a particular region, the discourses were heterogenous and unstable. Still, despite the other factors such as conflicting power relations between aristocratic and middle-class colonizers, racial theories and schemas, such as those by Blumenbach, did influence Germans’ perception of the character and relative social evolutionary standing of particular “races.” For specific examples see Steinmetz, 230, 263-266, 302-304.

⁶² On Lubbock: Jackson and Weidman, 89; Kelly, 117; Note that Kelly has contentiously asserted that popular Darwinists like Haeckel and Bölsche were not proto-Nazis and that they were not especially favoured by the Nazis, since evolution would have undermined their assertions of an eternal and innately superior German race. He adds that the racism of popular Darwinists was not that prominent and merely reflected and updated the stereotypes of exotic peoples in travel literature (122). In addition, Kelly argues that Haeckel disavowed Social Darwinism and was critical of attempts to apply science to politics (113). Kelly’s distancing of German Darwinists, especially Haeckel and his fellow Monists, has received strong critique from some historians. For these critiques and more, see the review by Daniel Gasman, *The American Historical Review* no. 1, (87) (February 1982): 199.

young gorilla. Hagenbeck recounted how the officer had hoped to prolong the young animal's chances of survival in European captivity by also bringing along two young African boys: "That way, he hoped that since he had sent along his two playmates, the Negro boys, [he could] combat the animal's homesickness."⁶³

Similarly, an anecdote about apes in an 1891 compendium of popular knowledge about animals by Carl Steiner called *The Position of the Animal World in Mythology and Popular Belief, in Custom and Legend, in History and Literature, in Proverbs and Festivals* (*Die Tierwelt nach ihrer Stellung Mythologie und Volksglauben, in Sitte und Sage, in Geschichte und Literatur, im Sprichwort und Volksfest*) (1891) subtly pointed out the supposed kinship between Africans and animals. Steiner explained that in West Africa chimps were sometimes taken in as members of the human tribe. However, he continued, the chimp could also be exiled from human companionship if it behaved incorrigibly against the tribal customs. Steiner then remarked that "By the way, this does not prevent the natives from eating their gentlemen cousins. Yes, in fact, when cooked in palm oil, their bodies are considered to be a tasty dish."⁶⁴ Steiner's concluding remark, then, suggests that regardless of how Africans may have viewed their relationship with chimpanzees, Europeans viewed it as familial.

This is not to say that indigenous peoples were explicitly configured as animals, although as we will see in the quote below, in some quarters they might

⁶³ Carl Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen: Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen* (Berlin-Ch.: Vita, Deutsches Verlagshaus, 1908), 437.

⁶⁴ Carl J. Steiner, ed., *Die Tierwelt nach ihrer Stellung Mythologie und Volksglauben, in Sitte und Sage, in Geschichte und Literatur, im Sprichwort und Volksfest: Beiträge zur Belebung des naturkundlichen Unterrichts und zur Pflege einer sinnigen Naturbetrachtung für Schule und Haus* (Gotha: E. F. Thienemanns Hofbuchhandlung, 1891), 4.

well be, but rather, the discourse surrounding non-European aboriginal peoples was often rather ambiguous. For example, on the one hand, in the introduction to his book, *Anthropology: A Natural History of All the Races of the Earth* (*Menschenkunde: Eine Naturgeschichte sämtliche Völkerrassen der Erde*) (1901), Dr. Alexander Sokolowsky, whom I mentioned earlier, asserted that it was essential for Germans to gain a better understanding of the natural history of “their” colonial peoples, whom he equitably referred to as “fellow countrymen”:

So long as one sees them only as savages who stand on the same level as brutes, will few fruitful circumstances develop in the dealings of the Whites with the Coloureds. However, as soon as these views, which rest upon ignorance, make room for the opinion that the cultural state of these peoples developed in fundamental correspondence with the conditions of existence of the outside world in their homeland and that the bearers of this culture, which is foreign to us, are mentally gifted and fully human, then a more just treatment towards them will set in.⁶⁵

Sokolowsky’s statement, which rejects the idea that indigenous people should be regarded as standing on the same developmental level as animals instead asserts their full humanity and suggests that they are deserving of just treatment.

On the other hand, an illustration in his 1901 book adds some ambiguity to his assertion. It incongruously shows a succession of “ape and human skulls” from, first, that of a young chimpanzee, second, an orangutan, third, a female gorilla, fourth, a “Negro”, fifth, a “Malaysian”, and sixth, a “European.”⁶⁶ This ordering suggests a continuum from primate to human that places non-Europeans between the two categories. In this schema, Negroes stand very close to gorillas.

⁶⁵ Alexander Sokolowsky, *Menschenkunde: Eine Naturgeschichte sämtliche Völkerrassen der Erde*. 4th ed. (Stuttgart, Berlin & Leipzig: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1901), VIII.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Tafel 2.

In addition, although Sokolowsky discusses the general anatomical differences between primate and human skulls without ever making explicit racial comparisons, the illustration as well as his explanation that, for example, the lower jaw of the ape extends beyond the skull's opening for the nose, draws attention to differences and similarities between the skulls in the illustration and thereby subtly, and perhaps inadvertently, reinforces the human-animal continuum, which, again, configures "Negros" (and then Malaysians) just above non-human primates.⁶⁷

Indeed, the human skull was believed to be a marker of human difference. Throughout the 1870s and early '80s, German anthropologists pursued a standardized means of measuring human skulls. They hoped that as a result they would be able to "objectively" apply the data collected from systematic measurements of the cranium as a way to determine categories of race.⁶⁸ To be sure, the significance of the skull, as a means of racial categorization was suggested by the image on a book plate used by the director of the Hamburg museum for ethnology, the anthropologist Dr. Georg Thilenius, whose name appears at the top of the illustration. The image below Thilenius' name shows an open body of water with a sail boat on it; waves crash against the beach. Set above the beach and against this background is an enlarged human skull upon which a nude white man is seated, legs crossed, resting his head upon his hand,

⁶⁷ Ibid., 21-23.

⁶⁸ Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 87.

deep in thought. Below the jaw line of the skull are the words “Ex Libris.”⁶⁹ Clearly, the image links humankind (or at least white men) and human thoughts with the human skull. Literally, humanity rests upon the human cranium.⁷⁰ In this way, the skull of the White man and the knowledge it represents is portrayed as the highest expression of humanity. Whereas contemporary anthropological skull comparisons such as those in Sokolowsky’s book expressed this through the depiction of the “European skull” at the top of the animal-human continuum, this book plate similarly used the skull to depict the ascendancy of White Europeans.

Likewise, if the “European skull” was a symbol of human distinctiveness and the highest expression of human development, there were specifically anthropomorphic markers that could also maintain the distinction of European identity even at the same time as they referenced race in a manner that confused the boundaries of human identity. In particular, ideas about the consumption of liquor and spirits, which was a common – although not always consistent – theme in many racial and anthropomorphic representations, could have this effect. As we saw in the cartoon above about the man-eating lion with a hangover, the perception that certain non-European racial groups engaged in the excessive consumption of alcohol was seen as an indication that they were uncivilized and not properly adapted to or reconciled to civilization. Certainly, Germans associated certain races, such as the Negro, with a lack of alcoholic moderation.

⁶⁹ Bookplate in E. Demandt, *Die Fischerei der Samoaner. Eine Zusammenstellung der bekanntesten Methoden des Fanges der Seetiere bei den Eingeborenen* (Hamburg: Lütcke & Wulff, E. H. Senats Buchdrucken, 1913).

⁷⁰ I could further discuss the iconography of this bookplate – for example, the position of the man whom Thilenius as anthropologist ostensibly identified with and the role of formal knowledge represented by the words “Ex Libris” – but this would then require an art historical explanation that is beyond the scope of this chapter. It is sufficient here to use this example as evidence that the human skull was a marker of human identity and supremacy.

For example, at the 124th sitting of the German Reichstag the National Liberal member Dr. Arning asserted the importance of limiting Africans' ability to purchase alcohol with respect to raising the overall standard of living. However, he also added "But if we will be able to rid the world of the alcoholism of the natives that way, that appears to me to be doubtful."⁷¹ In this view, the excessive use of alcohol hindered the development of the African colonies with which it was closely associated.

Likewise, images of animals with alcohol overlapped with and reflected depictions of the non-European races. According to Hagenbeck, a taste for sugar and alcohol was widespread throughout the animal kingdom. He noted that race horses were given sparkling wine (*Sekt*) before a race, and might also have their nostrils washed out with it. He also relayed an anecdote about an elephant that had become tipsy from too much drink. Without mentioning who had supplied alcohol to the elephant in the first place, he explained that he had to give the animal even more to drink so that it would fall asleep rather than allow it to disrupt an entire animal transport with its drunken unruliness. And monkeys, Hagenbeck asserted, had a well-known inclination for wine and alcohol, albeit in other forms.⁷² Of course, these incidents were the product of human actions that introduced animals to various kinds of liquor.⁷³

However, it should be added that the anthropomorphism associated with alcoholism could also point up class distinctions. For instance, the depiction of the

⁷¹ StAHH (Kolonialinstitut) 364-6 A.1.1, "Reichstag. – 124. Sitzung." (17 March 1908), 4040.

⁷² Hagenbeck, 392-393.

⁷³ I am aware that animals may also become intoxicated through their own actions when, for example, they either deliberately or unwittingly consume fermenting fruit. However, my point here is that for their own reasons Germans also intentionally introduced animals to alcohol.

seedy and inebriated Hamburg “lion” in the humorous *Klimperkasten* newspaper suggested that there was widespread alcoholism among the lower social classes who frequented the bars in Hamburg’s harbour district.

On the other hand, another humorous – although not anthropomorphic – article, found in *Die Hamburger Woche* somewhat ambiguously depicted a social hierarchy based on class and a variation of the principle of the superiority of those who could tolerate alcohol. The article appeared to both celebrate and disparage those who could hold their liquor. It did this by satirizing Hagenbeck’s *Völkerschauen*, drolly describing the fictitious events that take place after the Bantus of central Africa request that Hagenbeck present them with a display of Hamburg natives. The *Völkerschauen*, of course, notoriously displayed indigenous peoples to a curious European public. The article wittily claimed that:

The four Hamburg captains that were added to the Hamburg caravan also had an instructive effect. While the fire-eaters of the Bantu Negros only satisfied their appetites with really small bites of fire, the four captains swallowed-up unbelievable quantities of fiery water. When one held a magnifying glass [to focus sunlight] in front of their mouths, a bluish flame rose-up out of their throats.⁷⁴

Of course, the joke depended on the metaphorical conflation of real fire-eating, a supposedly Bantu pastime, with the burning sensation caused by drinking alcoholic spirits. This play on words represented the ship captains as being able to tolerate staggeringly high concentrations of “fire water,” while the Bantu are able to consume “only” small quantities. Yet whether or not this difference is considered to be a good or a bad thing is uncertain, because it is also unclear how the example of the captains is “instructive.” Since the captains are there to teach

⁷⁴ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: A. F., “Hagenbecks Expedition von eingeborenen Hamburgern zu den Bantunegern,” *Die Hamburger Woche*, nr. 8 (n.d.).

the Bantus about Germans, it appears that the Bantus are supposed to make note of the large quantities of alcohol that the captains drink without difficulty. But whether that means that they should observe how well the captains are able to tolerate large quantities of alcohol or that the demonstration is intended to point out over-consumption by a certain class of people is uncertain. Although the captains may be able to hold their liquor, they are also portrayed as over-imbibers. In this way, alcoholic consumption ambiguously elevated and scorned the German captains' high tolerance for alcohol, at the same time as it differentiated them on the basis of class.

Clearly then, ideas about the consumption of alcohol were closely associated with ideas about both race and class. Likewise such ideas could be played out in anthropomorphic representations of animals. Certainly the privilege of enjoying alcohol and the ability not only to tolerate it, but to drink it in moderation was often associated with the sophistication and refinement of German society's better classes. This is what was being imitated and represented in variations of Hagenbeck's "ape dinners" or other images that showed chimps and orangutans dining in human fashion. The performance of these dinners required that the "apes," sometimes dressed in human clothes or in formal attire, be seated to eat from a properly appointed table, complete with white tablecloth, soup plates and cutlery.⁷⁵ A bottle of wine was often present at the table. There the "apes" were supposed to imitate the respectable behaviour of the better European classes. The animals' good table manners and reserved behaviour

⁷⁵ For examples see Hagenbeck, 426-427, 431; HA, guidebooks: *Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark Stellingen-Hamburg* (Carl Hagenbecks Eigentum und Verlag, n.d). 39 and HA photo collection.

indicated that they were well-socialized into the ways of polite society.

Furthermore, the open wine bottles served as a reminder that when it came to alcohol the “apes” knew proper social restraint. In this way, the primates reflected not only the ideal of the properly socialized European, but also showed that they themselves had been properly civilized.

Certainly, Hagenbeck asserted “. . . that through the systematic training and treatment of young anthropoid apes, namely the chimpanzees, one can to a certain degree definitely accustom [them] to human manners.” Although this could mean the affectation of certain “civilized” human behaviours such as wearing a nightgown for bed or wearing other human clothing,⁷⁶ as we just saw it could also include the “ape dinners.”

Furthermore, the moderate use of alcohol demonstrated at the “ape dinners,” could suggest the capacity of animals to achieve some level of humanity, at least as it was defined in relation to European ideas of what constituted “civilization.” Evolutionary theory suggested that nature was in a constant state of change, which was often misunderstood as a progressive development from which a kind of natural hierarchy derived. Accordingly, Hagenbeck’s “ape dinners” reflected the notion developed in the previous chapter, that animals were being refined and improved as they were being made accustomed to human manners.

Indeed, the “civilization” of animals through training was seen as an indication of their evolutionary progress. As one contemporary asserted, “If the

⁷⁶ Quote: Hagenbeck, 434. For example, see HA, guidebooks: *Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark Stellingen-Hamburg*, 38.

garden [Hagenbeck's Animal Park] shows us the life of the animals in freedom. so the [circus] arena proves what these particular wild lads are capable of learning through human skilfulness and patience and to what heights their intellectual abilities can be developed." He also added that "The apartments of the apes are constantly surrounded by curious [visitors], of which many a doubter can find among these cute, agile 'people' [i.e. the apes] remarkable evidence for Darwin's theory."⁷⁷

With this in mind, perhaps the ultimate representation of the way in which the ability to tolerate and moderately enjoy alcohol reflected civilization is seen in Kafka's, "A Report to an Academy." In recounting his journey towards humanity, Red Peter describes the various human behaviours he learned to imitate – the handshake, spitting, smoking and, finally, drinking. It is this last step to which he devotes the most discussion and it is significant that after numerous failed attempts to tolerate the taste and smell of alcohol, his first success is followed by his first human utterance, the greeting "hello," which marks the turning point in his attempts to emulate human behaviour. If we follow the course of Red Peter's passage to civilization via alcohol he moves from, at first, a complete aversion to it that is then followed by attempts to reproduce the crude bottle swigging of his teacher, a sailor. Although his eventual success at downing a bottle of alcohol is followed by an intense distaste, he nevertheless is able to overcome this so that, we are told elsewhere in the story, he has on occasion since enjoyed a few bottles of good red wine with his original captor, Carl Hagenbeck. In fact, as the story

⁷⁷ Both quotes: HA, newspapers and magazine clippings: R., "Bei Hagenbeck," *Die Hamburger Woche* 12 (n.d.)

concludes, Red Peter indicates his satisfaction with having achieved the goal of casting off his ape nature: “[My] hands in my pants pockets, the wine bottle on the table, I partly lie, partly sit in the rocking chair and look out of the window.”⁷⁸ That is, his contentment includes drinking wine. Without doubt, Red Peter’s transition to civilized human behaviour is evidenced by his efforts with alcohol and his achievement is ultimately substantiated by his apparently restrained enjoyment of wine, although, it should be noted that Kafka’s story also seems to offer a an ironic critique of “civilized” behaviour.

Although Kafka’s story is pure fiction, without doubt popular anthropomorphic representations, ironically often seemed to entail the introduction of human vices – specifically the consumption of alcohol. For example, circus performances or images linking animals to alcohol consumption and even alcoholism were not unusual. The same *Tierpark* guidebook that featured images of chimps dressed in pajamas and business suits, also pictured a chimp performing the rather odd task of riding a bicycle and drinking a glass of wine at the same time.⁷⁹ One circus act featured in a magazine article about Wilhelm Hagenbeck’s circus showed a polar bear lying on its back drinking from a bottle of alcohol while a group of more than eight polar bears stood back in a line and looked on. The caption accompanying the image declared “One who

⁷⁸ Kafka, “Ein Bericht,” 1171-1172, 1175-1178.

⁷⁹ HA, guidebooks: *Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark Stellingen-Hamburg*, 38. The same images also appeared in the Spanish language program for a Hagenbeck exposition in Argentina (HA, programs: *Panoram Oficial de las Exhibiciones de los Sres Carlos Hagenbeck Higos: Exposición Ferroviaria y demás transportes terrestres, 1810-1910*. [No place of publication]: Pond y Lichtig, n.d.).

understands!”⁸⁰ A photograph of another circus act featuring a pair of polar bears showed one of them sitting at a small table where a man, presumably the trainer, also sits. In the photo, the man holds a small cup and looks at the seated animal. However, across the table from the man is the second polar bear standing up on its hind legs and his chair behind him as he drinks with apparent eagerness from a liquor bottle that he holds between his paws.⁸¹ In other cases, apes were photographed with alcohol as the sole focus of their activity. For example, an image in Hagenbeck’s autobiography showed the orangutan “Diogenes” squatted in a cage clutching a bottle of wine by its neck, looking somber and dejected. Similarly, a 1908 photograph of the chimp Moritz at Hagenbeck’s Tierpark showed the animal seated on a chair cradling a bottle of wine or spirits.⁸²

Such anthropomorphism was not merely benign entertainment. It could show the distinction between Europeans and Others by suggesting that neither group, Blacks or animals, was fully capable of controlling their alcohol consumption. If the cartoon of a lion getting a hangover after devouring an African portrayed Blacks as rampantly succumbing to alcoholism as a result of European contact, lions themselves fared little better in another cartoon entitled, “Newest Method for Catching Lions.” The cartoon showed happy lions, lionesses and their cubs engaged in various activities. In the background, several small groups of two or three lions are shown jumping through the air and trying to catch pieces of meat tied to helium balloons. In the centre of the illustration, a group of

⁸⁰ HA, newspaper and magazine clippings: W. F., “Wilhelm Hagenbeck’s Raubtierdressur-Schau,” *Neue Interessante Blätter* Heft 18 (1908), 227.

⁸¹ HA, photo collection.

⁸² Hagenbeck, 425. The image of Diogenes is the same image that Rothfels refers to as “Jakob” in Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts* (198). “Moritz”: *Ibid.*, 193.

lionesses and their cubs sit contentedly together, some of them licking their lips in a satisfied manner. And in the foreground, a lion and lioness drink eagerly from a small tub while another apparently sated lion stands on its hind legs above them, its tongue hanging out and dripping. To the right of this group are two bottles of rum. Below the cartoon is an explanation of the scene:

One hangs good legs of mutton or other meat onto balloons and takes these over to where hungry lions are camping. They will want to get the meat by leaping, in that way getting an enormous thirst. [They] then get drunk on *Bockshörndelsaft* [a now obsolete, opium-based health remedy] that has been set-out nearby (or another anaesthetizing drink) and fall asleep. In this state they are packed into crates supplied with air holes and then, sold to menagerie directors or to anyone else for 4000 Marks apiece.⁸³

Whereas Africans were depicted in the first cartoon as being vulnerable to the effects of alcoholism – and lions only secondarily – the cartoon about lion-catching suggests that lions were just as vulnerable as indigenous colonial peoples.⁸⁴ Indeed, as with the Africans, this vulnerability provided a reason, if not a rationale, for their subjugation.

Still, in discussing these overlapping racial discourses it is important to bear in mind what has been the thrust of much of this discussion of anthropomorphism, namely anthropomorphism's tremendous ambiguity. As I

⁸³ E. Reinicke, "Neueste Methode, Löwen zu fangen," in *Humor in der Thierwelt. Lustige Bilder aus dem Leben der Thiere aller Zonen*, Th. Grätz, Th. Th. Heine, A. Hengeler, A. Oberländer, E. Reinicke et al (München: Braun & Schneider, n.d.), 86-87. Information on *Bockshörndelsaft* can be found in Joseph Schneller, *Arzneimittellehre in ihrer Anwendung auf die Krankheiten des Kindlichen Alters* (Wien: Verlag von Sallmayer & Comp., 1857), 156.
<http://books.google.de/books?id=v_M8AAAACAAJ&pg=PA156&lpg=PA156&dq=Bocksh%C3%B6rndelsaft&source=bl&ots=ZZDJRaMVVe&sig=0J2VqX3HrcNsWo5PsRF12k7wzw&hl=en&sa=X&ei=PN3dT8fYD8jM6QHCnNCcCw&sqi=2&ved=0CCwQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q=Bocksh%C3%B6rndelsaft&f=false>, accessed 17 June 2012.

⁸⁴ Furthermore, this joke about the lion suggests in a similar way that the cartoon about the picnic did, that the subjects' (Blacks) ignorance results in their own victimization: the Africans lose their picnic and the lions lose their freedom.

have shown, in some cases, such as the cartoons of the baby elephants or the upset picnic, animals were portrayed as superior to Africans. In other cases, however, such as in representations of alcoholism, they were treated more equally in that they were both seen as being relatively unrestrained in their drinking habits.

To be sure, the commonly held belief that animals and Africans were similar may have been the basis for portrayals of animals as the friends and helpmates to Africans, such as, for example a series of three cartoons titled, “How Frau Aufschlägerin Salome in Bagamojo manages it when her husband does not want to go home from the pub.” In this cartoon an African woman is shown speaking into the ear of a winking elephant, who is then shown going to the pub, pushing his head and trunk through the window there and using his trunk to pick up the errant husband in order to, next, return him to his home where his angry wife and startled children await him.⁸⁵ Clearly, this series of cartoons playfully suggests that animals and Blacks cheerfully coexisted as relative equals in Africa – or at least the protagonists did. The over-imbibing husband seems to have been outwitted by both his wife and the elephant.

Yet animals were not always portrayed as equal to or superior to Africans. Animals might also be represented as inferior to Africans when they were literally depicted as their tools. In that case, however, their depiction was no longer anthropomorphic but rather objectifying. For example, numerous cartoons, such

⁸⁵ A. Hengeler, “Wie Frau Aufschlägerin Salome in Bagamojo anstellt, wenn ihr Gatte nicht vom Wirtshaus heimgehen will,” in *Humor in der Thierwelt. Lustige Bilder aus dem Leben der Thiere aller Zonen*, Th. Grätz, Th. Th. Heine, A. Hengeler, A. Oberländer, E. Reinicke et al (München: Braun & Schneider, n.d.), 39-41. Given the direct and forceful action that the woman takes in this cartoon, it is interesting to note that her name, “Aufschlägerin,” actually refers to the person who serves a tennis ball, or other similar object.

as one example, which depicted various African animals as gym equipment for the “Cameroonian Gymnasium,” showed animals as essentially objects. In this gymnasium snakes, giraffes, lions are climbed upon, stood upon and jumped over by what looks like African military recruits.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, it is clear that the line dividing animals from Europeans and non-Europeans was in a constant state of flux. This ambiguity was reflected in, and was perhaps influenced by the nebulousness of the standards by which Europeans judged human and non-human societies. As Sokolowsky noted, “Should the primitive native also stand on such a low level of cultural development, at least he has a level of cultural development, while even at his highest level of training in apes, the animal possesses none. It is now highly important for science to prove the traces of cultural development in the higher animals. So far such attempts have ended with a negative result.”⁸⁷ Sokolowsky’s remark vaguely leaves the possibility that an animal “Culture” might someday be discovered. But of course, the proof depended upon what the standards were. As it stood, whether it was animals or human races being judged, “Culture” was an extremely broad term that was closely linked to ideas about what constituted European difference and superiority. It could refer to High Culture in terms of the

⁸⁶ Th. Grätz, “Auf dem Kameruner Turnplatz,” in *Humor in der Thierwelt. Lustige Bilder aus dem Leben der Thiere aller Zonen*, Th. Grätz, Th. Th. Heine, A. Hengeler, A. Oberländer, E. Reinicke et al (München: Braun & Schneider, n.d.), 15. For another example, see Th. Grätz, “Höchste Dressur. Der Sägefisch als Sägemaschine,” in *Humor in der Thierwelt. Lustige Bilder aus dem Leben der Thiere aller Zonen*, Th. Grätz, Th. Th. Heine, A. Hengeler, A. Oberländer, E. Reinicke et al (München: Braun & Schneider, n.d.), 47. As the title suggests, the cartoon shows sawfish being used to cut logs. Interestingly, the people using the sawfish are Africans in minstrel garb, which suggests the fluidity and ambiguity of racial and animal identities. The fish is seen as an agent, fully determined to perform his task. At the same time, unlike other portrayals of Africans, which criticized them for laziness and for not domesticating animals, the cartoon shows African men employing the fish. Still, their clothing undermines the notion of their development to a European level.

⁸⁷ Sokolowsky, *Seelenleben*, 67.

fine arts or to European practices, customs and way of life in an ethnographic sense. But it could – and did – also vaguely refer to ideas about what constituted “civilization.” Indeed, these different notions were often intertwined, meaning that the term “Culture” often carried with it all of these meanings. Although Sokolowsky’s position was not based on anthropomorphism per se, it is clear that by affirming Culture (which was not actually defined by him) as the marker of humanity he affirmed the European standard by which both “nature peoples” (*Naturvölker* or primitive people) and animals were measured.

Furthermore, many of those things which might be used to identify Culture were those that animated anthropomorphisms. For example, certain behaviours, customs and the use of particular objects, such as might be involved in dining, manners, drinking, attire, etc., could be used to convey the status of both humans and animals. These Cultural markers had no inherent meaning in and of themselves. Their meaning was instead merely derived from the significance which European society gave them, suggesting, of course, that this meaning could be contingent, fluid and shifting. As we have seen, the performance of a walrus dressed up to dine carried an entirely different meaning than when elegant “apes” supped. For that matter, the difference in how these apes conducted themselves with a bottle of alcohol and whether or not it was even present at the table carried with it significantly different meanings. Clearly, anthropomorphisms were ambiguous because the representations upon which they were based were themselves indefinite.

In conclusion, then, anthropomorphism took on many forms and had no single meaning or over-riding message. Sometimes such representations were humanizing, making animals into characters whose behaviours were understood in relation to German understandings of human behaviour, such as when animals were described as “noble” or “villainous,” although they were also then judged according to the subjective values associated with those terms. At other times anthropomorphisms distanced humans from animals by simply making animals contemptible, like the Meishan pig, or rendering them into objects of ridicule, such as the top-hatted walrus. Anthropomorphisms, as with the insects in the “Drama under Blades of Grass,” could also reflect societal values and social discourses about gender; about Social Darwinism, as seen in the stories of battling animals and descriptions of the Bison dying-out; and/or about race, as we saw in numerous cartoons. In other words, anthropomorphisms had no inherent meaning. Instead, they reflected the meanings that Germans invested in them.

However, this is not to say that animals were only incidental, neutral vehicles for German discourses. Animals were the bearers of these messages because in the contexts of nationalism, imperialism and evolutionary theory, discourses about German identity and human identity were changing. As the kin of human beings animals, then, were not neutral objects standing outside of these debates. On the contrary, they themselves were part of the debate about what it meant to be a middle-class German, a European and ultimately, a human being. Indeed, the zoomorphic paradigms of Social Darwinism and scientists’ attempts to differentiate true anthropomorphic behaviour from instinct suggest that the line

between humans and animals was not only permeable but that humans themselves were on some level conscious of the close human-animal relationship. The existence of animals within human society provoked questions about both German identity and human identity. Anthropomorphisms attempted to solve them.

Conclusion

What was the basis of German modernity? Seen through the lens of the Hamburg and Cologne Zoological Gardens and the Hagenbeck *Tierpark*, German modernity was characterized by transnationality. However, it was also transnational culture that constituted the German *Bürgertum*, who identified themselves, their values and their behaviours as the epitome of modernity and the height of human development, which they defined as the “civilization” of the German nation. Yet, whether an identity refers to class, race or even the human species, it is always unstable, non-essential and permeable. Indeed, the web of national and international contacts supported by the zoological garden and its counterpart, Hagenbeck’s *Tierpark*, illustrates how not only middle class identities, but all of these identities were constantly at play with one another so that the very boundaries by which humanity defined itself were constantly shifting and blurred.

To be sure, this dynamic was not confined to zoos. The accounts and reports of Captain Tetens and the Godeffroy scientists – their representations of foreign peoples and animals – suggested the fluidity between human and animal identities that was made apparent through transnationality. Although Tetens and some of the Godeffroy scientists frequently suggested that different “races” possessed a uniform character, ironically, this assertion was only part of the contradictory discourses that underpinned their configuration as representatives of the supposedly superior white, German middle classes. On the one hand, they judged racial character to be innate and immutable and, on the other hand, they

proposed that this character could be changed through efforts at “civilization”. So while both Tetens and some of the Godeffroy scientists frequently based their evaluations of foreigners on ideas about their laziness (or productivity) and/or their capriciousness (or trustworthiness), which were taken as measures of their level of civilization, it is clear that they were referencing broader middle class discourses about the ethics of work and morality.

To be sure, the activities of the middle classes in establishing and patronizing the Hamburg and Cologne Zoological Gardens more fully outline the behaviours and values that were associated with the German *Bürgertum*. At these zoos, the middle classes elaborated their identities through visible expressions of their status, such as wealth, comportment, leisure and *Bildung*, and through their benevolence towards the poor and working-class visitors whom they also defined themselves against.

Still, while the zoological garden was a manifestation of middle-class agency and identity, claims that the rise of public zoological gardens represented the democratization of menageries, which were previously the sole privilege of princes and potentates, must be qualified. Although the Cologne and Hamburg Zoological Gardens were founded and operated with a greater democratic spirit than many other European zoological gardens, such as those in London and Brussels, public access was nevertheless subject to limitation by admission prices and restricted visitors’ hours for those paying reduced admission. Once again, though, these measures also served to differentiate the middle classes.

However, the Hamburg Zoological Garden also played a role in demarcating the position of the middle classes in relation to animals. An acute scientific gaze, as seen in many of the guidebooks, could render animals into mere objects. Animals could also be objectified through descriptions that pointed out their usefulness as objects of human consumption. Yet all of these descriptions underscored not only the anthropocentrism of the zoo's guidebooks, but also reflected their author's *bürgerliche* tendencies: whether the writers were highly popular, like Brehm, or much more scientifically inclined, like Bolau and Vosseler, their status as professionals and their commitment to the education of their visitors reflected a commitment to *Bildung* through leisure that was also exemplified by the approach of civic zoologists. Particularly Brehm reflected this approach, although to varying degrees all of the zoo's directors employed a taxonomical approach; saw nature as fixed and awaiting discovery and understanding; and, most importantly, sought to understand the natural world in terms of human utility and aspirations. Moreover, through a repeated interest in whether not an animal was tame or teachable, the zoo directors' approach replicated the middle class concerns of Tetens and the Godeffroy scientists, who also commented on indigenous people's loyalty and/or amenability to civilization. Clearly, as much as the zoo itself contributed to the constitution of the middle classes, the *Bürgertum* also refashioned animals in their own image.

Moreover, it was clearly the premise of the zoo that one animal could represent all other animals of its kind. Guidebooks and other zoo literature reinforced this essentialist approach, suggesting that animals were generic. In

some cases animals were characterized by only a few distinguishing features. This tendency roughly had its parallel in the anthropological analyses of some Godeffroy scientists and other anthropologists seeking to characterize non-Europeans through anatomical analyses that were ultimately hoped to reveal a standard racial “type.” Still, it must be noted that in the case of humans, the analyses were extensive and were supposed to be based on large numbers of specimens. In contrast, with animals, the efforts to amass a large number of specimens centred on collecting representatives of as many *different* species as possible rather than as many animals of the same species as possible.

Still, underlying both the human and animal collections was the notion that animal species and human races could be characterized by essential, biologically determined traits – a notion which co-mingled with discourses about civilization and levels of cultural development. In this way, it would seem that Social Darwinism unified the conflicting discourses about fixed biological identities and the civilizing mission, because it at once asserted a biologically determined hierarchy, but posited the means for improvement through evolutionary progress. Of course, since this progress lay in the future, inequality and exploitation of other humans and animals could be justified in the present.

Yet, although zoos may have shaped Germans’ perceptions of animals, the identities of the German middle classes were also shaped in response to animals. The construction of Carl Hagenbeck as the embodiment of the ideal modern, middle class German man was formed against the animals (and foreign peoples) that comprised the basis of his business empire. In the first place, Hagenbeck’s

involvement with animals positioned him as the ringmaster at the centre of a vast international network of animal capture and trade, circuses, *Völkerschauen*, and zoos/menageries, especially his own *Tierpark*. To be sure, his spectacular business acumen and rise from humble beginnings represented the new opportunities available to modern Germans, and spoke directly to middle class hopes and aspirations. However, as the personification of this ideal, Hagenbeck's control over countless foreign lives; his popularization of *Zahm Dressur*, reflecting his commitment to the humane training of animals; and his creation of a foreign landscape, the *Tierpark*, in which animals seemed to be pacified and live harmoniously with each other and their keepers, configured him as a strict but kind master. When potentially dangerous, wild animals were made docile and productive they both validated and reified *bourgeois* values and affirmed the stature of their middle class leader.

This idea that animals were, in middle-class terms, being “civilized” reconciled the seemingly conflicting representations of Hagenbeck as an animal catcher and shrewd businessman with the image of him as a kindly animal lover. In fact, middle-class aspirations to “civilize” and improve the supposedly lower classes and races reflected the reconciliation of similar tensions within their own ideology. By helping and “improving” Others they could justify capitalistic and colonial exploitation without discrediting the systems in which they were deeply enmeshed. Indeed, efforts to “civilize” Others legitimized the social advantage of the exploiter at the same time as it validated his or her status. In Hagenbeck's case, then, he could profit from the trade in animals while at the same appearing

to be benefitting them and, as a result, profit from his image as a benefactor. At the same time, in the larger picture, middle class self-perceptions that they represented a democratic alternative to the aristocracy remained intact.

Clearly, the idea that Hagenbeck could “civilize” animals depended upon a blurring of class, racial and species identities. However, when it came to anthropomorphic representations – of which there were many types – there was not always a straightforward switching of positions that substituted animals for racial or class Others. Certainly this could be the case, when anthropomorphic imagery relegated animals to the same status as the “lower” classes or races, but anthropomorphisms could also represent animals as being either more or less advanced than human Others. This was because anthropomorphisms had no inherent meaning and, instead, in the context of nationalism, imperialism and evolutionary theory, anthropomorphic portrayals changed as Germans confronted new questions about what constituted their identities as Germans and as humans. Since these identities did not have solid or fixed boundaries the answers were relative and shifting and, indeed, the boundaries between humans and animals, between anthropomorphism and zoomorphism, rendered the differences indistinguishable.

Finally, I have suggested that German modernity was characterized by transnationality – by the currents of science, imperialism, business and culture that flowed back and forth across its borders. The business empire of Carl Hagenbeck exemplified the confluence of these streams, but together with the zoological garden, which was part of this giant web, it has also been possible to

see how transnational culture constituted the middle classes. However, it must be made clear that these influences were in no way unidirectional. It was, in large part, the activities of the middle classes – people such as Hagenbeck, and the founders of the zoological gardens – that advanced transnationality. At the same time, the contacts, the influences and interactions that transnationality facilitated provoked the constant definition and redefinition of middle class identities. It was, then, a reciprocal and mutually reinforcing relationship that suggests that the political, economic, geographic and cultural divisions imposed by historical research on analysis of Germany's modernity and its *Bürgertum*, have obscured the transnational aspect at the core of the process of middle-class that I have explored.

Instead, this dissertation has shown that modernity transcended national borders and that Germany was inseparable from a larger fabric of European and international developments. Insofar as transnationalism constituted the middle classes, I have also suggested the terms by which they understood themselves as the representatives and agents of "civilization." The German nation, then, was never solely the sum of its population. Rather, it was the product of interactions with peoples – and animals – inside and outside of its borders.

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