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Thesis submission: Captives of Classification: Unlocking the Representations of Animals from the
Daily Occurrences, Library, and Cages of London Zoo

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The work presented in this thesis is my own work.

Signed: Lee Christien, 2020.

Thesis Abstract

Housed in a former monkey enclosure, the colonial archive of London Zoo is home to a series of *recherché pro formas* known as the *Daily Occurrences of the Zoological Gardens of London* (1828–2002). These institutional diaries are the keys that my interdisciplinary research uses to unlock debates about the exhibition, framing, and representation of captive animals. Now collecting dust on neglected shelves, these quotidian documents once helped facilitate the central practices of the zoo, recording animal arrivals and departures, animal births and deaths, sales and exchanges, visitor numbers, zoological work, and finances on a daily basis. This thesis argues that these working documents provide an alternative history of the zoo because they tell us how animals were practically written about and perceived by the institution that framed them.

What is discovered is that exemplary classifications at London Zoo were undermined in a number of ways, including: the spread of an infectious virus originating amongst *exotic* animals, deposited by Lord Moyne, where staff members at the zoo became the subjects of medical discourse; the physical disassemblage of an elephant sold to the Crystal Palace Company for display which speaks to the extractive processes of imperial economics; and, the aftermath of the murder of a migrant worker in the enclosure for tapirs, recorded in the staff absent section, which leads to a series of legal and medical *pro formas* that contain a complex history of carceral and clinical practices. These archival recuperations speak to the complex relationships that existed between humans and animals in this nineteenth-century imperial institution. Unidentified stains are smudged across the *pro forma* pages, and muck is encrusted onto the paper surfaces of this compilation of fur and flesh, allowing us to peer behind the structures that framed animals as living monuments. This thesis argues that an interdisciplinary approach to London Zoo contributes to wider histories of classification and its impact on how animals and humans have been written about in, and beyond, literature.

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Introduction: Murder at the Zoo

Housed in a former monkey enclosure, the colonial archive of London Zoo is now home to a series of *recherché pro formas* known as the *Daily Occurrences of the Zoological Gardens of London* (1828–2002). These form the ledger of notable events and information mentioned by the zoological authorities since 1828. On 25 August 1928 superintendent Geoffrey Vevers of London Zoo entered the names of staff absent for duty. First, he entered the staff with ‘days off’ into the institutional diaries: R. Lawson (half day’s leave), G. Gammon, E. B. Tannet, and A. Gregory. Vevers then recorded the names of the staff absent due to ‘sickness’: L. Phillips and D. Wood. Next, he accounted for the staff on ‘holiday’: H. Brown, J. Clayton, J. Farthing, P. Perry, G. Nicholls, A. J. Budd, B. Radford, A. Bhoudlu, W. Saul, H. Gouringe. Finally, the superintendent set down the reason and detail for Said Ali’s absence from his post as elephant trainer: *murdered, at 12.30. a. m. in tapir house*. This entry, along with others in these *pro formas*, present us with a rare opportunity to peer behind the zoological frame of the ex-situ animal who acts as an exemplary stand-in for their in-situ species counterparts. What is revealed beyond the boundaries of the enclosures that frame the spectacular animals is the role that the zoo had in: the imaginary of curators, thinkers, and artists (T. H. Huxley, Edward Thomas Booth, the Bloomsbury group); social hierarchy and empire (The Royal Family, Duleep Singh, school children, and migrant workers); the outbreak of a virus (originating from animals deposited by Lord Moyne), and criminal acts (such as the murder of a staff member).

The four chapters of this thesis, ‘Captives of Classification: Unlocking the Representations of Animals from the Cages, *Daily Occurrences*, and Library of London Zoo’, set out to survey the daily ledger by critically contextualising these documents alongside their institutional and discursive affiliations. These institutional diaries are the keys that my research proposes to utilise for unlocking debates about the exhibition, framing, and representation of captive animals. I argue that these texts are an important resource for understanding how animals and humans have been written about in, and beyond, literature. The specific techniques that I decided to adopt during my research process have included collecting, evaluating, and assembling material and content from the ZSL’s private archive attached to London Zoo.

Now collecting dust on neglected shelves, the *Daily Occurrences* once helped facilitate the central practices of the zoo. These archival documents can be described as the institutional diaries of the zoo because they recorded on a daily basis: animal arrivals and departures, animal births and deaths, sales and exchanges, visitor numbers, zoological work, and finances. My thesis argues that these documents were the support mechanism for the zoo's primary activity: the display of ex-situ animals as exemplars for their in-situ counterparts. They provide an illustration of how taxonomic enterprises — such as London Zoo — introduced hierarchical classifications into every aspect of their activities, whether workforce, visitors, documentations, bought-in resources, with every activity or object imaginable generating new forms of classification. These new taxonomies mirror the problematic features of the underlying natural history taxon itself, and these layers of taxonomies compound the problematic nature of such institutions, rendering much of their purpose to some extent illegible.

The pro forma pages that comprised the *Daily Occurrences* were regularised and completed by whichever superintendent was in post over many decades. While the layout and headings of the pro formas vary, the central information that they recorded was consistent and concerned the circulation of animals and humans. Part of my interest in these documents comes from their very obscurity, a result of their utility, which masks the arbitrary assumptions and tone of a distinct institutional voice. This quality of the voice is one which addresses the collective, but it is also at times lugubrious because it holds status as a register of human and animal death. The voice effaces the very same collective that it speaks of: life is spoken of everywhere on these lifeless pages, even in the negative. Take the day sheet for Saturday 25 August 1928, for example, seen below (Fig. 1):

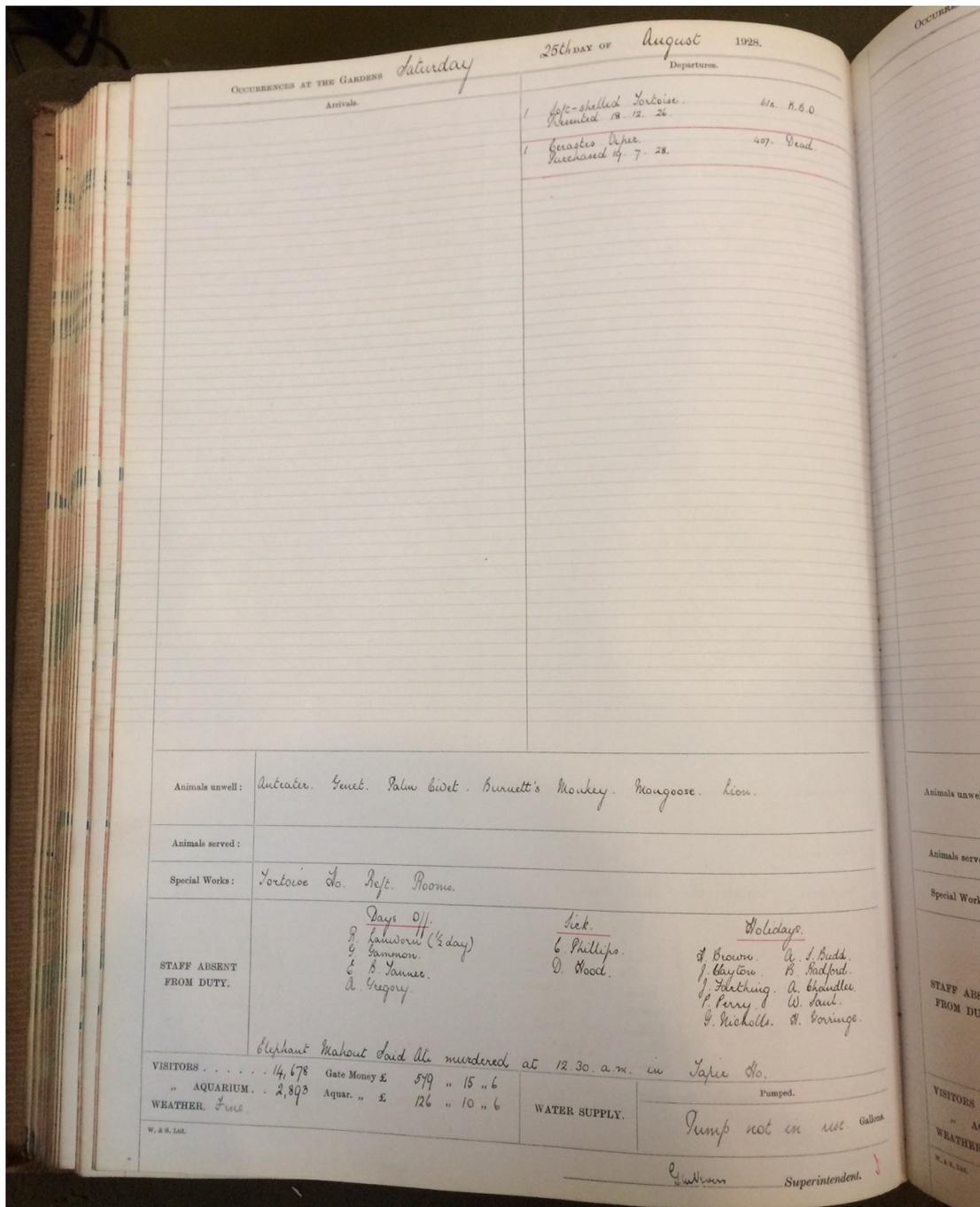


Fig. 1. Daily Occurrences of the Zoological Gardens of London (1828–2002), 25 August 1928.

On first impression, this pro forma page may seem an unremarkable type of working document for checking off and recording tasks. So unremarkable, as even to appear in some sense to be not worth looking at. But, I argue that in order to really understand the history of the zoo, and to think purposefully about animals, we need to turn to texts such as these because they tell us how animals have been practically written about and perceived by the institutions that framed them. For example,

we can see that superintendent Vevers, whose signature appears on the bottom right-hand side of the page, has completed the various sections of the ‘day sheet’ as appropriate to the day’s ‘occurrences’ at the zoo. Reading from the top of the page, below the date, are two columns that record: on the left, the animal ‘Arrivals’ to the zoo (there were none on that day); and on the right, the animal ‘Departures’ from the zoo (a tortoise and a viper). The other sections on the pro forma are equally perfunctory, recording information such as: ‘unwell’ animals (on this particular day an anteater, a ferret, a monkey, and a lion), the work to be done, the visitor numbers, money taken, the weather (categorised as ‘fine’), and then, below the animals we find the box for recording the staff members absent from duty (Fig. 2).

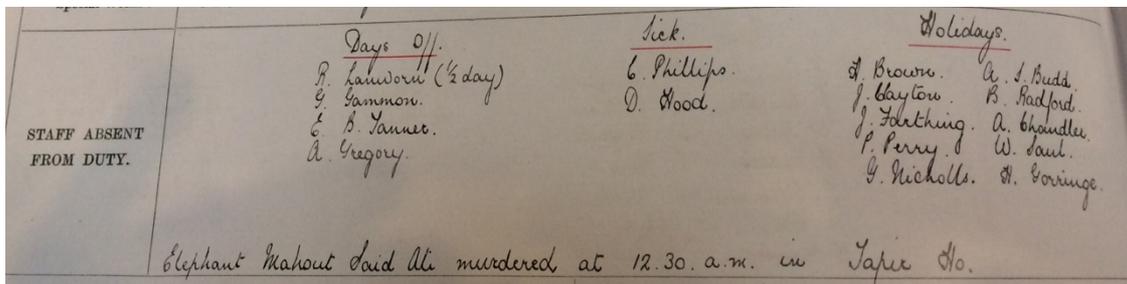


Fig. 2. Staff Absent from Duty, Daily Occurrences, 25 August 1928.

It is here, in Fig. 2, that we learn the general reasons for staff absences (in the following categories: ‘Days Off’, ‘Sickness’, and ‘Holidays’), but on this day, as discussed earlier, there is an aberrant note, a record of why the elephant trainer named Said Ali is absent: ‘Elephant Mahout Said Ali murdered at 12.30 am in the Tapir Ho[use]’. Here, the pro forma records the inexplicable reason for Ali’s absence from work: his murder. At this limit of the zoological pro forma, a taxonomic threshold is crossed. As this thesis argues, these pro formas preserved in the archive are important, in spite of the challenge they present to the researcher or reader, because in them we can uncover, and better understand, narratives that reduced humans and animals under a broader system of biopolitical power.

Methods and Methodology

In total, there are three hundred and thirty volumes of the institutional diaries in the ZSL archives, of which I have focused most attention to the *Daily Occurrences of the of the Zoological Gardens of London* volumes running from 1828–1991 (the volume 1832 is missing). There are also three digitised volumes accessible through the ZSL library catalogue. These are the volumes for 1828 (mistitled on the archive’s online catalogue as the volume for 1928), 1854, and 1943. By turning to this zoological institution’s internal voice, a gap emerges between the public and private narrative about the meaning of the exhibited animals. The zoo is an imperial institution and its relationship to the empire is often effaced both in the official histories by authors such as A.D. Bartlett, Peter Chalmers Mitchell, and others who worked at the zoo. Eric Baratay and Elisabeth Hardouin-Fugier describe the prevalence of the hagiographies of the lives of great zoologists in the discourse. They argue that,

these works, widely distributed and often translated, portray life behind the scenes, a life rich in anecdotes and always centred around a few careful chosen animals. They let their readers duck under the barriers, enter enclosures and cages, and stand in the wings of the theatre of the wild’.¹

Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier credit Bartlett’s book *Life among Wild Beasts in the Zoo* (1900), as paving the way for the subsequent zoological memoirs and histories. Bartlett, as we shall see, was one of the authors of the *Daily Occurrences* in his role as a superintendent at London Zoo. The approach taken in such memoirs is one that gives voice to an intimate and individual relationship to the zoological animal.

More recent scholars such as Donna J. Haraway and Vinciane Despret have focused attention on the complex roles that animals play in contemporary society by deploying anecdotes about specific animals and images (which is an approach similar to that taken in the zoological memoirs). I argue that by turning to taxonomic writing practices, such as London Zoo’s day sheets, cultural approaches to animal and human representation are productively problematised. Despret’s ‘abecedary’, *What Would Animals Say If We Asked The Right Questions?* (2016), is an example of animal studies

¹ Eric Baratay and Elisabeth Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo: A History of Zoological Gardens in the West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), p. 217.

scholarship which responds to Haraway's call for a committed witnessing. Despret presents a series of short essays that answer questions which range from the speculative ('Can animals revolt?') to the ethical ('Are any species killable?'). This novel approach is in keeping with the qualities from the historiography identified by Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier where animals are brought close. The complexity and difference of animals (from one another and humans) is softened by the closeness which the first-person account brings. Even between competing ideas about the meaning of the zoo, animals are often the central focus. I am interested in turning towards the institution by asking how it acted upon the bodies of the animals rather than seeking to ask animals questions, or to understand their gaze.

In my research, I have strived for interpretation and contextualisation as distinct from providing a comprehensive summary or a statistical compilation of the data. Arlette Farge and Michel Foucault, while reflecting on their research on letters from the Bastille Archives, observed that:

despite the fragmentary nature of [the] archive[s], we could often find a whole series of related documents surrounding these requests for imprisonments: statements from neighbours, families, or entourage, the investigation of the police superintendent, the king's decision, requests of release coming from the victims of imprisonment or even from those who had initially requested it.²

Their observation that documents lead to other documents reflects my own experience of archival research, in which, for example, the staff absent section of the zoo leads to the holiday request form for police officers. The dispersal and regularity of such documents recasts the *Daily Occurrences* as relevant texts to which to turn to. Matthew P. Brown has pointed out that what is found in the archive are not only novels and artworks but, in practice, fragmentary, practical, pedestrian texts, which speak to the banal aspects of life, economics, and work.³ This banality is relevant here because it alerts us to the fact that such documents, through their very ubiquity and invisibility, mask the formats which signal a social relationship. One of the challenges unique to this project has been navigating working

² Arlette Farge and Michel Foucault, *Disorderly Families: Infamous Letters from the Bastille Archives*, trans. by Thomas Scott-Railton (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), p. 19.

³ Matthew P. Brown, 'Blanks: Data, Method, and the British American Print Shop', *American Literary History*, 29 (2017), pp. 228–47 (p. 228).

in a private archive, with restrictions on access leading me to try to address the scope of the project early on.

In a creative reflection on her work as a historian, Farge describes the different metaphors often used in relation to archives. She observes how those who work in archives, understandably, often try to get to grips with collections through metrics that measure and describe the metres (and kilometres) of shelving space where documents are classified, calculated, and stacked.⁴ Farge argues that a contradiction arises in these metric metaphors; she questions whether it is really so easy to comprehend, read, or take possession of these kilometres (highways, roads) of archival papers? She reminds us that:

the archive lays things bare, and in a few crowded lines you can find not only the inaccessible but also the living. Scraps of lives dredged up from the depths wash up onto the shore before your eyes.⁵

The thought helps us to conceive of more nuanced metaphors for the archive and its objects. For instance, Farge finds all manner of unexpected material, physical (fabric, a corn seed, doodles and scribbles) and content (voices, characters, stories), and these prompt us toward other metaphors for describing the activity of archival work: the researcher traverses deserts and endures mirages; crosses oceans and dredges the depths. Her insight is that the act of research (reading, note taking, thinking) produces meaning through our interpretation of the material, and this is important, because otherwise we would just be repeating what has already been written, and, as she asks the reader, what would be the point of such an exercise?

The allure of archives (in Farge's case the juridical records of the French National Archive, the Library of the Arsenal, and the National Library) is that, unlike self-authored documents and texts (diaries, novels, artworks), we encounter other written forms and modes which fixed subjects who, presumably, 'never wanted to leave any written record, much less the one they ended up leaving'.⁶

⁴Arlette Farge, *The Allure of the Archives*, trans. by Thomas Scott-Railton (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 2.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 9.

Here, Farge is alluding to the witnesses, neighbours, thieves, traitors, and rebels whose accounts are found scattered amongst the ‘monotony of the collected events’ stored away by the metrical archive.⁷ Their words, actions, and thoughts recorded by an institution (alliance, class, establishment, fraction, group, hierarchy, norm) which in the act of such accumulation, analysis, and classification, also disclose a specific iterative relationship between knowledge and power. The implication of this perspective is one that enriches my approach to exploring the ways that animals were constructed by the zoological archive, and what we find is a concern with the status of animal bodies which are accounted for, placed, and dispersed in the entries, notes, and grids of the pro formas.

I argue that a series of *recherché pro forma* documents, from a small private archive, offers the opportunity for establishing alternative narratives that link to the quotidian attention paid by the zoo to its maintenance of a system of animal display. My aim has been to uncover the biographies and bodies which intersected with the empire at the zoo, and to draw attention to the proximity of humans to animals under institutional hierarchies. London Zoo is an imperial institution that came to prominence at the height of the empire during the nineteenth century. Famously, it adopted Stamford Raffles as a figurehead to represent the fractional forces responsible for founding the institution. To this day, a marble bust of the former Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, greets visitors to the library and archive, based the former monkey enclosure at London Zoo (Fig. 3.).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.



Fig. 3. Bust of Stamford Raffles, ZSL Entrance.

The founding of the Zoological Society of London in 1826 evolved from a gentleman's agreement. Raffles, and the President of the Royal Society, Sir Humphry Davy, were both in concurrence that Britain needed a zoological institution comparable to Cuvier's Museum in Paris.⁸ The Society's founding aims were: to establish for the economic benefit of empire, an institution for classifying animals and maintaining standard specimens (library) and to establish a collection of living animals for observation and study (zoo) – see Appendix One. The library was considered from

⁸ Henry Scherren, *The Zoological Society of London* (London: Cassell, 1905), p. 13.

the outset an integral part of the zoological enterprise, which tells us that the institution valued its internal documents from its very foundation.

The place where the documents are stored communicates information about the institution because buildings mirror and occlude the aims and objectives of the occupied space. The library was established by Edward Turner Bennett, a zoologist and anatomical surgeon, who was the Society's secretary from 1831 to 1836. Bennett donated two hundred books and volumes on animals from his own collection which became the basis from which the library was to expand over the following years.⁹ In 1883, the Zoological Society bought the freehold for 3 Hanover Square for £16,250, and Peter Chalmers Mitchell, secretary of ZSL between 1903 to 1935, later recalled this move of offices in his history of the Society, where:

£10,000 was spent on repairs and alterations, including elaborate oak shelves, table cases and cupboards for the library. The house was conveniently situated, but the alterations had not been sufficiently extensive to support the enormous and growing weight of a large library on the first floor. Soon after I became Secretary of the Society, in 1903, I became disturbed about the stability of the premises, a feeling that became alarm a few years later when a fire in the adjoining premises showed that the party wall was flimsy and that the floors were insufficiently supported.¹⁰

This passage highlights a continued commitment by the Society towards the provision of space and resources for its archive and shows how successive secretaries supported the library. The importance placed on the library by the Society ensured a better chance of survival for its internal documents, the literature of the institution, as well as the wider literature of the zoological and related specialist fields.¹¹

The *Daily Occurrences*, like many other institutional documents, mirror the aims and objectives of the occupied space because their generation, accumulation, divergence into specialisations, and final relegation to the storage shelves of a murky archive, are the material trace of this very history. Each stage is an interplay with the other: the relegation of the form and practice to obscurity was a result of its redundancy in the face of new technology and ways of recording information (the introduction of touch typing in 1960s, the digital transformation at the beginning of

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.

¹¹ Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 138.

the twenty-first century); the divergence into specialisations, a signal of the success of the institution; the imperial accumulation accounted for in the pro formas fuelled this development of the zoo; and, the very generation of the discourse provided the practical mode for this expansion.¹² These documents also occlude because of the problematic events that move us beyond the regulative, restrictive control of the institutional voice. The entry of ‘murdered’ as the reason for the absence of a staff member from work most viscerally captures this limit and its transgression.

Foucault argued that these types of documents produced by institutions are inevitably formed by specific techniques unique to the discourses in which they sit – and termed them ‘statutory modalities’. This approach allows us to recognise that a ‘religious text, a law, or a scientific truth’ are products of the social relations from which they emerge.¹³ From this perspective, the composition of the *Daily Occurrences* provides an insight into the assumptions of the social relation unique to the institutional language of the zoo itself. These are documents suffused with narratives and registers concerned with classification, transportation, animals, and the symbiosis between language and the spatial development of the zoo where information of building work and its maintenance transformed the physical space of the institution. The pro formas are the formalised documents by which the Zoological Society separates captive animals from the physical and environmental conditions of their habitats. The text and statements ensnared the animals into a system of confinement — an environment of living display and classification — which sublimated the animal’s essence.

The foundation of the Zoological Society was summarised by Wilfrid Blunt in his officially sanctioned popular history *The Arc in the Park: The Zoo in the Nineteenth Century* (1976). The ‘tangled story of the origins of the Society’, retold by Blunt’s survey, included the roles played by key

¹² The *Daily Occurrences* eventually switched to the *Weekly Occurrences*, of which there are nine volumes, that were compiled between 1992–2002. For more information see here: London, Zoological Society of London (ZSL), QB 0814 QAAB, *Weekly Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 9 Volumes (1992–2002). The reduction of the practical focus of the diaries points to the emergence of new technologies and digital management systems. The library also contains seventy-two volumes of a version of the *Daily Occurrences* dedicated to the Society’s aquarium. For more information see here: ZSL, QB 0814 QAAD, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 72 Volumes (1828–2002). The zoo also introduced a separate series of pro formas for reptiles and amphibians, eleven volumes between August 1960 until 1981. For more information see here: ZSL, QB 0814 QAAC, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 11 Volumes (1828–2002). The information in both of these series (the later being reintegrated and recorded back into the original series) speaks to the branching out and recession of new specialisms, classificatory enterprises, and discourses located at the zoo.

¹³ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 139.

figures in the official narrative (Raffles), the sponsors and subscriptions, the circulars that detailed principles and proposals, the aristocratic and scientific subscribers, the early meetings, and the links with other Societies (The Royal Society, The Linnaean Society, and so on).¹⁴ The zoo is now considered as a custodian of conservation which seems to jar with its own history. This thesis seeks to address this historiographical problem, namely, that the zoo appears insufficiently framed by its imperial past which, I argue, is important to address as this popular institution moves closer to its two-hundred-year anniversary. It has been claimed by some scholars, such as Takashi Ito, that the zoo was not an imperial institution while others, such as Harriet Ritvo, have claimed that it is, and frustratingly neither present incontrovertible evidence either way. The *Daily Occurrences* provide irrefutable evidence of the link between the zoo and empire.

Wilfrid Blunt's history of the Society culminates with an excerpt from the first of 'the so-called 'Occurrences' – report sheets sent daily to Bruton Street from the zoo' which appeared on 25 February 1828:

MENAGERIE. – Received eleven wild ducks from the Lake, caught for the purpose of pinioning, and then to be returned.
 Received six silvered-haired rabbits from Mr Blake.
 Otter died, in consequence of diseased tail.
 Emu laid her fourth egg on the 24th.
 All animals and birds well.
 WORKS. – Pit for bear, house for llamas in progress.
 Boundary wall for supporting the bank next the Bear's pit begun.
 SERVANTS. – All on duty.
 NO. OF VISITORS. – Four
 PARTICULAR VISITORS. - Lord Auckland.¹⁵

The council's minutes of the Society for 7 February 1828 record that 'a report from the Committee of Management was read, stating the progress of the works in the gardens', and the works under discussion at the meeting appear in the content of the first pro forma – the bear pit and llama house.¹⁶ The *Daily Occurrences* thereby established a way of managing, relating, and reporting about the work at the gardens for the benefit of the organising committee. The general details in the excerpt above

¹⁴ Wilfrid Blunt, *The Arc in the Park: The Zoo in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976), p. 25.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁶ ZSL, GB 0814 FAA ZSL FAAA, *Council Meeting Minutes* (1826–2013).

(1828), in contrast with the pro forma from 1928 seen earlier in Fig. 1, contains the basic form, headings, and structure of all of the pro formas. They share the common areas for daily examination set out by the report sheets which are: the animals – their provenance and their health, the physical work and workers, the type and number of visitors, and finances. I argue that the tone of the institutional voice is spatial because the grids, boxes, and lists of the diaries enabled the linear concerns of institutional function to be directed, modified, and strengthened by the zoo.

The *Daily Occurrences* collected and assembled information essential for the practical running of the zoo, and my intention and strategy has been to question these archival documents as an indispensable component of the wider historical discourse of the zoo, and the representation of animals. This thesis engages with many cultural readings of the zoo, from scientific to literary, that place the practice of animal display alongside its changing meaning for the spectators and observers. Earlier readings of the ZSL archives focus on the ‘animals’ and the meaning of their ‘display’, whereas I am concerned with shifting our look beyond the animal placed on display by switching it towards the discursive accoutrements of captivity. I am interested in the question of the ‘voice’ of a text, in particular, its relationship to the biography, histories, and lives of individuals and collectives. I argue that by critically engaging with the enclosed classificatory environment, dedicated to live display, a cogent contribution to wider questions of the relationship between humans and animals can be made. I have attempted to decentre the ‘product’ of the zoo — the animal placed on display for visual consumption — to illustrate the way that a collective mode of writing, the *Daily Occurrences*, transcended the careers and lives of the individuals who completed them. These day sheets directed the gaze of the supervisor whose observations and attention connected to, extended, and multiplied taxonomies beyond the boundaries of the zoo – classifying visitors, animals, purchases, workers, and even, a murdered colleague.

The method I have taken in this thesis has been based on an acknowledgement and engagement with the materiality of these particular texts and their provenance which brings attention to the situation of their construction and subsequent deposit into the archive. This approach highlights both the advantages and disadvantages of undertaking research based on an interdisciplinary model. The analysis of the day sheets situates these texts within a network of zoological pro formas that, in

subject and form, extend beyond the borders of the zoo. Similarly, I sought to also engage with the marginal matter that entered into these unclean, utilitarian, working documents that assigned meaning in the beating heart of an imperial institution. The *Daily Occurrences* were printed on paper containing watermarks of Britannia — a potent imperial symbol — that can also be found in the papers of the colonial government in India. This draws attention to the advantages of detailing print histories where a specialist in the discipline might be able to tell a rich history from the changes in paper quality, design, and binding, to explain the advances made in printing processes and knowledge which are in some ways visible upon the pages but beyond the scope of this study. For example, the production of the *Daily Occurrences* was revolutionised by the introduction of touch-typing and new technologies from the 1960s onwards. In short, surprising new avenues of understanding discourses and institutional narratives emerge from the archive, even though they lie beyond our own disciplinary boundary.

My focus has been to address the zoological archive as a discursive formation for the purpose of introducing a debate about the importance of the critical analysis of institutions, while investigating the role that this written practice occupied in facilitating the display of animals. Through archival research I have identified how the zoo accounted for and organised the displays practically through institutional forms. This has led me to consider the voice of the documents as a way to facilitate a method for understanding these pro formas that efface as much as they include in their classifications and details. One way of questioning the assumptions of the zoo's classificatory practices is to compare them with the institutional diaries of another collection that represented animals through the exhibition of their bodies. This led me to compare *Daily Occurrences* with the institutional diaries of the bird collector and museum curator Edward Thomas Booth in order to explore the forms, voice, and tone of different classificatory texts dedicated to the practice of animal display. This thesis attempts to find a solution to the challenge of working with material that recedes back in time over such a long period, and aims to bring a new contribution to the diversity of interpretations that abound around the subject of London Zoo. Whether these interpretations of the history and meaning of the zoo are official or individual, positive or negative, scientific or fictional representations, I have found that the central practice of the zoo — the display of live animals — is objectively foregrounded by the

Daily Occurrences as the institution's most consistent feature. Thus, while the discourses that wrote, and writes, about the meaning of the zoo changes its core practice of displaying living animals for definable groups of spectators has not.

Thesis Structure

The argument of the thesis is built on an integrated approach where the research findings are interrogated with critical readings that confront the existing world view of the zoo. I argue that the *Daily Occurrences* are an institutional trace of how the zoo operated a space for modes of animal visuality to be constructed and consumed, both attentively and passively, during a period of imperial accumulation and decline. The composition of these *recherché* day sheets, divided into topics for the observing supervisor, speak to the wider processes and strategies by which, as Jonathan Crary has argued, 'individuals are isolated, separated, and *inhabit time* as disempowered'.¹⁷ Throughout the four chapters I critically assess relevant texts and arguments in order to describe the interplay of the findings of previous writers, historical evidence, and my own developing argument that institutions concerned with introducing classifications find themselves adding hierarchic taxonomies into every aspect of their enterprise. The *Daily Occurrences* describe the inner workings of the zoo, and as a result, these diaries expose a way of writing that can be defined as a type of institutional language. The *pro forma* documents directly addressed the immediate circumstances of the zoo, which allowed for a reflective practice that facilitated the maintenance of a system of visual display. The achievement of this particular writing practice was in its ability to curate the incidents and events of the zoological institution through an effective process of recording, organising, and archiving its observations. The *Daily Occurrences* provided a written account that underpinned the physical and practical business of animal exhibition. On a first encounter with the diaries, the fact of a single occurrence, amongst such multiform frequencies, seems to cast the individual moments adrift into an ocean of occurrences.

¹⁷ Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (London: MIT, 2000), p. 3.

Chapter One, ‘Understanding the *Daily Occurrences*’, interrogates the details and layout of the *Daily Occurrences* by critically situating the documents in an institutional context, and locating their place among the network of texts where they resided. Foucault’s concept of discursive formations provides a methodological frame for examining and understanding the pro formas within this network. These diaries are represented in, and utilized by the wider discourses about the zoo, from internal documents and fictional accounts, to the administrative paperwork of scientific practices. I will survey the texts that cross into and emerge out from the raw material of the pro formas including: a related pro forma entitled the *The Register of Deaths in the Menagerie* (1870–1970); a catalogue titled *List of the Vertebrated Animals Now or Lately Living in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London* (1883); the dispatches sheets which cover the correspondences of the reports circulated across the empire of letters from the *Department for Trade, Commerce and Agriculture of the India Office* (1873); a manual for naval officers called *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry: Prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty’s Navy; And Travellers in General*, ed. by John F. W Herschel and others (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1886). This chapter introduces the proposition that the *Daily Occurrences* are an example of institutional language that resides within a specific textual form and materiality. Examples from the ‘arrival’ and ‘departure’ of Prince Albert’s elephants (Omar and Ruston) to watermarks are interrogated alongside readings of historians such as Harriet Ritvo and Ann C. Colley.

Chapter Two, ‘The Institutional Voice’, looks beyond the perfunctory surface of the pro formas to present an analytical discussion of how the *Daily Occurrences* construct a unique idiomatic: the institutional voice. The zoological pro formas simultaneously expressed, combined, and accreted the material state and aspectual elements of the zoo – making concrete the procedures of the institution. By drawing a comparison with the literary form of the diary — a place where the authentic tense of the humane first person ‘I’ is often considered to reside — a polyvocal institutional narrative voice emerges that challenges and effaces the individual within the collectively authored documents that are the focus of this study. The collector Edward Thomas Booth’s cache of writings, which comprises of lists, tallies, hunting scores, ornithological taxonomy, maps, visitor books, paintings and sketches of habitats, and hunting memoir, is contrasted with the fixed categories and relational grids

of the *Daily Occurrences* in order to draw a prescient comparison between the relationship of these two forms of taxonomic diary to the representation of animals.

Booth was the founder of the Booth Museum of British Birds (1874), a natural history museum, which displays dioramas of taxidermied birds (hunted and shot by Booth) presented in a variety of ‘naturalistic’ habitats. The comparison of the two sets of documents highlights the ‘regularities’ unique to each series of texts: the *Daily Occurrences* are institutional and purport to ‘objectivity’ (reflecting the trend toward the wider establishment of sciences during the nineteenth century exemplified by ZSL fellow T. H. Huxley), whereas Booth’s diaries are disjointed and openly ‘subjective’ (reflecting the social status of the gentleman collector). Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star’s insight about practical classification (the way a person puts into categories the objects that they encounter in everyday situations) and the ‘juggle’ between the application of vernacular and formal forms of classificatory schemata is used to theoretically discuss the examples. Bowker and Star’s suggestion that classifications and formats recede into the background of our daily lives because of their ubiquity and common place provides an answer to the question of why such *recherché* texts are worthy of our attention.

Booth’s collection is based upon a writing practice related to the diary; albeit an example of its institutional iteration. Chapter Three, ‘Bloomsbury at the Zoo’ investigates other aspects and elements of the ‘diary’ through the example of one of the most accomplished, creative, and sustained interrogations of the form as carried out by the Bloomsbury Group. Two members of which — David Garnett and Leonard Woolf — also wrote fictional works that sought to disrupt the classificatory notions and hierarchy present at London Zoo. David Garnett’s second novel, *A Man in the Zoo* (1924), tells the story of a man who, with the help of the ZSL, adds himself to a zoological collection (being both classified as a member of the human species and displayed as a living, *ex-situ*, example of the taxon) for the benefit of the visitors to London Zoo. The novel, which is based upon the ideas of T. H. Huxley, is critically discussed alongside Roland Barthes’s notion of ‘biographemes’ — biographical fragments that point to the body of a subject. Leonard Woolf’s satirical essay, *Fear and Politics: A Debate at the Zoo* (1925), anthropomorphises the animals at the zoo as they put humans on trial. At the heart of Woolf’s satire is an investigation of captivity, and he arrives at the view that

people and animals are held captive in order to correct them through placement. A discussion of Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison's insight into the 'scientific self' (the subjective practitioner who steps into an epistemic and regulative role) and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the 'habitus' are put in conversation with the themes raised by the notion of an institutional voice located in the zoological diary. A series of thinkers concerned with animal representation are thus interrogated alongside my reading of the *Daily Occurrences*.

Chapter Four, 'Zoological Marginalia', explores the relationship of the pro formas to marginalia in order to reveal the specific qualities of the institutional voice that speaks from the historical pages found in the zoological archive. The pro formas share common ground with what the book historian Matthew P. Brown has described as 'Blanks, paperwork that is composed of printed text and forms, which constructs space for further completion or duplication e.g. manuscripts with allotted space — boxes, grids, matrices — for signatures, lists, descriptions etc. The *Daily Occurrences* are a hybrid mixture of formatted and structured pages, regularised in a bound print run, which is then marked up, filled in, and signed off. This shaping and moulding of information fosters a polyvocal voice that is concerned with the 'objective' policing of its zone, which in turn, is then governed by the 'subjectively' formulated rules. This is a poetics of the quotidian, a writ, an account, and it engenders a restricted autonomy for the parties concerned — a simulacrum, complied by text, of the territory under disciplinary control. But, the outbreak of a virus, originating from animals deposited by Lord Moyne, provides an opportunity to see the lives of those usually effaced beyond the margins of the *Daily Occurrences*. Here, alongside the bodies of the infected zoo workers anonymised in medical records we find the bodies of young women held as punishable objects by the colonial gaze in the *Moyne Report* (1945).

The conclusion of the thesis, 'A Murder Investigated', revisits the story of the murder of the elephant trainer, Said Ali, by linking the event to each of the key points raised in the preceding chapters: discursive formations, empire, materiality, marginalia, biography, and classificatory hierarchies. The 'Staff Absent' section of the *Daily Occurrences* leads to a series of further pro forma documents within, and beyond the boundaries of this thesis, including:

–a series of secret documents produced by the Political (External) Department of the India Office about the activities of Khalid Sheldrake — a European convert to Islam who conducted the elephant trainer Ali’s funeral — later accused of fostering insurrection during the Sinkinag rebellion in China (British Library, IOR/L/PS/12/2363: 29 Jan 1934–17 Jan 1935).

–the legal files of the prosecution for Ali’s murder including a series of pro formas that collect evidence: lists of items collected from the murder scene (including the alleged murder weapons), maps of the murder scene (the animal enclosure, the zoo), witness testimonies (staff at the zoo, arresting officers) which indicate aspects of life at zoo occluded by the *Daily Occurrences* and official zoological hagiographies. (National Archives, CRIM 1/446: *Defendant: Dwe, San. Charge: Murder. Session: November 1928*).

–a group of pro formas from the subsequent legal appeal that resulted in a reprieve and release for San Dwe (including the documents that recorded the prisoner’s incarceration: time served, health, personal belongings, correspondences). (National Archives, HO 144/16132: *CRIMINAL CASES: DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)*).

–the pro forma of legal precedents called ‘Comparison of some recent cases of murder, by men of good character, of worthless persons or persons persistently provoking or persecuting them’ upon which Dwe’s appeal was successfully fought.

–the legal files include a section dedicated to newspaper clippings about the case. The clippings about Ali’s murder are pasted onto ‘scrap paper’ that reveal fragments of other pro formas and working documents which include police itineraries, notes on laws, and a ‘staff leave request form’ for police officers.

The ‘Staff Absent’ section of one pro forma lead to a ‘staff leave request form’ of another. By re-considering the relevance of these dusty, overlooked, and unwieldy series of documents, we find other *recherché* writings on animals, humans, and their classification across a variety of seemingly unlikely thresholds that point to other taxonomic hierarchies. The pro formas sit within a network of

ubiquitous taxonomic texts that portray an alternative narrative to the official histories of the zoo (Chalmers Mitchell, Scherren), illustrating the biopolitics of empire.

"A. Milne."

"Lord Auckland,
Sir Stamford Raffles.
Sir Humphry Davy."

The following Resolutions were then read by
the Secretary, and having been separately
proposed from the Chair were carried unan-
imously; -

I.

Formation
of the Society That a Society to be designated the
"Zoological Society" be instituted for
the advancement of Zoological knowledge.

II.

That the attention of the Society be directed
to the following objects;
The formation of a collection of living Animals;
The Museum. A Museum of preserved Animals, with a
Collection of Comparative Anatomy; and
A Library connected with the subject.

III.

Members That the Society shall consist of such Mem-
bers as have already subscribed their names as
desirous of joining the Society, or who shall
do so on or before the 1st of January next,
with the approbation of the Council; and
of such other members as shall subsequently
be admitted by ballot.

Chapter 1: Understanding the *Daily Occurrences*

The Written Structure of Observation: Arrivals

The ‘Arrivals’ section of the pro formas recorded the animals that entered the zoological system: listing the animal, its methods of obtainment, and details of where and who it came from. In a grid opposite, the ‘Departures’ section recorded the animals that left the zoological system: listing the animal’s method of withdrawal from the collection, its exchange or death. The ‘Arrivals’ and ‘Departure’ sections through their mutual impact bookended the trajectory of the life of an animal at the zoo. A network of publications, and a related series of pro formas, fed into and emerged out of these two central sections of the *Daily Occurrences*. Different voices are found that speak to the central purpose of the zoo’s classification of animals, and they extend out of the base texts of the zoological pro forma. *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry: Prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty's Navy; and Travellers in General* (1886) enriches the ways we might consider the acquisitions and records of ‘arriving’ animals presented to the zoo.¹ Once an animal entered the collection, the two most important events that could occur in the zoo, the life or death of that animal, was elaborated in two disparate yet specific presentations of this essential information. A catalogue that was on sale to the public called *List of the Vertebrated Animals Now or Lately Living in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London* (1883) is in direct contrast to a series of internally produced pro formas called *The Register of Deaths in the Menagerie* (1870–1970) which were documents based upon (and extended the information about) the lives and deaths of the animals that exited from the *Daily Occurrences* – recorded as departures.² I read these texts alongside the *Daily Occurrences* in order to highlight the way the institution wrote about and classified the animals that they procured for display.

In-situ animals on their entrance into the zoo were recorded into the ‘Arrivals’ section of the pro formas, and the common terms used to describe their origin were: ‘purchased’, ‘presented’,

¹ *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry: Prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty's Navy; And Travellers in General*, ed. by John F. W Herschel and others (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1886).

² *List of the Vertebrated Animals Now or Lately Living in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, ed. by Phillip L. Selater (London: Taylor & Francis, 1883).

‘deposited’, ‘exchanged’, or ‘born in the menagerie’. The ‘purchase’ of an animal refers to the overt financial transaction used to acquire a specific specimen for the zoo. The record for an animal that was ‘presented’ to the zoo always includes the name of the person, or body who bestowed it, and as we will see later, this could be a potential source of prestige for the presenter within Victorian society. The ‘deposit’ of an animal served as a beneficial function for both parties as it is related to the breeding or storage of a particular species – deposited animals were usually recorded in the ‘Departures’ section as having been ‘sent back’ to the owner after a period of time. Takashi Ito describes the importance of the zoo as a resource for ‘gentlemen menagerists’ who used it as a ‘reservoir of breeding stock’.³ In Fig. 1. we can see a list of animals received in exchange from Mr Jamrach, and a list of animals sent in exchange to Mr Jamrach:

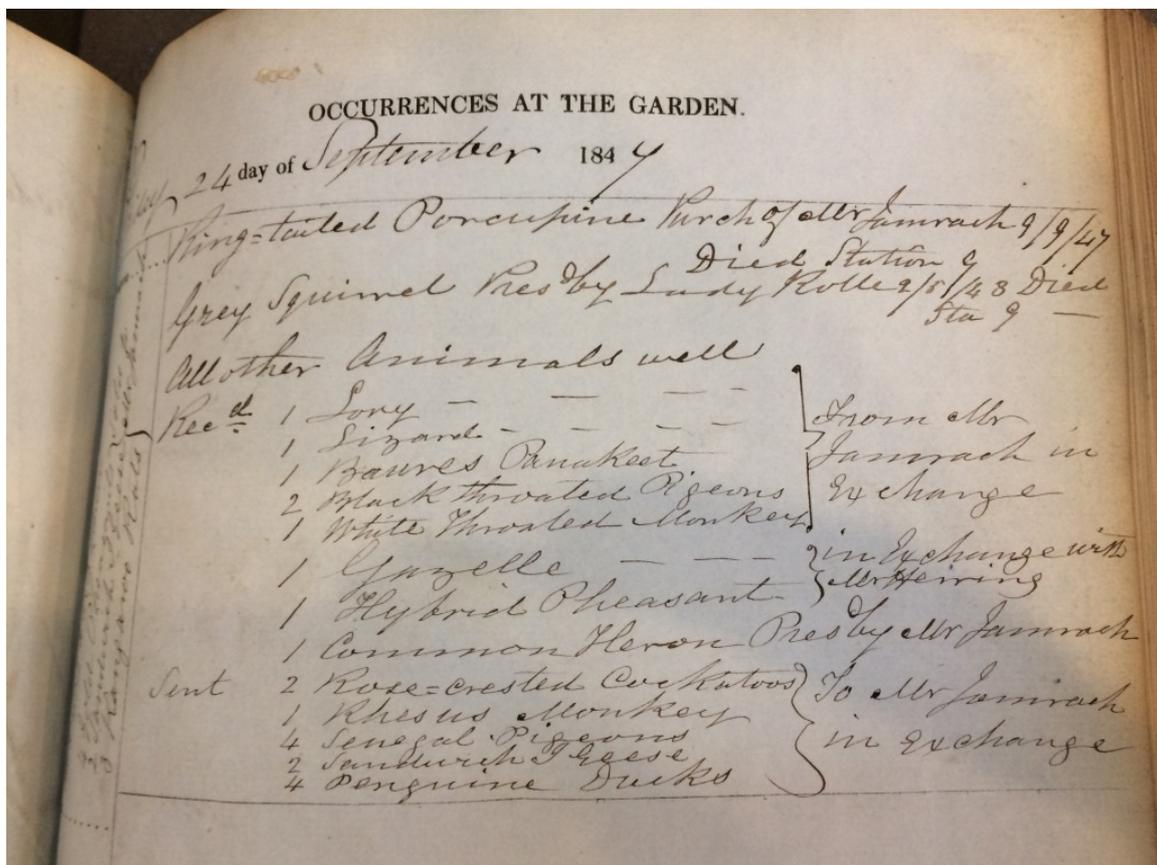


Fig. 1. Animal exchange with Mr Jamrach, Daily Occurrences, 24th September 1847.

³ Takashi Ito, *London Zoo and the Victorians 1828–1859* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 138–41.

Here, animals are being used by the zoo as a form of currency for the purpose of obtaining other species – in particular, a ‘hybrid pheasant’ is being circulated. Ito argues that in 1847 breeds of pheasant were sought by ‘royal and aristocratic sponsors’ because of their rarity and popularity with Queen Victoria.⁴ The example above indicates the multiplicity and variety of value-forms in this unique circuit of commercial enterprise. In the ‘Departures’ section quite often the ‘deposited’ animal can be found to have been returned to the depositor – either alive or dead (often the depositor worked in a related institution). Similarly, when an animal from the collection was sent to complete an ‘exchange’, it then reappeared again in ‘Departures’. Animals were purchased throughout the run of the *Daily Occurrences*, however, animals born in the institution increased gradually in ever greater numbers over the years. More and more entries record animals arriving because of their birth within the institution, and this is perhaps due to the developing sophistication of the breeding programmes. Even today a large amount of academic papers are written about the captive breeding of ex-situ animals at zoological institutions.

The motivations for the ‘presented’ animals can be deduced from other sources, for example, practices of information sharing and financial incentives were provided for the potential overseas collector or corresponding member of the Society. Hierarchical social customs and the precarity of the class system worked against scientists and naturalists, such as Edward Blyth, whom without independent wealth supplemented their income through mercantile activities or salaried wages. Blyth, a corresponding member of ZSL working in India, collected animals for the zoo but his need to make a living from the animal trade acted as a barrier to his own social status as a man of science exemplified by figures such as Charles Darwin and T.H. Huxley.⁵ The living animals that entered the collection, and which were checked in through the handwritten jottings, became external items in the lines of a published catalogue and exhibition list that included the names of their ‘presenters’. The departures section, as previously noted, had a relation to the arrivals section because animals departed

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁵ Christine Brandon-Jones, ‘Edward Blyth, Charles Darwin, and the Animal Trade in Nineteenth-Century India and Britain’ in *Journal of the History of Biology*, 30 (1997), 145–78 (pp. 158–60).

in exchange and deposits were returned. Animals were also often sold by the zoo to individuals, animal traders, and other institutions.

In Fig. 2. we can see an example of animals being sold by London Zoo to an individual customer:

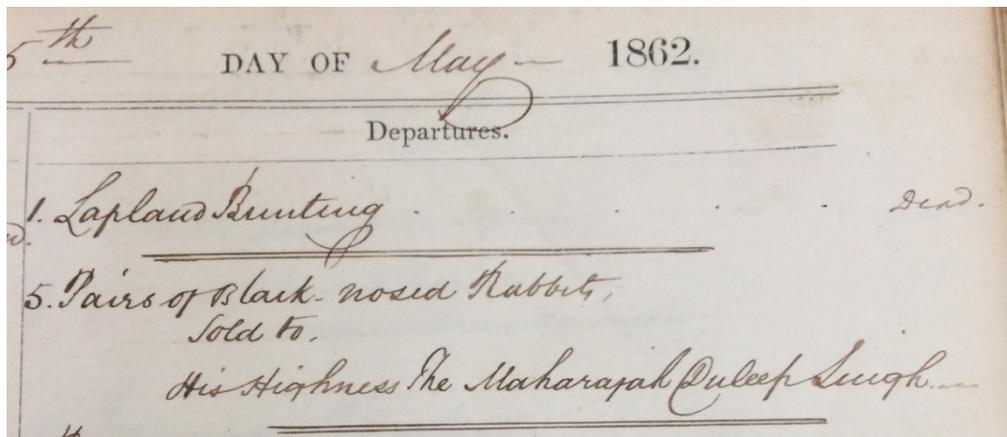


Fig. 2. Departures, Daily Occurrences, 5 May 1862.

The 'Departures' section above records the purchase of '5 pairs of black nosed Rabbits, sold to his Highness the Maharaja Duleep Singh'. The Maharaja Duleep Singh, the son of Maharaja Ranjit Sing of the Sikh Empire, was deposed by the East India Company in a process of imperial conflict that lasted between 1847–1849.⁶ The kingdom of Punjab was annexed to British Territories and at the age of eleven the Maharaja was separated from his mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, who was incarcerated in 1847. Duleep Singh became a ward of the British Government and was placed into the care of Dr John Login who brought the Maharaja to Britain where he was educated and became a favourite of Queen Victoria.⁷ Duleep Singh was not reunited with his mother until January 1861 in Calcutta, nearly fourteen years after they had been separated.⁸ In the example above it appears as if Duleep Singh is buying gifts — five pairs of rabbits — for his mother who in 1862 was suffering from

⁶ For papers relating to the settlement arranged for the transfer of power and administration of the British Government see: London, British Library (BL), IOR L/P.5/20 H3/5, *Miscellaneous Papers, Printed and Manuscript, related to Maharaja Duleep Singh, Prince Victor Duleep Singh and other family members, 1846–1909*. For information on Maharaja Duleep Singh's pension from the state and his home Mulgrave Castle — where he was living with his mother at the time of the purchase of the five 'pairs of black rabbits' before moving to Hatherop Castle, see: BL, IOR L/PS/20 H3/1 *Correspondences related to Maharaja Duleep Singh, 1849–1886*, pp. 39–41.

⁷ Peter Bance, *The Duleep Singhs: The Photograph Album of Queen Victoria's Maharajah* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), pp 14–19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37.

ill health, and had been placed ‘under the charge of an English lady’, nearby to London Zoo, in neighbouring Kensington.

The *Daily Occurrences* are abundant with entries that connect to the empire in surprising ways, and they illustrate how the trade in animals was central to the activities of the zoo. In the following example the zoo is exchanging two Japanese deer for a penguin from Mr A. Jamrach, the son of Charles Jamrach, a family famous for their business in the animal trade (Fig. 3.). This example shows one way that the zoo commissioned and obtained animals to maintain its displays.

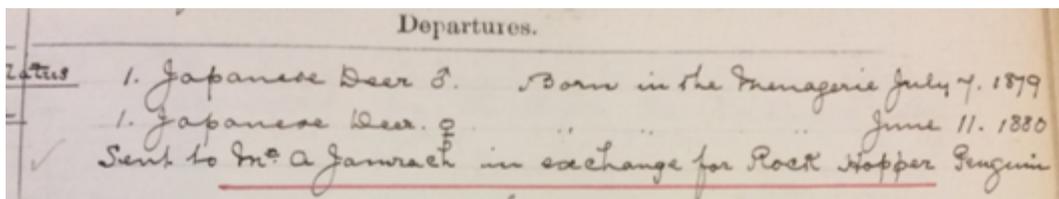


Fig. 3. Part A: Departures, Daily Occurrences, 13 April 1881.

Departures

- 1. Japanese Deer [Male] Born in the Menagerie July 7. 1879
- 1. Japanese Deer [Female] “...” June 11. 1880
- Sent to Mr A. Jamrach in exchange for Rock Hopper Penguin.

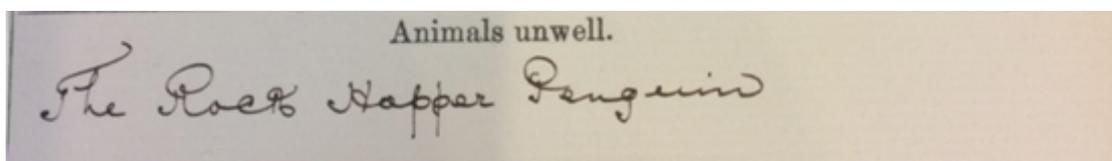


Fig. 4. Part B: Animals unwell, Daily Occurrences, 13 April 1881.

Animals unwell.

The Rock Hopper Penguin.⁹

In Fig. 3., Part A: it notes that the Japanese deer were bred within the zoo’s menagerie. They are a breeding pair, a male and female. In Fig. 4., Part B: a rock hopper penguin is written down in the ‘animal unwell’ section of the same day’s pro forma. The next day the rock hopper penguin is recorded as having died in the ‘Departures’ section. This is significant because it shows that the zoo had access to resources and modes of exchange that were essential for maintaining its systems of

⁹ London, Zoological Society of London (ZSL), QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Departures, 13 April 1881.

display. This was done through a written practice organised by the grids of the pro forma, which was the scaffolding that secured the construction of animals as living monuments. In other words, the pro formas can be described as a written management system.

Fig. 5. introduces one of the ways that animals arrived and were circulated by zoological institutions, in an example of ‘gifting’. Here we can see that the Prince of Wales is ‘gifting’ elephants to another zoo:

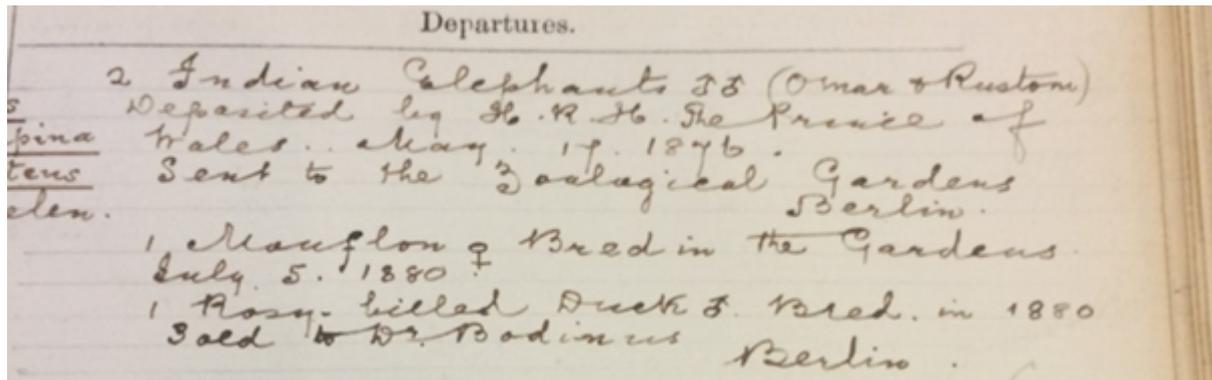


Fig. 5. Departures, Daily Occurrences, 14 April 1881.

2. Indian Elephants [Male-Male] (Omar & Rustom)

Deposited by H.R.H. The Prince of Wales. May 17. 1876. Sent to the Zoological Gardens Berlin.

Mouflon [Female] Bred in the Gardens July. 5. 1880 [...] Berlin.¹⁰

A female mouflon is listed alongside Edwards’s elephants, which were being sent to Berlin Zoo. This becomes interesting in light of Harriet Ritvo’s argument about the categories of ‘domestic’ livestock and their relationship to ‘wild’ species. Ritvo links the apparent inheritances between ‘wild’ and ‘domestic’ species as a site for aristocratic affirmation. Mouflons are thought to be the ‘wild’ species from which ‘domestic’ sheep breeds originated.¹¹ It seems significant that this symbolic breed was sent on the same day to the same place as the Prince of Wales’s elephants. ‘Gifting’ highlights an aspect of imperialism associated with the institution that John Berger identified: ‘the gift of an exotic animal to the metropolitan zoo became a token in subservient diplomatic relations’.¹² I argue that this

¹⁰ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002. Departures, 14 April 1881.

¹¹ Harriet Ritvo, ‘Beasts in the Jungle (or Wherever)’, *Daedalus*, 137:2 (2008), 22–30 (pp. 29–30).

¹² John Berger, *About Looking* (New York: First Vintage, 1991), p. 21.

example demonstrates the importance of prize breeds and symbolic animals in the service of these types of customs.

Continuing with Edwards's elephants: further down the page of the pro forma, on the work notes section for the day (Fig. 6.), we find an example of the planning, labour, and physical construction behind the presentation and display of animals. The work is distributed across a classification of trades:

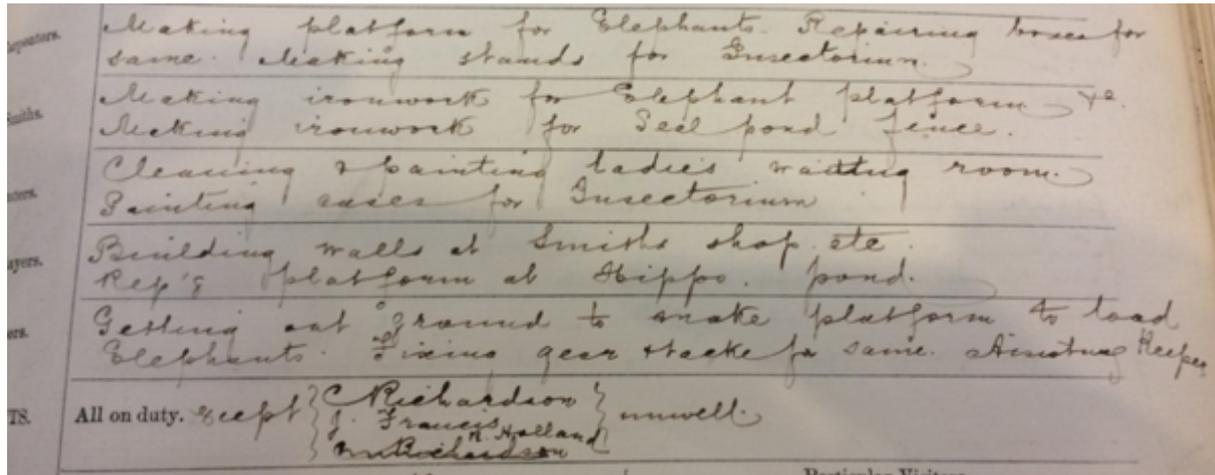


Fig. 6. Departures, Daily Occurrences, 14 April 1881.

Work notes:

Carpenters. Making platform for Elephants...

Smiths. Making ironworks for Elephant platform...

Painters. Cleaning and painting ladies waiting room...

Bricklayers. Building walls at Smith's shop. etc...

Labourers. Getting out ground to make platform to load Elephants...¹³

The example in Fig. 6. shows the depth of information that the *Daily Occurrences* record, which included the structuring of work and the workers required for the system of display. These daily pro formas were credited with constructing a compositional clarity that enabled the exhibition of the animals.

The following image below (Fig. 7.) is an extract from the 'Arrivals' section of the *Daily Occurrences* for Saturday 8th July 1882:

¹³ London, ZSL. QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002. Work notes, 14 April 1881.

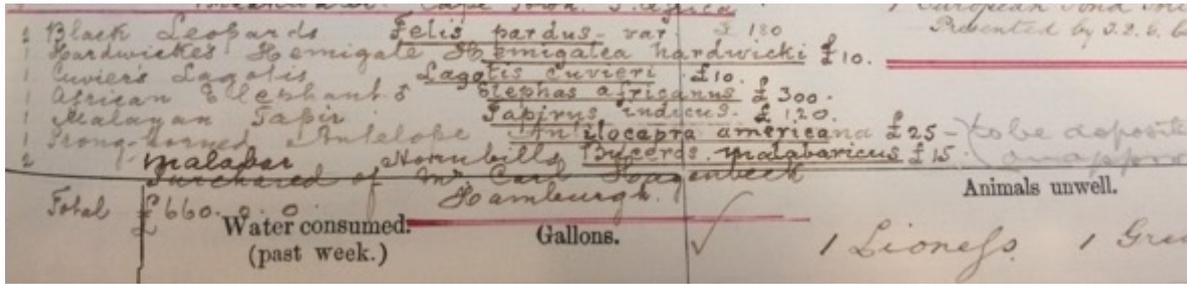


Fig. 7. 'Arrivals' Daily Occurrences, 08 July 1882.

- 2 Black Leopards *Felis Pardus* £180
- 1 Hardwickes hemigale *Hemigale hardwicki* £10.
- 1 Cuviers Lagotis *Lagotis Cuvieri* £10.
- 1 African Elephants <Male> *Elphas africanus* £300.
- 1 Malayan Tapir *Tapirus indicus* £120.
- 1 Prong-horned Antelope *Antilocapra Americana* £25
- 2 Malabar Hornbill *Oceceros Malabaricus* £15
- Purchased of Mr Carl Hagenback, Hamburgh. Total £660.00.¹⁴

This entry lists the following information about the animals: the quantity purchased, the common name of the species, the scientific name, the gender (if known), and the price paid. This is an example of one of the ways that animals were collected; later chapters will explore in more detail other ways in which animals crossed the threshold from life as an in-situ being to captivity as an ex-situ display. From the day sheets we can gauge that rare and exemplary species cost more than the species closer to domestic breeds because prices vary between the species. In the example, an elephant was bought for £300, whereas, an antelope cost £25. The institutional writing at work in the *Daily Occurrences* reveal that the displayed animals were not just the demonstration of a particular scientific notion or a celebration of imperial power, they were also financial resources and transactions in their own right – tradeable commodities.

The animals were listed by both common name and scientific name, although some of the scientific labels are not of the standardised form that we might recognise today. The example shows that these animals held specific economic, scientific, and cultural values that were open to fluctuations which, as will be explored in more depth in a later chapter, was dependent upon the physiological

¹⁴ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Arrivals, 8 July 1882.

status of the animals. The *Daily Occurrences* confirm that the animals in the zoo were properties with value, and this economic example provides a least one answer to the question of why animals were written about. These pro formas change the frame of the debate because they indicate the institutional ‘how’: being part of a discursive formation in which the animals were classified and henceforth held captive. The total control of the ex-situ animals and the construction of the exhibits is thus carried out, in part, through the administration of the institution which allowed for animals to be displayed as subjects with an implicit value. The institutional voice found in the pro formas makes the value of the animals and their provenance explicit.

The animal trader recorded in the transaction seen in Fig. 7. is Carl Hagenbeck who was the founder of Hamburg Zoo. During the mid-nineteenth-century many city zoos were founded, including: Amsterdam, Basle, Bristol, Dublin, Frankfurt, and Philadelphia.¹⁵ These zoos and their representatives appear in the records of *Daily Occurrences* because of their role in the circulation of animals between these respective institutions. The connections that crossed borders and enabled the display of the exotic are still in existence. In the pro formas we find institutional traces from the archive that catalogue the establishment of these contemporary zoos. Hagenbeck started out as an animal trader, and we can tell from the diversity and value of what he was selling that he was a successful one. Hagenbeck’s zoo was famous for its ‘enclosures’ – not to be confused with the cages of other zoos.¹⁶

These exhibits created a unique effect that was achieved by utilising a series of ‘hidden moats’ to create an illusion that the carnivores and herbivores were actually ‘exhibited (as it appeared

¹⁵ Stephen C. Bostock, *Zoo’s & Animal Rights: The Ethics of Keeping Animals* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 30.

¹⁶ Hagenbeck’s zoo was famously destroyed in 1943 during a bombing raid during the Second World War. For the literary responses to the destruction of his zoo: See W.G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction*, trans. Michael Hulse (London: Penguin Books, 2004), pp. 90–94. Sebald argues that the extreme descriptions of the devastation of zoos and animals found in post-war literature indicate the erratic attitudes that were taken towards a situation of complete destruction. Sebald’s description of Lutz Heck’s response to the aftermath of the bombing of Hagenbeck’s Zoo provides an example of what is at stake in such highly symbolic writing about zoo animals: ‘the elephants who had perished in the ruins of their sleeping quarters had to be cut up where they lay, and Heck describes men crawling around inside the rib-cages of the huge pachyderms and burrowing through mountains of entrails. These images of horror fill us with particular revulsion because they go beyond those routine accounts of human suffering that are to some extent pre-censored. And it may be that the horror which comes over us in reading such passages is also aroused by the recollection that zoos, which all over Europe owe their existence to a desire to demonstrate princely or imperial power, are at the same time supposed to be a kind of imitation of the Garden of Eden’, p. 93.

to the public) in the same enclosures'.¹⁷ The Frankfurt School theorist and social critic Theodore Adorno observed of Hagenbeck's 'Tierpark' that 'the more purely nature is preserved and transplanted by civilisation the more implacably it is dominated'.¹⁸ Here, Adorno's philosophy concentrated on animal-human relationships and he argued that the exploitation of animals was central to understanding how a 'rational human' could come to dominate over the 'other' (both animal and human).¹⁹ Berger, in his work on animals, updated and expanded Adorno's insight by introducing the image of the isolated spectator at the zoo who witnesses the displayed animal as a type of living monument.

Berger's argument is that, at the zoo, the frame through which the spectator is invited to peer doubles as a living space – indicating the reduction of the animal to a living spectacle. The zoological enclosure frames the zoo animal in a fabricated vista, and what is witnessed is not an exemplar or a taxon of a species, it is in fact, the receding of animals from human view because of their marginalisation. The displays of the zoo command the act of looking by individuals (the animals by the visitor) who are represented in the end product of a system of fabrication carried out by a 'larger social process'. The strength of Berger's argument is that he is interested 'in the act of looking and the history of the power equations that marginalises one of the 'looks''.²⁰ At the zoo, the available view of the animals is one mediated by the enclosures which frame our interpretation. For Adorno and Berger, the zoo's ability to construct these frames indicate processes of power that signal a new relationship between humans and animals, and it is one which has grown ever more exaggerated as the effects of capitalist expansion effaces the proximity between species. The zoological relationship has been absorbed into the spectacular networks of advertising and commercial products where anthropomorphic animal representations pervade the optics of consumerism. The animal on display at the zoo is the exemplary presentation of this pensée unique of capitalist logic, and this is because it is

¹⁷ Bostock, *Zoo's & Animal Rights*, p. 31.

¹⁸ Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*, trans. by E.F. N. Jephcott (London: Verso, 2005), p. 115.

¹⁹ Ryan Gunderson 'The First-generation Frankfurt School on the Animal Question: Foundations for a Normative Sociological Animal Studies', *Animals and Society*, 57:3 (2014), 285–300 (pp. 285–86).

²⁰ Rashmi Duraiswamy, 'A Mirror: Bound by the Look' in *A Jar of Flowers: Essays in Celebration of John Berger*, ed. by Yasmin Gunaratnam and Amarijt Chandan (London: Zed Books, 2016), pp. 235–48 (p. 236).

an enclosed-simulacra, as classifiable and replaceable, as the fabricated environment in which the exemplar ‘naturally’ resides.

A cursory glance through the pro formas reveals the replaceability of animals, for example, the most surprising aspect of the ‘Departures’ section is, that on a day-to-day to basis, an extraordinary number of animal deaths occurred at the zoo, which speaks to the abundance created by extractive imperial markets and the commodification of display animals discussed by Adorno and Berger. The animals whom died at the zoo were marked into the ‘Departures’ column as ‘Deaths’ and their bodies required disposing of – and just as there was an in-situ and ex-situ classification at the threshold into the system, there was a classification for the dead animal governing the threshold that led out of the system and into another. The *Daily Occurrences* show that the death of an animal was, after all, the most frequent reason for a departure from the collection. The deaths of animals in the zoological collection became the site of an extended internal narrative that encompassed further processes of institutional survey, identification, and disposal. These sources also link to a variety of other written works including scientific discourses that touch on imperialism, exploration, biological collection, materialism, and law.

The sourcing of animals for the collection, as we have seen was varied, and the presentations of animals not only came from monarchs and the middle classes, but also from the officers and battalions of the Empire, as can be seen in Fig. 8. below:

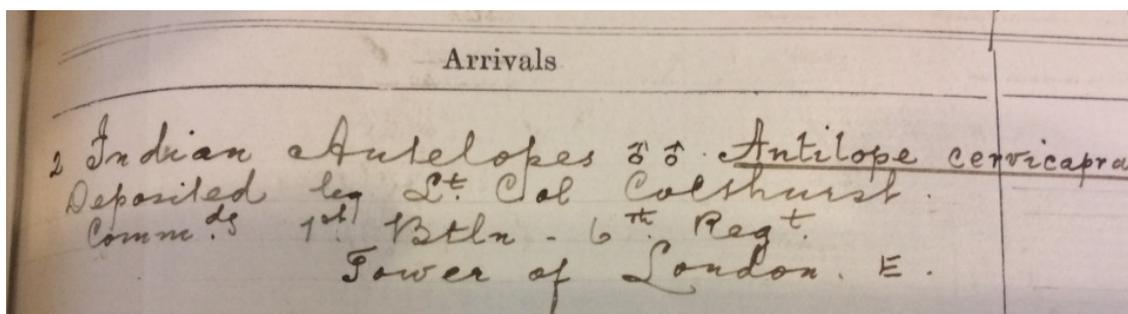


Fig. 7. Arrival of two female Indian antelopes deposited by Lieutenant Colonel Colhurst, *Daily Occurrences*, 1 April 1881.

A large number of ranks and titles from across the ‘forces’ appear in the ‘Arrivals’ section of the pro formas because of the trade routes established under imperial rule. These new extractive commercial areas increased the movement of materials, resources, and merchandise – including animals collected

from across the globe as we can see above in Fig. 8. The opportunity for developing and contributing to scientific knowledge was embraced by the Navy through its dissemination of *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry: Prepared for the Use of Officers in Her Majesty's Navy; and Travellers in General* (1886). This illustrated scientific manual given to medical officers was officially sanctioned by the admiralty, and it provides evidence of the facility and encouragement that was given to support a variety of forms of scientific endeavour including instructions for collecting information, data, and samples. The purpose of the manual was to provide expert advice for officers, preferably medical officers who were on active service, to contribute to a range of emergent scientific discourses throughout the nineteenth-century.

The branches of science that the naval manual covered included astronomy, botany, geography and hydrology, mineralogy, magnetism, meteorology, statistics, tides, and zoology. The manual was comprised of articles that introduced methods for observation and record keeping within the specific field written by a respected member of the particular discourse. The articles themselves are classified and divided into the following divisions: astronomical phenomena occurring on the surface of the earth and atmosphere; the political, social, and physical geography of the globe; and, subjects with a direct or indirect reference to the crust of the earth.²¹ The section on zoology from the manual explained to Naval officers that ‘important aids to the advancement of zoology may be rendered by the transport of living animals, and more especially their transmission to the Menagerie of the Zoological Society of London’.²² It also provided counsel on how to contain both living and dead examples of species. Naval officers could refer to detailed guidance on how to find and safely kill a specimen, with the aim of preserving it in the best possible condition (including the correct way of labelling it). Here, we see a classificatory boundary between living and dead examples, where the advice was concerned with ways of knowing and approaching the different types of animal corporeality available for collection. Practical advice (the physical handling of a collected item) sits alongside information about the importance of keeping an administrative record to establish the context in which an item was first collected (e.g. appearance, habitat, behaviour).

²¹ *Manual of Scientific Enquiry*, ed. by Herschel and others, pp. x–xii.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 406.

The zoology section breaks down along the lines of the classificatory branches of animals – Invertebrata (Coral to Insects) and Vertebrata (Fish to Mammals), and addresses both the purpose and practicalities of collection: specimen identification, the processing of samples, their accurate recording, and safe storage. The instructions for preserving methods had application for the collection of different species, for example, the method of preserving using alcohols (the correct proof of spirit for different specimens, ways of preparing specific species, jar sizes) whether for mammals, fish, or amphibians. The following excerpt provides an example of the practical and relational style deployed in the manual for the purpose of directing the activity of collecting and correctly preserving specimens:

all these animals of moderate size should be preserved in spirits, the same methods of treatment being pursued as described above from Dr. Gunter's instructions in the case of fish. Two similar incisions must be made in the ventral region, and similar precautions adopted as to the strengths of the spirits; a piece of linen should be wrapped around each specimen to preserve the scales; this is requisite at least for the smaller lizards and snakes.²³

The section dedicated to anthropology was similarly concerned with establishing a culture of collection based upon the retrieval of physical objects married to written testimonies. The manual argued that specimens were valuable because they helped to trace the history of the 'species/science of man'. The following excerpt from the manual analyses the social practices of other groups with reference to enlightenment values:

phantom spirits, whether ghosts or demons, entering into the bodies of men to plague them with what we call diseases such as fever, epilepsy, or madness [...] such rites as sacrifices to the dead or to demons and deities prove not to be meaningless superstitions but practical acts done for definitive purposes, from the point of view of a state of knowledge the civilised world is leaving behind.²⁴

The manual, then, reminded the collector of the importance of understanding the functions, meaning or purpose of the object-specimens (narratives, languages, material objects, and curiosities).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

²⁴ Edward B. Tylor, 'Anthropology', in *Manual of Scientific Enquiry*, ed. by Herschel and others, p. 237.

This is an anthropological approach to collection that collapses contexts in its treatment of cultural practices, products, and humans. As this next excerpt shows, the directions given for the gathering of bodies and human remains is coterminous with the collection of animals, objects, or descriptions of cultural practices:

opportunities occur from time to time of procuring skulls, or preferably, complete skeletons, as well as anatomical preparations of soft parts. Care is of course needed in such cases where tribes object to relics of the dead being disturbed; this objection is in some measure one of affection, but much more of fear lest the ghost, enraged at the remains of its body being meddled with, should wreak vengeance on the survivors.²⁵

The above passage details the collection of human skeletons and bones and this mirrored zoological collection: corporeal objects contribute to understanding the zoological and human ‘other’. The discourse of the collection appears as a ‘regularity’ within the manual for naval officers because it crosses disciplines. The manual discussed how the ‘childish logic’ of ‘lower civilisation’ obstructed the gathering of human fragments for understanding the ‘science of man’. Hair is described in the manual as one of ‘the most useful race-marks’ because of its constitution and colour, however, as its counsel continues, obtaining this type of sample required a ‘collector’s ingenuity’. The manual argues that this is because of the belief that ‘magic influence can be brought to bear on anyone through any portion of his body, even after it is detached’ which acted as a barrier to the gathering of samples.²⁶ The hides and skins of animals and humans, their bones and structures were items that had an assumed classificatory place in the manuals constructed hierarchy of objects, animals, and humans. This shows how a practical handbook that encouraged the collection of animals for the zoo also recommend the collection of humans whom within the discourse were classified as being beneath the agents of empire. The gap between humans and animals was reduced further as the practice of comparative anatomy developed, in part, from out of the pages of the *Daily Occurrences*.

The *Daily Occurrences* speak to the economics of empire through its record of the trade in animals. However zoological historians such as Ito argue that the empire is not a useful ‘referential

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 225–26.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

frame' for understanding the history of the zoo because to do so would require the researcher to uncover 'ideological messages', and then identify who designed them, assess how successful these messages were, and finally, interpret how 'such messages were perceived by individuals'. Ito, who does a hugely successful job of charting the controversies and fissions within the marginalia of the zoological authorities' decisions and rationale over many decades (including comprehensive accounts of the ideologies rejected by those who won certain of the specific — now historical — zoological debates, for example discussions over the merits of the Quinarian system), misses the fact that imperialism was, and is, an economic and biopolitical relationship.²⁷ The classifications of the animals that entered and exited the zoo, recorded in the pro formas, clearly illustrate, beyond any doubt, what the zoo actually did with animals from across the empire besides exhibiting them, which was to: collect, circulate, exchange, purchase, and sell them.

The example of the Maharajah Duleep Singh — a ruler deposed by the British Empire — purchasing rabbits from the zoo (Fig. 2.) highlights the complexity of interpreting the past in order to construct histories. Ito writes in a discussion of the reasons for Queen Victoria's interest in monals (a breed of India pheasant) that:

the British Monarchy began to be closely associated with India, as was epitomised by the display of the Koh-I-Noor diamond at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Exotic artefacts and natural objects were integral to Victoria's concept of the British Empire, even before she became the Empress of India in 1876.²⁸

The Koh-I-Noor — a symbol of the Maharaja's 'power, authority, and wealth' — had, along with all of the property of Duleep Singh's state, been confiscated by the British Government during the terms of annexation in 1849. The Maharaja (who was eleven years old at the time) was allotted a pension on condition of remaining loyal to British rule and residing in an appropriate place so as not to encourage rebellion.²⁹ It seems important, then, that the Maharaja, along with many others whose lives were caught up in the economics of empire, appears in these quotidian records. There is a contradiction in Ito's dismissal of the empire as a frame to understand the zoo, something which he counterintuitively

²⁷ Ito, *London Zoo*, p. 23

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²⁹ Bance, *The Duleep Singhs*, p. 10, p. 25.

himself does in order to add lustre to the Royal preferences for certain pheasants, thereby placing the ‘empire’ in the ‘exotic’ periphery, whereas, the centre was also a site of coercive relationships – including the zoo whose internal administrative documents have so much to tell us. Ito’s quantitative appendixes detailing the zoo’s income and attendance numbers are based on the annual reports whose data was drawn from the *Daily Occurrences*, and while his tables provide insightful graphs and observable trends, could they also be said to miss key qualitative information? For example, who is attending the zoo? and what are they doing there? I would argue that the purchase of rabbits by a key figure in the story of the British Empire’s expansion into India is effaced by taking the data of this historical institution at face value. A reflexive and interdisciplinary approach that takes account of the benefits and problems of different methodological approaches is essential for gaining a nuanced impression of the narratives of the past.

The Written Structure of Observation: Departures

The *Register of Deaths in the Menagerie* (1870–1971) are a series of pro forma documents that drew upon the ‘Departures’ section of the pro formas.³⁰ The departure of an animal from the zoological collection due to its death signalled its arrival at the threshold of a post-situ system of classification. Fig. 9. is a graph made from information held by the register; it shows the total number of animal deaths at the zoo per year between 1882 and 1893. The death of a zoo animal was written about in some detail in this documentary record that compiled the final information about the departed creature.

³⁰ ZSL, GB 0814 RCA, *Register of Deaths in the Menagerie 1870–1971*.

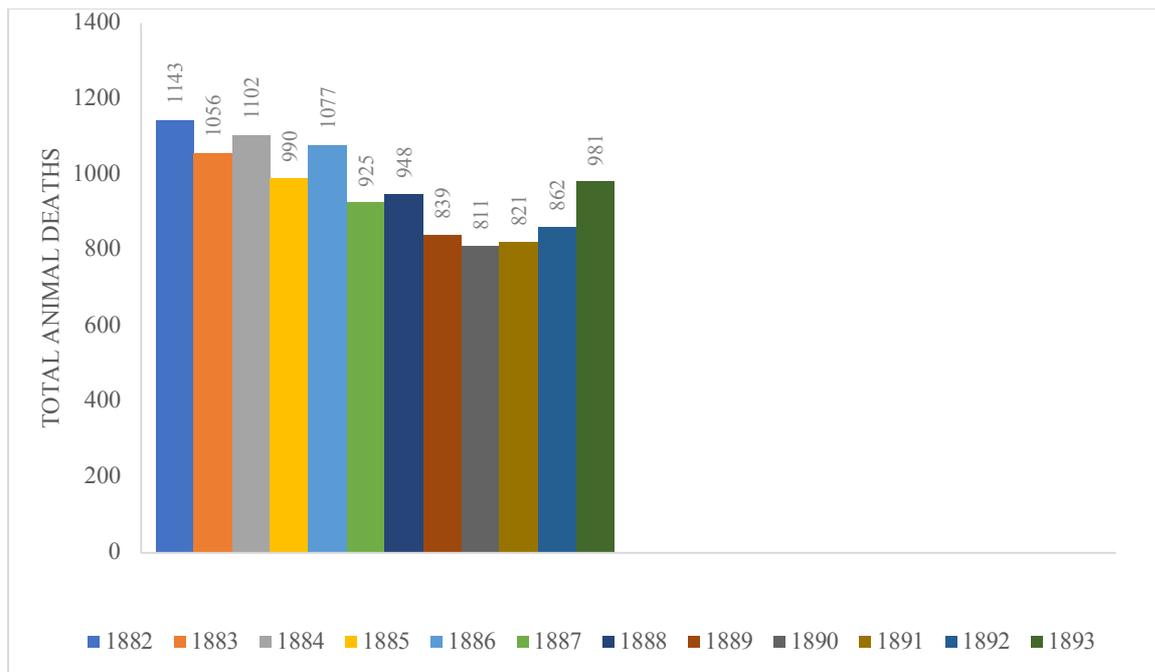


Fig. 8. Total number of Animal Deaths by Year: 1882–1893.

The information recorded under the headings and columns of the volumes of the register were as follows: the running total of deceased animals for the specific year, the date of the death, the English and Linnaean names of each animal, the geographical origin of the specimen, its sex, its provenance, the cause of death, the disposal of the remains, and finally any associated lingering economic value that was attachable to its physical frame. The use of Linnaean names in the internal documents of the zoo represented a method for understanding and processing the animals that entered into and exited out of the zoological collection. Thomas Veltre observed that the ‘Linnaean system of classification’ contributed to the development of discourses of collection because Linnaeus had ‘considered internal anatomy rather than outward appearance as his basis for classification’.³¹ The categorisation of animals through the process of acquiring knowledge about their internal anatomies was facilitated by the *Register of Deaths*.

The register is an important document because to some extent it is an example of the success of one school of thought over another at the Zoological Society. Here, Harriet Ritvo explains the split

³¹ Thomas Veltre, ‘Menageries, Metaphors, and Meaning’ in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menageries to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by R. J. Hoages and William A. Deiss (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 19–29 (p. 26).

between two different strands of thought over what direction the business of the Society should follow:

the landowners wanted animals relatively similar to those that were indigenous to Britain; the scientists, on the other hand, craved variety of every sort. The landowners wanted animals alive and healthy for breeding; a scientific specimen's best moment was just after it had died, when it could be dissected in the furtherance of comparative anatomy.³²

The register, therefore, represents a specific aspect and discursive aim for the types of activities and processes that occurred in the zoological institution. For certain branches of science, the opportunity for obtaining specimens for dissection was the most important purpose of the zoo. The death of an animal signalled its transference out of the classificatory system of the *Daily Occurrences*, once departed from the 'Departure' section, and its entrance into another classificatory system whose focus was on posthumous scientific practice and display.

Both the *Daily Occurrences* and the *Register of Deaths* are examples of the application of classificatory schemes used by the Society; this is outlined in an essay about comparative anatomy at the zoo by A. J. E. Cave (1900–2001) a professor of zoology and council member at ZSL. Cave argued that the institution assigned animals into the Linnaean system which had 'precisely defined categories (species, genus, family etc.)', and that the criteria for assessing an assignment was 'determined by the possession of certain diagnostic anatomical characters'. This explains the reason for the increased attention paid by the institution towards the internal 'morphological structure' of zoological specimens during the nineteenth-century, because the external characteristics of animals arriving at the zoo were too numerous and the process of identification was too fallible to be able to assign and guarantee the correct taxonomic status.³³ The solution adopted to solve this problem was to apply the principle of comparative anatomy to zoology. To establish the practice the council of the Society commissioned a working group called the Zootomical Committee (which was comprised of the supervisor and three members of the council – including Sir. W. H. Flower and T. H. Huxley who

³² Harriet Ritvo, 'The Order of Nature: Constructing the Collections of Victorian Zoos', in *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³³ A. J. E. Cave, 'The Zoological Society and Nineteenth Century Comparative Anatomy', in *The Zoological Society of London 1826–1976 and Beyond: The Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Zoological Society of London*, ed. by S. Zukerman (London: Academic Press, 1976), p. 49.

I will return to in Chapter Two). The aim of the committee was to oversee and advise collectively to secure the best ‘mode by which animals dying in the Gardens might best be disposed of with the most benefit to Zoological Science’.³⁴

Cave argued that although the practicalities of taxonomic placement was the main reason for instituting comparative anatomy as a method for measurement, there were three subsidiary factors that influenced the Zoological Society’s concentration on a morphological approach during the nineteenth-century. First, the technology and apparatus available was limited in its application and therefore was incapable of opening up new fields of research. Second, the publication of Darwin’s *The Origin of Species* (1859) stimulated morphological enquiry in the search for data that supported Darwin’s evolutionary hypothesis which had so captured the scientific imagination. Third, the expansion and exploration that accompanied imperial consolidation increased the numbers of new forms of vertebrate and invertebrate animals that were available, and these new forms needed identifying, classifying, and understanding.³⁵ In response to these motivating factors, the Zootomical Committee proposed to create a new fulltime salaried position, the prosector, whom would be responsible for pathological routine, anatomical research, and the provision of a consultation service for the members (including advice on the equipment that was required by the institution to execute their plans). The committee would regulate and direct the disposal of prosectium material and supervise the work of the new office held by the prosector.

In 1865, the proposal was instituted and the Society appointed the first prosector position at the zoo to James Murie (1832–1925). The supervisor Philip Lutley Sclater (1829–1913) wanted to further establish the scientific credentials of the zoo and he believed this would be achieved through increasing the publication of anatomical memoirs based on the dissections carried out on the recently ‘departed’ exhibits. During his time at the zoo, Sclater oversaw the publication of hundreds of papers on birds and animals in the Society’s two scientific journals: *Proceedings of the ZSL* and the *Transactions of the ZSL*.³⁶ Murie struggled with the workload, although he still completed four

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³⁶ S. Zuckerman, ‘The Zoological Society of London: Evolution of a Constitution’, in *The Zoological Society of London 1826–1976*, p. 8.

thousand post-mortems in five years. The high volume of the work that needed to be carried out captures the high mortality rate of the animals owned by the zoo. Murie attributed these high rates of animal deaths to poor management and official ignorance: perhaps unsurprisingly, he resigned in 1870. Murie was replaced in 1871 by Alfred Henry Garrod, who brought a personally trained attendant along with him: William Ockenden from Kings College Hospital. Ockenden was delegated the pathological routine, which freed Garrod to focus on comparative anatomy and the production of pathological memoirs for the ZSL's journals, thereby satisfying the demands of the management for more publishable scientific material. The emergence of the register is the administrative trace of this institutional change and rationalisation.³⁷

The register had structural similarity to the pro formas, because this document was also concerned with exhibition: the question was whether or not the 'departed' specimen could still function as a biocultural object for display. This series of documents represents the establishment of an organisational process that directed, reflected, and supported the institution's aims and values. The 'departure' of specimens at their death is the signal for further work to be undertaken upon the captives of classification, the entrance of their remains into another classificatory system that, as we have seen, relied on appearances, albeit internal rather than external. This register, like Sclater's catalogue, is an inventory of items that required further classification for the new schemata.

The register also shows us how the zoo added financial and scientific value to the collection by extending the use of animals after death. It also responded to the wider currents of Darwinian theory which was sweeping through the zoological field and scientific imaginary. The examples from the register below show a range of the possible trajectories for the departing specimens:

1872: Hog badger, Presented 11/7/2, 12..., *Skin Mr. Gerrard, Skeleton R.C. Surgeons.*

1884: Mouflon: *ovis musimon* <male> (*hybrid*), 7.9.82, 27.3.84, *Used for food.*

1887: Sept 28, 691, Long eared owl, presented 31/5/86, destroyed by companions.

1887: Nov 16, 833, magellanic fox, S. America, presented 26/9/87, killed and partially eaten by companion.

1887: Dec 9, 898, gorilla, W. Africa, purchased 10/10/87, Royal College of surgeons.

³⁷ Cave 'The Zoological Society', in *Ibid.*, pp. 61–63.

1889: July 30, 473, lizard, New Zealand, Deposited, 30.3.89, in spirit for depositor.³⁸

Here, there is evidence of the Society contributing to the wider field: the skin of the badger went to a specialist (Mr. Gerrard) while its skeleton was sent to the Royal College of Surgeons (further down the list we see that they also later received a whole gorilla). A lizard was preserved ‘in spirit’ and returned to the original depositor, which indicates the processes that work to transform a once live exhibit into a biocultural object. There is an example of pragmatism in the list as well – a dead mouflon was used as food to feed the other specimens. The register functioned to ensure that exhibited animals were anatomised upon their death where possible, but two examples highlight a flaw in the system of display – in situ territorial species (for example owls and foxes) mark and protect their territory from other members of their own species. The ex situ stand-ins for their species locked inside their enclosures undermine the possibility of being neatly and correctly placed taxons because their behaviour does not modify to fit the new classificatory environment. The owl and fox in the list departed from the collection because they were killed by their territorial companions. This is an example of the gap that exists between an *animal* that is brought together with other iterations into the generalised grouping of a taxonomy, but which does not fit into the zoological architecture because of its specificity – in this case the taxon’s behaviour towards others who share the taxon.

The register’s main aspiration was to facilitate the preservation of the resources where appropriate; we can see this through its notes about the preparation of skulls, hides and skins, the removal of fangs, the assessment of bones, the reconstruction of skeletons, and, the remains preserved in jars. The register has a tone distinct from the *Daily Occurrences* because the cause of death of an animal revealed a point of potential rupture in the system of display. The institutional writing, observable in the register, was designed to function for a range of stakeholders (the zoo, the depositors, the living captives, museums and medical researchers) by extending the value of a ‘departed’ specimen and by offering a process for preparing items for post-situ collections. The register is a logical consequence of the limits of the *Daily Occurrences* and it is an example of the widening of an institutional literary culture.

³⁸ ZSL, GB 0814 RCA, *Register of Deaths in the Menagerie* (1870–1971).

Materiality

The *Daily Occurrences* reveal their longevity through the changes in the substance of the document's material form and the modifications to the design of the pro forma. This is apparent in a variety of ways: through the medium of the physical marks which communicate the symbols that are the basis of the language; in the different hands of the authors with their individual ink marks, styles, and smudges; and, in the printing technologies that transformed the layouts. The information on the pages have a materiality while being intrinsically linked to the composition which influenced and focused the classificatory method.

The changes in the structure of the pages of the diaries are easily traced. They clearly exhibit aspects of the institution's narration of, and to, itself. Is it also the case that networks of writing can be subtle while still relating to the fixing of an object within a discourse? There is a materiality to the diaries: the tactile interpretation of material, form, and variation that might easily be overlooked. The switch in the physical forms of the day sheets, the paper upon which information is recorded, can be felt by hand. The tactile quality of the paper differs through the years, irrespective of the static headings, numerous animals, lists, and marks, which all add to a sense of continuity to the written contents. The physical structure of the material that holds the ink, the typographical elements, and the organisation of content each have a role in the telling of the institution's story over time and its placement within a wider context.

Comparing the volumes show these differences rendered by time, for example, the yellow coloured, meshed, roughness of the pages of the early nineteenth-century volumes contrast with the blue tinted, smooth, paper that appear in the later volumes. Such changes highlight an important aspect of the material composition of the pro formas; the diaries have a clear relationship to the processes of the paper trade, printing, and industry of their specific dates. What might be termed the production values of the leaves of the diaries at a given period can provide indications of how the zoological institution related to other institutions both industrial and colonial.

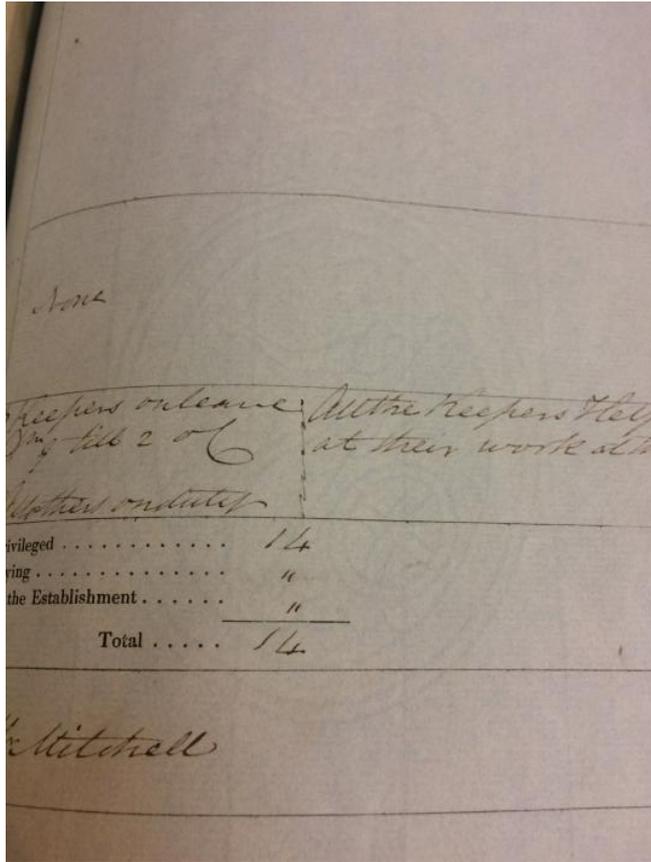


Fig. 9. Britannia watermark, Daily Occurrences, 1847-1850.

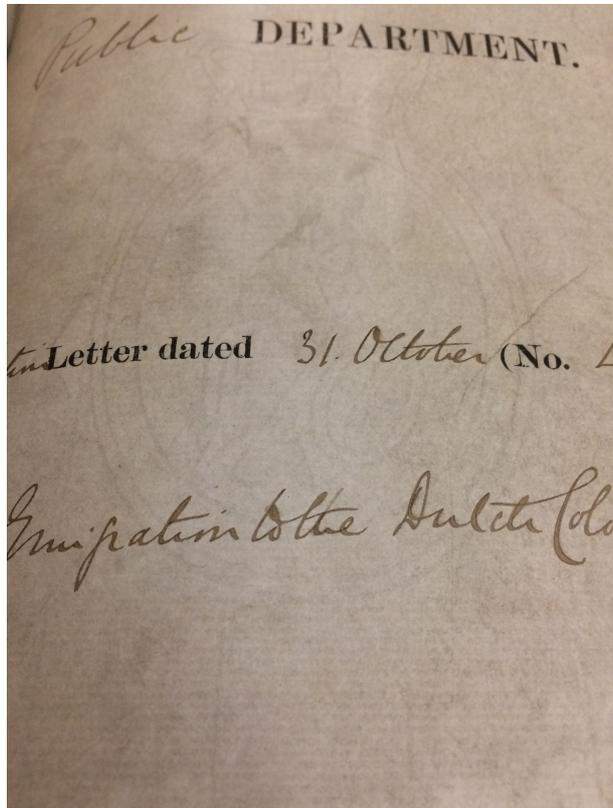


Fig. 10. Britannia watermark, India Office Despatches, 1873.

Fig. 10. and Fig. 11. are similar in period and materiality; what separated them was the function and content of the pages. Fig. 10. is from a page used by the zoo, while Fig. 11. is an official document from a section of the imperial government in India. The elements of the paper stock are unmistakably the same: the size, the colour, their tactile quality, the surface on which ink and marks sit, and the watermark depicting Britannia. These documents point to a symbiotic relationship between systems of accumulation and the materially improving paper trail of those systems. The *Daily Occurrences* have a relationship and debt to the content of other pages which produced networks that increased in circulation as the empire expanded. The contents of Fig. 11. are units of stored information, which was similarly concerned about the key theme of the day: boundary. What remains now is an archive that stretches across kilometres of shelf space at the British Library rather than thousands of miles across continents.

Eve Tavor Bannet's history *The Empire of letters* (2005) expands the field of the history of the British Empire by acknowledging the importance of the postal service in opening up new networks of communication while also discussing the emergence of a 'public pedagogy' encouraged by the proliferation of letters and letter writing manuals.³⁹ The rules, norms, and material reality of communication across boundaries through written correspondence were essential for maintenance of the empire. Stamp duty, tax, stationery, buttressed by organisation, printing, presses, and paper-letter writing guides underpinned the deployment of power across the globe. The dispatches sheets (Fig. 11.) which cover the correspondences of the *Department for Trade, Commerce and Agriculture of the India Office* (1873) are an example of 'the empire of letters' because the content of the letters, notes, and recommendations contain imperial written forms that narrate, record, and classify.⁴⁰

The content of the correspondences that circled to and from the colonial governments departments in 1873 covered a broad range of subjects. There were letters about the international commission that promoted the merits of the implementation of the metric system. There are letters flowing between Calcutta, Liverpool, and London regarding the return to Britain from India of twelve

³⁹ Eve Tavor Bannet, *Empire of Letters, Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 9–10.

⁴⁰ BL, IOR/L/PJ/3/1112, *India Office Records and Private Papers*, 1873.

citizens after each received a medical diagnosis (classification) of insanity, and the correspondences investigated the practicalities of their movement.⁴¹ This series of letters planned, costed, and identified: they listed and measured the types of objects, space, and quantity of supplies needed to facilitate the transportation of those diagnosed as insane back to Britain.

Later, there is a letter request for resources; help was needed for a spectroscopic observation of the sun by a group of astronomers that travelled across the interior of India. An invitation requested attendance of a diplomatic official to travel back to the home country to represent India at the Kensington Exhibition. A recommendation for compensation to be awarded to four limbless labourers in the colonies was sent. An intricate document that sort to cover all aspects of the history of the emigration of Indian labourers under British control sat at the centre of a year's work: balance sheets, rights and responsibilities, laws, figures, sanitation, questions, treatment, shipping and statistics about the five-hundred and thirty-three-thousand five-hundred and ninety-five labourers who worked across the British controlled colonies was accumulated for the purpose of extracting capital.⁴² The lives of the labour force were detailed, defined, and placed into an imperial nomenclature, where multitudes of specifics crossed pages filled with classificatory charts and taxonomic tables.

The following extract from the 'Proceedings of the Government of India' shows an order that was circulated to local governments and administrations. The Foreign Office asked for a report on the success of a policy that was implemented two years previously. This policy resolved to address the problems associated with those living in close proximity to wild animals, it reads:

the resolution of Home Department, 11th September 1871, accepted the conclusion, established by reports from all parts of India, that the loss of human life from wild animals and venomous snakes is certainly enormous. And the Governor General in Council desired that every means should be taken for the extirpation of destructive animals of human habitation; the system of paying rewards for killing beasts of prey and venomous snakes being understood to be the most effectual method which the Government could employ. No limit was set to the amount of reward which might be given for killing wild beasts, but with regard to snakes the Local Governments were directed to make experiment, and to report after two years.⁴³

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ BL, IOR/L/PJ/3/1112, *India Office Records and Private Papers*, 1873. Correspondences No.156: May 1864 to October 1873.

The desire for regulation over the wild animals and venomous snakes in the administered territory echoes the colonial pattern of eliminating the wild to secure the civil.⁴⁴ As Ritvo observes, animals ‘were presented in terms of their scientific or political significance, as evidence of British ability to subdue exotic territories and convert their wild products to useful purposes’.⁴⁵ In a discussion of the place that animal skins occupied in the culture of Victorian Britain, Ann C. Colley argues that because of the uncertainties and difficulties associated with the trade and transportation of live specimens, skins were easier to collect, display, and study. Colley’s implication was that for Victorian audiences an animal’s skin was where the interpretation of the animal’s identity, and therefore all that constitutes that identity, largely resided. Therefore, for Colley, the animal subject, its relationship to science and the empire, was read through the skin.⁴⁶

A policy resolution sent out by the colonial government in 1871 discusses animal skins directly. The introduction of a financial reward for the killing of wild animals is introduced because ‘there is a deep-rooted prejudice amongst the natives against killing a snake — a prejudice which nothing but the offer of a reward will overcome’.⁴⁷ The document listed the criteria underpinning the incentives to hunt: snakes hunted had to be known to be deadly, rewards were only available in the districts known to be high in cases of fatal mortality from snake-bites, and the incentives would only be payable for a two year period. The effectiveness of the system would be assessed after two years. The resolution concluded with the proviso that ‘it is not desirable to grant a monopoly for the purchase of the skins of wild animals for rewards’, therefore ‘whenever shikarees [hunters] are allowed to appropriate the skins of animals, precautions should be taken to prevent the same skins being shewn twice’.⁴⁸

The *Daily Occurrences* record the arrival of numerous wild animals at the zoo throughout the month of August 1873. The animals recorded as having arrived at the zoo were: one crocodile, a tiger,

⁴⁴ Harriet Ritvo, ‘Beasts in the Jungle’, in *Daedalus*, p. 23.

⁴⁵ Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, p. 217.

⁴⁶ Anne C. Colley, *Wild Animals Skins in Victorian Britain, Zoos, Collections, Portraits, and Maps* (Dorchester, UK: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 63–64.

⁴⁷ BL, IOR/L/PJ/3/1112, *India Office Records and Private Papers*, 1873. Correspondences No. 156: May 1864–October 1873.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Correspondences No. 156: May 1864–October 1873.

a bear, a vulture, two buzzards, one wild swine, and a baboon. Two Indian jackals departed the zoo due to their deaths. Eighteen snakes arrived at the Zoological gardens and one departed (2 August – death) during the same month. On the very last day of the month, Sunday 31 August, in the arrivals section for the day was recorded ‘1 snake from India’.⁴⁹ These arrivals were a long way from the types of animals that Ritvo’s work shows were part of the zoo’s remit to engage with for their various stakeholders, including domestic breeders. Her arguments are also made visible in the *Daily Occurrences*: depositors, gifts, stud fees, and so on, where ‘stock breeders who wanted to distinguish their herds and flocks with an infusion of exotic blood and were willing to pay stud fees that ranged from 5s. for a zebu to £1 for a Brahman bull to £2 for a zebra’.⁵⁰ Although, as Ritvo points out, the goal to introduce new animals for the farm, wood, and purposes of leisure, ultimately failed.

The success of the zoo was due to its ability to obtain and display live animals, and this success can be attributed to its connections to the markets that were opened up by the British Empire. The display of animals from distant, controlled, or occupied territories rendered the zoo a spectacle of imperial power. The animal historian John Simons argues that the zoo in the nineteenth-century ‘could not have survived without the trade routes guaranteed by Empire’ which ‘kept dealers like Jamrach at the top of their profession’.⁵¹ The control of, and influence over, trade and trading routes was far from guaranteed during a period of conflict caused by the aftermath of the imperial project. For example: a single giraffe cost forty pounds in 1879, rising to one thousand pounds by 1885, and falling to four hundred pounds in 1903. Simons traces these fluctuations in the price for a giraffe to the impact of imperial politics. The price rise in the 1880s was caused by the loss of the land transportation route out of Africa through Sudan in the wake of the Mahdi takeover. Simons argues that ‘the Suez Canal is the vital fact which binds the exotic animal trade into the economics of the British Empire and eventually led to German predominance in this branch of colonial economics’.⁵² As we have already seen earlier, the German animal trader Hagenbeck was so successful that he

⁴⁹ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, 31 August 1873.

⁵⁰ Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, p. 237.

⁵¹ John Simons, ‘The Scramble for Elephants: Exotic Animals and the Imperial Economy’, in *Captured: The Animal within Culture*, ed. by Melissa Boyde (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 26–42 (pp. 38–39).

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

acquired enough wealth open his own franchise of zoos. The implementation of imperial rule in Sudan and the introduction of steam powered shipping meant that travel to Europe via the Suez Canal became more efficient, and this reduced the cost of merchandise (including giraffes). The trade in live animals was dependent on factors related to acquisition, transportation and price, which were in turn dependent on the imperial system of economics: monopoly power, trade routes, and commodities.

The Written Structure of Observation: Presenting the Collection

The written sequencing of events within the zoo resulted in an increasing build-up of notes, marks, and symbols. The events that appeared in the pro formas were based on the prescribed recording of checks, measures, and judgements. The information recorded under the headings indicate a broad range of elements associated with the collection that were shaped by the *Daily Occurrences*. These elements then became sources of raw material for other written works. The information from the diaries became a reference point for the re-presentation of isolated details from specific contexts that expanded the institutional narrative. A catalogue of the animals exhibited in the zoo entitled *List of the Vertebrated Animals Now or Lately Living in the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, first printed in 1862, presents for a public audience a particular vision of the zoological collection based on the 'Arrivals' section of the *Daily Occurrences*.

The title page of the catalogue states that the list has been printed for the Zoological Society and that copies of it are sold at the Society's house in Hanover Square. The layout of the pages that present the orders of Mammalia, Aves, Reptilia, Batrachia, and the subclass of Pisces are formal and as a result visually compelling. The catalogue elucidates a process of connoisseurship in relation to the practice of accumulation, collection, and display of animals. The written records of the *Daily Occurrences* structured and recorded institutional observations and therefore provided the raw material for the institutional interpretation of that information. The catalogue denoted the animal 'Arrivals' as individual taxonomic examples that contributed to a wider assemblage of a successful collection. The detailing of these exemplars and their exhibition in the catalogue was a public celebration of the quality of the series that comprised the zoological collection.

The classification of animals in the catalogue takes the form of bold blocks of text which gives the impression of forethought, rigidity, and repetitious placement. The hierarchical order of the classificatory system is presented through the steady application of visual rules: the organisation of the headings, capitalisation, italicisation, numerical and letter-type character sequences, asterisks, and notes fields of the type – all of which are standardised. Fig. 12. shows the structure of the classifications in the catalogue, and in this example, we see the classificatory entry for, and the instances of display of, the Indian Elephant.

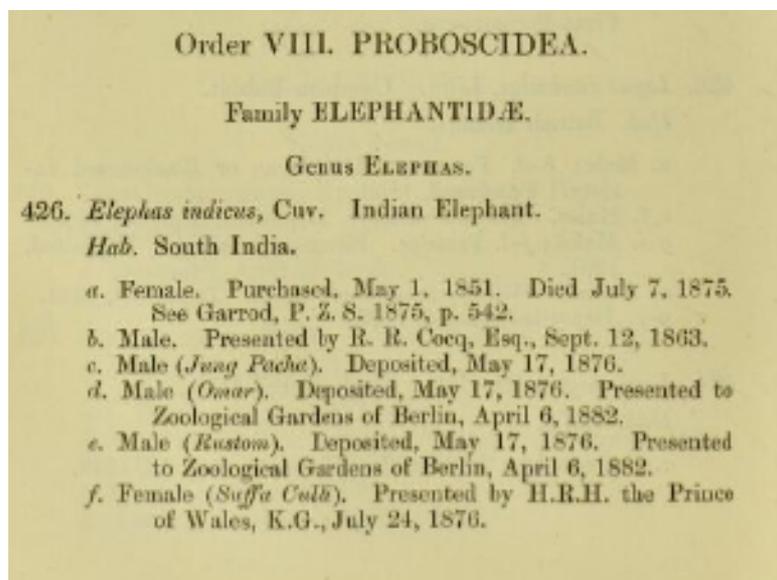


Fig. 11. Example of Catalogue Classification.⁵³

All of the entries in the catalogue mirror the example above: they have a set pattern and they list the following (with the information from the example above following in parentheses): the order of species ('Proboscidea'), family ('Elephantidae'), genus ('Elephas'), a number to represent the numerical position of the classification within the sequence of the order (in this case entry number '426' of '667'), the Linnaean name ('*Elephas indicus*'), the English name ('Indian Elephant'), the habitat ('South India'), and a list of examples of the classification exhibited by the zoo.

The exhibition list that sits underneath the general classification is comprised of information derived from the *Daily Occurrences*, and each example of the living classification displayed by the

⁵³ *List of the Vertebrate*, ed. by Sclater, p.124.

zoo is published here. The accompanying information for each instance of display includes: the sex of the animal, its pet name if given (for example in this case Omar), the date and method of acquisition (plus the date and method of departure for animals who were no longer exhibited as part of the collection), and the names of institutions or individuals who have deposited or presented the animal. Included in the example above (from the catalogue) are two familiar names: Omar and Ruston, who were introduced earlier from an example of the *Daily Occurrences*, are seen again below in Fig. 13:

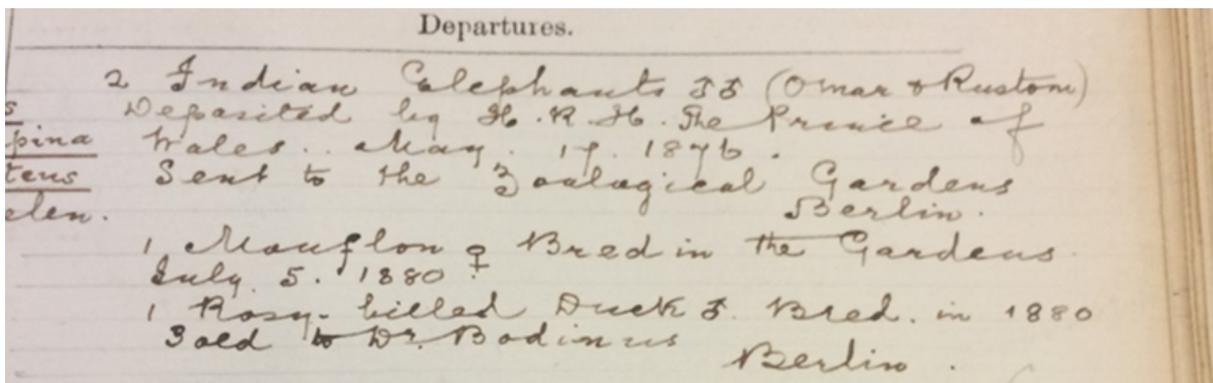


Fig. 12. *Departures, Daily Occurrences, 14 April 1881.*

The presentation of these two Indian elephants to the Zoological Gardens of Berlin was recorded in the *Daily Occurrences*, and the events and names were then celebrated in the institution’s catalogue. The Prince of Wales’s name is associated with the institution and the collection because of his depositing and presentation of animals, and in the catalogue the names of benefactors are published for the benefit of a public audience. It is interesting to note how the names of the depositors are as prominent as the names of the animals.

This catalogue is concerned with display: what was and what is on show. The catalogue was a positive work in the sense that it presented the successes and achievements of the collection. It is also a book of pride and celebration because the names of the contributors of the animals are publicly credited. Contributing to the Society was an attribution of honour, with ambitious people showing themselves as benefactors, by participation in the ‘progress’ of knowledge through presenting animals to the zoological collection. Fig. 14. is an image of the arrivals section of the *Daily Occurrences* for 9 December 1851 and the information shows us that a kiwi (Apteryx) was presented to the zoo by

Edward John Eyre. Fig. 15. is an image of the classification and exhibition record for ‘Apteryx’ from the catalogue. The classification records and formally displays for a public audience that ‘Lieut. Governor Eyre’ was the first person to present a kiwi to the collection.

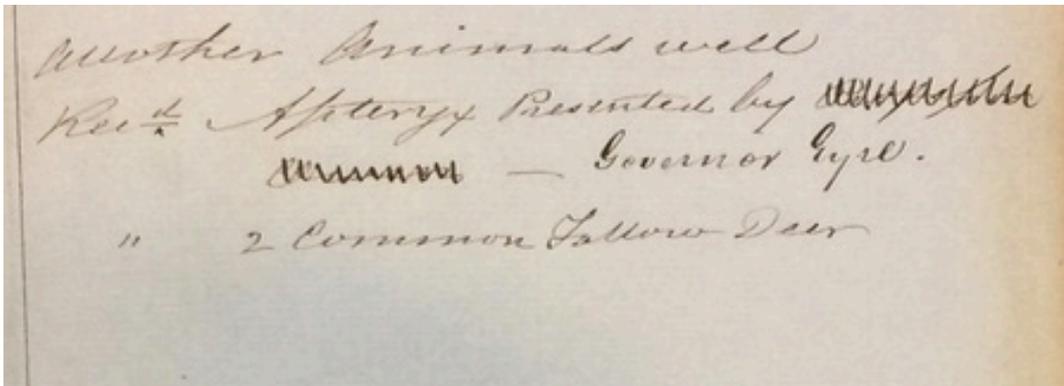


Fig. 13. Arrival of Eyre’s Kiwi, Daily Occurrences, 9 December 1851.

R’cd Apteryx presented by – Governor Eyre
 “ 2 Common Fallow Deer

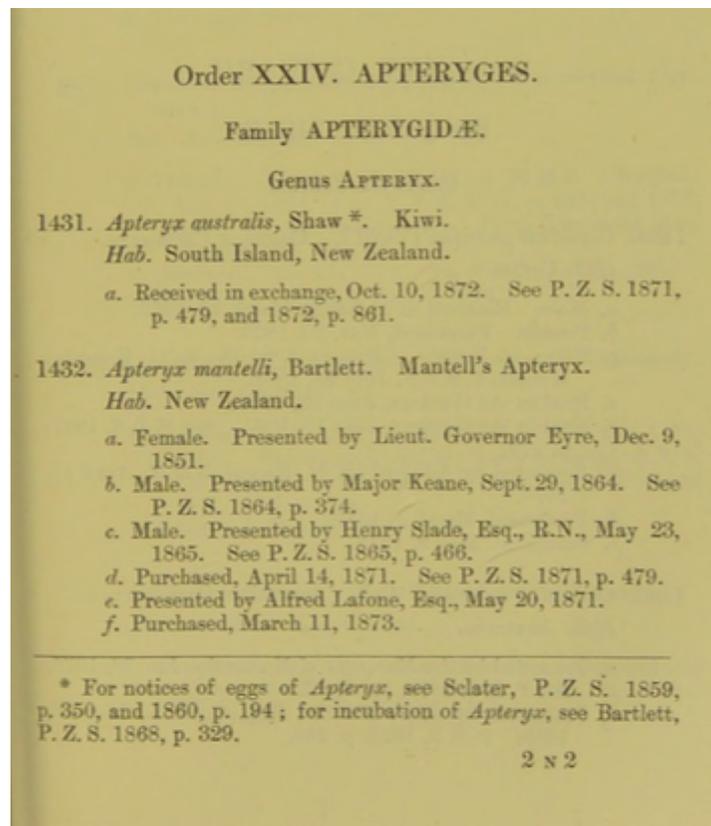


Fig. 14. Classification for Eyre’s Kiwi.

Edward John Eyre (1815–1901) made his wealth and fame by driving sheep across Australia. Upon his return to Britain he presented to Queen Victoria and Prince Alfred an aboriginal boy named Warrulan who was under Eyre’s patronage.⁵⁴ Eyre’s reputation, like his actions, have crossed national boundaries and vast swathes of colonial history. Catherine Hall argues that Eyre’s career intersects with the debates and struggles that constructed the making of the ‘imperial man’. His own autobiographical writings produced ‘himself for himself’ at a critical point in his developing *métier*: the imperial man ‘whose masculinity was expressed through action, independence and work’.⁵⁵ Eyre’s understanding of ‘race and empire came from both colony and metropole’ which forged a unique imaginary that imposed conceptions and classifications of what constituted work, leisure, and correct behaviour upon imperial subjects. This resulted in a conception that other cultures needed to be protected by the ‘superior European’, i.e. Eyre, whose example would direct his ‘childlike younger brothers and sisters’ away from their ‘own savagery’. Hall’s insight is that within this English imaginary an even more cynical conception resides because ‘once Aboriginal or African peoples were seen not in their brothers’ image, the seeds of other ways of perceiving these ‘natives’ were already contained in the interstices of the philanthropic mind’.⁵⁶ Through Eyre’s autobiographical writings he was regarded as a hero in Australia for leading excursions into the heart of the bush, and driving domestic sheep across the colony.

Fig. 15. records the presentation of a rare breed of Kiwi — the first of its kind to be displayed at the zoo — to the zoological collection by Eyre. The catalogue entry records that Eyre was then only a Lieutenant Governor and I argue that this philanthropy is linked to the wider imperial philanthropy identified by scholars such as Hall. Eyre’s journey to respectable social ascendance in Victorian society is visible being captured beneath a classificatory entry in the catalogue. The presentation of a unique specimen from the other side of the world in a place where Eyre held authority, was on public record. This type of presentation facilitates an entry into the publication of a reputable institution, and

⁵⁴ Geoffrey Dutton, *The Hero as Murderer, The Life of Edward John Eyre* (Cheshire, UK: Collins, 1967), p. 168.

⁵⁵ Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (London: Polity, 2002), p. 33.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

it signals the importance of public gesture as part of the path gentlemen took in the forging of their imperial careers. Eyre's career ended at the top as the Governor of Jamaica where he was, and still is, regarded as a villain, disgraced for his involvement in the repression that followed the Morant Bay uprising of 1865. In his position as governor he imposed martial law and oversaw a clampdown littered with horrors and merciless reprisals. Eyre's governance of the colony during the uprising — caused by his wilful ignorance to the desperate living conditions of recently liberated slaves — served to polarise domestic views about the Victorian Empire. The repression that followed the Morant Bay uprising was monolithic and sustained, and for many it stood as a monument to the vindictiveness of British colonial rule. Eyre had repeatedly ignored the economic grievances, democratic deficit, and loyalty of the recently liberated slaves subjected to the same modes of slavery in all but name. He printed, distributed, and publicly displayed Queen Victoria's response (a rebuke) to a petition sent from her Jamaican 'subjects' asking for fair dealing.⁵⁷

The intransigence of the authorities and the persistence of the petitioners escalated into street level confrontation and ended in a full-scale uprising precipitated by an avoidable flash point at the Morant Bay court house. Eyre imposed martial law, pragmatically arresting and executing his political opponent George William Gordon, and sanctioning a killing spree of violence against the general population which resulted in over five-hundred deaths.⁵⁸ Eyre oversaw these subsequent large-scale reprisals, which took the form of excessive torture, brutal suppression, and spectacular executions without trial – including the transport, show trial, hanging, and public display of Gordon's body. Priyamvada Gopal, a historian whose work challenges partial accounts of empire, argues that events such as the Morant Bay uprising which challenged British hegemony are usually discussed in terms of the periphery. For example, she argues that,

within the British historiographical record, the governor Eyre controversy functions as a *locus classicus*, a characteristic moment of internal moral crisis.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Bernard Semmel, *The Governor Eyre Controversy* (London: Macgibbon & Kee, 1962), pp. 43–44.

⁵⁸ Priyamvada Gopal, *Insurgent Empire* (London: Verso, 2019) p. 84.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 84–85.

Gopal traces the impact of the form, content, and outcome of organised resistance to colonial rule by turning to the centre. The hideousness of Eyre's tyrannical rule, his out-of-control response to the general population, and as the Moyne Commission later acquiesced, his venal conduct to the economic plight of the former-slaves caused long-term problems. This, as Gopal builds upon and enriches Hall's argument, had a profound impact upon the formation of the opposition to colonialism that developed in England and which divided intellectual opinion. The biologist T. H. Huxley, who had become a fellow at London Zoo in 1860, alongside many other scientists called for Eyre to face criminal investigation. What was at stake in the controversy was different conceptions of society and the place of humans within it.

The catalogue tells us not just about the animals of the collection but the national characters and networks that supplied the metropole from the colonies. The catalogue contributes to our understanding of the centre and the periphery in the Victorian imagination. As well as considering the tone of the catalogue's content, we can also engage with the design that is a visual hierarchy that organises and presents the collection; it denoted and celebrated the disciplinary rules of wider zoology but it also visually enacted the hierarchical ordering of the animals, and by proxy, humans. This design also exaggerates the content by visually supporting the zoological discourse. London Zoo's catalogue claimed its classificatory system of display as being firmly within scientific parameters through the unity of the classifications and accompanying exhibition lists. The serial nature of the textual forms become persuasive through their persistence. The visual impression created is of a neat, precise, sober, attentive, and composed document – and this is achieved through the rules of its repetitious graphic arrangement. The headings, sub-headings, detail, placement, and arrangement of the information upon the pages communicates the classificatory practice at the heart of the zoo, society, and empire. This presentation of the collection reinforces the arguments and outlook found at the heart of the institutional discourse: classificatory display.

The design of the catalogue also incorporates detailed illustrations of exemplary animals. The historian David Knight argues that zoological illustration was the result of zoological observation, and

therefore a number of factors should be taken into consideration when reading such images.⁶⁰ The optics of zoological illustrations in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries were affected by access to the subjects and the restrictions of certain mediums. The taxonomic value of a picture relied upon the initial accuracy of its rendering, and the quality of the detail in the reproduction. The function of zoological illustration was to ‘separate out the idiosyncrasies of a particular specimen from what are typical’, and as access to subjects became greater, through the first-hand observation of animals both in the ‘wild’ and at institutions such as London Zoo, the external characteristics of species became emphasised.⁶¹ The catalogue included illustrations of animals that varied in size and detail, however, comparative anatomy became the primary way of identifying species.

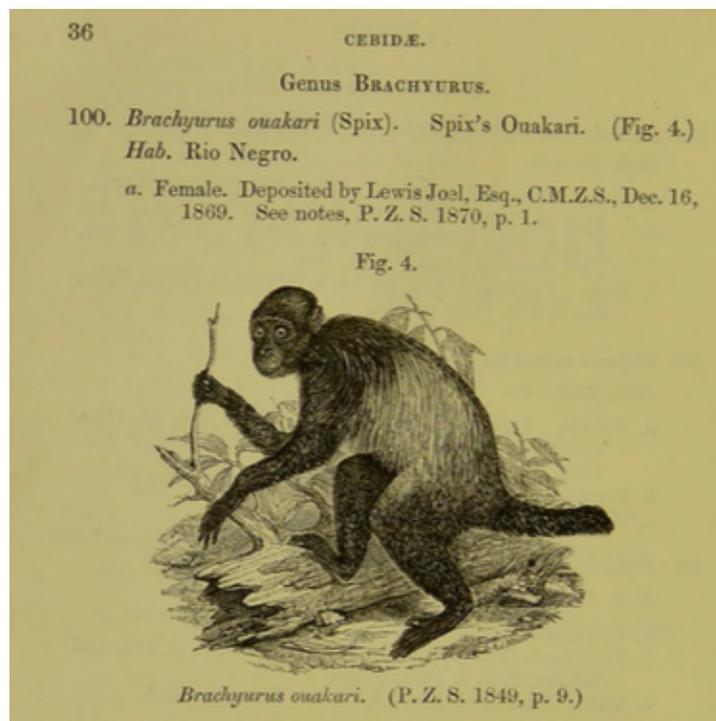


Fig. 15. Classification and illustrated figure of a spix in a habitat.⁶²

Fig. 16. shows an image of the classification for a spix and it is accompanied by an illustration of the animal. It is a vignette of a specific animal posed in the foreground, interacting with a background: a study of a habitat.⁶³ In this example the *Brachyurus ouacari* (spix) is holding the branch of a fallen

⁶⁰ David Knight, *Zoological Illustration* (London, Archon Books: 1977), p. 69.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶² *List of the Vertebrate*, ed. by Sclater, p. 36.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

tree trunk that the monkey is climbing over. The spix's gaze is set over its drooping left shoulder and the animal stares intently into the distance. The illustration depicts aspects of the animal's movements and behaviour – the monkey is mobile, agile, aware, and perhaps nervous of predators. In this vignette, the animals have a stature and a place in a specific habitat.

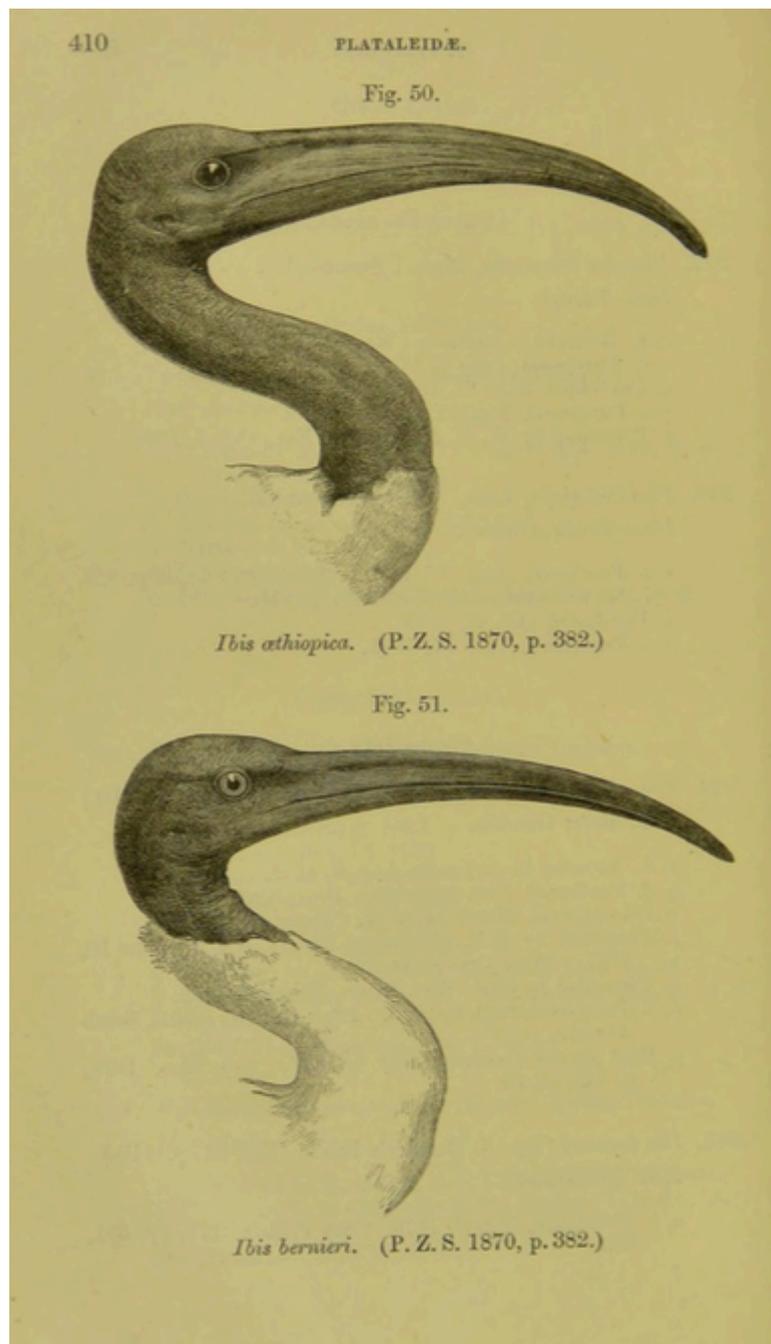


Fig. 16. Comparative profiles of *ibis anthiopica* and *ibis bernieri*.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 410.

Fig. 17. shows the comparative profiles of the heads of two different types of ibis. The illustrations collapse the geographical contexts of their respective habitats: the ibis labelled as ‘Figure 50’ in the image illustrates the profile of an *Ibis anthiopica*, its habitat the River Gambia, and the ibis labelled as ‘Figure 51’ illustrates the profile of an *Ibis bernieri*, its habitat Madagascar. The animals share a genus, so they are presented together, with the images showing the comparison between the close genera of the species, but also their differences: eyes, size of beak, position of feathers. A visual hierarchy is applied through which the identification of components and features delineate placement. Attention paid to the animals’ parts both internal and external, implies the ability to compile and complete a series of blueprints that attend to the detail of specific parts that add up to a whole. Through detail the whole is broken down and then reconfigured.

Close observation, however, provided potential hazards for the practice of zoological illustration. As Knight argued, illustrative expertise often resulted in the loss of the ‘typical’ or ‘average’ characteristic, an essential requirement to aid distinguishing between species. For example, Edward Lear’s celebrated monograph of illustrated parrots at London Zoo captured the specific ‘likeness’ of the individual ‘sitters’. Knight argues that Lear’s precision in his depiction of the ex-situ parrots led him to include feathers, which ‘had happened to grow in a unique way’, and this undermined the pictures taxonomic value.⁶⁵ Therefore, the illustrations in the catalogue suggested the possibility of recognising and recording, but, zoological illustration depended upon forms of subjective interpretation and translation. Appendix one provides illustrative depictions of animals floating, isolated from environment, suspended in a sea of text – a feature common to zoological illustrations of fish because of the problem presented by the visual ‘distortion’ of fish in motion. Some illustrations show behaviour and diet: a rhino is drinking, an oryx is eating, birds feeding their young. The images reflect the different concerns of zoology not otherwise present in the catalogue: pictorial identifications that connote behaviour and environment.

The catalogue was updated, re-organised, and edited throughout the subsequent editions. For example, the preface to the sixth edition by the Zoological Society’s secretary, Philip Lutely Sclater,

⁶⁵ Knight, *Zoological Illustration*, pp. 21–23.

introduced the rationale of the catalogue, which featured a data table that inferred the progress of the collection through volume and, presumably, by the diverse divisions of animals (Fig.18.).

PREFACE TO THE EIGHTH EDITION. v

	First Edition, 1862.	Second Edition, 1863.	Third Edition, 1865.	Fourth Edition, 1866.	Fifth Edition, 1872.	Sixth Edition, 1877.	Seventh Edition, 1879.	Eighth Edition, 1883.
Mammals ...	188	229	272	339	498	570	615	667
Birds	409	468	558	721	1044	1224	1329	1447
Reptiles	45	60	52	73	181	227	257	307
Batrachians ..	17	24	23	25	35	39	41	48
Fishes.....	23	40	51	54	68	83	83	88
Total	682	821	956	1212	1826	2143	2325	2557

The woodcuts in this List have mostly already appeared in the Society's 'Proceedings.' Some of them, however, have been kindly lent to me for this work by the proprietors of 'Nature.'

P. L. S.

11 Hanover Square, W.,
July 18th, 1883.

Fig. 17. Table of totals for animals exhibited by year.⁶⁶

The horizontal rows of the table were assigned to the different editions that are then ordered numerically by year. The vertical columns were assigned to categories of vertebrae animal groupings in the following order: mammals, birds, reptiles, batrachians, and fishes. The intersecting cells of the primary key record a numerical value that displays to the reader the number of animals within the category of vertebrae, currently living or who had previously been living and exhibited, in the gardens. Lastly, the table summarises with a row for 'totals' that sits at the bottom of the columns and displays the sum number of all the animal groupings within the particular year's edition being added together. Sclater comments in the preface:

the following table gives the number of species of each class of animals registered in the successive editions of the list, and thus to a certain extent indicates the progress of the collection.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ *List of the Vertebrate*, ed. by Sclater, p. v.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Here, progress is indeed defined in terms of the numerical increase and accumulation of living classifications. Zoo animals, then, were visually presented for spectacular consumption in both their enclosures and as classificatory indents in the public archive of the zoological catalogue. The number of animals recorded within the table based upon the entire run of editions that comprised the catalogue, was information that in its raw form, must have been derived from the recordings of the ‘Arrivals’ section of the *Daily Occurrences*.

Slater writes of the catalogue that ‘it is not, however, quite complete, as in the two first editions the references to some of the specimens which had been lost to death or departure were struck out’.⁶⁸ Here, the fact of arrival takes precedence over presenting what would otherwise be a stock check of what is on display at the zoo ‘now’. The catalogue, therefore, established something about how the institution presented the zoological collection to the nineteenth-century public. The zoological collection was what has previously entered it, even though what has once entered may have already crossed over the page of the *Daily Occurrences* from the ‘Arrivals’ to ‘Departures’ column. Therefore, animals ‘current’ and ‘past’ were displayed sequentially in a zoological collection completed and conjured by print. The catalogue speaks of permanence and stability through the direct way it recorded the collection, ordering the animals neatly into a prescribed hierarchy, though it is of course an abstraction derived from the quotidian surveillance of the *Daily Occurrences*, and ultimately an exercise in occlusion. The catalogue in its celebration of order, exhibition, and the names of its benefactors revealed the exercise and practice of maintaining a classificatory collection of living beings.

The *Daily Occurrences* in Popular Genres

The unique literary form of the *Daily Occurrences* — the zoological pro forma — are notable for the ways in which they have been represented by popular forms of writing. The institutional diaries were locatable in two works of animal biography on the same subject: Jumbo the elephant. Writers have overlooked the tone and register of the *Daily Occurrences*, often favouring historical sources

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

consciously written for personal, internal, public or scientific audiences; private and official correspondences (personal and professional letters), the minutes and reports of the Society, the declarations of the council, the biographies and novels of staff and members, guides, newspaper reports, media, articles, transactions and journals. The *Daily Occurrences*, however, were working documents that provided the base strata that supported the foundations for other literatures to exist. As a result, they were perceived as the location of a quantitative 'voice'. However, the *Daily Occurrences* are, in fact, questionable as a source of quantitative 'authenticity' because of their elision with the qualitative nature of their construction and completion.

The curious genre of animal fiction and biography, for example Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877) and Virginia Woolf's *Flush* (1933), found ample subject matter in the lives of animals. A cottage publishing industry developed around the zoo elephant 'Jumbo', producing multiple biographies, news stories, books, and even popular songs. The day sheets step out from the archival margins and into the foreground in W. P. Jolly's animal biography which provides an account of the life of the elephant of the book's title, *Jumbo* (1976).⁶⁹ The relationship between Jumbo, the elephant's keeper, and the supervisor Abraham Bartlett, take centre stage; with Jolly arguing that

if Bartlett believed in stern control he also believed in kindness. After little Jumbo's disciplinary beating, as soon as he had shown submission Bartlett and Scott made a fuss of him and fed him titbits.

The narrative quotes directly from Bartlett's later recollected words about the event in question, for example: 'Bartlett wrote, *after this time he appeared to recognize that we were his best friend*'. Jolly's argument connotes a duality at the heart of Bartlett's character which is emphasised by his treatment of the elephant and the presentation of his own memory of the event.

We learn from Jolly that 'a few months after Jumbo came to the Zoo, Bartlett bought a second African elephant'. Jolly then quotes directly from the *Daily Occurrences*: 'the transaction is recorded in the Zoological Gardens Day Book for Saturday, 9 September 1865: *1 African Elephant <female> £550 including 1 Hornbill, 1 Crow, 1 Guineafowl, 6 finches from Mr Rice*'.⁷⁰ This quotation refers to

⁶⁹ W. P. Jolly, *Jumbo* (London: Constable & Company, 1976).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

the entry of animals into the zoo originating from information found in the *Daily Occurrences* seen below:

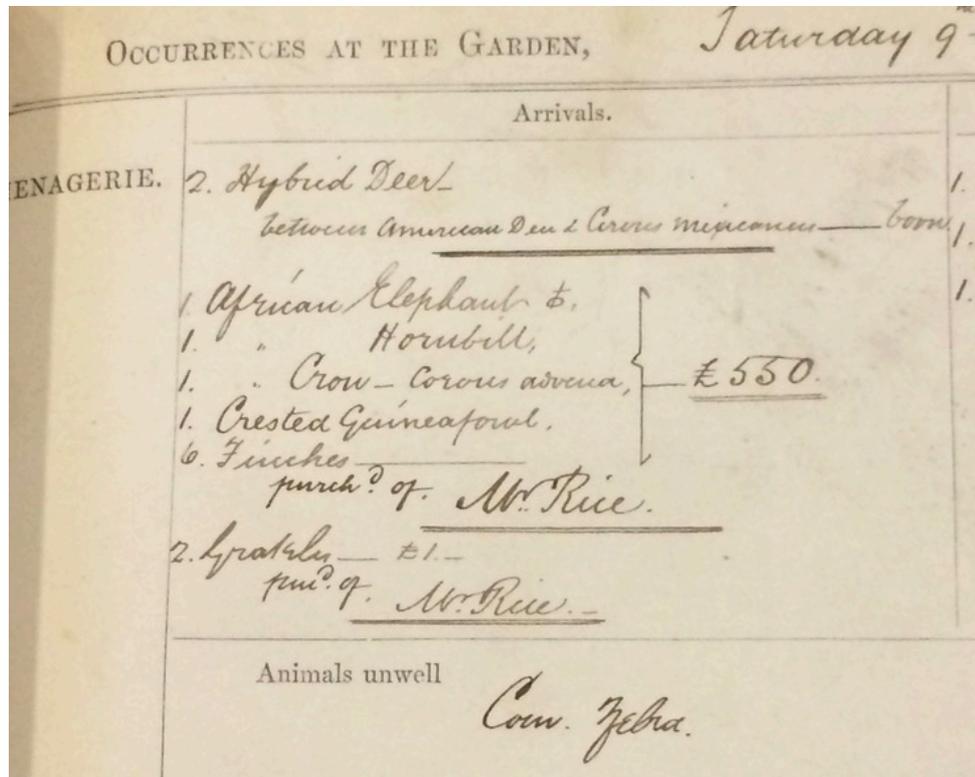


Fig. 18. *Daily Occurrences*, 9 September 1865.

Jolly used the excerpt from the diaries as a literary resource to debunk the popular accounts of a supposed romance between Jumbo and the newly arrived elephant at the zoo, who was known as ‘Alice’.

As we see from Jolly’s quote, the pro formas recorded the elephant as an animal classified by its species, which shows how the institution did not always anthropomorphise in its internal documents (as is the case with Edwards’s elephants ‘Omar’ and ‘Ruston’). In the following quotation: ‘1 African Elephant <female> £550 including...’, the elephant is shown simply as one purchase amongst others; one species amongst other species, the implication being that all species have a taxonomic and economic value – and as a result, each species holds a certain commonality to one another. The similarity of animals as taxa denotes their ultimate difference from both ‘divine’ humanity and ‘scientific’ objectivity. In the pro formas the quantity of the ‘type’ of animal entering

the zoo comes first, then the name of its species, followed by its sex and means of arrival (deposit, details of exchange, cost of purchase and the like).

The elephant, like all the other animals in the zoo, was a possession of financial value. As Jolly concludes,

the press – always ready to put one and one together with public figures, even if they were elephants – soon linked the names of Jumbo and Alice, and steadfastly cultivated the illusion of a romantic attachment when in fact the two animals hardly ever met.⁷¹

A fragment of an entry from the *Daily Occurrences* has been used here as evidence for an argument that rejects an anthropomorphic perspective that was popular with visitors and used by the zoo for promotion. The animals, then, occupied a dual role; because they are part object for ‘display’, and part object for ‘research’. The excerpt from the *Daily Occurrences* provides a counter fact that dispels the Jumbo-Alice romance enjoyed by the readers of the populist nineteenth-century press. The excerpt has a different pitch in the way that the elephant was written about by the zoo, when compared with other literatures that suggested that elephants could be friends.

In contrast to Jolly’s biography of Jumbo, the day sheets lurk in the background of John Sutherland’s more recent biography, *Jumbo: The unauthorised biography of a Victorian Sensation* (2014), which outlines the many ways in which ‘Jumbo’ captured the Victorian imagination.⁷² Sutherland’s book contextualises the contradictory position that this particular popular exhibit held in relation to the institution. During this period, institutional considerations focused on the value derived from these displays both as popular entertainments and of their scientific function. Sutherland captures these competing aims in a dramatised account that describes a moment involving the depiction of Superintendent Bartlett’s decision-making process regarding a sick elephant where:

in late December 1867, Jumbo fell very ill. The animal was very ill. The animal was, the veterinarians solemnly reported, at death’s door.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷² John Sutherland, *Jumbo: The Unauthorised Biography of a Victorian Sensation* (Croydon, UK: Aurum Press, 2014).

Sutherland argues that as ‘the zoo prepared itself for the worst’ Bartlett’s ‘hand twitched for his taxidermist’s scalpel’.⁷³

Why might Bartlett’s hand be twitching? By 1867, a focused institutionalised eye was brought to witness the animals as both live displays and resources to further explore and seek to understand, not least because of the addition of the written adjunct to the *Daily Occurrences* introduced earlier in the chapter: the *Register of Deaths*.⁷⁴ Bartlett’s ready scalpel was licenced from the top rungs of the institution because of the recent formation of the Zootomical Committee which, as highlighted earlier, aimed to reconcile dead exhibits with scientific and anatomical investigation. In the following excerpt Bartlett is again seen balancing the pressures of animal display:

Mahoutism-man-animal bonding is common where elephants are used for war or hard labour, or, in a looser way, in circuses where they will be a designated handler. It is not the kind of thing a zoo finds easy to live with. The official mind sees employees as servants of the institution, not exclusive attendants of some cranky four-legged animal with whom they have a paranormal connection and who in Scott’s case, took it upon himself always to do what he thought he right for ‘his’ animal. Bartlett a company man through and through (and the ‘superior’ in the firing line), saw things differently, He had, of course, a responsibility to Jumbo, to be balanced with his greater responsibility to the zoo, the ZSL, paying customers.⁷⁵

Here, we see the competing pressures of display. In Sutherland’s account the zoo was a site of conflict because of its competing institutional goals of popular exhibition and research.

Isobel Charman’s documentary novel, *The Zoo, The Wild and Wonderful Tale of the Founding of London Zoo* (2016), fictionalises the key events and figures involved in the inauguration of the zoo. The novel anticipates many of the subsequent themes which have developed from the initial establishment of the zoo, foreshadowing the popular institution that it has become today, and as Charman reminds us in the novel’s epilogue: the zoo ‘now attracts well over a million visitors a year – still located on its original site in Regent’s Park’.⁷⁶ The novel is structured chronologically with each chapter addressing key moments of decision making, institutional transition or historical intrigue,

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷⁴ Cave, ‘The Zoological Society’, in *The Zoological Society of London*, ed. by Zukerman, p. 60.

⁷⁵ Sutherland, *Jumbo*, p. 67.

⁷⁶ Isobel Charman, *The Zoo, The Wild and Wonderful Tale of the Founding of London Zoo* (London: Penguin Books, 2016), p. 313.

from the perspective of a relevant ‘historical’ protagonist. For example, the first chapter is told from the perspective of Lady Raffles, who witnesses her husband’s drive to establish the Zoological Society, the success and difficulties of this enterprise, and ultimately his death. Charman’s novel has been celebrated for the depth of research undertaken, which included consulting the ZSL’s archives to find the exact information, upon which is hung fictional conjecture regarding the inner life of the characters.⁷⁷

In the chapter ‘The Business of Bird Skins Mr John Gould, Animal Preserver, 1820–33’, we see the *Daily Occurrences* first hand. Charman introduces one of her protagonists and the pro formas:

Mr Gould, a round-faced, soft-chinned man just approaching his twenty-sixth birthday, arrived at the door to 33 Bruton Street, having navigated his way between rattling carriages, clucking carts and endless horses that choked Regent Street at this time of the morning. (It was a small mercy that the huge new omnibuses were not allowed so far into the city.) Gould let himself into the fine townhouse, his place of employment these three years past. He made his way through the entrance and inner halls to the office, just as he did every morning, to see what had been delivered from the Gardens of the Zoological Society along with the daily report from Mr Miller, the Superintendent.⁷⁸

This is a specific and localised description of the *Daily Occurrences* presented as administrative documents that are part of the process of organising the daily business of the zoo. Gould inspects a package sent from the zoo to his office where he ‘peeled back the cloth, exposing a monkey’. Gould is trying to work out which species the deceased monkey belongs to when the office clerk ‘read to him from the Garden Report: It says here it’s a ribbed-nose baboon’.⁷⁹ The representation of the daily reports is accurate because at this time they were signed off by Superintendent Miller (who we will return to later in this chapter in a discussion of his signatures in the *Daily Occurrences*).

Charman uses the pro formas both as a novelistic device to add authenticity to the narrative, and as a source of information with which to make arguments or to establish ‘facts’ (as did the writers in the earlier examples of Jolly and Sutherland). The representations of the *Daily Occurrences* in

⁷⁷ Meghan Rosen, ‘Shocking Stories Tell Tale of Zoo’s Founding’ in *Science News*, 191:6 (2017), p. 28.

⁷⁸ Charman, *The Zoo*, p. 137.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

these texts (animal biography, history, a novel) use the content of the pro formas to achieve different effects.

The *Daily Occurrences* as a Discursive Formation

The pro formas sit within the context of a network that flows from, through and between a number of other texts: manuals, catalogues, registers, letters, money, histories, newspapers, biography and fiction. Fig. 20., below, shows the flow of information in and out the pages of the *Daily Occurrences*.

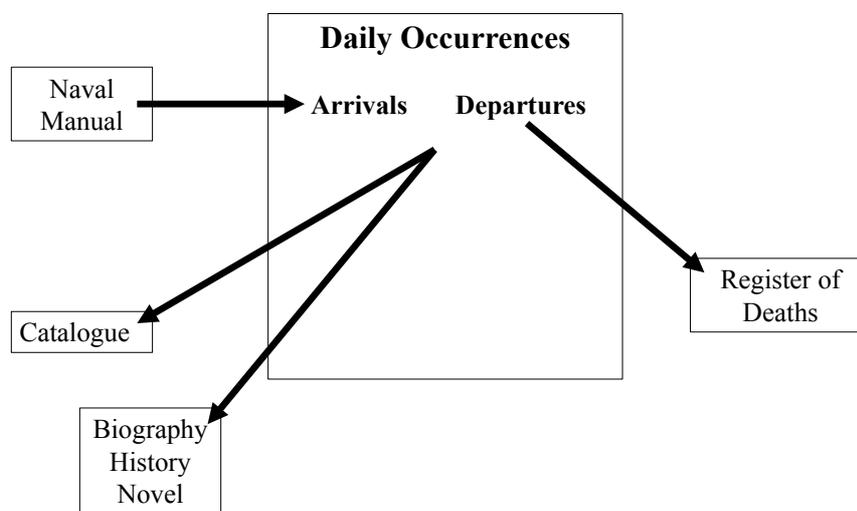


Fig. 19. Diagram showing network connections and flow of information between example texts.

The *Daily Occurrences* were an important part of this network that connects to a number of other documents, texts, and written forms which link together to comprise a discursive formation. The pages of the *Daily Occurrences* recorded events, or as the title specifies, the occurrences, and the written compiling of their interpretation informed the institutional authorities of all the realities, possibilities, decisions, and material aspects of the zoo. Michel Foucault's writings on discursive formations are a helpful frame for approaching these institutional diaries. The pro formas were documents that organised and regulated a space dedicated to the placement of animals for zoological display. This is where different registers and narratives emerge to tell a different story about the zoo and the animals exhibited.

A discursive formation is the relationship between an authority and the language that forms a particular discourse. The concept of the discursive formation is described by Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) in the following terms: ‘this formation is made possible by a group of relations established between authorities of emergence, delimitation and specification’.⁸⁰

Foucault’s work highlights the complexity of organising knowledge (the methods and networks involved) and the role of classificatory bodies. The purpose of analysing an institution — for example, a zoo — or a group of individuals, a recognised authority, or another kind of social body is to,

question it as a discursive formation; it is not to tackle the formal contradictions of its propositions, but the system of formation of its objects, its types of enunciation, its concepts, its theoretical choices. It is to treat it as one practice among others.⁸¹

This idea of specialised language being a practice opens up a new space in which to approach subjects for study and research.

Foucault shifts the focus of history towards the formation, limits, and trajectories of discourses. Simon During argues that Foucault took ‘patterns of enonces’ — essentially, the related statements which comprise a discursive formation — ‘out of the whole hermeneutic project’ which is an approach to history which is concerned with the meaning of a text and its interpretation by the historian. Instead, Foucault is concerned with treating ‘discourse’ as an ‘event’ so that it ‘can be placed in a set of modalities’. The purpose of this approach is to enable the historian to ask ‘what kind of thing counts as a verification for a statement: reasoning by analogy or statistical quantification?’ – to take just two possibilities’.⁸² By asking such questions Foucault could trace the rules and limits of a discourse to reveal the underlying mechanisms that police its boundaries. Foucault was concerned with how discourses appear, continue, modify, transform or disappear and it is by the analysis of the statements within an identifiable grouping that this work can be done.

⁸⁰ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 49.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁸² Simon During, *Foucault and Literature: Towards a Genealogy of Writing* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 94.

Historical change is possible not because of an evolving principle of progress, but because it is in fact predicated upon the authorities, interplays, correspondences, and dispersions of the identified subjects and objects of study. It is interesting to note that when questioned upon the scope of his development of these ideas, specifically about his methods to approaching the history of ideas, Foucault replied:

if I do the analyses I do, it's not because of some polemic I want to arbitrate but because I have been involved in certain conflicts regarding medicine, psychiatry and the penal system. I have never had the intention of doing a general history of the human sciences or a critique of the possibility of the sciences in general. The subtitle to *The Order of Things* is not 'the archaeology of', but 'an archaeology of the human sciences'.⁸³

Here, Foucault discusses the difficulty in proclaiming a grand over-arching theory. However, is the recognition that discourses are practices also applicable to areas that Foucault is not interested in or involved with? The above passage highlights the limits, motivations, and interests of the critic in the choice of their subject. It is in Foucault's work on knowledge that there is a useful framework and methodology that embraces the contradictions, difficulties and fragmentary aspects of language that deals with the construction of knowledges.

The recognition of the 'examination' as a practice that crosses discourses can be linked to Foucault's other writings on discursive formations. The following citation from Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1975) illustrates components that were useful to Foucault's thinking on knowledge and power, and in particular discursive formations:

the examination leaves behind it a whole meticulous archive constituted in terms of bodies and days. The examination that places individuals in a field of surveillance also situates them in a network of writing; it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them.⁸⁴

Here, Foucault is describing a 'regularity', that is, a commonality that appears across a range of discourses. In this example, the 'regularity' is the examination, a common feature identifiable across

⁸³ Michel Foucault: *Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*. ed. by Colin Gordon (Hertfordshire, UK: The Harvester Press, 1980), p. 65.

⁸⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1991). p. 189.

the administration of prisons, hospitals, schools and armies. The process of an examination presupposes the authority to do so, while implying the presence of some form of criteria in which to be able to examine from. These elements are later described by Foucault as the authority of delimitation and the grids of specification. It is the relationship and interplay between these authorities upon the exteriority of a subject, in this instance through a prisoner under a supervisory gaze, that we arrive at a practical example of a discursive formation. It is the exteriority of a subject that will always come under the interrogative gaze because the authorities are defining from a specific perspective: a schemata.

This methodological approach, in particular the notion of discursive formations, has been influential on recent scholarship about the environment. Christophe Bonneuil and Jean-Baptiste Fressoz in their survey *The Shock of the Anthropocene* (2017) explore discursive formations in relation to modernity and notions of progress. Their investigation of discursive formations questions the assumption behind key terms such as: planet, pollution, and place.⁸⁵ Bonneuil and Fressoz, in this survey, argue that Foucault's historical work speaks to the contemporary moment because his method enabled an approach that accounts for how 'the biological knowledge of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made possible the constitution of new scientific objects: 'population', 'life' and 'race'. The 'object' of 'biological life' advanced discourses that created new trajectories for state powers. For example, power formations that 'aimed to optimize the number, quality (health, physical, intellectual, genetic), military 'strength' (war becoming total) and the productivity of populations' based upon the application of knowledges of the biological.⁸⁶ Foucault described this emergent new form of discourse and power relations as biopower.

Foucault's method is valuable for conceptualising and questioning the theoretical choices, decisions, and actions that are the result of regulative processes and practices. He shows how knowledge has a linguistic basis for the deployment of power through the construction of norms, values, and authority which surround and place subjects. The texts from the past that are available to

⁸⁵ Christophe Bonneuil and Jean-Baptiste Fressoz, *The Shock of the Anthropocene*, trans. by David Fernbach (Croydon, UK: Verso, 2017), p. 172.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

study today will have their own unique provenance, certain material forms, and particular rules that shape their composition.

These insights provide a productive way of understanding the *Daily Occurrences* as a discursive formation. For example, by problematising what a statement is, or can be: Foucault firmly places a marker on the statement, denoting it as the ‘atom of discourse’.⁸⁷ A statement can be a sentence, although this definition can be questioned because,

some statements may be composed, outside the canonical form of the subject-coupla-predicate, of a simple a nominal syntagma (‘That Man!’) or an adverb (‘Absolutely’), or a personal pronoun (‘You!’).⁸⁸

This is a recognition that the status of what can be considered a statement is broadly defined. The philosopher Gilles Deleuze emphasise this point by using the metaphor of a sequence of letters: ‘A, Z, E, R, T’, which are letters from a type of keyboard and in themselves they do not make a statement. However, this sequence of letters, when listed in a type writing manual becomes a statement about the ordering of letters that has been adopted by the designers of the keyboard.⁸⁹ This is theoretically important for contextualising the entries of the pro formas, for example, the watermark of Britannia was as much a statement as a list of arrived animals. There is also a point to be made here about the importance of establishing the context of an object in order to grasp at a meaning.

How a statement sits in relation to other statements can clarify or complicate interpretation. This can also mean that the statement might only be specified within a practice and viewed simply as a unit of a structure. As Foucault observes:

one should not be surprised, then, if one has failed to find structural criteria for the statement; this is because it is not in itself a unit, but a function that cuts across a domain of structures and possible unities, and which reveal them, with concrete contents, in time and space.⁹⁰

In this excerpt we can see an acknowledgement and exploration of this problematic nature of how we classify a ‘statement’, and from this I take the idea that a reflexive approach is needed when engaging

⁸⁷ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 90.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁸⁹ Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. by Seán Hand (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), p. 4.

⁹⁰ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, pp. 97–98.

with the rules, assumptions, and classificatory practices of a specific discourse. For example, as well as being a sentence, a statement can also have a direct link to the act of speech. Similar to the debates that are possible in defining what a sentence is, the definition of what constitutes a speech act is equally diverse: there is spoken communication and this too is related to internal thought, modes and reflection (Foucault gives the following examples to illustrate this point: a monologue, an order, or the act of saying a prayer).⁹¹ The making and interpretation of statements occur under specific circumstances. They are in part operations guided by a formula and what is important for Foucault is that they are functions that transcend unitary systems of thought. The horizon is surpassed, but nevertheless, it is still a horizon – a combination of limit, a meeting point, a layer that implies a place to reach and then move on from changed.

Foucault distinguishes between a sentence and a statement, and this has an implication for how we might read institutional statements which have visual elements. He observes how:

a classificatory table of the botanical species is made up of statements, not sentences (Linnaeus's *Genera Plantarum* is a whole book of statements, in which one can recognize only a small number of sentences); a genealogical tree, an accounts book, the calculations of a trade balance are statements.⁹²

The point being that the visual sequence of these types of statements (graphs, tables, shapes, and so on) often communicate information that are not easily formulated into a corresponding visual sequence of sentences. The definition of communicative and interpretable objects related to the institutional statement is broad, and for the purpose of research, this extends the possibility of what might be thought of as worthy of consideration. For example, can we say that clothing and architecture have units of statement? These are useful propositions to consider, upgrade, and amend when approaching documents from the archive. Ann Laura Stoler, in *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (2010), details the importance of describing 'the administrative forms' found in the colonial archive which 'shaped the circuits of reportage' because this tells us about 'accountability' and 'frequency, as well as procedures of cross referencing and

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 93–94.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 92–93.

culling’ in which the documents circulated.⁹³ Archival practice should be more than just an ‘*extractive* exercise’ but approached as ‘a way to cut through the distorted optics of colonial historiography and the distinctions that cordon off fiction from authorised truths’.⁹⁴ For example, the presentation of the classifications in Sclater’s catalogue make a statement about the zoological collection through the visual ordering and spatial design of the material. This approach allows for a nuanced way of digging deeper rather than just taking the contents of historical document at face value. The pro formas have been used in the wider literature but without any attempt to engage with the materiality, structure, or institutional context of the *Daily Occurrences*, and these are all factors which are as important as the function of the documents as a source of ‘facts’, for example to clarify the ‘objective’ history of the zoo, or to use as a signifier of authenticity in a literary work.

The *Daily Occurrences* are both grammatical and visual documents that made statements — not just sentences — that described, reflected, and ultimately affected action in the context of a powerful and influential zoological institution. The pro formas are comprised of names, fragments of text, units, and numbers that all reveal key information about the zoo. There are traces of speech acts and subjective thought processes within the ‘objectively’ completed pages of the pro formas. I argue that even the signatures of the superintendent are a potential site of information. For example, Fig. 21. shows that E.A. Johnson completed and signed off on the pro formas from 1 January to 22 February 1829:

⁹³ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 9.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

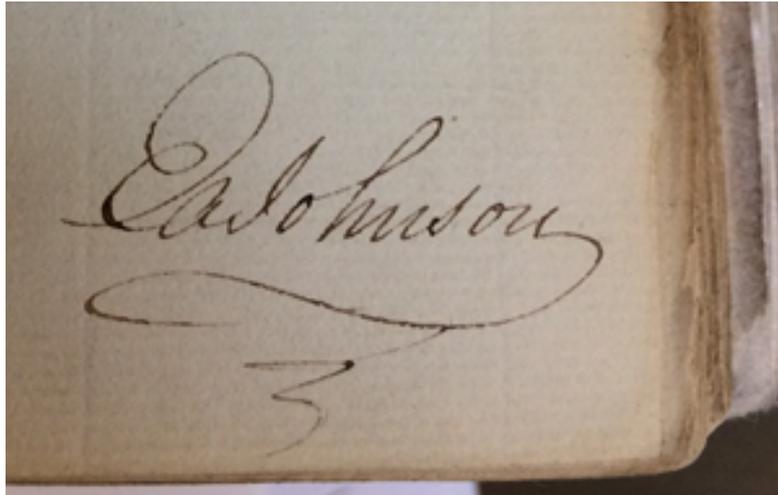


Fig. 20.

Then when Alexander Miller takes over the completion of the pro formas he uses the signature seen in Fig. 22. from 23 February to 15th July 1829:

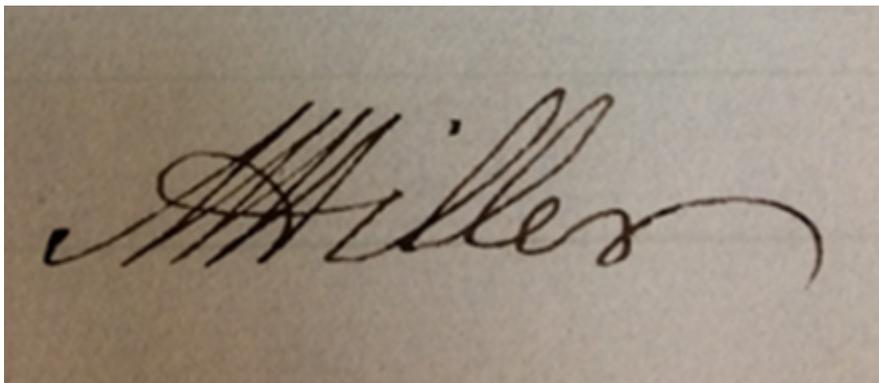


Fig. 21.

Miller the signs the forms off using a mixture of the signatures seen in Fig. 22. above and Fig. 23. below until 22 August 1829:

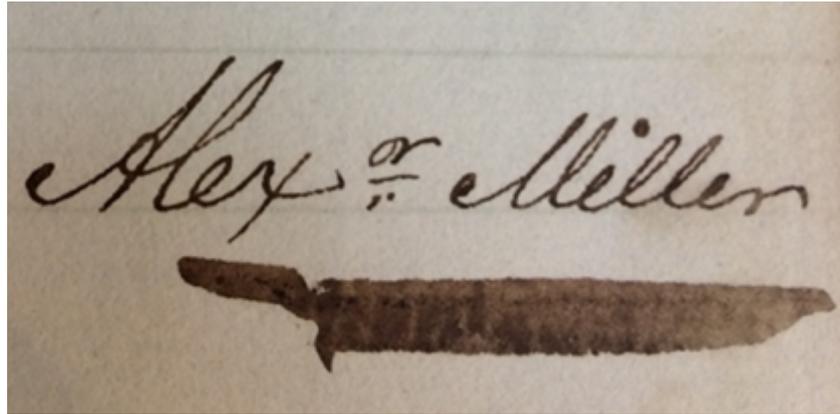


Fig. 22.

Miller then sticks with the signature as shown in fig. 24. until the end of the year:

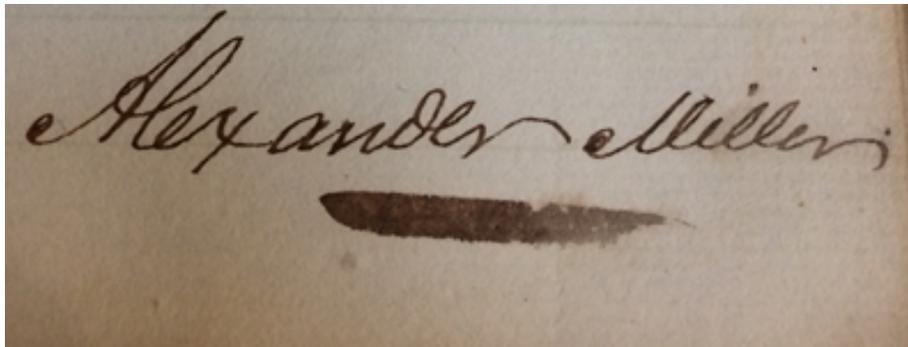


Fig. 23.

The signature in Fig. 25. below is Miller's signature from the 1847 volume of the *Daily Occurrences* – and it is the same as signature in Fig. 24. seen above.

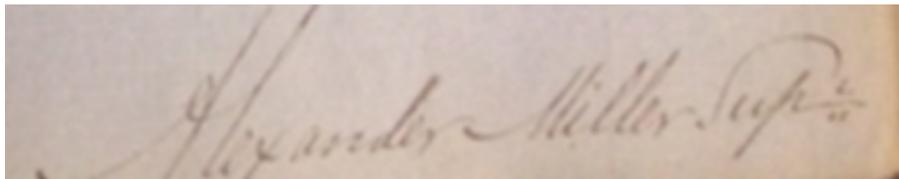


Fig. 24.

This illustrates the longevity of the series of volumes which transcended careers and lives. It also shows Miller experimenting with his signature over the period of a year, then sticking with one iteration for the next eighteen years of the pro forma dairies.

Does this unit statement infer something of Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison's concept of the scientific self? For example, is there an aspect of the subjective self who steps into the role of the objective observer here in Miller's professionalism with regards to searching for and then settling with a specific signature? Daston and Galison's ideas are useful when considering these institutional

diaries, because the pro formas were completed by the superintendents, who inhabited a particular role within the institution. As Daston and Galison argue:

a self must be practised, not simply imagined and admired (or castigated) as a public persona. Trading the panorama of the public portrayal of scientists for the close perspective of the *vie in time scientific*, we turn to the technologies of the self: how doing science moulded the scientist.⁹⁵

Daston and Galison explore the ways in which scientific personas developed within the discourse in response to epistemic questions about how a practitioner should behave in relation to their object of study. One of the types of practitioners that Daston and Galison identify is the scientific self: the subjective 'subject' whom steps into the role of the objective 'observer'. Daston and Galison build on Foucault's insights by having at the centre of their methodological approach ways to understanding the epistemic debates in the visual sciences as part of wider 'practices of the mind and body (most often the two in tandem) that mould and maintain a certain kind of self'.⁹⁶ Daston and Galison's work is important because it recognises and contextualises 'ego-documents' such as diaries and autobiographies, in which we examine what might be called the literature of the scientific persona.⁹⁷

The pro formas are an example of just such a document, as well as being the basis for a great many other texts. The pro formas are the institutional interpretation of itself over a prolonged period of time in a hard, dirty, and busy working environment. The repetitive minimalism of the diaries pulls a mask of banality over these seemingly endless volumes, which are in fact, the failing voice of a classificatory system. These documents produced statements that claimed continuity but, on closer inspection, they reveal a series of discontinuities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have located ways in which the *Daily Occurrence* have been used as the raw material for constructing other texts as forms of understanding. Foucault's methodological approach helps to provide a context for the *Daily Occurrences*: to understand, the works that filtered into and

⁹⁵ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2015), p. 204.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

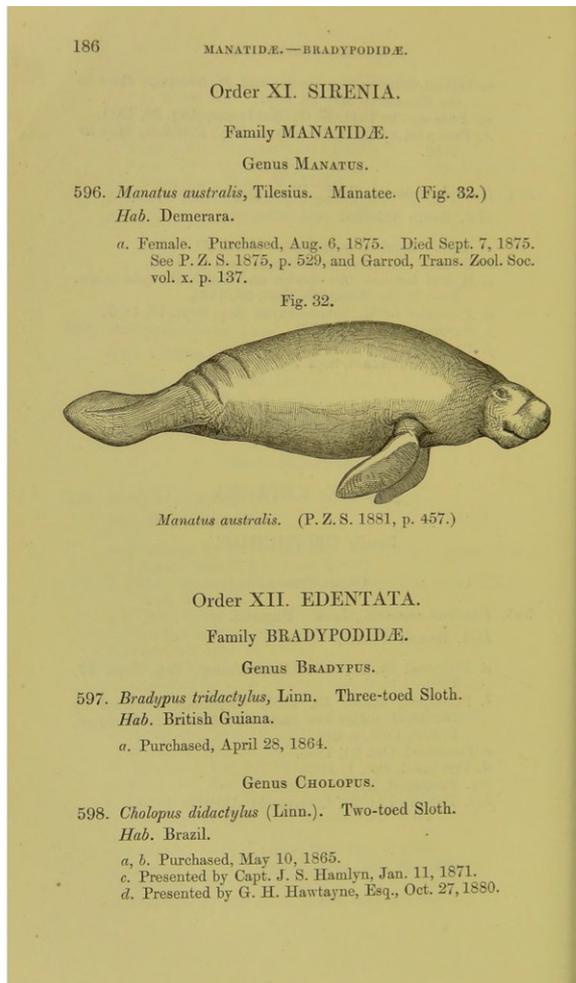
⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

emerged from, the pro formas as a network with its own unique units of statement: arrivals, departures, registers, catalogues. The register of voices within this oeuvre present the researcher with a horizon upon which the language of the institution becomes a contemporary subject.

The form of the *Daily Occurrences* allows for an institutional ‘voice’ to emerge because of the observations and structured interpretations that constitute the pre-fabricated pro forma pages. Voice in this instance is similar to the way we may understand the active or passive voices within other texts (for example characters in a novel). The voice of the pro formas is beyond ‘first person’ or ‘third person’ narration, it is a classificatory voice, co-completed by the ‘scientific self’ in collaboration with the pre-determined grids and ‘practices of definition’, directed by institutional values (including both administrative and procedural practice). The pro formas are the ‘regularity’ that constitute an ‘institutional diary’ that constructs a hybrid ‘voice’. This voice outlived many people whose job it was for a time to complete the pro formas that gave rise to it. The next chapter addresses the meaning of these collective documents in relation to the qualities of the specific voice generated by the quotidian *Daily Occurrences*.

Appendix One: This appendix provides examples of the other types of illustrations in the catalogue.

They depict animals as if they are floating, isolated from environment, suspended in a sea of text:

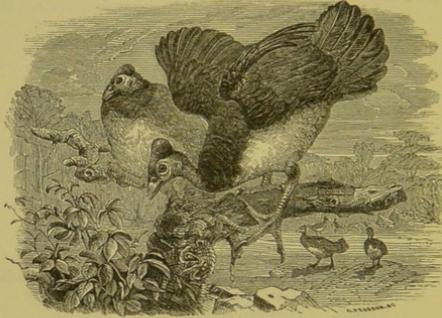


(a) p. 207.

The illustrations vary in size and detail, there are half page spreads of eye-catching habitats, here a complex scene of Great-headed Malcos:

- e.* Presented by the Governor of the Botanic Gardens, Adelaide, South Australia, Dec. 24, 1867.
f. Presented by the Directors of the Botanic Gardens, Adelaide, South Australia, Feb. 16, 1869.

Fig. 54.

*Megacephalon maleo.*

Order XV. HEMIPODII.

Family TURNICIDÆ.

Genus TURNIX.

1270. *Turnix sylvatica* (Desf.). Andalusian Hemipode.
Hab. North Africa.
a. Presented by Kirby Green, Esq., Aug. 3, 1870.
1271. *Turnix varia* (Lath.). Varied Hemipode.
Hab. Australia.
a. Male; *b.* Female. Purchased, April 9, 1867.
c, d. Bred in the Gardens, July 14, 1867.
e. Male; *f.* Female. Purchased, July 12, 1870.
g. Purchased, July 17, 1882.

(b) p. 527.

Some illustrations indicate interaction/behaviour regarding habitat/diet. Here a rhino is drinking (c), below shows an Oryx eating (d), and a family of cormorants feeding (e):

432. *Rhinoceros bicornis*, Linn. Two-horned Rhinoceros.
(Fig. 15.)

Hab. Africa.

a. Purchased, Sept. 11, 1868. From Upper Nubia. See
P. Z. S. 1868, p. 529, pl. XLII., and Trans. Zool. Soc. ix.
p. 655, pl. XCIX.

Fig. 15.



Rhinoceros bicornis ♂. ('Nature,' vol. v. p. 427.)

Family TAPIRIDÆ.

Genus TAPIRUS.

433. *Tapirus americanus*, Gm. Brazilian Tapir. (Fig. 15.)

Hab. South America.

a. Female. Presented by the late King of Portugal, F.Z.S.,
Feb. 14, 1857.

b. Male. Received in exchange, Dec. 11, 1860.

c. Deposited, July 25, 1867.

(c) p. 149.

Subfamily ORYGINÆ.

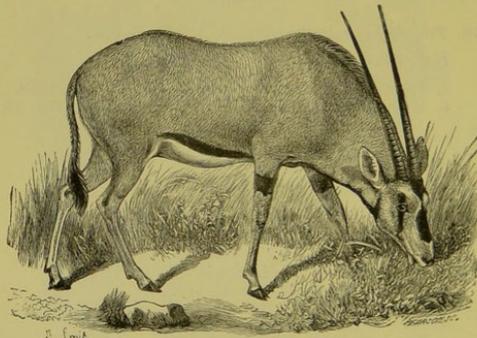
Genus ORYX.

461. *Oryx leucoryx* (Pall.). Leucoryx.*Hab.* North Africa.

- a.* Female. Born in the Menagerie, 1852.
- b.* Male. Born in the Menagerie, 1853.
- c.* Female. Born in the Menagerie, May 17, 1860.
- d.* Female. Born in the Menagerie, May 5, 1864.
- e.* Female. Purchased, Sept. 7, 1870.
- f.* Deposited, May 10, 1876.
- g.* Male. Purchased, June 3, 1880.
- h.* Female. Presented by John M. Cook, Esq., Sept. 30, 1881.

462. *Oryx beatrix*, Gray. Beatrix Antelope. (Fig. 19.)*Hab.* Arabia.

Fig. 19.

*Oryx beatrix.*

- a.* Deposited, March 26, 1872. See P. Z. S. 1872, p. 603.
- b.* Male. Presented by Comm. Burke, July 10, 1878. See P. Z. S. 1878, p. 739.
- c, d.* Females. Presented by Lord Lilford, F.Z.S., Oct. 14, 1881.

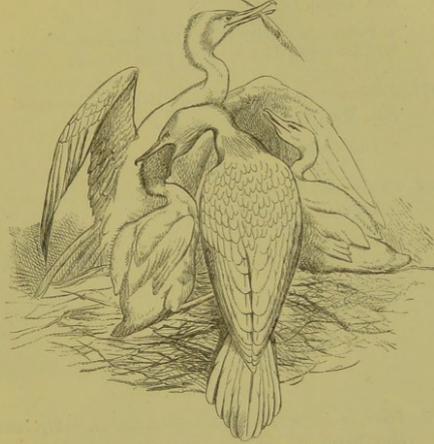
(d) p. 159.

Genus PHALACROCORAX.

869. *Phalacrocorax carbo* (Linn.). Common Cormorant.
(Fig. 48.)

Hab. British Islands.

Fig. 48.



Phalacrocorax carbo and young. (P. Z. S. 1882, p. 458.)

- a.* Presented by Sir Henry Stracey, Bart., F.Z.S., Dec. 1, 1852.
- b.* Purchased, Sept. 26, 1853. From Egypt.
- c.* Presented by Capt. Salvin, June 17, 1867.
- d, e.* Deposited, Aug. 30, 1870.
- f, g.* Deposited, July 2, 1872.
- h, i.* Deposited, June 8, 1874.
- j, k.* Received in exchange, July 8, 1876.
- l-n.* Purchased, Sept. 29, 1877.
- o.* Presented by the Lord Braybrooke, F.Z.S., May 3, 1878.
- p.* Presented by W. Thompson, Esq., June 17, 1878.
- q, r.* Presented by E. Banks, Esq., June 22, 1878.

(e) p. 418.

These examples reflect the different concerns of zoology; identification, behaviour and environment.

Chapter 2: The Institutional Voice

Comparing Institutional Voices

The *Daily Occurrences* construct a unique idiomatic: the institutional voice which simultaneously expresses, combines, and accretes the material state and aspectual elements of the zoo by making concrete the daily procedures of the organisation. By drawing a comparison with the literary form of the diary — a place where the authentic tense of the humane first person ‘I’ is often considered to reside — a polyvocal institutional narrative voice emerges that challenges and effaces the individual within the collectively authored documents that are the focus of my study.

The zoo is a complicated space, not least because of its longevity as a popular cultural landmark, where it has become home to accumulated memory, unreconciled discursive conflicts, and unsteady compromises apparent in the institution’s internal memoranda which provide an alternative view to that of the established histories such as those by A. D. Bartlett and Henry Schreen. The *Daily Occurrences* are a vast archive of institutional surveillance covering a period of two hundred years, represented by a series of grids and units of statement that worked in the background to ensure the steady procession of animals into the zoo. Chapter One revealed how these animals were resources that held a subsidiary function as displayed objects with an economic value and as sites of exploration for deep anatomy.

This chapter contextualises these overlooked, dusty, and unwieldy series of documents by contrasting them with Edward Thomas Booth’s (1840–1890) equally recherché nineteenth-century writings on animals. Booth was a naturalist, collector, and author, who is credited as pioneering the natural history ‘diorama’ by displaying taxidermy birds in their habitat.¹ A deployment of the modernist critique of nineteenth-century biographic writing originally carried out by the Bloomsbury Group provides a theoretical context from which to interrogate the literary mode of the diary and its relation to zoological interpretation, process, and representations of animals in the following chapter.

¹ Brighton Museums, ‘History of the Booth Museum’, <<https://brightonmuseums.org.uk/booth/about/edward-booth/>> [accessed 04/02/2019].

Lytton Strachey and Virginia Woolf both authored works that challenged and questioned the components of the literature of the ‘lives of Great Men’.² Their critiques allowed for a flowering of experimentation and literary production that was radically engaged with exploring accounts, diary keeping, judgement, memory, and reminiscence. These themes help us to grasp and reassess other forms that are related to diaries, for example, the collective documentation of the pro formas, which as we have found, serve as a subtle counter narrative to the popular image of the zoo. The *Daily Occurrences* can be described as a form of institutional diary because the form facilitated a literary practice that attended to a constant articulation about the state of the zoological collection. The layout and structure of the pro forma pages regulated the gaze of the authors who daily completed the texts, thereby reducing the role of the individual, whilst also giving rise to an experimental institutional voice that displays qualities of the polyvocal.

The regularities that are identifiable across the volumes of the *Daily Occurrences* are in opposition to the qualities which are found in Booth’s archive. These regularities include the persistence of specific categories which can be described as information about: obtaining animals and the records of their internal journey in the system of captivity; the day to day finances; the regulation of work; and, the layout of the pro forma ‘artefacts’. The physical page of the pro formas has a modular form that deploys grids in order to divide or link subjects for the purpose of oversight and decision making. Booth’s ornithological diaries by contrast are an example of a different type of institutional record. His diaries are comprised of a variety of visual and textual fragments that speak of the unregular. The pages of Booth’s diaries blur boundaries, they reside between subjective memoir, reminiscence, observational notation, description, lists, maps, and paintings – which are all, either, directly or indirectly, related to his passion: the hunting of animals. The diversity of Booth’s written and visual practices that accompanied his collection is of a different order of classificatory deployment to the generalised content of the pro formas. The assumptions behind the categories of the pro formas adopt a clarity — absent from the natural history diaries of Booth — for the achievement of well-defined institution goals. Like the epistemic debates identified by Lorraine Daston and Peter

² Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical discourse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 98–99.

Galison — between truth-to nature, trained judgement, and objectivity in scientific visual discourses — the *Daily Occurrences* and Booth's cache illustrate different practices concerned with the visual display and representation of animals.

Booth was a Victorian gentleman of independent means who dedicated his life to ornithology and collected examples of 'British' birds at various stages of development. Booth is best known for the founding of the Booth Museum (1874) which exhibited his collection of bird taxidermy in specially made diorama cases. Each specimen on display was personally hunted by Booth and at the time of his death there were approximately three hundred 'naturalistic' diorama cases on display in his museum.³ Booth's cache of diaries became the base texts for his published works *Catalogue of the Cases of Birds in the Dyke Road Museum* (1876) — a numbered list of classifications and entries that correspond to the labelled diorama cases on display in the museum, and *Rough Notes* (1881) — a collection of illustrated prints accompanied by titled fragments outlining Booth's thoughts on specific birds. This is a literary cache that seeks to inform and explain a highly personal collection to the spectator. The collection and accompanying literary accoutrements exemplify an unreliable first-person narrative that narrows and misdirects the spectator's gaze away from the animal subject and centres it instead upon specific and select biographical details. Both the *Daily Occurrences* and Booth's diaries are written documents which regulate and structure ways of seeing animals through the collections that they elucidated — and these two iterations of institutional manuscripts, which on the surface represent animals, also tell us a great deal about the humans that wrote them; therefore, a re-engagement with notions of biography and its relationship to classification is fruitful for investigating documents such as the *Daily Occurrences*.

Embedded Narratives and Authorship

The work of Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, sociologists who research informatics for the purpose of better understanding the application and deployment of classificatory systems, aims to

³ Brighton Museums, 'History of the Booth Museum', <<https://brightonmuseums.org.uk/booth/about/edward-booth/>> [accessed 04/02/2019].

reveal the ‘embedded narratives’ (including both informal and formal stories) found in classificatory systems. Their work explores a variety of linguistic and literary systems, which have come to shape so much of our lives, in order to contemplate and better understand the design of the ‘spatio-temporal segmentation of the world’.⁴ For their interdisciplinary study, Bowker and Star, draw upon a number of thinkers and classificatory systems to examine these subtle literatures of categorization which, they argue, have been consistently overlooked. The key message of their study is that ‘the powerful habits of practice with respect to the humble tasks of filling out forms are often neglected in studies of classifying’.⁵ This is certainly the case for the *Daily Occurrences*, a literary object of ‘action and use’, which has fallen through the gaps of the zoological story because of the practical daily uses to which the texts had originally been put. Bowker and Star recognise that ‘objects become natural in a particular community of practice over a long period of time’.⁶ As a result, key institutional practices and assumptions that contain the inherent absurdity at the centre of a system, founded on the arbitrary boundaries between conflicting interest groups, has been neglected, for example,

the more naturalized an object becomes, the more unquestioning the relationship of the community to it; the more invisible the contingent and historical circumstances of its birth, the more it sinks into the community’s routinely forgotten memory.⁷

While addressing how classificatory systems achieve legitimacy and acceptance (or not), Bowker and Star also illustrate the benefits to be found by re-focusing our attention back towards the quotidian documents of cultural bodies and organisations; in one example they compare the different years of the phone book that serviced the city of San Francisco in order to locate wider social narratives through the changing categories and content.

In these texts they found that: a woman’s name disappears from the phone book after marriage because only the husband’s name is listed for married couples – which speaks to institutional forms of patriarchy; after decades of social activism and community organising, a small

⁴ Geoffrey. C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and its consequences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2000), p.10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 298–99.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

advertisement for LGBT pride is allowed to be published – this tells us about the pace of change and the work behind marginal gains for equal rights; under the section heading for ‘rehabilitation’ as the volumes progress through the years, the types of support programmes on offer for people start to comprise a more complex list of different substances that people can seek help for (e.g. initially listing only alcohol in comparison with a growing list that includes a cornucopia of drugs, addictions, and behaviours).⁸ Here, then, we can recognize the latent potential of classificatory texts where ‘one can read a surprising amount of social, political, and philosophical context from a set of categories’, and this matters because ‘in many cases the classification system is all we have to go on’.⁹

In such texts what is not included can be just as significant as what is and this requires a creative reconstruction and interpretation. Bowker and Star’s position is useful because of its recognition that categories evolve and are contingent, but whilst in the case of the *Daily Occurrences* we can see elements of change we also overwhelmingly witness entrenchment, repetition, and the belligerent stability of organisational intent (even though the content may seem anachronistic because the categories are problematic they still exerted influence over the institution’s self-definition). Bowker and Star are ultimately interested in improving and elaborating further the decision-making processes that rely upon categorization. Here, they take an overly optimistic view of the capacity for institutional self-reflection and the facility for rigorous critiques of the languages with which the internal identities of these organisations are constructed.

In the example below, we can see the common place entry of a collection of animals into the zoo: a daily occurrence. This ‘naturalized’ entry into a classificatory system masks — or as Bowker and Star argue makes invisible — contingencies and historical circumstances that speak to community memory and embedded narratives:

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 54–57.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

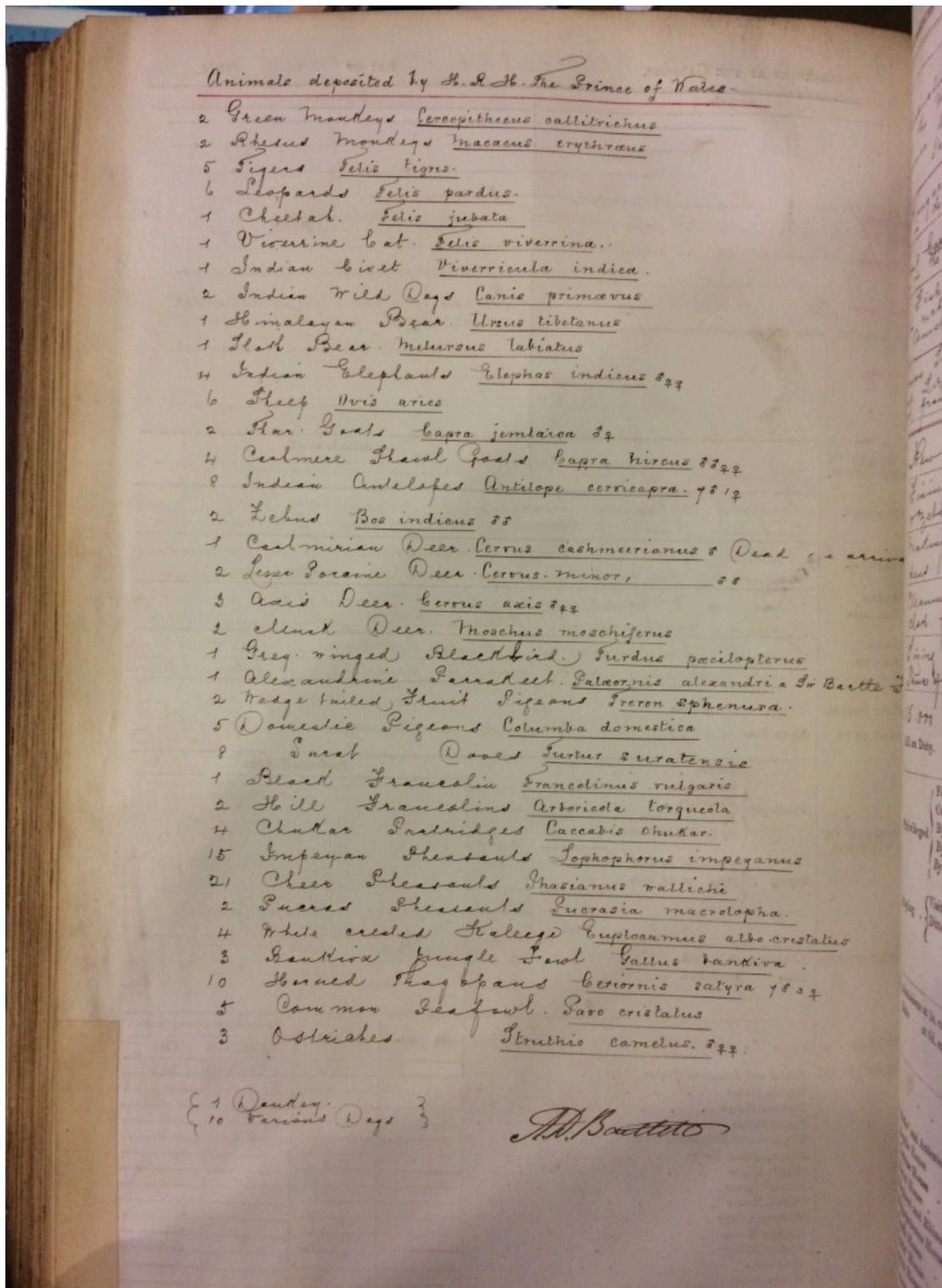


Fig. 1. Animals Deposited by H. R. H. The Prince of Wales, Daily Occurrences, 1876.

The animals listed on the back of the pro forma, signed off by A. D. Bartlett, were deposited by the Prince of Wales on his return from a visit to India. This entry into a classificatory system masks the contingencies and historical circumstances of the collection of these animals and their meaning. The

Royal Titles Act which was passed by parliament in 1876, in the wake of the return of the Prince from his tour of India, proclaimed Queen Victoria as the ‘Empress of India’. H. Hazel Hann’s research on the Prince’s tour highlights the scale of the propaganda coup for the British rulers, for example, the Queen’s son appeared in a third of all of the photographs produced and was persistently surrounded by British and Indian ‘notables’. Hann describes this coverage of the Prince’s itinerary which featured:

representations of cities, landscapes and people, welcoming ceremonies, dinners, balls, entertainments, visits to monuments, temples and other sites, hunting, portraits, ethnological observations, the founding of hospitals and other establishments, dedications, knighting ceremonies and military reviews.¹⁰

Hann explains that all of these activities were ways to affirm ‘imperial and royal authority embodied by the prince’, and to propagate the empire’s ‘civilizing mission’ as a work in progress.¹¹ The Viceroy, Lord Lytton, believed that the Prince’s tour was an opportunity to ‘broaden the base of support for the imperial government’ and to materially strengthen the executive.¹² The animal collection deposited by the Prince is impressive and part of the reason for this is that London Zoo had one of their superintendents accompany the Prince’s entourage.¹³ In this example many different classificatory regimes are at play behind just one entry.

Bowker and Star advise that the study of classification should interrogate the assumptions behind the rules that construct schemes of categorization, and this is because such systems are formations of formal and informal knowledges that have been ‘annealed together’ – which draws from Michel Foucault’s notion of discursive formations, and in a broader context, touches upon themes identified by Daston and Galison’s work about scientific personas and visual practice. The *Daily Occurrences* and the Booth cache are examples of modes of collection and representation that are based on different assumptions and rules that govern their respective approaches to the accumulation of material for display. But the contingency and effect of time on these classificatory

¹⁰ H. Hazel Hann, ‘Indian princes, dancing girls, and tigers: The Prince of Wales’s tour of India and Ceylon, 1875–1876’ in *Postcolonial Studies*, 2:12, (2009), 173–92 (p. 181).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 181–82.

¹² L. A. Knight, ‘The Royal Titles Act and India’ in *The Historical Journal*, 3 (1968), 488–507 (p. 408).

¹³ Christopher Hibbert, ‘The Prince of Wales in India’ in *History Today*, 9: 25 (1975), 620–28 (p. 621).

literatures is not as straightforward as the obvious changes that might be found in different editions of a phonebook. For Bowker and Star, the informal seeps into the formal and vice versa, slowly combining into a classificatory faculty that allows for a systematic contemplation of objects that fall under an interrogative gaze governed by pre-defined schemata. The interrogative operation at play in informatic systems addresses the 'singular' for the purpose of clarifying, assessing, and then assigning the appropriate (or acceptable) label for the object under interrogation, and this in turn (and by implication) references its opposite, the other objects it has been distinguished from, equally linked and alienated by the institutional language. Paradoxically, this sets the classification apart from everything else while connecting it to the objects of the discourse.

In *The Order of Things* (1966), Foucault uncovers the development of the linguistic and theoretical tools that have enlivened heuristic frames of investigation and explanation by identifying similarities across seemingly disparate discursive groupings. Foucault argued that these classificatory discourses are the accumulation of a series of thresholds (each threshold including the unique experience of perception, imagination, prevailing ideas and beliefs) which make things 'visible' and 'sayable' in a discourse. Gilles Deleuze argues that Foucault's conception of language as a practice allowed him to examine these 'definitive' works which claim to offer truth via knowledge structures and replicable modes of analysis within a constellation that links science and literature.¹⁴ In *Death and the Labyrinth* (1963), Foucault subjects the works of the writer Raymond Roussel to a literary analysis that interrogates the ways in which certain texts disrupt how systems of knowledge function, and as a consequence they complicate our reception of information through language. Roussel was a writer and dramatist who created a unique, rule-based, and subjective approach to literary composition that reveals the gap between author, language, and interpretation.

Roussel's work did not engage with linear plots that described characters inhabiting situations in a realised or identifiable world; rather, he played with the qualities of words, for example by constructing a sentence around similar sounding words, and putting them to use to create different meanings. As Roussel explained his process in the following way:

¹⁴ Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. by Seán Hand (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), pp. 44–46.

I chose two almost identical words (reminiscent of metagrams). For example, *billard* [billiard table] and *pillard* [plunderer]. To these I added similar words capable of two different meanings, thus obtaining two almost identical phrase.¹⁵

Roussel used the meaning of a particular word to find a new word which would slide away from the original meaning, thus creating a chain of statements where meaning elides. He claims to have repeated this process so that what is read is not a traditional narrative but a text that is generated by the gaps that exist between words, things, or objects that language seeks to represent. There are three key elements to Foucault's critical engagement with Roussel's oeuvre, first, there is an exploration of the absurd images and connotations that are created by the juxtaposition of seemingly unrelated words – the surface. Second, there is an investigation of the production of the texts which reveal how Roussel assigned content through the subjective application of his system – the method. Third, because Foucault established that there was a methodology which worked to constructed the surface of Roussel's texts, the intention of the writer is called into question. The application of the method, definition, and classification of the works are based upon the authority of a writer whose testimony is undermined, thereby, creating a void. These three elements offered by the study of Roussel's work highlighted specific qualities belonging to writing that holds significance for interpreting other systems and networks of texts.

Foucault describes a confusion that resides in Roussel's writing 'energized and drained, filled and emptied by the possibility of there being yet another meaning, this one or that one, neither one nor the other, but a third, or none'.¹⁶ Roussel's work indicates a void behind each word and his distinctive approach to literature draws attention to the gaps in language and interpretation, where there is found to be a distance between the naming or classification of an object. The implication is that objects are always beyond our individual interpretative frameworks because language is subjective, which is Foucault's critique of objectivity. At London Zoo, the correct classification and placement of an animal may miss qualities that undermine the taxon, for example, as seen in Chapter One, the deaths

¹⁵ Raymond Roussel, *How I Wrote Certain of my Books*, trans. by Trevor Winkfield (Cambridge: Exact Change, 1995), p. 3.

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, *Death and the Labyrinth: The World of Raymond Roussel*, trans. by Charles Ruas (London: The Athlone Press, 1987), p. 11.

of owls and foxes caused by their territorial cage mates. Foucault is concerned with this writer because the works prompt a question which can be roughly formulated as: does Roussel's diminishment of the role of the author to a type of classificatory interpreter and deployer of established rules alter our reading of the final text? Foucault came across Roussel's work by chance and learned about the composition of the texts after he had read and enjoyed the works, and it is the assumptions and possibilities opened up by this question that Foucault's own work goes onto discuss. Despite the insistence of Roussel that his oeuvre is comprised of a related network of texts produced by the same abstracted mode of systematic composition, does that mean that the works are any less a product of the individual who is no longer here? Does the reader of Roussel need to be aware of the process to read the texts? Especially when the 'surface' of the text is pleasurable and interesting to read, exposing, as it does, the manuscript which is read as a snapshot of a thinking subject who is no longer present – this is a question also asked by Roland Barthes in his essay, *The Death of the Author* (1967), and expanded upon by Foucault in his essay *What is an Author?* (1969).

Gerard Genette argued that it is important to critically analyse the paratextual elements which comprise a text because they structure the way a work is received, and this approach enriched post-structuralist debates about the role of the author in discourse. Genette fulfils the promise of Foucault's interrogation about the position an author occupies in relation to a work, which was in itself a response to Barthes's own problematisation of the absent author. Foucault elaborated upon the absence of an author from a text by drawing attention to the work itself, and he asks: 'how can one define a work amid the millions of traces left by someone after his death?'.¹⁷ The point being that by asking the question 'what is an author?' the question of what defines a 'work' is implicitly raised. Foucault situates authors and works within networks of production and signification, for example, he argues that,

a private letter may well have a signer — it does not have an author; a contract may well have a guarantor — it does not have an author. An anonymous text posted on the wall probably has

¹⁷ Michel Foucault, 'What is An Author?' in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rabinow (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 101–20, (p.104).

a writer – but not an author. The author function is therefore characteristic of the mode of existence, circulation, and functioning of certain discourses within a society.¹⁸

Here, our attention is drawn to the material and cultural practice of writing and this is useful because other forms of writing, beyond the discussion of the literary author, are introduced. I argue that the *Daily Occurrences* are a collective mode of writing whose existence was to facilitate the circulation of animals and humans within a discourse that reproduced taxonomies and classifications extending beyond the boundaries of the zoo. These institutional diaries through their form provide an example of writing that dispelled the individual supervisor whose writings attempt to dissolve into the void demanded by the institutional function of the pro forma. The supervisor's signature on the pro forma legitimates the observations and arrangements of zoological work inputted into the pages which are interstices in an oeuvre dedicated to the live display of animals.

Genette's work, in turn, systematically analyses the structural elements of a 'work' (specifically the elements that can be combined to construct a book), exploring the relationship between each of the participants in this game of discourse, for example: authors, publishers, readers, and traces the way each shape a manuscript. 'Paratexts' can be defined as the conventions that structure and signpost the form of the book whose presences are often left unacknowledged, for example: publishing information, introductions, dedications, errata, epigraphs, prefaces, notes, indexes, afterword, archives, and caches. Genette asks questions of the minutiae that surrounds the published manuscript and considers their function by drawing comparisons and seeking precedents. He explores the assumptions denoted by these textual devices, conventions, and techniques by putting them into conversation with an array of literary voices from the western canon, including, cultural practice, authors, and literary theorists. He considers: how are these paratextual elements used? And, what have, do, or can they communicate to the reader?

Genette's work has a wider application beyond just the western canon of literary fiction because of the importance of the concept of 'peritexts' and 'epitexts'.¹⁹ Foucault argued that 'the

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 107–08.

¹⁹ Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretations*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 16.

word *work* and the unity that it designates are probably as problematic as the status of the author's individuality'.²⁰ Genette's research seems to confirm this assumption by detailing the devices, illocutionary forces, and networks that spatially structure a book (or work) and construct its place in a market or discourse. Both the peritext and epitext, therefore, refer to the internal and external ways that a book is spatially manifested and culturally classified. The peritext refers to the internal paratextual elements that form the 'zone between text and off-text', and these are transitional, transactional, thresholds that pull the reader to either the 'inward side (turned towards the text) or the outward side (turned toward the worlds discourse about the text)'.²¹ Conversely, 'the location of the epitext is therefore anywhere outside the book – but of course nothing precludes its later admission to the peritext'. These epitextual elements — promotional material, semi-official allography, public and private authorial statements — colour the reception of the book external to its form, and this situates the author and work within the space of the cultural and material means of its production.²² Genette's eloquence and application of detailed readings exemplifies incisive description coupled to a rigorously employed structural methodology that both analyses and comments upon the subject of the discourse. I argue that by shifting these insights about defining authorship and work to institutional forms — such as the recherché *Daily Occurrences* for example — a nuanced contribution to wider discussions about how power operates beyond the literary canon rises up over the horizon of discourse. The grids and headings of the pro formas are subject-peritexts reduced to modules on the surface of the zoological diary.

The very presumption of Roussel's method uncovers, for Foucault, something peculiar about language which is the fact that through the 'machinic' use of words an un-original quality is exposed — repetition comes to the forefront and reminds us how it is essential for comprehension — our interpretations are constructed from an assumed shared knowledge. The point being that practices are situated and socially organised — Roussel writing literature — but his practice, like all practices, contains perceptual and cognitive uncertainties that are idiosyncratic to the individual, and for

²⁰ Foucault, 'What is An Author?', in *The Foucault Reader*, p. 104.

²¹ Genette, *Paratexts*, pp. 1–2.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 344.

Foucault this stretching of the boundaries of thought is a key strategy for identifying recurring patterns and breaking out of regularised behaviours. Foucault recognises an ambiguity in Roussel's work because it is clear that not all of his works were subjected to the same method, or, any method at all, therefore, we can say that the production of the final manuscript, document, or formal record may not always include the practices that we have come to expect from the discourse. This is an important methodological point to grasp in relation to the zoological archive where the presentation of an exemplary type includes the conscious and unconscious processes at play during the application of classificatory schemes. The deployment of a classificatory language and modes of behaviour are identified and then regularised by the modular structure of the pro formas – one way to understand the history of the zoo and its system of confinement is to unpick the 'machinic' and repetitive categories of the institution's internally produced texts.

Foucault's, and more recently Bowker and Star's, analysis of classification draws attention to the link between classificatory practices and the decision-making processes that are an essential element of these activities. This approach seeks to contextualise quotidian historical documents — such as pro formas, clerical systems, phone books — by providing a more nuanced reading of the diverse themes at play in procedural documents: knowledge organisation, biography, and politics.²³ Bowker and Star argue that formal classificatory records may delete the processes, information, and practices that work to provide the classification. This masks the assumptions behind the categories which are skim read and accepted on the surface level. Bowker and Star acknowledge that 'classificatory work practices involve politics [...] and deletion of the practices in the production of the final formal record'²⁴. This is an important observation and one that can be expanded to include an example such as the *Daily Occurrences* where deletion of the process, information, and practices behind the record — in this case the animal taxon — are invisible, or not present, on the surface of the classification. They are implicit because of the placement that glides over the practical confinement of the entry in the zoological collection which is ensured through the other relational categories on the page of the pro forma. The background work that provided the basis for classificatory assignment,

²³ Bowker and Star, *Sorting Things Out*, p. 66.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 66–67.

placement, and designation at the zoo faced a less dramatic fate than deletion since they survive as classificatory entries in the ZSL's library catalogue — physically stranded on archival shelves, hidden from public view, collecting dust in a converted enclosure (the old monkey house) — and these are problematic documents detailing the processes, information, and practices of a problematic institution. Many practices are absent from the documents, for example, the quotidian tasks completed by the staff in a dangerous working environment.

At the zoo, the formal status of a displayed animal is confirmed by the spectator's encounter with the exhibit, which becomes an exemplary object that has moved across an imaginative and theoretical field, ultimately reducing the individual specimen to a cultural sign. Another way of perceiving the animals is as the end result of the institution's modes of acquisition, procedures, and practices — all of which is entered in the working documents but absent from the classificatory display of the living taxon. The physical enclosures and the presence of keepers alludes to a zoological practice that *recreates* a panoptic space which houses *natural* actors. In this sense the zoo acts as a simulacrum, where the live encounter masks the information and processes that operate behind the discursive constructions of the animal-exhibit, which normalise and transmit a constructed vision of nature that accommodates the notion of a classifiable and controllable hierarchy. The *Daily Occurrences* can be understood, in one sense, as a type of recovered managerial language system whose content — collective observation governed by prescribed inscription — reveals the memory of an institution across a period of time. It is therefore a source which disrupts the polite historical demarcations of the canon.

Here, the zoo can be thought of as a meshwork, to borrow from the anthropologist Tim Ingold, who argues that the way humans interact with their environments is more complicated than designations of 'place' and 'space' which act to make us think rigidly in terms of enclosure, foreclosure, and progress 'out into space'.²⁵ The experience of life, movement, and our relationship to the environment is instead one of continuous contingency, and for Ingold, it is productive to think in terms of a meshwork because as humans we never engage with the whole of a place or a space but

²⁵ Tim Ingold, 'Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge' in P. Kirby (Ed.) *Boundless Worlds: An Anthropological Approach to Movement*, (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009), pp. 29–43 (pp. 35–41).

entangle with specific features, for example, in wild spaces humans stick to established paths. Ingold's position is close to that of Bowker and Star's, wherein knowledge rests upon pre-existing taxonomic knowledge and that what is learnt in the field is gained through experience. Ingold uses the example of a helicopter pilot who has gained knowledge through physical movement across a territory in a variety of different weather conditions rather than just knowing the correct 'location'.²⁶ Reading between the lines in Ingold there is tension between classificatory practices that vertically upload their findings, and the individual whose experience is based on lateral movement. The animals at the zoo traverse the interior of their enclosures which allow for an act of observation that intrudes upon the life of these caged animals who have come to embody, for the spectator, many entangled narratives beyond any agency other than their residency in the performative architecture of the zoo.

The animals thus act as symbols of the genetic inheritance of their species; as an indication of our power as a species to contain, catalogue, and comprehend beyond the place of captivity; and as a figure related to personal metaphors for the spectator in the space of memories, anthropomorphic phantasms, and other interior spectral experiences of the animals who happen to come under the casual observatory gaze of the zoological flâneur. The implication of Ingold's (and Bowker and Star's) conception of space and classification is that we cannot *know* an animal because our knowledge of it is pre-defined within a historically constructed location that occludes the opportunity for vernacular knowledge. The animal exhibits are nodes that have become sites of entanglement for human experience and memory in a similar, yet specific, manner to other material and culturally constructed objects. What is the relationship between memory and the experience of animals within the geographical location of the zoo? This is a difficult question. For the archaeologist Cornelius Holtorf, the zoo is a complicated space because although it is an institution focused on the present it is also a subsidiary site of material culture which is intimately linked to memory.

Holtorf identifies three specific ways that memory is related to the experience of the zoo, firstly, and similarly to the notion of the 'vernacular', it is the biographic memory of the individual

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

who experiences the zoo through past visits and tokens.²⁷ He discusses his personal experiences of visiting Hagenback's Berlin Tierpark as a child and his memory is supplemented by photographs taken of him as child with his parents. Holtorf describes how the animals in these images became secondary to his childhood reminiscences since the death of his parents on whose memory he subsequently, viscerally, lingers. Individuals are not only personally commemorated in an internal and perhaps unknowable sense to anyone other than the mourner, but they are also remembered in an official sense; for example, the founder Hagenback is commemorated by a sign as are other donors, and animal experts, but also you can find 'inscribed plaques screwed to benches that turn out to be minor memorials to certain people who liked to visit the zoo'.²⁸ The zoo is also home to placards for financial benefactors, and at London Zoo there is a monument for the employees of the zoo who died during World War Two. Holtorf notes that the presence of these types of cultural artefacts for the memorialization of humans occurs in an environment where animal 'death and dying are not talked about', conversely, he argues that 'the stories that the public wants to hear concern mating behaviour, breeding successes, and adorable animal babies'.²⁹ This observation is borne out by the current popularity of television shows such as *The Secret Life of the Zoo*, a documentary series that follows the work of the zoo keepers at Cheshire zoo as they take care of the animals.³⁰ However, the suggestion that the zoo animals that die go unremembered (with the exception of primates and other mammals) is overly simplistic. In the nineteenth century the catalogue of the zoo listed every instance of a representative for their species, and in some case the nicknames of the animals were listed too. And at London Zoo there are statues to past residents of the gardens. Holtorf's point is more insightful when placed in relation to the replaceability of animals where the individual animal who dies is superseded by another exemplar for the species.

The second way that zoos are related to memory is in their organisation as repositories of cultural memory. For example, the modernist penguin enclosure designed by the architect Berthold

²⁷ Cornelius Holtorf, 'The Zoo as a Realm of Memory' in *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures: History, Heritage, and Place Making*, 22: 1 (2013), 98–114 (p. 101).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 101–02.

³⁰ *The Secret Life of the Zoo*, online video recording, Channel 4, < <https://www.channel4.com/programmes/the-secret-life-of-the-zoo/episode-guide/> > [accessed 18 September 2018].

Lubetkin and the Tekton group in 1935 is now a protected building which has transformed from a functional enclosure (the penguins are now housed in ‘Penguin Beach’, which the ZSL claims to be the largest penguin pool in England) into a historical monument that is recognized as part of the history of the zoological institution.³¹ But of course, individual memory shares a close affinity to the business of constructing cultural memory through the institution of nostalgia. The ZSL published two videos on their YouTube channel to promote a new lion enclosure that opened to the public on 25 March 2016. One of the videos shows an interview with the designers about their inspiration for the enclosure while the other celebrates a visit by the Royal family, who give their approval to the new display.³² The designers describe how their enclosure ‘recreates’ the Gir forest in Northern India, with the display incorporating human spaces and cultural artefacts to denote a close proximity between the Asiatic lions and humans. Their argument is that human and animal habitats have increasingly meshed together in the former Colony, and the display claims to highlight this natural proximity. The ZSL website announces that, ‘three walkways cover the [...] exhibit with thrilling, immersive Indian-themed areas to explore – including a train, station, crumbling temple clearing, high street and guard hut’.³³ The enclosure is decorated with outdated and unconvincing vernacular architecture and ethnographic objects (Bollywood posters, shop fronts including a ‘cycle wallah’, a rickshaw, cartoons of religious icons, etc.). I argue that this ethnographic display reveals the cultural memory an out-of-touch imperial institution, and this example highlights the limits of Holtorf’s anthropological approach where the line between cultural memory and stereotyping is blurred.

The third way that zoos are related to memory, for Holtorf, is the way that animals themselves can be seen as carriers of memory in terms of their genetic heritage, with many European zoos actively using the metaphor of Noah’s Ark to express their function as a genetic archive. Harriet Ritvo

³¹ ZSL, ‘Penguin Beach’, <<https://www.zsl.org/zsl-london-zoo/exhibits/penguin-beach>> [accessed 18 September 2018].

³² ZSL, ‘What Inspired the Lands of Lions?’, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Frsbnk4udn8>> [accessed 26 June 2017].

ZSL, ‘Land of the Lions gets the Royal Seal of Approval!’, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h_iiE73nJDC> [accessed 26 June 2017].

³³ ZSL, ‘Land of Lions Exhibition’, <<https://www.zsl.org/zsl-london-zoo/exhibits/land-of-the-lions>> [accessed 12 August 2019].

argues that no animal could escape the coverage of the ambitious appropriation project of London Zoo because:

the animals at the London Zoo were conceived of as part of an interrelated, graduated zoological series – as a living representation of the standard vertebrate taxonomical categories. New animals, especially if they were not likely to enhance attendance significantly, might be described in terms of their place in the larger order.³⁴

Holtorf's reading of the zoological display is that 'the clock of evolution is supposed to be standing still, so that the visitors get directly in touch with as many pure-bred, millennia-old species as possible'.³⁵ Ritvo takes a more critical view by arguing that part of the enjoyment promised by the zoo is the spectacle of human power that displays a pleasing variance between the 'wild beasts and their intensely cultivated surroundings'. The meaning of zoological classification is found in the 'physical design' of the zoo which re-enacts and celebrates the 'imposition of human structure on the threatening chaos of nature'.³⁶

Holtorf's insistence on the importance of memory and material culture at the zoo enriches an account of the zoo's classificatory systems by linking them to its physical and cultural histories, and this type of analysis allows for the correct placement of humans into the centre of the story. Undoubtedly, Bowker and Star have contributed to the wider study of classification by contextualising documents of classificatory instance which thereby recognise the outputs of such categorical systems of thought – but here they are in danger on the one hand of acknowledging the problematics of classificatory systems while on the other hand re-inscribing those very same processes with a rubberstamp of accountability. The purpose of studying a classificatory system is not to iron out the inconsistencies by flagging up the assumptions of the category for the purpose of updating outdated prejudices but to challenge the historical practices that facilitated negative outcomes for individuals and societies. The interrogation of catalogues and lists can illuminate processes of codification where 'people juggle vernacular (or folk) classifications with the most

³⁴ Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (London: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 218.

³⁵ Holtorf, 'The Zoo as Realm of Memory', in *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, pp. 104–06.

³⁶ Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, p. 219.

formal category schemes’ – this ‘juggle’ explains the contradictory gap in the intention of zoological display and the diversity of interpretations at play at the zoo.³⁷ The study of the application of a classificatory system is only part of the work that needs to be carried out because if we only recover the meaning of the content and the outcomes it is a step to re-inscribe in the hope of modifying and reforming a discourse rather than to understand, move beyond, or simply reject repetitious, tedious, outdated forms that have long outstayed their welcome – such as the display of live animals.

The relationship between ‘formal’ and ‘vernacular’ classifications to the representations of animals can be found in the overarching scheme at play within the pro forma pages of the *Daily Occurrences*, and in the gap between public interpretations and institutional definitions. The zoo was considered an important site of learning and the members of the Society took their work very seriously. A variety of examples from the pro formas support this perception where the zoo regarded itself as a professional institution dedicated to scientific learning in a broad and popular sense. The representation of animals in the pro formas correspond to the ways in which different types of humans are accounted for by the institution, and we can also see wider cultural ‘vernacular’ ideas and assumptions in the texts. This is the place where a different form of memory resides beyond Holtorf’s phenomenological approach, and I argue that it is through interrogating the *recherché* objects in the archive where a more instructive account of the zoo can be found in the pages of institutional memory.

Particular Visitors and Taxonomic Hierarchies

In the pages of the *Daily Occurrences*, the development of the zoo as a site of childhood exploration and adventure can be found in, of all places, the visitor admissions section of the pro formas. An early form of concessionary outreach can be found in the texts towards the end of nineteenth century, where the teachers and children of schools were admitted without charge. In a letter dated 15 June 1881, Philip Lutley Sclater, the secretary of Zoological Society wrote to the supervisor, A.D. Bartlett, to ask him to ‘admit fifty women of Sister Margaret Mary’s class of poor mothers to the Society’s Gardens

³⁷ Bowker and Star, *Sorting Things Out*, p. 54.

any weekday in 1881 except Mondays and Saturdays from nine until one o' clock'.³⁸ Who had access to the Gardens — including when and for what cost or association — is a recurrent theme throughout the zoo's history. Such concessions were often noted on the back pages of the *Daily Occurrences* rather than being counted in the categories on the front. The concessionary notes on the back of the pro formas recorded the school name, class size, and the number of teachers, as shown in Fig. 2:

Schools			Child	Teach
St. Peter's National School	Regent Square		322	7
St. Stephen's School	S. J. W.		220	5
St. Bartholomew's	Islington Boys		128	3
Do.	Do.	Girls	120	3
St. John's School	Stratford		138	3
Total			949	

Fig. 2. Back of page, *Daily Occurrences*, 1 July 1881.³⁹

Schools			Child	Teach
St. Peter's National School			322	
	Regents Square			7
St. Stephen's School			220	
				5
St. Bartholomew's	Islington	Boys	128	
				3
"	"	Girls	120	
				3
St. John's School	Stratford		138	
				3
<u>Total</u>			<u>949</u>	

As with the classification of workers across trades, here we see the division of schools with subsets for the teaching staff, and children divided by sex. As well as the categories associated with the free

³⁸ London, Zoological Society of London (ZSL), QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Letter pasted opposite day pro forma for 1 July 1881.
³⁹ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Day sheet, 1 July 1881.

admission of school children, London Zoo categorised all of its visitors by a diverse set of headings, registering them in different ways for an overall daily count where the aristocracy and emergent men of science are the most prominently recorded. Examples such as this from the pro forma speak to the close attention to classification advised by Bowker and Star, and Holtorf’s concern with cultural memory at the zoo.

The Zoological Society catered to specialised knowledge through its membership, evening dinners, events, and meetings and this too is reflected in the prominence of a category box for ‘Particular Visitors’ which we can see in the following examples from the pro formas. The names of prominent members of society and the players in the emergent scientific networks often appear in this section of the page, as illustrated in Fig. 3. and Fig. 4., and it is also the space where we can see a record of the most important figures in Victorian society visiting the zoo: Queen Victoria’s Royal line.

NUMBER OF VISITORS.		Particular Visitors		
Privileged	Fellows	7	31	<i>HRH Prince George</i> <i>HRH Prince Albert Victor</i> <i>HRH Princess Louise & Victoria</i>
	Companions	52		
	By Orders			
	By Ivory Tickets	2		
	By the Establishment.			
Paying	Visitors at 1s. each	174	198	
	Ditto at 6d. each	24		
Total		229		
MONEY TAKEN	Admissions at 1s. each	5	14	0
	Ditto at 6d. each		12	0
		£ 9	5	0

Fig. 3. Particular Visitors: HRH Prince George. HRH Prince Albert Victor. HRH Princess Louise & Victoria, Daily Occurrences, 4 February 1870.⁴⁰

The excerpt from the pro forma above records the visit of four of Edward VII’s children (Victoria’s grandchildren). Prince George became third in line to the throne after the premature death of his eldest brother Albert Victor. George succeeded to the throne after his father’s death in 1910. Fig. 4. is from a pro forma ten years after Fig. 3., which records the visit of Edward VII’s brother’s wife and

⁴⁰ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Visitors, February 1870.

children to the zoo. The Duke of Edinburgh was Victoria's second son and there is a photo of his and the Duchess's children in the Royal collection taken in the same month as this visit.⁴¹

		Particular Visitors.	
Privileged	Fellows	8	
	Companions	9	
	Fellows' Tickets	18	
	Free Admissions		
	Office Tickets		
	Orders		
Paying	Ivory Tickets	7	
	The Establishment	3	45
Paying	Visitors at 1s. each	231	
	Ditto at 6d. each	56	
			287
		Total	332
Admissions at 1s. each		11 . 11 . 0	
" at 6d. each		1 . 8 . 0	
			£ 13 . 19 . 0

Particular Visitors.	
<i>H. R. H. The Duchess of Edinburgh & children,</i>	
<i>Sir Joseph Taylor.</i>	
<i>The Secretary.</i>	

Fig. 4. Particular Visitors: HRH The Duchess of Edinburgh & Children, Daily Occurrences, 4 May 1882.⁴²

The visits to the zoo recorded above touch upon a question that crops up repeatedly throughout the history of the zoo, which is, who and what is the zoo for?

The visits to the zoo by Victorian royals and their children tacitly provide an answer to the question in two ways. First, that the zoo is an exclusive place — in the nineteenth century a site of leisured refinement — which corresponds with its contemporary position as a key tourist hub for the capital; and second, that it is a space for children. The pro forma also subtly captures the hegemonic attitude towards spheres of power and authority. Alongside the section for ‘Particular Visitors’ as seen in Fig. 3. and Fig. 4. is a list of categories for the other visitors to the zoo which themselves are split into two separate hierarchies of ‘Privileged’ and ‘Paying’. The heading for ‘Privileged’ is further divided into subheadings to record: ‘Fellows, Companions, Fellow Tickets, Free Admission, Office Tickets, Orders, Ivory Tickets, The Establishment’, and the heading for ‘Paying’ subdivides into: ‘Visitors at 1s. each’ and ‘Ditto at 6d. each’. Deploying Bowker and Star’s notion that we can read

⁴¹ John Thomson, *The Children of the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh*, 1882, Photograph, 22.5 x 16.7cm <<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/2903785/the-children-of-the-duke-and-duchess-of-edinburgh-1882-in-portraits-of-royal>> [accessed 28 August 2018].

⁴² ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Visitors, May 1882.

into categories with reference to these examples from the archive, we can see that the classification of visitors at work at the zoo situates the paying public below the fellows, members, and the aristocracy who are signed in. It is here, visually, that the vernacular and formal are annealed, boiling down to a clear reduction of the central issues at play in Victorian society: tradition, authority, commerce.

This example shows how the structure of the *Daily Occurrences* incorporated visitors into a taxonomy, introducing subtle hierarchies, which illustrate the assumptions behind the institution. Humans and animals appear to meet, under the horizon line of the pro formas, as they entered into the same field of view observed by the institutional gaze. Humans are pulled, as a species, into the orbit of the zoological gaze that organised and placed animals within the disciplinary and spectacular schemata of the imperial zoo. The pro formas recorded on a daily basis not just visitor numbers but the type of visitor, and as seen in Chapter One such taxonomies structured those conducting zoological work too. A pattern of subdividing groups is discernible in the pro formas, and the introduction of hierarchy into the recording of visitors to the zoo connotes, holds a mirror up to, and reinforces secondary and subordinate divisionary positions for humans within the wider complex of Victorian society. This institutional act of separating subjects into smaller parts, expressed in these spatial sections positioned relationally on the pro formas, constitutes a regularised aspect of the pages: hierarchical lists of animals and humans according to function or rank. While facilitating the central practice of the zoo — displaying ex-situ animals as exemplars for their in-situ counterparts — these examples capture how a taxonomic enterprise introduces hierarchical classifications into every aspect of their enterprise, whether workforce, visitors, documentations, bought-in resources.

These new taxonomies mirror the problematic features of the underlying natural history taxon itself. The section for ‘Particular Visitors’ does not just record aristocrats but also those who aspired to positions of authority, for example, the ascendant figure of the ‘man of science’. This is a key insight of Paul White, a historian of Victorian culture, who describes the ways in which figures such as Thomas Henry Huxley (seen in Fig. 5. and Fig. 6.) struggled to construct a new identity for their desired profession. White posits that individual actors struggled with, and against, wider domains and citadels within their culture to bring forth a unique scientific identity during the nineteenth century. The formation of the ‘man of science’ embodied different spheres of meaning because a clear path

towards the goal of ‘practicing science’ did not at that historical moment yet exist. Huxley is of particular interest to White because of the way that he forged a pathway through which other professionals later followed. Huxley came to embody the ideal that many aspired to, and as with many other aspiring scientists (including Darwin) his career started onboard an imperial vessel voyaging to the far reaches of the empire. Huxley’s first commission was in a dual role as a surgeon and naturalist aboard the HMS *Rattlesnake*, and we come across a tension in this dual persona. His journals recall ‘how his shipmates made fun of his books and threw his laborious dissections overboard as waste’.⁴³ White argues that Huxley’s diaries, journals, and letters offer ways of uncovering the construction of this identity (in particular the correspondences between Darwin and Emma Wedgwood, and the correspondences between Huxley and Henrietta Heathorn) in which discursive exchanges concerning roles, values, and ideas were debated. Various forms of writing and texts were a means by which ideas could be bounced off of one another, and complex themes could be addressed in-between the competing spheres of Victorian culture.

Diaries, journals, and correspondences refer to and comment upon real events, shared experiences, and situations as they unfold over time, but they are also, nonetheless, compositions that have been filtered through a controlling (or even impulsive) imaginative intelligence.⁴⁴ Heathorn, Huxley’s fiancée, did not see him for several years of their engagement because he was at sea on expedition. This was a time where relationships would be carried out at great distance over long periods without physical contact. White emphasises the importance of the literary construction of a shared ground of discussion between Huxley and Heathorn. In the following passage, Heathorn describes the rationale behind the journals which she wrote for Huxley to read on his long voyages abroad:

I have promised to keep a journal and this promise made to one inexpressibly dear shall be faithfully kept – a journal not only of daily occurrences but thoughts which bad or good shall be registered, even though intended for his perusal, for should he not see me as I am? I will hide

⁴³ Paul White, *Thomas Huxley Making the “Man of Science”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 15.

⁴⁴ Catherine Delafield, *Women’s Diaries as Narrative in the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Ashgate: Surrey, England, 2009), p. 23.

nothing from him. [...] I know it will cheer Hal when he again starts on another long voyage to learn how the previous year was spent at Holmwood.⁴⁵

This expresses an acknowledgment of the presence of an audience for the personal record, and Heathorn intends it to be an honest account, but the question it raises is there any writing that is not written for an audience? Heathorn's writings mirror the historian Catherine Delafield's description of the nineteenth-century diary where 'in its non-fictional form, the diary was a product of accounting and the assessment of worth in economic, spiritual and dynastic contexts'.⁴⁶ But as White's argument implies they are also complicated by issues of identity and its engagement with an audience (even if the audience is oneself or one's closest confidant).

Huxley 'reconstituted a domestic sphere through correspondence' identifiable in his writings and readings because of their immersion in literatures which spoke of 'the study of nature' and the 'pursuit of hearth and home'. This habitation of two different worlds, the imaginative balanced with the business of an imperial commission, for White, highlights the struggle of the formation of a scientific identity where Huxley and other emergent 'men of science' were required to negotiate between these two often incompatible spheres. These disparate zones can be summarized as first, the reality of empire, and second, the refinement of home —the preserve of the feminine — and White argues that this was a way in which the aspirational could mimic the established class of 'high culture and moral gravity' who displayed their eminence by crossing boundaries: 'monarchs, clergy men, captains of industry'.⁴⁷ It seems important then, that, an exemplar for the 'man of science', 'Professor Huxley', sits alongside, and in the place, previously reserved for, and occupied by Royalty and the aristocracy within the pages of the *Daily Occurrences*.

Fig. 5. and Fig. 6. are examples from the 'Particular Visitors' section of the pro formas showing Huxley just under twenty years apart and they record visits to the zoo on dates that correspond with key moments in his career:

⁴⁵ London, British Library. 10493.dd. 14, Thomas Henry Huxley, *T. H. Huxley's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, (1935), p. 270.

⁴⁶ Delafield, *Women's Diaries*, p. 23.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–11.

NUMBER OF VISITORS.		Particular Visitors.	
Privileged	Fellows	22.	
	Companions	138	
	By Orders		
	By Ivory Tickets	3	
	By the Establishment		166.
Paying	Visitors at 1s. each	1138	
	Ditto at 6d. each	33 $\frac{1}{2}$	1475
	Total		1641
MONEY TAKEN	Admissions at 1s. each	56	18. 0.
	Ditto 6d. each	8	8. 6.
		£ 65	6. 6.

Prof. Huxley.
E. H. H. Holdsworth Esq.
The Secretary.

Fig. 5. Particular Visitors: Prof' Huxley. E. H. H. Holdsworth Esq. The Secretary, Daily Occurrences, 1 May 1862.⁴⁸

The early 1860s were a successful period in Huxley's life where his star began to rise. Huxley was a prodigious organiser in the societies to which he belonged and he was well known for taking on menial roles. As his biographer, Adrian Desmond, observed 'what was drudgery to others had an urgency for him as he set about restructuring science from the base up'.⁴⁹ Huxley inserted himself into popular consciousness on Friday 10 February 1860 by delivering the first major lecture on the subject of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) at the Royal Institution. Desmond neatly captures the spirit of the time where Huxley joined 'the home-grown Volunteers', a 'self-financed rifle corps composed of merchants and professionals', which meant that he had to switch his 'drill day' so that he could deliver the lecture.⁵⁰ Such details seem to corroborate White's thesis about the movement between different spheres that the 'new wave' of scientists embraced. Further to this, Desmond argues that, Huxley was astute by linking science to the national mood where it was 'the real patriotism; because [it] armed Britain with greater intellectual firepower', a theme he did not fail to hammer home in the first lecture on Darwin's evolutionary theories.⁵¹ Huxley was made a fellow of the ZSL in 1860, where in partnership with Bishop Wilberforce, they sat together to sort out the zoo's 'finances, sack drunken keepers and oversee a stream of imperial acquisitions'.⁵² This opportunity also allowed

⁴⁸ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Visitors, May 1860.

⁴⁹ Adrian Desmond, *Huxley*, (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 302.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 266–67.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

Huxley access to the ‘exotic cadavers’ which opened up new material forms for him to dissect and deconstruct.

In June 1862, Huxley took over from Sir. W. H. Flower as the appointed Hunterian Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons. The prestigious position involved delivering twenty-four lectures on comparative anatomy and related subjects, and these lectures formed the basis of his systematic work *Comparative Anatomy* (1864). Huxley was well respected as a competent and methodical anatomist whose principle was to only make statements about anatomy from his own observations of the material. Shortly after his new appointment he undertook a series of original dissections using examples from the college’s store. The specimens he used in this work contained both entire or partially dissected animals that had been preserved in spirits, and these examples were also supplemented by fresh subjects from the zoo.⁵³ As discussed in Chapter One, Huxley and Flower were two of the four Zoological Society members who were tasked to sit on the Zootomical Committee which was a working group recommending ways to improve the zoo’s disposal of its dead animals. Huxley was a contemporary of Richard Owen (also a member of the Zoological Society), and both were comparative anatomists – Owen was originally sent ‘departed’ animals from the zoo for dissection before the institution of the Zootomical Committee in 1865. The careers of both men were similar in that they laid the ground for future scientists to follow, although they disagreed strongly about the implications of Darwin’s theory of evolution – a watershed moment that rippled through society.

The council of the ZSL had previously ruled in June 1840 that Owen ‘be allowed to dissect whenever and whatever he liked, when deaths occurred in the gardens, and to have precedence over everyone else’.⁵⁴ Owen’s book *Comparative anatomy and physiology of the vertebrates* (1866–88) was impressive in its range and depth of knowledge on the subject of morphology, and it is an institutional trace of how the Zootomical Committee sort to rationalise the science of comparative anatomy at the zoo. The Committee proposed that the Society create and appoint a new fulltime

⁵³ Leonard Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley Vol. I* (London: Macmillan, 1900), pp. 235–36.

⁵⁴ A. J. E. Cave, ‘The Zoological Society and Nineteenth Century Comparative Anatomy’, in *The Zoological Society of London 1826–1976 and Beyond: The Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Zoological Society of London*, ed. by S. Zukerman (London: Academic Press, 1976), p. 60.

salaried position, the 'Prosector', who would be responsible for: anatomical research, the provision of a consultation service for the Society's members, and the provision of advice for the material aids required to complete the pathological routines at the prosectorium. As part of the reorganisation the appearance of the *Register of Deaths* and the practical activity of the Zootomical Committee's work can be traced in the pro formas where a new space appeared across a number of months in the 'Works Section' of the pro formas. For example, between 10 May to 30 October 1865 the various trades listed in the pro formas were all involved in building a new dissection house, while in the pro forma for 15 August 1865 we can see that the following work was carried out:

Bricklayers (plus labourers): fixing chimney piece and building brickwork for tank at Dissection house. Painters (plus labourers): plumbing and painting at Dissection house. Smith (plus labourers): making ring bolts for tank at Dissection house.⁵⁵

The last work to be carried out was the final touches for the new formalised processes of disposing of the animals departing from the zoo more efficiently and with greater benefit to science,

25 October

Carpenters (plus labourer): making table for room.

28 October

Carpenters (plus labourer): making dissecting boards for room.⁵⁶

The Committee regulated and directed the disposal of prosectium material, supervised the work of the new office held by the prosector, and oversaw the creation of this new professional onsite building for the purpose of carrying out the practice comparative anatomy.

Huxley's career was firmly established and at its pinnacle when his name appears again in the 'Particular Visitors' on a pro forma dated 10 April 1881, seen below,

⁵⁵ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Work, 15 August 1865.

⁵⁶ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Work, October 1865.

SERVANTS.	All on duty. <i>except</i> { <i>A. Halland</i> <i>E. Francis</i> <i>E. Richardson</i> } <i>inwell.</i>	
NUMBER OF VISITORS.	Privileged	Particular Visitors.
	Paying	
	Fellows 240	
	Companions 361	
	Fellows' Tickets 410	
	Free Admissions 50	
	Office Tickets	
	Orders 1404	
	Ivory Tickets 33	
	The Establishment	
	Visitors at 1s. each	
	Ditto at 6d. each	
		<i>Prof. Huxley</i>
	Total 2528	
MONEY TAKEN.	Admissions at 1s. each	
	" at 6d. each	
	£	

Fig. 6. Particular Visitors: Prof. Huxley, Daily Occurrences, 10 April 1881.⁵⁷

Huxley had been appointed as ‘Inspector of Fisheries’ a few months previously, and he wrote a letter to his eldest son about the matter,

I have entered upon my new duties as Fishery Inspector, but you are not to expect Salmon to be much cheaper just yet. My colleague and I have rooms at the Home Office.⁵⁸

Huxley had been appointed on the strength of his qualifications and the fact that he had been a member of a Commission in the 1860s. Huxley is recorded in the pro forma above visiting the zoo just a short while after this important and prestigious appointment taking over from Frank Buckland, who the environmental historian Richard Hamblyn describes as ‘a would-be social reformer and committed zoophagist – an eater of unusual animals’.⁵⁹ Again, the networks at play bridge the gap between natural history and the professionalisation of discourses, because Buckland was a member of various societies (including the zoo) and captured the spirit of his time as Huxley went on to do. The image of the enthusiastic gentleman typified by Buckland — brilliant adventurer, friend of Royalty, natural historian — was usurped by the image of the moral specialist typified by Huxley – a rigidly systematic, tea-total, atheist. These are all figures who appear in the ‘Particular Visitors’ section and their lives touched the overlapping circles of Victorian natural history and the professionalisation of

⁵⁷ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Visitors, April 1881.

⁵⁸ Leonard Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley Vol. 2* (London: Macmillan, 1900), pp. 22–23.

⁵⁹ Richard Hamblyn, ‘Simply Putting on Weight’ in *London Review of Books* (2010) <<https://www.lrb.co.uk/v32/n04/richard-hamblyn/simply-putting-on-weight>> [accessed 15/02/2017].

the sciences. By the latter half of the nineteenth-century the ‘Particular Visitors’ box starts to list the speakers and subjects of its summer lecture series.

Just as the pro formas link to networks of texts in the zoological institution and beyond, for example in the *Register of Deaths*, we can also get a sense of the human interplay and networking between institutions from the ‘Particular Visitors’ section. Recorded below, in Fig. 7., we can see the visit of Dr Albert Günter another zoologist who worked at various institutions,

All on duty. Except B. Travis, H. Frustone, 6. Byles, S. Mansbridge		} day off & M. Prescott } } J. Stimpson } On Leave,
		Particular Visitors.
Privileged	Fellows	217
	Companions	357
	Fellows' Tickets	602
	Free Admissions	68
	Office Tickets	
	Orders	1992
	Ivory Tickets	
The Establishment	45	
		3183
g	Visitors at 1s. each	
	Ditto at 6d. each	
		Total . 3183
Admissions at 1s. each		
at 6d. each		
		£

E. W. H. Holdsworth Esq
Dr. Günter.

Fig. 7. Particular Visitors: E. W. H. Holdsworth and Dr. Günter, Daily Occurrences, 2 July 1882.⁶⁰

The appearance of figures such as Huxley and Günter in the ‘Particular Visitors’ sections allows for a historical retracing of the networks that emerged and indicate the ways in which the elevation of the status of their work to that of respectable professions was performed in a perfunctory manner. The way specific names are recorded are one way that the internal documents of the institution presented humans in relation to one another. The subtle visuality at play on the pages of the pro formas inscribed a hierarchical way of thinking. Differing scales in the text, arrangement, and similitudes (the placement of royalty next to scientists, school children relegated to the back) can be seen to communicate the particular conceptions and assumptions held by the institution and more broadly by society.

⁶⁰ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes, 1828–2002, Visitors, July 1882.

The *Daily Occurrences* present a type of institutional memory that problematise or add to other approaches to exploring memory at the zoo. The work of thinkers such as Foucault and Barthes are useful for considering the meaning, context, and authorship of discourses, and these terms seem especially helpful when applied to working documents — that supported through record — the activities of the zoo. By examining classifications closely, as Bowker and Star's work demonstrates, assumptions, connections, and social patterns can be found that move beyond phenomenological approaches to the living displays and exhibits as the way to understand the zoo. I argue that while such approaches are useful it is also important to ask how such institutions practically constructed and narrated the animals, and here we find it is not just animals that are reduced, but also humans, regardless of their embedded narratives, the institution has already classified and placed them. In the pro formas, zoologists and royalty inhabit the prestigious spot at the top of the hierarchy while the poor visit on cheap, time and day restricted, tickets, and school children admitted under benevolent concession are relegated to the literal back of the line — being recorded numerically, dismissed, to the back of the day sheets.

Humans in the Frame

Steven Dunn's short story, 'The Taxidermy Museum' (2018), was the opening piece in an issue of the literary magazine *Granta* dedicated to the theme of the contemporary animal. The story unfolds a witty narrative that, drawing from natural history collections and zoological institutions, subverts the tropes and logics of classificatory systems. Dunn casts his human characters in an imaginary future realm where they have metamorphized into biocultural objects, thereby, usurping and replacing the animal objects once found in nineteenth-century zoological collections. The story illustrates a pessimistic vision of complete financial domination across planet earth — predicated on the monetarizing of every object and species as a commodity-resource with an exchange-value — rendering humans alienated, estranged, and isolated. Dunn's story introduces the reader to a future territory where the bodies of military veterans have been taxidermized and displayed as specimens for contemplation by the wider polity. The narrative progresses through a series of sociological fragments that satirise the literary form of the institutional report, with the satire incorporating a variety of pro

formas: statements of intent, specimen labels, spreadsheets, and official interviews. We follow an anonymous first-person narrator as they sift through these institutional documents delivered from the future archive, while we as readers also tour the exhibits, sit in on interviews with the spectators, staff, and taxidermists. In the following excerpt, an interview with an entrant to the collection, we are party to a testimony from the archive,

Subject Interview #80023. I am extremely proud of what I did for my country. We're the good guys, you know. I put on that uniform every morning and held my chest out and chin up, knowing I was doing some real good in the world. I know my arm won't grow back, but I have absolutely no regrets. [*subject wipes away a tear.*] If God was willing, I would do it all over again. Yeah, all over again.⁶¹

The biography of the subject has been edited to suit the institution; for example, we only know what the taxidermized specimen thinks about the conflict from which it was collected, we do not know anything about the subject other than the cause of its injuries – although clearly there is inner turmoil behind the declarative patriotic statements, e.g. 'subject wipes away tear'. The identity of the specimen on display within the collection is reconfigured into a regularity that connects all of the items displayed through the reduction of elements that do not fit the rules of classificatory exhibition. In the margins, we see the instability of the categories, for example, the interview with one of the exhibits who betrays his sanctioned bravado by crying before his death and final entrance into the collection.

Dunn parodies the façade of the zoological and taxidermic museum to comment upon the absence of the deceased soldiers of imperial wars in popular discourse. The purpose of the museum in the story is implicit – its role is to legitimise and encourage further volunteers to carry out violence for a state that controls the cultural landscape and which, in turn, governs the physical territory. The narrator joins a tour of the museum and records a conversation with a young girl who has been brought to the museum for the purpose of learning about discipline and the correct means of behaving in this future society:

⁶¹ Steve Dunn, 'The Taxidermy Museum' in *Granta: Animalia*, 142 (2018), pp. 12–23 (p. 14).

the girl and I were standing next to a VOULNTEERS NEEDED sign and looking at a diorama containing a taxidermized marine [...] I pointed to the sign and jokingly told her she should volunteer. 'I think my dad is going to make me,' she said. 'For real'.⁶²

Dunn's institution contextualises the exterior sign of the human displays in order to promote a visual argument – which is commonplace to all collections. After participating in the front of house tour of the collection the narrator is welcomed backstage by the head taxidermist who reveals the construction of the collection. In the following passage we are introduced to the preparation of subjects that are in the process of being preserved upon their acquisition by the museum:

the Lead Taxidermist unlocks a STAFF ONLY door [...] we're so backlogged here [...] zero degrees Celsius. Hanging next to the door is a clipboard, white paper rows, and columns filled with text. This is our storage room for the bodies waiting to be taxied.⁶³

Here, Dunn captures the way in which the interiority of a subject is effaced upon its entrance into a collection and how this is carried out, in part, by a process of linguistic translation. It is also an uncomfortable vision because we are introduced to a collection struggling with a backlog of items waiting to cross the threshold for translation into an aspic symbol for human beings as a species. The implication is that there is no shortage of material for this dystopian museum, it is a future society where John Berger's warning in the essay 'Why Look at Animals?' has come to pass: humans are next in line for spectacular marginalisation (the product of the actual means by which groups become marginalised through the erection of boundaries, borders, systems of inequality), and in Dunn's fiction we see that it is humans who have replaced the zoological animals as objects for exemplary exhibition.

The literary scholar Randy Malamud regards the spectatorship on offer at zoos as an essentially passive activity. Malamud, similar to Holtorf, is concerned with the relationship between the exhibits and their impact upon the spectator. Holtorf engages with an essentially neutral notion of the effect of the zoo upon a visitor's memory, whereas, Malamud believes such witnessing has negative consequences. He argues that this is because zoological exhibits reduce the animal to an

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.

object which facilitates a relationship wherein the animal is objectified by the herded, gluttonous gaze of the spectator who has paid for the privilege. The licence that the ownership of this panoptic gaze empowers for the isolated zoo visitor is elaborated by Malamud: ‘peeping-watching ever present and compliant subjects, *carte blanche* encompasses zoo visitors’ role, their *raison d’etre*’.⁶⁴ For Berger, the consequence of the position that the animal occupies in the relationship is one in which ‘they have been immunised to encounter, because nothing can any more occupy a *central* place in their attention’. He notes that: ‘the animal’s gaze flickers and passes on’; they look ‘sideways’ or ‘blindly on’ as they ‘scan mechanically’ around their artificial environments.⁶⁵ Malamud describes the relationship caused by zoological enclosure as a form of voyeurism because of the passive position from which the visitors observe ‘unimpeded, imperiously, omnivorously, masters of all they survey’.⁶⁶

The negativity of this singularly voyeuristic encounter gets in the way of the possibility of more productive human-animal bonds based on creative experiences. Ultimately, the ‘power and pleasure’ of the spectator is precarious because in the exhibit ‘the actual visual pickings may prove less grand’ – and this is a theme that Dunn successfully conveys in his dystopic vision of the future museum. The consequence of exhibiting animals for a public is that by being ‘eager for quick and lurid thrills, spectators may instead discover isolation and frustration’.⁶⁷ We can see this in the example of a series of out of hours evening events that allowed a darker aspect of zoological spectatorship to re-emerge. As reported by the *Guardian* newspaper in June 2015:

[These] Zoo-Lates were marketed as an ‘after party with the animals’ and attracted a young party crowd including hen parties and hundreds dressed in animal onesies. ‘Thought the zoo was for kids?’ one article sponsored by the zoo said under the headline of ‘Release your wild side’, outlining the specially chosen wines on offer.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Randy Malamud, ‘Zoo Spectatorship’, in *The Animals Reader: The Essential Classic and Contemporary Writings*, ed. by Linda Kalof and Amy Fitzgerald (Oxford: Berg, 2007), pp. 220–35 (p. 221).

⁶⁵ John Berger, *About Looking* (New York: First Vintage, 1991), p. 28.

⁶⁶ Malamud, ‘Zoo Spectatorship’, in *The Animals Reader*, p. 222.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 221–22.

⁶⁸ Adam Vaughan, ‘London Scraps Zoo Parties’, <<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2015/jun/04/london-zoo-scraps-zoo-late-parties>> [accessed 21 August 2017].

Here the zoo is encouraging new visitors and presenting itself as an exciting tourist destination. However, some spectators in the search for ‘quick’ and ‘lurid’ thrills in the zoological environment led to reports of their ‘frustration’ and ‘alienation’ in the form of ‘alcohol-fuelled incidents’. Westminster council launched an investigation into these events on the grounds that the safety of the animals had been endangered, and they uncovered a series of allegations, which included reports of: an alcoholic drink being ‘thrown over a tiger’; a woman who tried ‘to enter a lion enclosure’ inebriated; and, a man caught ‘stripping off’ his clothes before attempting to enter the pool in the penguin enclosure.⁶⁹

The negative behaviour directed towards the ex-situ displays, throughout the zoo’s history, seems to confirm Berger’s argument about the relegation of animals. This is because such behaviour misses the purpose of the displayed ex-situ animals which is to represent all of their in-situ counterparts. The *original* animals outside of the zoo (in situ) do not correspond to the *reproductions* who are displayed inside the zoo (ex situ), and they never will. The *Daily Occurrences* are a written account of the failure to achieve a system based on the classificatory display of living creatures. Dunn’s story unpacks the way that institutions collect and make malleable their items of acquisition in order to tell a modern horror story. He uses the framework of the zoological institution and the practices of display to parody certain modes of representation and persuasion.

Dunn’s fictional collage of real events coupled with a re-imagining of existing cultural structures is at one step removed from a curio found in the archive. C. H. Keeling’s self-published memoir *They All Came into the Ark* (1988). Keeling was a self-published writer and his manuscript deposited into the archive is a form of collage that merges personal memoir and newspaper clippings from the period of the First and Second World Wars with the pro forma pages of the *Daily Occurrences*. Here, Keeling is composing a text from these disparate sources:

16 December 1914 saw the death of a female Sing-sing waterbuck which had been presented by Sir George Downton in 1910; she had been killed by a male of the species. She wasn’t the only one to be killed by a male of the species. He wasn’t the only one to be killing his own kith and

⁶⁹ Adam Vaughan, ‘London Zoo Under Investigation After Beer Thrown Over Tiger’, <<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/jul/31/london-zoo-beer-tiger-westminster-council-investigation>> [accessed 21 August 2017].

kin that day — Man's very good at it too — but we'll have to travel northwards, over the Vale of York and the glorious North Yorkshire moors to the cold and grey North Sea to discover what's amiss in this direction. It's between 8 and 9 a.m. and a column of German battle-cruisers looms out of the dark winter morning off Hartlepool and bombards the town, where—upon it turns and races southwards, blasting away at Whitby and Scarborough as it goes. A British patrolling squadron tried to cut them off, but they made good their escape. If ever you visit the excellent natural history museum at Woodend, Scarborough, the chances are you will pass an impressive terrace of large houses, so note well the chunks torn out of the masonry as this is where shell splinters struck home. I once asked a very old lady in Whitby (oh, the hours I've spent collecting in the rock pools near Sands End) whether she remembered the event “of course I do”, she said, ‘why, a man had his head blown off at the coast guard station’.⁷⁰

The *Daily Occurrences* act as a place of refuge for Keeling who in the introduction to the self-published manuscript has revealed himself as a self-confessed animal lover who, it seems, used the pro formas as a way of coming to terms with the horror of war later in life by revisiting a place that held great significance in his childhood, the zoological gardens. Keeling's manuscript performs a ‘machinic’ process that pulls from the institutional voice of the pro formas and merges it with his own memories in order to create a narrative. This is an approach to literary construction reminiscent of Roussel where existing words are the material that get worked on, not descriptions of observed matter: instead texts are used to generate and prompt further texts filtered through the internal life and memories of the author. The entries of the pro formas are collected, revised, and become a site of tension for the author of the manuscript because of the inclusion of events (and a voice) outside of the institutional one found at the zoo. Keeling is desirous of the simple structure of the institutional diary and is trying to make the more complicated business of life and trauma correspond.

In ‘The Taxidermy Museum’ it is servicemen and women, not animals, who are preserved, posed, and displayed in cabinets with descriptive labels attached. But, of course such a speculative satire is taking an imaginative jump from nineteenth-century collections that actually displayed humans and animals. These were also institutions that dissected and cut into animals as subjects of enquiry (and further exhibition) through their deep anatomy (although this was not for public display

⁷⁰ London, BL, Cup.410.g.105, C. H. Keeling, *They All Came into the Ark* (1988).

but rather the gaze of specialists and professionals). During the nineteenth and early twentieth century the diorama became a convenient medium for displaying animals, akin to the convenience offered by the practicality of skin collection identified, as we have seen in Chapter One, by Ann C. Colley. The benefit of the diorama is that it allowed for a visual arrangement which could communicate to, and cater for, the tastes of different audiences. The writer and curator Rachel Poliquin argues that there is a conceptual link between the content of all dioramas (the scene), even if the ‘emotion and purpose’ of the displays vary greatly. There is a comparison to be made between dioramas that make a spectacle of ‘animal savagery’ with ones that are concerned with ‘habitat’. This is because both genres of display are embracing a technology (taxidermy) in order to communicate and make myths for their audience.⁷¹ What Dunn’s fiction gives us beyond taxonomic meaning, biographical metaphor, and critical interpretation is a fictional exploration of the complexity at the centre of classificatory discourse. At the zoo its often the animal displays and their meaning — whether as scientific objects or as the backdrop for memories — that are contemplated rather than recognizing that the displays are the end product of the assertive voice of the institution.

Booth Museum of Natural History

Edward Thomas Booth — an English aristocrat who dedicated his life to hunting — founded the Booth Museum in 1874 to house his collection of diorama cases that displayed ornithological specimens in their habitats. Booth, as his portrait in Fig. 8. denotes, was a wealthy gentleman whom used his class privilege and inherited wealth to pursue his obsession of hunting animals.

⁷¹ Rachel Poliquin, *The Breathless Zoo*, (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), p. 82.



Fig. 8. Edward Booth Portrait (Date Unknown).⁷²

In the images above, Booth's wealth and social status is denoted in a number of ways: by his dress, ownership of horses and a carriage, his poses, the presentation of objects – including his dogs, one of whom is pictured next to a bottle of champagne. The dioramas at Booth's self-founded museum purport to display 'British birds' in their natural habitat, however, it is a collection that puts on show the technologic violence of the diorama as a medium. Through a cache of institutional texts and diaries Booth's collection and classificatory displays are found to be by-products of his central practice: hunting. An investigation of Booth's writings alerts us to a similar skepticism offered by Foucault about Roussel's claim that his entire oeuvre was the result of an occult scientific method.

Fig. 9. shows a series of photographs that were available for purchase at Booth's museum, and the sales board provides a useful introduction to the content and scale of this collection of hunted birds.

⁷² Brighton, Booth Museum (BM), BMB. *Edward Booth Portrait* (Date Unknown).



Fig. 9. Diorama photographs for sale board (Date Unknown).⁷³

Poliquin argues that we can categorise the different styles to which taxidermy has been constructed for display within cabinets, collections, and vitrines. Her insight is that ‘habitat diorama’, such as those seen above, created ‘an immaculate vision of nature uncontaminated by human presence’, and this was because they presented an ‘intimate moment’ where there is a sense of ‘nature untouched’ with an absence of ‘didactic information’. Poliquin critiques scholars such as Donna Haraway who

⁷³ BM, BMB. *Diorama photographs for sale board.*

focus on how nineteenth century diorama displays contributed to wider discourses of order to the exclusion of the aesthetic qualities of these bio-cultural objects. She argues that there is a ‘raw animal presence’ which complicates ‘cultural’ readings of ‘nature’, and this problematises the entry of such unadorned objects into systems of classification. For Poliquin, animal objects always retain a trace of their origin beyond the technologies that order them. Booth’s dioramas are of particular interest because they are contextualised in the ‘order’ category – similar in presentation to the types of specimen’s displayed by institutions such as the natural history collection at Tring, or the ethnographic collection at the Horniman Museum; yet, I argue that Booth’s presentation of animals complicates Poliquin’s critique of Haraway. This is because that although Booth’s dioramas are related to these ‘order’ collections, their naturalistic setting and (arguable) taxonomic placement is undermined by the literary reconstruction of his own collection found in the archive. This edges the taxidermy collection closer towards a form of didactic ‘allegory’ or ‘spectacle’ which celebrates the collector.⁷⁴ Booth’s dioramas are framed by a cache of texts that speak of the institution and the subjective nature of animal display, and this example offers a cogent comparison to the regularised pro formas of London Zoo. Behind Booth’s displays, beyond the accoutrements of the method and professionalism of their exhibition, we find a collection fuelled by mania and a dedication to death.

Booth’s diorama’s are aesthetically utilitarian and their presentation successfully adopts the visual fashion of a relational system comprising of individual units that aggregate towards a complete taxonomy of ‘British birds’. The dioramas themselves were, and are, stacked, numbered, and listed while their contents were classified and published in the exhibition catalogue – comparable to the ZSL’s catalogue. The types of naturalistic scenes found in Booth’s schematic cabinets show the birds enacting a ‘snap shot’ of their behaviour in the environment and habitat from which he collected them – and as Haraway points out the complexity behind the frozen vista that we see in these types of cases connotate the technologic practice rather than any ‘truth’ in the scene. This is because the processes of taxidermy, preservation, and reconstruction needed to complete the scenes of the dioramas are highly involved, technical, and time consuming, which is paradoxically at odds with the final product: a

⁷⁴ Poliquin, *The Breathless Zoo*, pp. 104–09.

frozen self-contained vista sliced out of time.⁷⁵ A cache of Booth's writings found in the archive are, almost exclusively, concerned with the 'technologic practice' that constructed his displays. The animal-objects in these displays are surprisingly absent, present only as objects to be trapped, recovered, or to be obtained at great cost.

In the introduction to Booth's museum catalogue, the collector explains his collection to an ideal observer, writing that,

all scientific arrangement has been given up as hopeless in a collection where the chief object has been to endeavour to represent the birds in situations from which they were obtained; many of the cases, indeed being copied from sketches taken on the actual spots where the birds themselves were shot.⁷⁶

From the outset, Booth is delineating the frontier of his life's work, positioning it against the norms of the emergent metropolitan science with its new networks and professionalisation in active discursive fields. Booth was familiar to the developing scientific community, for example, in a letter dated 4 July 1882 Booth wrote to Günter enquiring about the best way to offer animals to London Zoo:

I am intending to get rid of my gannets (six old one young) as I have proved all that I require to learn from them and I was thinking of offering them to the zoo [...] I am going in for small sea birds and the gannets swallow them which is not conducive to their welfare [...] would it be better to offer to lend or to 'deposit' the gannets at the zoo? I do not however suppose I should ever want them again.⁷⁷

Above, Booth displays some understanding of the language deployed by the zoo concerning the way that animals entered the zoological collection, and it is through letters like the one above where we can trace the networks identified by scholars such as White. In a letter to Günter from Sclater we see the zoo's response to Booth's proposal, which is a rejection: 'I have written to Mr. Booth declining his offer with thanks, for I think it too much to spend on a single species'.⁷⁸ Later in life, Booth's bequest of his collection to the Natural History Museum was also rejected and it was instead taken

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁷⁶ Brighton, The Keep (TK), SxLocalHistory/232. Booth, Edward Thomas, *Catalogue of the cases of birds in the Dyke Road Museum*, Brighton (Second Edition, 1896).

⁷⁷ London, Natural History Museum (NHM), DF ZOO/200/36/32. Booth to Günter. *Correspondences of Dr. Günter*, 4 July 1882.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 August 1882.

over by Brighton City Council who continue to maintain it to this day.⁷⁹ Why was Booth's collection not considered suitable for the national collection? The answer is perhaps indicated in the differences between the general tone and content of the correspondences between Booth, Günther, and the supervisors at the zoo. In the following excerpt, Booth is writing to Günther about hunting:

we were away in Norfolk all winter but it was a poor season for fowl – I only shot 1 swan 2 geese [...] 2 gadwall 1 smear. I shot a very good male hoopoe on April 24 and only this morning I heard of another about 20 miles from here [...] Mrs Booth wishes to be remembered to Mrs Günther.⁸⁰

The tone is that of a leisured gentleman rather than a professional contact and the primary concern of Booth's activity as a hunter of birds is prominent – he celebrates his shooting of a rare bird: a hoopoe, whereas, in the following example of correspondence from Bartlett to Günther we are presented with a moment of excitement at the prospect of making scientific discoveries in the prevailing idiom of comparative anatomy:

I have just returned from Liverpool and bought up an animal that died there last night, it is larger than any Chimpanzee I have ever seen, and there are many differences in its appearance, that I should like you to see it, before the skin is removed, if you can spare time to come here this afternoon, or tomorrow before 12 o'clock I shall be here to show it to you.⁸¹

The tone here, by contrast, is collegiate and illustrates the emerging spirit of the professionalisation of science that made figures such as Booth seem anachronistic. For example, Booth's equation of hunting with sport, and the link that is confirmed or emphasised between the men through the secondary place of the wives in the work correspondence (e.g. 'Mrs Booth wishes to be remembered to Mrs Gunther'). In contrast, Bartlett's letter to Günther illustrates the continuing shock waves of Darwin's theory of evolution which stimulated a discourse that looked towards proving or disproving the link between humans and their primate origins. The speed of life in the metropolis at the centre of

⁷⁹ Brighton Museums, 'About Edward John Booth', <<https://brightonmuseums.org.uk/booth/about/edward-booth/>> [accessed 13 October 2019].

⁸⁰ NHM, DF ZOO/200/36/32. Booth to Gunter. *Correspondences of Dr. Gunter*, 4 July 4. 1882, Booth to Gunter.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Bartlett to Gunter, July 29. 1880.

empire can be felt in this letter too: a meeting is arranged for the next working day – the search for clues of human origin is, here, exciting, a race against time, modern.

Was the rejection of Booth's Museum by the Natural History Museum to do with the gulf between his 'natural history' collection and the direction of travel of metropolitan science more broadly? What is certainly the case is that Booth's collection is unique in its total vision, even if it was, a vision of time standing still. The collected objects used for the contents of the dioramas and their arrangement within the cases was supported by a subjective literary, conceptual, and pictorial framework that are identifiable in Booth's diaries. The use of drawing and sketching in the field, as a communicative and descriptive technique, was a vital part of Booth's practice for the physical realisation of one of his dioramas. Booth used observation and skill to dispense vital visual information to his employees for the imaginative reconstructions of the site-specific scenes of the animals he acquired. The drawings completed in the field provided situational aide-mèmoires, detailing the conditions, environment, and geography from where the specimen has been acquired (hunted), essential for arranging, communicating, and organising the composition of the dioramas with those commissioned to carry out the practical work of building the cases. There is a sizable collection of these sketches — the surviving artefacts of the un-recorded discussions that Booth would have had with the workers he commissioned — held in the museum archive.

It is clear that these were working drafts that contributed to the process of staging and composing the specimens and elements of the habitat for the cases. The background (foliage, habitat, environment, scene) were often sketched separately from the birds so that the central subject (the figures of the obtained animals) could be repositioned and moved around the representation of the place where the bird was obtained. The sketch allows for a discussion between commissioner and maker to explore the possible compositions and arrangements for the final case – the images are objects for Booth and the crafts persons to stimulate discussion, to experiment, to visually prompt where dialogue fails. Fig. 10 an example one of Booth's field sketches:



Fig. 10. Painting/Sketch for Diorama by Booth, (Date Unknown), watercolour, 154cm x 60 cm.⁸²

We can see, above, how Booth visually planned his dioramas and his attention to wider detail includes: the habitat, the nest with eggs and how it sits within the landscape, the types of flora, the geography which includes rocks, waterways, and top soil. In this picture, Booth is gesturing towards the ‘behaviour’ or activity that the birds were engaged in before his acquisition of them. The size and colour of the sketches indicates Booth’s wealth because he was able to practically and materially hunt, collect, paint, and produce records of these events.

Booth’s archive opens up the problem of methodology because the diaries have radically different forms, the information is fragmentary which raises the question are items missing? There are slight pieces of evidence such as the sketches from which we can infer the process of Booth reconstruction of the collected scenes that the dioramas aim to represent. The minutes of a meeting for the Booth Museum Committee, dated 18 May 1894, show the custodians of the collection in agreement for the need to finish off a case that was under construction at the time of Booth’s death.

⁸² BM, BMB 125768. *Field Drawings*.

This item of business in the minutes gives a rare glimpse of the elements involved in the construction of one of the Booth's dioramas. 'Pratt & Son' were the local business that Booth used to produce his 'natural history' dioramas at the end of his life. We can see that the majority of the work was outsourced as the commission involved: building the case, cleaning the birds, and mounting.⁸³ Booth's involvement in the dioramas encompassed the collection and curation of the items for display. In an undated letter, addressed to Günter, Booth provided advice about his experience of working with a particular craftsman with whom he had previously worked on his dioramas. Booth wrote:

Just got your letter. I found Saville a good hand at fitting cases. I do not know any person who could do the work as well.⁸⁴

This letter again provides an insight into the unofficial networks that circulated between individuals who recommended and advised one another over the development of their collections. It also highlights the fact that, although on the fringes of metropolitan scientific developments and institutions, Booth was someone whose opinion on certain matters was considered valid – especially when it came to presenting animals as objects. Booth was a recognisable connoisseur and authority on the craft of naturalistic displays and the business of taxidermy commission, but as has been made apparent, not someone at the cutting edge.

The motivation behind Booth's project is clearly described in the introduction to the museum's catalogue, where he explains the philosophy behind his collection:

all scientific arrangement has been given up as hopeless in a collection where the chief object has been to endeavour to represent the birds in situations from which they were obtained; many of the cases, indeed being copied from sketches taken on the actual spots where the birds themselves were shot.⁸⁵

⁸³ BM, BMB, *Sub-committee October 1893 to February 1908*.

⁸⁴ NHM, DF ZOO/200/36/32–268. *Correspondences of Dr. Gunter, 1880–1890*.

⁸⁵ TK, SxLocalHistory/232. Edward Thomas Booth, *Catalogue of the cases of birds in the Dyke Road Museum, Brighton* (Second Edition, 1896).

This open declaration of the peculiar impetus that inspired the work of the collection was not lost on the visitors, as we can see from the comments in the comment book for the museum, one visitor wrote,

it is quite a relief to one after going through the tedious and monotonous work of inspections of stuffed mummies usually seen in museums and their formal appearance in scientific order with sometimes almost any number of Latin names attached to meet with a collection arranged in such a happy manner; life like pictures of birds being presented in all season and localities, each group being arranged after a most careful study of the species.⁸⁶

As noted in the excerpt above, this was a collection that projected authority through ‘arrangement’ but avoided the caricature of being ‘tedious and monotonous’ in ‘formal appearance’. Booth adds his own comment to the museum’s comment book, and it captures something of the seriousness of the activity to which he dedicated his life:

May 9. 1881. If those who have entered their names above had simply taken the trouble to examine the cover of the book they would have discovered it was intended for criticism [...] visitors are not solicited to put down their names unless they have some criticism to offer. E. J. Booth.⁸⁷

The Booth museum was clearly the vision of one man, and this is in contrast to London Zoo with its governing council, patrons, members, fellows, and employees. Booth’s collection as illustrated by his comment above can be seen as a highly personal endeavour, and as Jean Baudrillard argued, even ‘when a collection transforms itself into a discourse addressed to others, it continues to be first and foremost a discourse addressed to oneself; collections can never escape from their ‘internal systematization’, so whether the institution is reliant upon one collector or multiple members it is important to locate the systems of knowledge interior to the collection to understand it.⁸⁸

The entire package of the Booth Museum — the building, the extensive collection of dioramas, the accompanying literary discourse — fits with John Elsner and Rodger Cardinal’s assertion that

⁸⁶ BM, BMB 125768. *Comments and Guest Book*, entry in comments book, 29 April 1882.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, entry in comments book, 9 May 1881.

⁸⁸ Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, trans. by James Benedict (London: Verso, 1996), p. 111–12.

‘collecting is classification lived, experienced in three dimensions’.⁸⁹ The museum catalogue for Booth’s collection is confident and authoritative, and utilises visual hierarchy to provide an impression that there is a universal rather than an underlying personal system at work. The catalogue expertly deploys typefaces, headings, a standardized layout positions for the text, repetitions in the layout, and these all work together to connote the existence of a rule-based hierarchy that indicates an ordered (and presumably a comprehensible) system. Each entry in the catalogue is visually uniform: it lists the specimen, it is numerically relational to the cases, and each contains a description. It is through this form that the catalogue implicitly denotes the authority and truthfulness of the collection that it represents, however, a close examination of the content of the catalogue entries show that the collection is far from ordered, comprehensible, or *natural*. Fig. 11. shows Case 44 from Booth’s museum and it is a diorama of two mating curlew and their offspring arranged in a replication of the habitat from which they were collected.

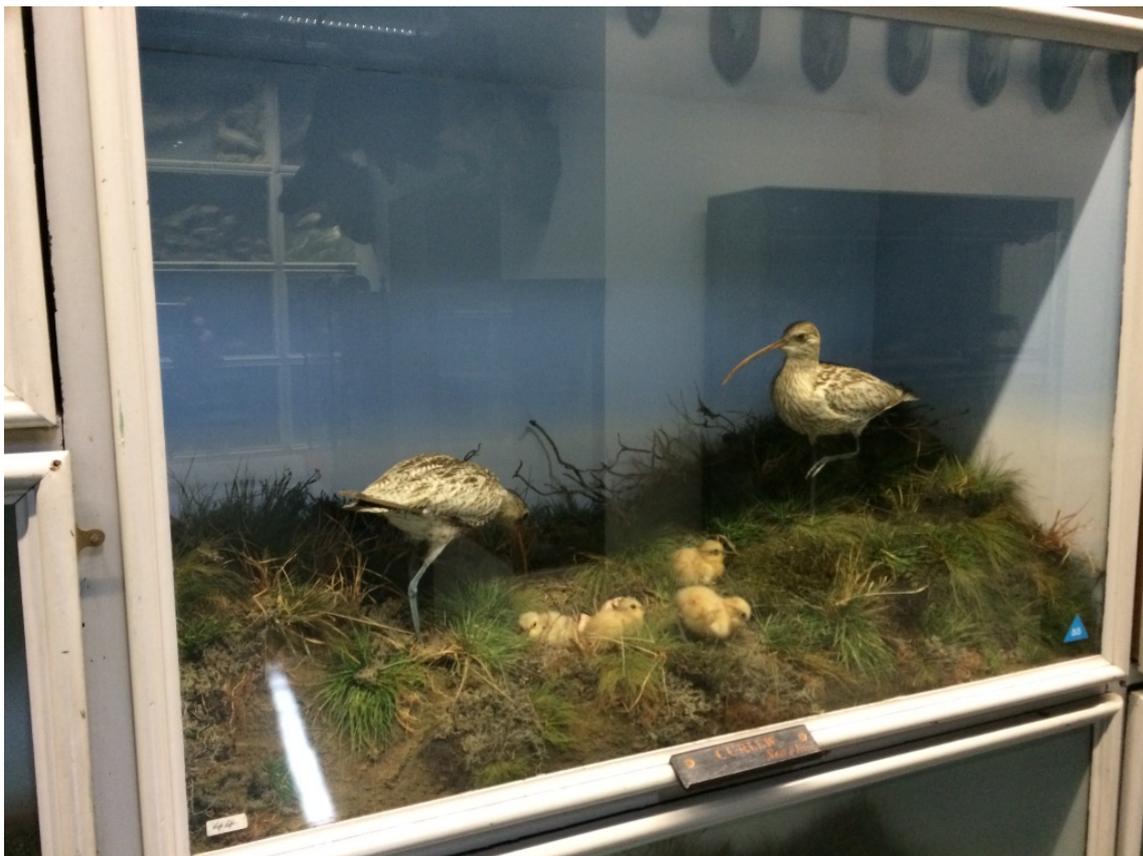


Fig. 11. Curlew, Case 44, Booth Museum.

⁸⁹ John Elsner and Rodger Cardinal, ‘Introduction’ in *Cultures of Collecting*, ed. by John Elsner and Rodger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1994), pp. 1–3 (p. 2).

The catalogue's category for the description of the cases directly reference the displays and the entry for Case 44 (Fig. 11.) explains to the reader (the ideal type presumably being those who were also simultaneously spectators contemplating the object):

curlew are a first-rate bird for the table, particularly when a few severe frosts have taken down a little of the fat with which they are almost all covered with when they arrive on our mudbanks.⁹⁰

Booth's writing for the catalogue entries is digressive, for example in the passage quoted above, olfactory taste is the subject under discussion and any firm conclusions drawn upon the flavour of food will be subjective. The example captures what is at play within the formal properties of the catalogue which, in short, are the presentation of Booth's personal statements and opinions on a variety of subjects tenuous to the scientific classification of animals – similar to Hotlorf and Malamud's anthropological readings of the zoo in relation to their own memories. Booth's catalogue, while ornamented in a manner that presupposes authority and, if not objective rigor, at least a logical rational, draws instead upon his highly peculiar, violently and obsessively amassed, personal collection of stuffed animals. Booth's interpretation of the objects that he has hunted and presented in his museum cross over the threshold of the wider cultural discourse and differing currents within Victorian shooting events, collecting practices and presentations of natural histories, hunting sports and clubs.

The catalogue entry for red grouse (Autumn, Case 75) illustrates the concern Booth, the collector's, paternalistic attitude to the countryside, and it is in contrast to the networks of naturalists who, as has been seen, worked globally in imperial networks. Booth's accompanying description for the classification of the grouse focuses on offering his advice on how best to ensure good numbers of game throughout the shooting season. Here, he sketches out the problem:

it has frequently been put forward that the killing down of vermin destroys the balance of nature and is prejudicial to the well-being of game. I do not deny that this may be the case where a too heavy stock of game is kept up; but on ordinary moors, here the ground is properly

⁹⁰ TK, SxLocalHistory/232, Edward Thomas Booth, *Catalogue of the cases of birds in the Dyke Road Museum*, Brighton (Second Edition, 1896).

shot over; the vermin must be kept down, or that balance of nature which so delights the theorists to talk about would soon be lost.⁹¹

and then he addresses how he personally thinks the issue should be resolved:

(1) always to kill down the single old cock grouse when and where I could (I myself treated them as vermin and shot them for two or three months after the close of the season. This I am afraid some people might consider highly improper). (2) Always be on good terms with the farmers and (more particularly) with the shepherds (they are on the ground all year round).⁹²

A first-person voice has entered into the catalogue and it is one that is neither procedural, evidential, nor open to debate; rather it speaks from the authority of the position of an active subject who draws conclusions from a privileged position that conjures up customary rights, ownership, and material wealth. Booth provides anecdotal evidence for the yields and rewards that will follow from his solution for the sportsman shooting grouse: ‘after three years of trapping and carefully looking after the ground, one gun was able to average forty-five brace of grouse a day for the first ten days shooting, without counting two or three hundred head of other game’. The entry concludes in a similar manner to all of the other entries in the catalogue: a note on the site where the animals in the case were obtained, for example, in this instance ‘the specimen [grouse] in the case were shot on the Innerwick Moors and Glenlyon, Perthshire, October, 1865’.⁹³ The record and recreation of the site or place of collection maybe presented as a form of naturalistic information, but these highly mediated objects disseminate only the subjectivity of the collector and the peculiarity of his activities.

Booth takes care to celebrate the birds that he has obtained; we can see this in the description that accompanies Case 305, in which he discards the link between hunting and the population decrease of golden eagles,

the golden eagle is stated by several writers to be rapidly disappearing from the British Islands [...] If the eagles of former days showed any bravery in the defence of their nests and young I am afraid the race has sadly degenerated, as more cowardly brutes than those specimens of the “noble bird” that have come under my own observation would be hard to find.⁹⁴

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

Booth claims that the cause of the reduction in eagle numbers is the result of their lack of human qualities and a generalised degeneration of the species. The deployment of the notion of ‘degeneration’ in this context (between 1876–1890) seems to reflect the general vogue for the terms popularised by Social Darwinists such as Ernst Haeckel. The content of each entry in the catalogue, in spite of the visually uniformity, touches upon a variety of subjects which display the disparate thoughts of the collector – impressions, recollections, advice. The contents of Booth’s catalogue greatly vary, and the information in the categories often tell us more about the collector, commissioning curator, and cataloguer (the ‘great man’) than they do about the surface remnants of the obtained birds (beak, wings, feet) frozen in the staged actions of their last moments.

The Booth Cache: Catalogue, Collection, and Biographical Base Texts

The anecdotal nature of the catalogue descriptions originated from Booth’s personal diaries, which are clearly the base texts from which the material for the published works came, particularly the *Catalogue of the Cases of Birds in the Dyke Road Museum* (1876).⁹⁵ The cache of diaries found in the archive at the Booth museum include: three *Game diaries* (1855–1856), (1865–1866), (1866–1867); six *Travel diaries*: Highlands (1868), Scotland (1868–1869), (Norfolk 1871), (Sussex 1872), (Norfolk 1872), Norfolk (1872–1873), including two typed and copy edited versions of trips to Scotland and Norfolk; a *Black Diary* which covers time in spent in Norfolk (1871–1872), Brighton (1872), Breydon & Norfolk (1872–1873); three *Notebooks*: ‘On Sussex birds’ (1873), ‘Intermittent’ (1874–1875), ‘On the Highlands’ (Spring, 1877), Various (1873–1879); and two *Indexes* that list the contents of the diaries and notebooks alphabetically by bird and subject. These diaries fluctuate in terms of their content and form, for example Fig. 12. and Fig. 13. highlight the elaborate methods that Booth used for keeping the score and running totals of the animals that he obtained, or more precisely, hunted over long periods of sustained shooting events and travels. The example in Fig. 12., from the Game

⁹⁵ This is also apparent in a large format book of illustrated prints accompanied by titled fragments (similar to the descriptions found in the entries in the catalogue) detailing Booth’s thoughts on specific birds. See: Edward Thomas Booth *Rough Notes* (London, Porter & Dulac: 1881).

Diary (1866–1867), contains addition sums for birds collected while the page on the left captures a series of smaller jottings and loosely noted sums:

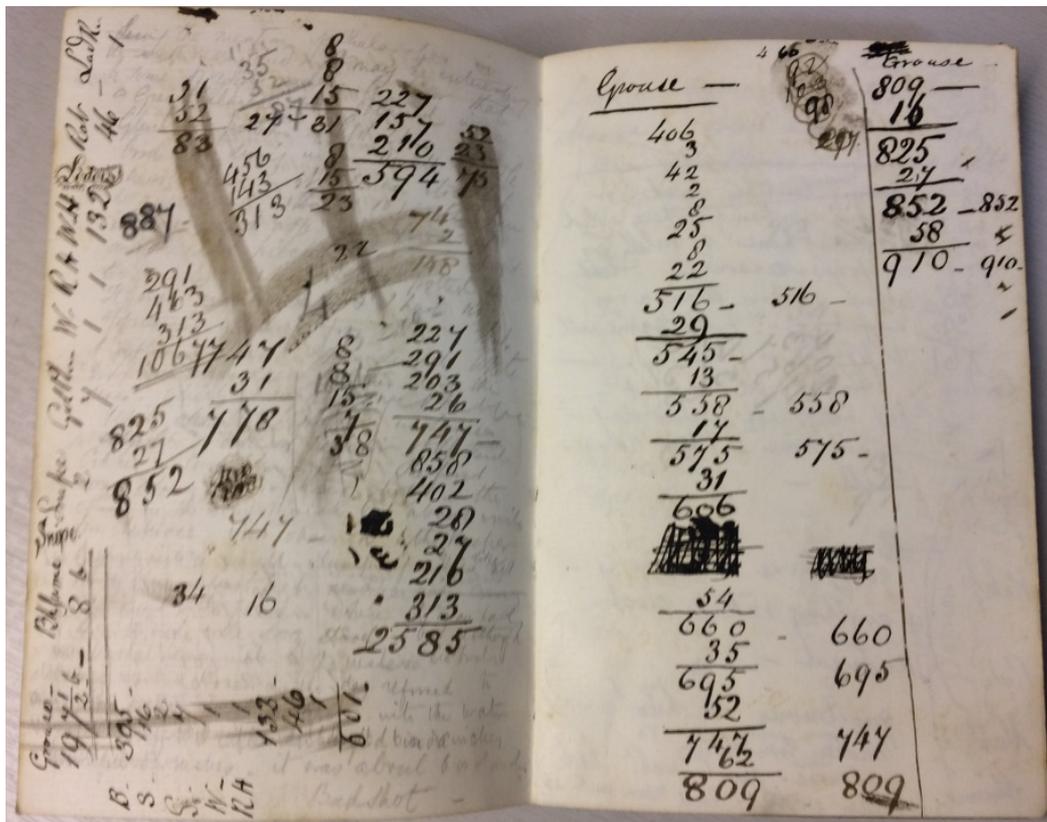


Fig. 12. Sums and totals for numbers of Grouse hunted from Booth's 'Game Diary' (1866–1867).⁹⁶

The page seen above is characteristic of the entries in the Game Diary: it is a working book of smudges, sums, and totals. The text has been entered in at angles or at different positions where examples of visual thinking sprawls across the surface of the page. The righthand page in the example shows a longer list of additions underneath a heading for 'Grouse'. It seems this page is more of a summation of previous working outs, utilising two spatial columns in order to reach a total of eight hundred and nine successful shootings. These pages are typical for this particular diary and it is a working document that displays an individual's use of mathematics to narrate a specialized form of human-animal relation.

Fig. 13. is another page from the same diary, and we can see the deployment of a seemingly more graphic and reflective use of the tabular grid:

⁹⁶ BM, BMB 125569. Edward Thomas Booth, *Game Diary* (1866–1867).

Grouse	1072
Blk game	19
Ptarmigan	10
Pardidge	10
Woodcock	2
Snipe	20
Curlew	6
Plover	8
Solden Plover	10
Sandrail	17
Teal	2
Argem	1
Duck	33
Goosander	3
Dotterel	1
Red Hare	10
White	668
Rabbit	928
Roe	1
	<u>2829</u>

Fig. 13. List of birds and total number hunted from 'Game Diary' (1866–1867).⁹⁷

This grid captures, within its scaffolding-like-lines, a list of birds hunted by Booth. The animals are arranged into columns, in no discernable order other than for the purpose of arranging numerical values, to represent the quantity of each taxon obtained in the field. Located towards the end of the diary this table offers final conclusions, and the opportunity for a quantitative relational rumination on the differential volumes of animals shot – but it also doubles as an overall total: two thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine. The table is a structure for absorbing an arbitrary tally where different

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

species are tipped on top of one another, piled up, into an abstracted framework based upon the metric of one for one. What we see is an abstracted trophy that points towards the void that lurks in Booth's ability to perceptually communicate a tally of kills, and this is a cogent example of the ability that spatially-arranged visual-language has for the effacement of processes, things, objects, and beings.

There is an uneasy intimacy in Booth's earlier diaries conveyed through the concern with the listing, recording, and accounting of the animals that he hunted. Such uneasiness springs from the intimacy unique to the diary form, because one aspect of diaries is the way that they can be used in an unguarded manner, which appears to be the case here. Booth is visually thinking by working problems out on the pages, and we are privy to his thought processes where calculations are solved. The reader of these diaries is witness to the mathematical sums captured by the graphic gestures that were impressed onto the surfaces of the texts. Many of the later diaries (which include notes and rewrites produced for the purpose of transforming the content into published texts) are worked over, becoming palimpsests, with liminal and fluid qualities, for example, below in Fig. 14., a map of a section of the Norfolk mudflats recedes beneath competing lists of place names and birds, which in turn, appears to rest upon sections of prose:

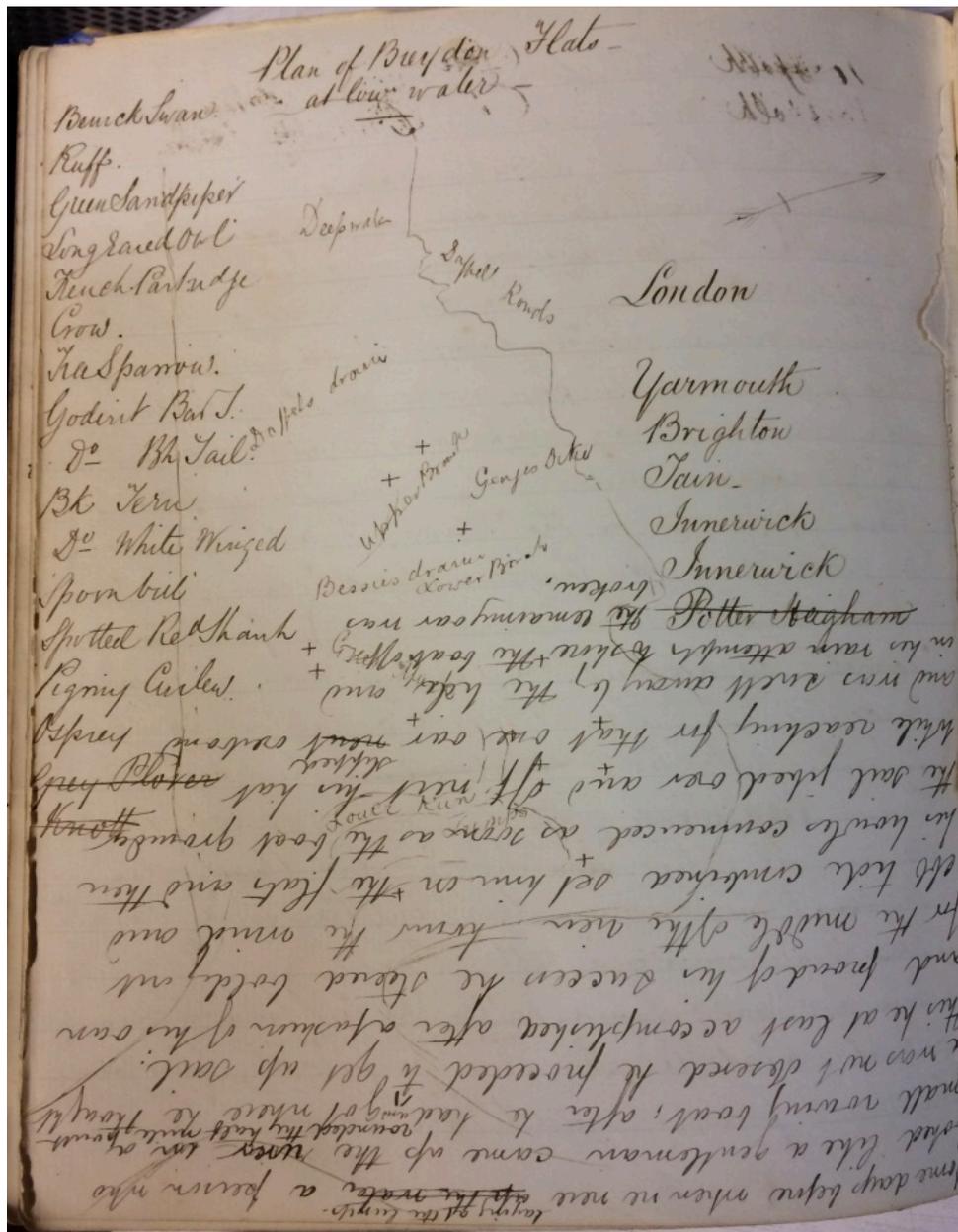


Fig. 14. Page from Booth Diary (1872).⁹⁸

Here, there is a reminiscence of Booth's that recalls his witnessing of a man adrift offshore in a boat who loses his oars and direction in an extreme storm. The example in Fig. 14. may on first impression appear to be nonsensical but this is because it was not written for an audience. The blurring of boundary can be seen in terms of the way that Booth used texts to construct and express his collection. These texts observably blur (often in a very literal sense in the archive) under the weight of

⁹⁸ BM, BMB 125566. Edward Thomas Booth, *Diary Norfolk (1872–1873)*, p. 110.

the accretion of different types of writing which encroach upon one another and thereby collapses contexts — this palimpsest appears as if it had just occurred — it is a riot of gestural mistakes, abandonments, reworkings, changes, and archival interventions, strewn across the pages of diaries, notebooks, and manuscripts. The sums, tally's, scores, maps, lists, fragments of prose that recollect impressions and set out memories, are the buttresses required to support the compulsive adoption of a hunter's identity – the early diaries are the refuge for the interior life of a wealthy man caught up in a changing society who has found solace in a self-appointed role.

There is a distinct change in the tone and comprehensibility identifiable between the diaries where numerical totals become one element within a wider spectrum of reminiscences about the activity and events of Booth's hunting career. The six *Travel Diaries* that detail Booth's extensive hunting trips between 1868–1873 seem to have invigorated his literary range, in which the act of travel, with its logistics, experiences of lodging in the great hunting estates, and the days and nights spent hunting are at times vividly described. In the following passage Booth is on a hunting trip in the Highlands and is waiting for a guide,

Saturday 16. Called again on Ross at 7.30 AM. Same news, not expected till seen, went for another walk [...] had several lunches to pass the time and also found consolation in whisky, but the time went terribly slow.⁹⁹

These packed *Travel Diaries* contain what I argue is a formal mode of memoir, recalling 'official diaries', in the way that they record typical subjects (although the gossip is centred on the hunt rather than characters or social manners): times, places, weather, travel plans, equipment, the aims of the day, the success or failures, the restating or abandonment of objectives in the face of events on the ground – including Booth's frustration when not being able to hunt.

Gestural marks are commonplace throughout the diaries — scribbles, crossings out, sums, doodles, splurges — and they are difficult to date because the diaries became the base texts for the published works, and so have been subject to durational processes of revision, editing, and classifying. The quotidian often leaps out and surprises in these diary pages that contain lengthy lists

⁹⁹ BM, BMB 125767, *Edward Thomas Booth, Typed Transcripts of Travel Diaries*.

and recollections of animals shot, for example Fig. 15. is a recipe that appears at the end of a prose sequence about the birds of Norfolk, and, in Fig. 16. there is an example of one of the few sketches that can be found.

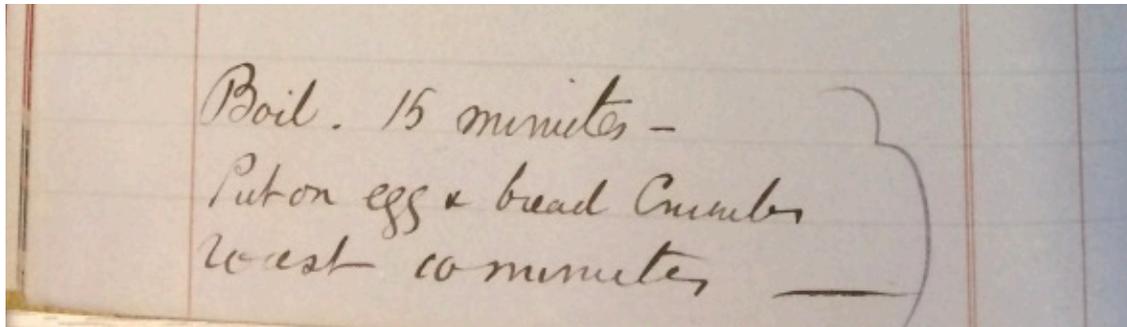


Fig. 15. Booth's Recipe in a margin, *Norfolk Diary* (1872–1873).

Boil. 15 Minutes –
Put on egg & bread crumbs
to rest 10 minutes – ¹⁰⁰

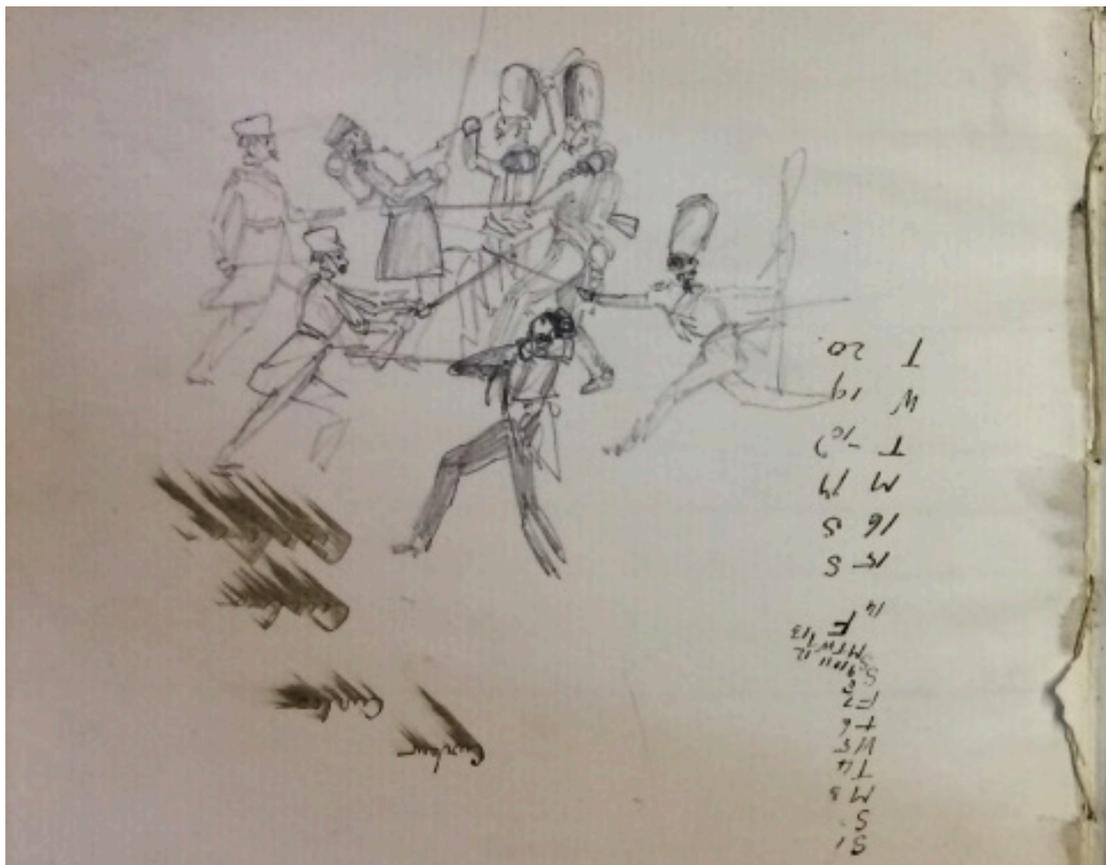


Fig. 16. Battle scene doodle on back page, *Game Diary* (1855–1856).¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ BM, BMB 125566, *Edward Thomas Booth, Diary Norfolk* (1872–1873).

¹⁰¹ BM, BMB 125569, *Edward Thomas Booth, Game Diary* (1866–1867).

The diaries were the base texts for Booth's published works, and as we have seen they bring the autobiographical nature of his life's work to the surface – whose final material form is his museum. The following example (Fig. 17.) is a page from Booth's indexes, which he used as a way of filtering content from the diaries into the museum *Catalogue* and *Rough Notes*; here, we can see how he processed raw material for his published commentaries that explained the animal displays:

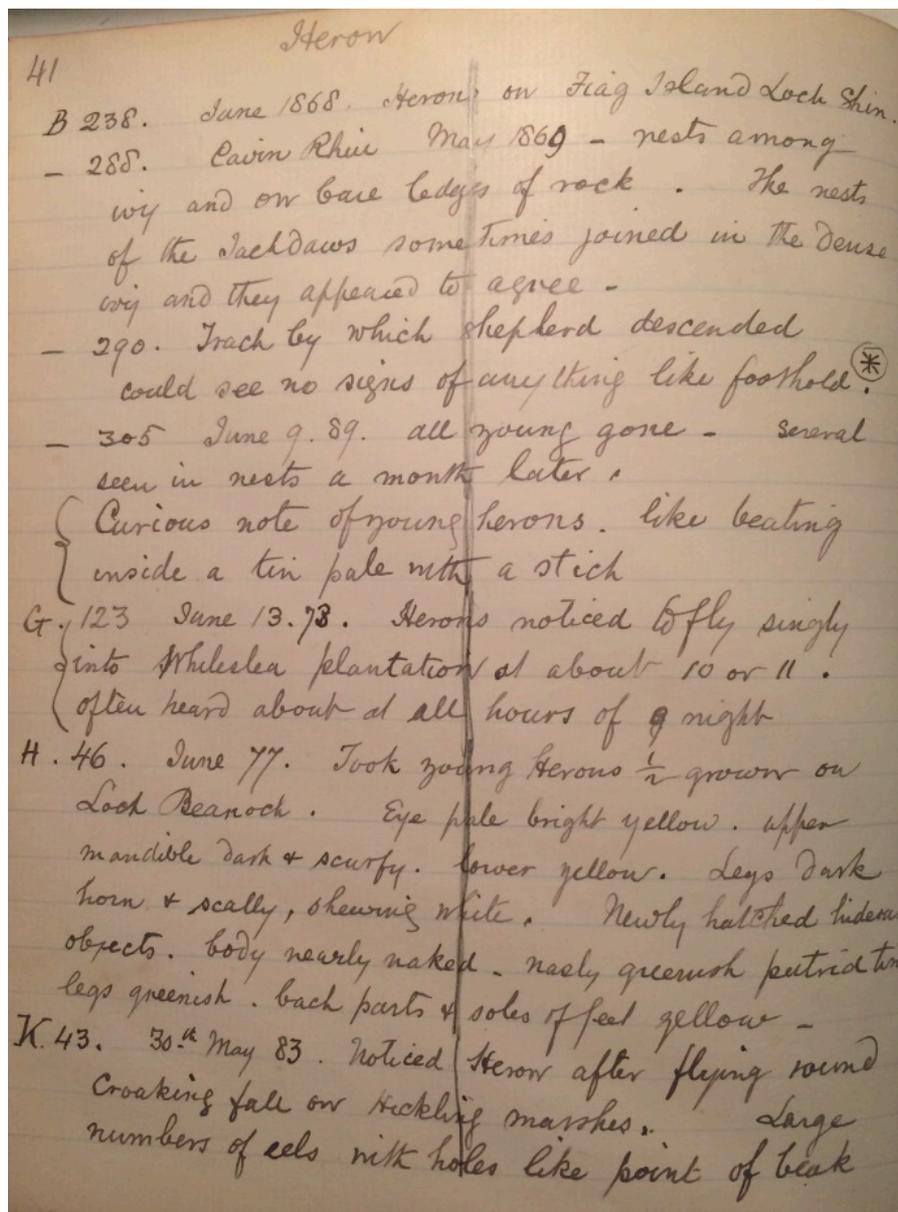


Fig. 17. Page from Booth Diary and Journal Index.¹⁰²

¹⁰² BM, BMB 125573, Edward Thomas Booth, *Diary and Journal Index*.

In the margins are letters corresponding to the diaries which have been retrospectively labelled. In the example above, we can see all the entries for 'Hérons' compiled from across Booth's corpus and the index does this for all of the species that were on display at the museum. The index can be thought of as a type of institutional transition text because it filtrates information in and out of the Booth cache for use in the published works. And they are works which are, either directly or indirectly, related to the shooting of birds. Booth's way of collecting and representing animals was based upon hunting, and the collection is a series of trophies which the writing serves to elucidate. This is a retrospective activity distinct from institutional pro formas such as the *Daily Occurrences*, which are texts that direct activity and codify institutional behaviour. From another perspective, Booth's index can also be seen as sequence of trophies in and of itself. There is also a general but related methodological point to make here, similar to Foucault's insight that we can access items from the archive because they have survived, but, also, we might take care to remember that we are rarely the only people to have accessed documents. For example, in Fig. 18. we can see a trace left by a previous reader of the diaries, a surprising book mark made from a torn piece of newspaper:

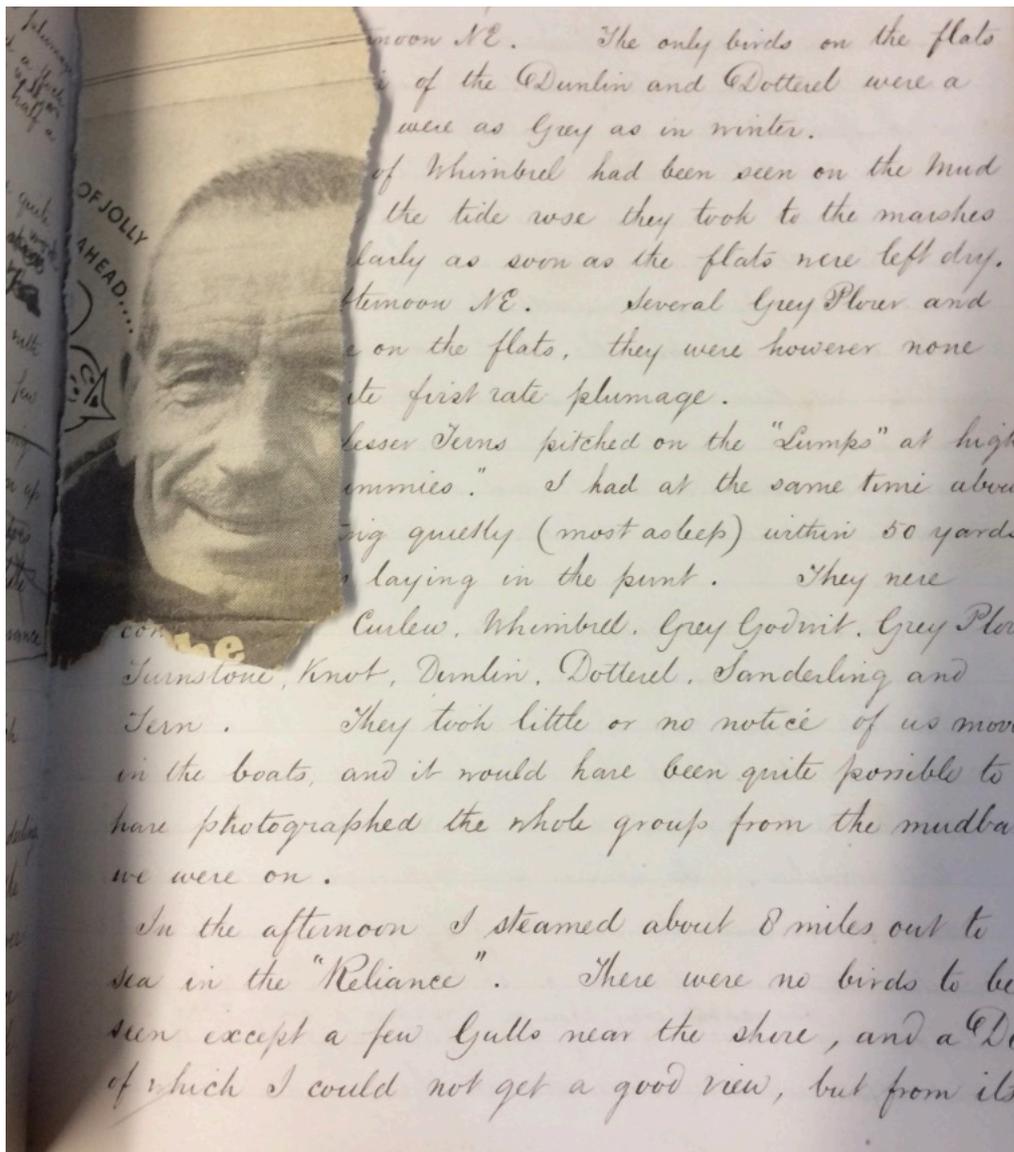


Fig. 18. Collage page from *Diary G Norfolk (1872–1873)*.¹⁰³

Booth's diaries constructed his institution in a personal way, serving to explain his collection through the collaging of previous texts, while the *Daily Occurrences* are a collectively worked series of texts that from the outset systematically recorded, accounted, prefigured, and directed the collection.

Of all the information available in Booth's cache of documents archived at his museum it is the act of collection that is most under discussion in the texts: how the birds were obtained. What can be seen in Booth's diaries is the development of a narrative that struggles, asserts, retracts, crosses out, edits, and redrafts, in the face of the pressure of explaining to an audience, because, although the

¹⁰³ BM, BMB 125566, *Edward Thomas Booth, Diary Norfolk (1872–1873)*, p. 103.

travel diaries have moments of lucid prose (for example a night drive in the rain to start a hunt at 2:30am) the majority of the recollections end with the shooting of a wild bird. The only narrative conflict to be found in the diaries is between the forms, the troubling reality of Booth's endeavour, which add up the tallies and scores of dead birds, where the public presentation of the remains of the event of collection tells us nothing about the objects other than the persistence of the collector. Booth's collection is interwoven with his diaries and his museum is a mausoleum containing the accumulated detritus — which double as biographical markers — of a particular life lived in a specific way, by specific means, at a specific time: an aristocratic hunter.

One way of contextualising Booth's collection is to consider what a 'collection' on a psychological level means for the collector, especially because both Booth and the zoo spent much time writing about their own collections. Baudrillard argues that the objects that enter into a collection on some level represent feelings about death and that by,

virtue of the fact that we possess the object; the fact that by introjecting it into a work of mourning – by integrating it into a series [...] we succeed in dispelling the anxiety associated with absence and the reality of death.¹⁰⁴

Booth's diaries and framing of his collection, surprisingly and morbidly, focuses specifically on the 'moment of collection'; the moment before the death of the animals. The collection is concerned with the moment before the intervention of Booth, rather than as the aesthetics of the museum imply, an overly engaged and learned connoisseurship about the objects on display. Booth's diaries provide an example of why it is necessary to turn to the archive in order to uncover the assumptions behind such collections.

If the live animals on display at the zoo are monuments to an instance of estrangement, Booth's dioramas are biographical monuments to the moments of a privileged life lived in the presence of death. The objects tell the story as much as the diaries do which highlights the diversity of ways we can assign to a related series of literary forms: biographies, diaries, letters. Booth's diaries were used, albeit in a haphazard way, to construct a narrative suitable in the eyes of the collector for the

¹⁰⁴ Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, p. 104.

interpretation of his dioramas. In this example we can see the gap between intention and interpretation because Booth's collection is presented in the contemporary moment as a natural history collection but his activities were more personal. The *Daily Occurrences* are streamlined texts that pre-empt interpretation by its facilitation into a regularised structure upon the page, and are they not also primarily about death?

Chapter Three: Bloomsbury at the Zoo

Zoological Narratives

Edward Thomas Booth's collection was based upon a writing practice related to the diary, albeit an institutional iteration. This chapter seeks to uncover aspects and elements of writing about life through the example of one of the most accomplished, creative, and sustained interrogation of its various forms as carried out by the Bloomsbury Group. Two members of which — David Garnett and Leonard Woolf — also wrote fictional works that sought to disrupt the classificatory notions and hierarchy present at London Zoo.

The Bloomsbury Group's approach to biography, memoir, and styles of diary (including their compilation, editing, and publication) contested these forms, registering a nuanced view of the autobiographical production of subjects previously excluded from having a published voice. Booth's diaries by contrast facilitated a collection that essentially acted as an edifice monumentalising his own ego, which should be seen within the context of the broader Victorian discursive formation of the 'lives of Great Men' – a discursive regularity consciously disrupted by many of the artists and writers associated with the Bloomsbury group (most successfully achieved by Virginia Woolf).¹ The literary historian Kathleen Chase neatly encapsulates the Bloomsbury Group's conception of the diary form as the 'sur generis genre' from which all other literary forms bear some familial relation, including 'letter writing, biography, autobiography, history, [...] the novel, and even the play'.² This assertion usefully draws attention to the complexity of diary writing, records, and accounts, and the roles such writing served for its authors and potential audiences – and these are the themes with which the Bloomsbury Group were collectively and individually engaged. The diary is a record that can be an arena for working things out or creating a dialogue. The *Daily Occurrences* retain some of the elements of the diary, where the discontinuities within the form provide a space for new forms of

¹ Laura Marcus, *Auto/biographical discourse* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 98–99.

² Kathleen Chase, 'Legend and Legacy: Some Bloomsbury Diaries' in *World Literature Today*, 61 (1987), pp. 230–33, (p. 231).

narrative voice, but a voice contingent on a respondent who is present yet in equal parts suppressed and obscured by the form – a problematic practice that mirrors the problematic institution.

Garnett and Leonard Woolf made unique contributions as writers of fiction with works that reimagined the zoo as a space for experimentally addressing conceptions of the human self and the individual in society. Garnett's satirical novel, *A Man in the Zoo* (1924), was followed by Woolf's shorter work, *Fear and Politics: A Debate at the Zoo* (1925), a satirical squib published as part of the Hogarth Essay series. *A Man in the Zoo* was later reprised and adapted into a film for television which was broadcast by the BBC in 1975.³ Garnett's and Woolf's texts are anthropomorphic fictions that set out to address the position of the zoological animal in order to explore aspects of the human condition. The zoo emerges in both works as an organised space open to exploration; offering an opportunity to examine the contemporary theme of the place of humans within the biosphere. The two writers conclude their zoological fictions by asserting an image of the human as *anthro* – a being without boundary tarnished by an insistence upon enclosure for other beings. As well as using London Zoo as a place of conflict in their fictions, Garnett and Woolf, edited the diaries and letters of other figures central to the Bloomsbury Group. One of the collective preoccupations of the Bloomsbury Group was a relationship to life writing that continues to raise questions about autobiography, biography, memoir, and the diary as a literary form.

Virginia Woolf's essay 'The Art of Biography' (1940) argued that because the 'biographer is bound by facts' they must have 'the right to all the facts that are available', for example, if behind the façade of the 'great man' his life included throwing 'boots at the maids head', visiting a 'mistress in Islington', or was 'found drunk in a ditch after a night's debauch', then, the biographer should be allowed to say so. Woolf's insight is that this advance in the genre of biography, where a new space opened up for the writer, was a result of the modern expansion across media-forms liberating culture. She argued that the modern was an age where 'a thousand cameras are pointed, by newspapers, letters, and diaries', which opens the writer up to the potential to dissect 'every character from every

³ Sarah Knights *Bloomsbury's Outsider: A Life of David Garnett*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 541.

angle'.⁴ The consequence, ultimately, is that we have to live with 'contradictory versions of the same face', and this seems important for how we interpret not just the lives of individuals but also how texts relate to that life. Woolf is concerned with how (and which) lives are written, received, and interpreted. She reasoned that,

since so much is known that use to be unknown, the question now inevitably asks itself, whether the lives of great men only should be recorded. Is not anyone who has lived a life, and left a record of that life, worthy of biography – the failures as well as the success, the humble as well as the illustrious? And what is greatness? And what smallness? [the biographer] must revise our standards of merit and set up new heroes for our admiration.⁵

I argue this critical engagement with the business of how we as individuals remember, write, record, and account for our own lives, as well as the lives of others, holds great significance for how to start to conceptualise documents and objects such as the *Daily Occurrences*, or Booth's cache. This is because by questioning the subjectivity of modes of institutional record we unpick the bonds of unquestioned interpellation. I am asking: if the lives of the 'great' are open to such scrutiny, do we not also have to scrutinize their institutions?

The Memoir Club

The Bloomsbury Group was concerned with questions around life writing — as broadly defined — and the publishing of their own diaries and letters has created a publishing industry that still thrives today. As a consequence, the formation of what came to be known as 'Bloomsbury' has been itself subject to canonization and institutional corporatisation over the past century. Raymond Williams commented upon this question of how to define a loose grouping of individuals which had come to be collectively known. Williams's interjection was to suggest that they represented a '(civilizing) fraction of their class' around whom likeminded people rallied.⁶ Quentin Bell, also with some hindsight, pointed out the difficulty in defining what is commonly meant by 'Bloomsbury' as a

⁴ Virginia Woolf, 'The Art of Biography' in *Collected Essays: Volume Four* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1967), pp. 221–28 (p. 226).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 226–27.

⁶ Raymond Williams 'The Bloomsbury Fraction' in *Contemporary Marxist Literary Criticism*, ed. by Francis Mulhern (London: Longman, 1992), pp.125–45 (p. 125).

‘group’; for example, was it a literary or artistic movement, a doctrine, a group of friends, or simply a clique? Bell argues that the location and centre of the group is to be found in the membership of the ‘Memoir Club’, especially in its earliest days. The clue towards defining what the ‘Bloomsbury Group’ is, or was, relates to the Memoir Club because it is the one clear link between all of the members associated with the ‘group’. The Memoir Club was formed in 1920 and its original members included Clive and Vanessa Bell, Lytton Strachey, Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Desmond and Molly MacCarthy, Duncan Grant, E. M. Forster, Roger Fry, and John Maynard Keynes. It is no coincidence that the ironic stance taken by Strachey in his revolutionary work of biography, *Eminent Victorians* (1919), so closely preceded the formation of the Memoir Club which claimed amongst its members the daughters (Vanessa Bell and Virginia Woolf) of Leslie Stephens (the first editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*). Many of the members hailed from establishment families for whom biography, letter writing, and storytelling were part of the literary culture of familial kinship, circuits of empire, and the navigation of a the highly codified Victorian climate of cultural consumption. Strachey’s godfather was Robert Bulwer-Lytton — the first Earl of Lytton — who served as the Viceroy of India (1876–1880) and proclaimed Queen Victoria as the Empress of India on 1 May 1876.

Eminent Victorians responded to existing forms of biography and moved beyond them by challenging the perceptions of four popular Victorian figures: Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr Arnold, and General Gordon. Strachey transformed the way biography was written, its conscious rejection of the rules and content of nineteenth-century predecessors by throwing out the multi-volume, moralistic, and overt celebrations of the powerful; he instead reduced, revealed, and humanised the lives of his subjects. Strachey broke with the conventions of the ‘lives of great men’ biographies that had populated the literary market.⁷ The literary theorist and critic Laura Marcus argues that we should avoid thinking of the genre of ‘great men’ biographies as monuments to the lives of those written about, but rather as a type of marker that obliquely signals the exclusion of women and others from the categories in the repository of collective memory – history is a medium

⁷ Nigel Hamilton, *Biography: A Brief History* (London: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 146

not a monument.⁸ Works such as *Eminent Victorians* highlight the ‘multiplicity of writing’ practices directed at biography, journals, and diaries that were shaped by generic and conceptual classifications that Strachey (and others shortly after) challenged.⁹ The first subject in Strachey’s book, Cardinal Newman, was revelatory in its focus: Newman’s material circumstances, interpersonal relationships, and strategic career choices, were part of Strachey’s discussion of this popular religious figure whose public image deigned to communicate with, and exemplify, the spiritual values and realm of an unearthly cosmos. Strachey’s portrayal was radical because it de-mythologised Newman by emphasising his human qualities in the material world.

Virginia Woolf characterised *Eminent Victorians* as a new form of life writing which supplemented the more established forms of biography. Using an ecclesiastical analogy, she argues that ‘the majority of Victorian biographies are like the wax figures now preserved in Westminster Abbey, that were carried in funeral processions through the street – effigies that have only a smooth superficial likeness to the body in the coffin’.¹⁰ Strachey reinserts the Cardinal’s life story back into the effigy and moves beyond the assumed ‘saintliness and learning’ by contemplating the details of a life lived. His account brings into focus details that point beyond the myth surrounding the individual.¹¹ Virginia Woolf draws the conclusion that:

opinions change as the times change. What was thought a sin is now known, by the light of facts won for us by the psychologists, to perhaps be a misfortune; perhaps a curiosity, perhaps neither nor the other [...] The accent of sex has changed within living memory [...] Many of the old chapter headings – life at college, marriage, career – are all shown to be very arbitrary and artificial distinction.¹²

Members of the Bloomsbury Group went onto push the boundaries of biography, to break them down and open up the form of a literature whose attention is directed to writing that engages with a life, or lives, and this returns to Woolf’s central question: whose life, and which records of that life, are worthy of our attention?¹³ This question emerges from Strachey’s approach to his subjects, for

⁸ Marcus, *Auto/Biographical*, pp. 98–99.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

¹⁰ Virginia Woolf, ‘The Art of Biography’ in *Collected Essays*, p. 222.

¹¹ Marcus, *Auto/Biographical*, p. 121.

¹² Virginia Woolf, ‘The Art of Biography’ in *Collected Essays*, p. 226.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 226–27.

example, from the way he traces the outcomes and actions of Manning during his long and complicated religious career which Strachey locates within the institutions of Victorian society: the University system, contests between state religion and non-state religions, ‘victories of science and democracy’, and the externalised artefacts of a life dedicated to belief. Strachey complicates the ‘old headings’ by plotting the worldly ‘practical ability’ of the Cardinal whose life story was a ‘procession less through merit than through the superior faculty for going adroitly to the front rank’.¹⁴ Manning’s social background, and the network he developed at University, are shown to have played a central role throughout his career. There was, however, also a central conflict in his life between a personal career of achievement and the content of spiritual teachings. Strachey captures this conflict in a moment of crisis for Manning whose diary entries became more ‘elaborate’. Remorse, resolution, and ‘protestations of submission to the will of God, filled page after page of parallel columns, headings and sub-headings, numbered clauses, and analytical tables’.¹⁵ Here, interestingly, the diary becomes a piece of evidence, a manifestation of the individual caught with their guard down – diaries, therefore, have the capacity to tell an inner hidden truth. Strachey’s method of comparing the entries in Manning’s diary alongside key events in the subject’s career highlight the importance of omissions as much as what is present. For example, Strachey notes that, following a crisis of faith and illness while recuperating in Rome over several months, Manning’s diary is ‘concerned entirely with detailed descriptions of churches, ceremonies, and relics [...] minute accounts of conversations with priests and nuns’, yet fails to mention the long interview he had with the pope other than to simply state ‘Audience today at Vatican’.¹⁶ The point being that changes in tone, style, omission or understatement can be as important as what is recorded in great detail.

Diaries, from this perspective, can reveal the motivations and desires of the author through the mode and contents that the subjective form has been shaped into. This critical approach to writing about the lives of others — where the facile, assumed, and expected commemoration gave way to unexpected criticism — embraces biographical details that had previously been thought to be

¹⁴ Lytton Strachey, *Eminent Victorians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 38.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

unimportant, unnecessary, or beyond good taste. The result of these elements found in Strachey's work punctured the social shibboleths of the time, causing a successful scandal, as well as it becoming a direct source of inspiration to, and for, the participants of the Memoir Club. If the work resonated with Strachey's culturally engaged friendship group, inspired by his innovations in biographical writing, it was because in essence the work derived from the fringe of their shared positions and interpretations of the Victorian society that they desired to surpass. 'Bloomsbury' was the first audience for *Eminent Victorians* and as such it 'has a coterie feel to it – one hears, in the mind's ear, the muted applause, the chuckles, the occasional gasp', as John Sutherland noted, Strachey would read his 'fair copy' to his Bloomsbury friend's where this new practice of critique was not limited to sensational or popular figures who were too good to be true but originated closer to home, and was applied amongst one another's peers.¹⁷ Bell argued that this club, in which the members read their private and published memoirs aloud to one another, is the key link that binds this diverse group of writers, thinkers, artists, economists, friends, partners, and family together under the recognisable banner of 'Bloomsbury'.¹⁸

The formation of the Memoir Club, initially founded by Molly MacCarthy, was one of many arenas that the participants met, debated, and experimented, but, the work which emerged revolutionised the way we think about life writing and the novel. MacCarthy's original plan was for the group to meet once a month and for the members to read out to one another sections of their personal, unfiltered, and uncensored memoirs. The conditions of privacy were initially secured by the secret and exclusive nature of the club – members were invited to join by personal invitation only. The Bloomsbury scholar S. P. Rosenbaum calculated that the meetings were less frequent than had been proposed on the club's inception. There is evidence, he estimates, of approximately sixty meetings occurring over the club's forty-four-year history which ceased to exist after Clive Bell's death in 1964.¹⁹ The influences that led to the formation of the club broadly included: a redress to the dispersal of friends as a result of the first world war, a modern continuation of the literary tradition

¹⁷ John Sutherland 'Introduction' in Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, p. pxvii.

¹⁸ Quentin Bell, *Bloomsbury* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), pp. 14–15.

¹⁹ S. P. Rosenbaum, *The Bloomsbury Group Memoir Club*, ed. by James M. Haule (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 15.

found in the ‘members family history of life-writing’, and as part of a discursive tradition that can be traced back to some of the member’s participation in a university society at Oxford – the Apostles.²⁰

The privacy and friendship at the heart of the club had an effect upon nature and form of the memoirs produced by the members because they all shared intimate histories, thus, certain biographical details would have been implicit to the first readers.²¹ The critical engagement with the relationship between lived experience and its retelling was a theme that united the members of this group of intimate friends, siblings, current and former lovers. Here, Leonard Woolf discusses the way that a written account of the events of the past posed methodological problems which came to light as he uncovered a piece of his own writing: ‘two dirty, yellowed, folded sheets of paper’, from his university days, ‘fragments’ that he thought had ‘all disappeared in Ceylon Bungalows and those appalling diaspora of possessions when we moved from Clifford’s to Asheham, from Asheham to Monk’s House, from Monks House to Paradise Road, from Paradise Road to Tavistock square’. These fragments raise ‘an interesting question’ with regard to memoir writing because Woolf had ‘all but forgotten the incidents which they record’ but what he does remember is specific to his own psyche, as he explains:

when I read these scraps, instantly to see the past was most vividly resurrected [...] the scenes, the persons, and the specific room. Lytton his gown about his hips [...] The frowning eyebrows of R. K. Galt [...] The question is whether they will convey anything of this vividness out of the past to you, to anyone, indeed but myself. Does the picture, the atmosphere, come to life to me only because it is my memory, will it remain dead to you?²²

There is an essential question raised here by Woolf in his reflection upon the relationship between an author’s own past writing, ways of taking account, and memory. Woolf is asking this question in relation to his intimates and peers, but where does written work — which may also be concerned with exactitude, vividness, specificity — that falls outside of the canon of the *author fit*? The *Daily Occurrences* were successful as institutional diaries because they were collated, regularly updated,

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 27.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 54.

²² Brighton, The Keep (TK). SxMs-13/2/P/6, *Memoir Club Papers* (probably read by Leonard Woolf) (1943).

simplified, and repetitive – unlike the qualities captured here by Woolf, which, also resemble Booth’s diaries before he indexed them to solve the problem of the personal archive.

The cache of Leonard Woolf’s personal papers and diaries, similar to Booth’s, reveal different modes of diary writing including reminiscences such as the example above, a music diary, a pocket diary, and a budget diary. The pro formas have much in common with Woolf’s music diary because these are to do with a specific activity and are not qualitatively digressive. Woolf’s music diary uses a reductive approach to its subject: it only records: the date, the artist listened to, the musical piece, the recording location (where known). There are no descriptions of the music heard or value judgements, and this is the mode to which the *Daily Occurrences* conform to within the modular sections. In both sets of classificatory records the main topic is almost rendered absent: responses to the displayed animals, or in Woolf’s case to music. However, as we can see in the case of Woolf’s music diary it does not mean that we cannot read patterns, trends, and uncover something of the life lived. The first entry in the diary is ‘May 31 1939, Verdi, Triviate, BBC’ and the final diary entry — the only entry in the diary to be written in a different hand — is ‘July 27 1969, Beethoven, piano Sontana Op. 13; Hayden, Symphony No. 103 in E flat; Mozart, Piano Sonata, K.330’. Did Leonard ask for these pieces to be played and then recorded when suffering from illness? Or were they chosen for him? Leonard died a month after this last entry in the diary. There is no entry for 28 March 1941, but there is a diary entry for the previous day ‘27 March 1941 Beethoven, a passionate sonata, BBC’ which is also one of the pieces recorded in the last entry of the diary. What do we make of the first diary entry after 28 March 1941? which is ‘April 6 1941, Haydn Quartet OP 20, no. 6, Beromunster’, the first music to be recorded in the diary two weeks after Virginia Woolf’s suicide.²³

What often came to the fore at the meetings of the Memoir Club was a discussion of the processes of recollection and acts of presentation. The papers after all were written then performed for the club. There is an element of the dialogic, that at times must have bordered on the jovial in such a close group; as Leonard Woolf observed at the outset of his family memoir, the ‘Bloomsbury

²³ TK, SxMs-13/2/R/A/6. Leonard Woolf, *Diary of Music listened to 1939–1969, 7”x5”*.

aesthetic is to make light – have a joke – amuse’.²⁴ The participants of the group revitalised and reinvigorated approaches to life writing which ultimately expanded ways of understanding the boundaries between biography, memoir, diary keeping, and fiction. Virginia Woolf’s *Orlando: A Biography* (1928) parodied the conventions and generalisations of popular biography by painting an intimate personal portrait of the author’s lover, Vita Sackville-West, who is cast in the role of a gender-fluid hero-heroine. It is a novel that, for Peter Ackroyd, thoroughly transcends ‘all the various dimensions of space, time and sexuality’ and it is a work where ‘genuine moments and artificial ones, are effortlessly mingled’.²⁵ The novel pays tribute to the familial stories of descent and heritage that were both part of the identities of Virginia Woolf and Sackville-West. Woolf records her thoughts and feelings about Sackville-West in a diary entry dated Monday 21 December after a trip to visit her:

I wound up the wounded and stricken year in great style. I like her & being with her, & the splendour—she shines in the grocer’s shop in Sevenoaks with a candle lit radiance, stalking on legs like beech trees, pink glowing, grape clustered, pearl hung.²⁶

By comparison Leonard Woolf’s pocket diary records the event in very different manner:

Saturday 19 December

2.40 train Sevenoaks stay Vita

Sunday 20 December

Vita motored us London I went Raskolnitvok film after.²⁷

The account of events reads very differently depending upon who is recording: information and its interpretation are subjective. The perception of situations can be wildly disparate in diaries, and this raises a key point of departure that the *Daily Occurrences* take: they are on the surface emotionless and anonymized. The form has been structured so as to remove interpretation beyond the assigned categories – they are the opposite of the fictional pinnacle achieved by Virginia Woolf or the staccato, clipped-observations, and stamp-like punctuations that we find in Leonard Woolf’s diaries.

²⁴ TK, SxMs-13/2/P/6, *Memoir Club Papers* (probably read by Leonard Woolf) (1943).

²⁵ Peter Ackroyd, ‘Introduction’ in Woolf, Virginia, *Orlando: A Biography* (London: Vintage Books, 2004), pp. ix–xii.

²⁶ Anne Oliver Bell and Andrew McNeillie, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, Volume Three: 1925–1930*. (London: Hogarth Press: 1980), pp. 51–53.

²⁷ TK, SxMs-13/2/R/A/19. Leonard Woolf, *Pocket Diary approx. 5”x3.5”* (1925).

By applying contextual information to Leonard Woolf's pocket diary and the entries in Virginia Woolf's more qualitative diary — such as the affair between Virginia and Vita — we can read beyond the assumptions inherent in the form of each style of diary. Virginia Woolf's relationship with Vita Sackville-West is seen in two completely opposite ways within the respective diaries. In Leonard's pocket diary the relationship is perfunctory dealing with the *facts*: when they are meeting, where, transportation, the leisure activities planned. In Virginia's diary the relationship is sensual, illicit and hidden (initials are used elsewhere in her diary when referencing the affair), and the language used is one of contemplation and desire. The same effect happens in relation to Leonard Woolf's music diary when we apply major events to it, such as the date of Virginia Woolf's death or the last days of Leonard's own life.

The *Daily Occurrences* share similar qualities to Leonard Woolf's series of pocket diaries and budget diaries through their attention to detail and the dispersal of information relationally on the page. The entries record arrivals, meetings, names, work to be done, finances. I argue that just as a biographical detail can illuminate these quotidian facts of the lives of individuals who inhabit an 'author function', the same effect happens within an institutional context, but here, they illuminate the lives of those Virginia Woolf recognised as existing beyond, and excluded, from the hegemonic 'lives of great men' – for example, the maids dodging the shoes thrown at them, the hidden mistresses, or the Samaritan steading the haute gormandizer home after a day of bullying or hunting. The *Daily Occurrences* are a form of institutional diary that reduced the scope for discursive digression and speculation but through the classification of animals and humans extends into the biographies of the lives of individuals and groups. Their voices, identity, and individuality flattened out, display animal and human spectator marked in relational boxes, by the machinic gaze of the institution's voice, where the supervisor's writing aligns in the collective documents completed to a pre-fabricated script. An endless flow of animals, particular visitors, spectators, and workers directly related to the circulation of money. In the accounting columns: summands, addends, shilling increments, capital accumulation, moving between animal traders and the zoo; marginalising people as well as animals.

Human Display at the Zoo

A younger generation later became associated with the Bloomsbury Group and they also joined as members of the Memoir Club, for example, David Garnett – whose novel, *A Man in the Zoo*, I now turn.

‘John, John, why are you in there?’ asks Josephine Lockett, the estranged partner of the main protagonist: John Cromartie. In the scene, Cromartie is unsuccessfully attempting to hide in the corner of a cage so as to avoid his spurned lover. Starkly illuminated by the moonlight, his silhouette betrays his presence within the confined space. Lockett runs off as she recognizes the sounds of an approaching policeman walking his nightly beat patrol – identifiable by regimented footsteps, jangling keys, and lingering whistle. However, Cromartie is not in a prison but on display in a cage at London Zoo’s Mappin Terraces. Here, Lockett has learnt the truth about her former partner, and it is a shocking revelation, ‘her Cromartie’ is the man that everyone is talking about, a media sensation, the human exhibit on display at the zoo.²⁸

Garnett’s novel opens with an argument between the couple during a failed romantic trip to the zoo; a minor disagreement escalates and ends, for Lockett, in the tragedy of her partner being displayed along with the other animals. Following this dramatic scene of romantic dissolution, the story follows the male protagonist, Cromartie, whose innermost thoughts and observations are revealed to the reader. The distressed Cromartie wanders alone through the zoo, adopting the role of a zoological flaneur, enabling Garnett to narrate the character’s experiential drift as he saunters past the visual stimuli of the displays. Broken hearted, the character starts to question the meaning of his surroundings and, significantly for the plot, his own place within it. Paradoxically, although strolling free as a spectator, the voyeur is in fact trapped – dwelling in the swamp of his interior monologue: ‘perhaps she is right [...] perhaps I am the missing link, and the zoo is the best place for me’.²⁹ Cromartie entertains the idea that something is missing from the zoological collection: one crucial taxon – ‘man’. Cromartie’s mind’s eye identifies the specific exemplar that would be most suitable to represent the human species at the zoo: himself.

²⁸ David Garnett, *A Man in the Zoo* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1924), p. 33.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.8.

The novel then shifts into an epistolary mode of exposition by detailing the contents of a letter that Cromartie has written to the Zoological Society. The letter provides a review of the zoological collection, based upon the protagonist's contemplation of the successes and failures of the zoo, including an analysis of the visual coherence of its taxonomic collection. Cromartie's letter points out to the authorities that, 'there are specimens of practically the whole fauna of the terrestrial globe, only one mammalian of real importance being unrepresented', in short, 'man', and to 'leave out man from a collection of the earth's fauna' is analogous to putting on a production of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* 'without the Prince of Denmark' – who is the main antagonist to the main protagonist (Hamlet) in the story. Cromartie acknowledges that the lack of a representative for *Homo sapiens* is in some sense understandable because the zoological collection 'is formed for man to look at and study'. He proposes, however, that there are benefits to be had by adding a human to the zoo, the most obvious being that it would 'complete the collection'. The other bonus would be that the addition would provide an exemplar from which the visiting spectators could use as a point of reference to the judge other species against, equipping them with a vital visual reference for understanding the displays. A collection completed by 'man' allows for the drawing of direct comparisons between the objects present in 'nature's hierarchy' – from the top rank down to the bottom. Cromartie's views reflect a common interpretation of the zoo as a space where animals function as bio-cultural objects, whose purpose is to articulate the scientific facts at the heart of an existing natural order, in other words, as a living illustration of a taxonomy.

The letter concludes with the suggestion that the most appropriate place for a human within this taxonomic order would be in the ape house, positioned in-between orangutans and chimpanzees. Cromartie's message is that the practice of zoological placement contains an important moral function because it makes the visitors aware of their 'own exact place in the animal kingdom'.³⁰ Garnett's novel draws upon the arguments of Huxley's natural history essay, *On the Man-like Apes* (1860), which outlines the chronology of the natural history of orangutans, chimpanzees, and other 'man-like apes' from a Darwinian perspective. In the essay, Huxley surveys the historical accounts of

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

encounters with, observations of, and the classificatory placements of these animals, including the interpretations of taxonomists from the Comte de Buffon to Georges Cuvier. Huxley's argument draws upon the nineteenth-century vogue for zoological memoir – typified by his own work and that of his contemporary Owen who between themselves completed many dissections on the deceased animals of London Zoo. Huxley, unlike Owen, defended Darwinian theory and argued that there are 'certain characters of structure and of distribution' that these man-like apes (orangutans, chimpanzees, gorillas, gibbons) have in common with 'man'.

For Huxley, the shared number of teeth between humans and apes, the similitude between proportions of the elements of the body, shared movements, sounds, and habits, all pointed to the shared evolutionary ancestry between humans and apes.³¹ Huxley and Owen (as explored in the previous chapter) were at various times fellows of the Zoological Society, and Huxley's popularisation of Darwin's ideas are those that are celebrated in *A Man in the Zoo*, specifically by the way that the novel represents the zoo as a space for visual argument related to structure and scale. The displays provide a forum for the presentation of the natural facts that had been discovered as proposed in natural history discourses throughout the nineteenth-century. The implications of Darwin's theory caused much popular discussion and made an enemy of those who took it as an attack on religion, including Owen himself with whom Huxley bitterly fell out over the question of the link between evolution as theory and man's relationship to other mammals. Owen tried to shift the terms of this debate by focusing on the difference in the scale of brain sizes between primates. The novel presents this challenge to human exceptionalism where the human-example completes the zoo's visual illustration of Darwin's evolutionary theory.

Cromartie ends his letter to the zoological authorities with a description of his own taxonomic characteristics, elements, and proportions:

Race: Scottish

Height: 5 feet 11 inches.

Weight: 11 stone.

Hair: Dark.

³¹ T.H. Huxley, 'On the Man-like Apes' in *Man's Place in Nature, and Other Essays* (London: Dent, 1906), pp. 1–52 (pp. 22–24).

Eyes: Blue.

Nose: Aquiline.

Age: 27 years.³²

The central committee of the Zoological Society receives the letter and they agree with the central premise that in order to complete the collection a 'specimen of *Homo sapiens*' is indeed required. The committee decrees that measures should be taken to acquire such a specimen and, as a result, invite Cromartie to attend an interview to decide whether he is a suitable zoological specimen for addition to the collection. At the interview the committee agrees to have Cromartie added to collection but only on the fulfilment of certain conditions; first, that he should not communicate or contribute to the daily or weekly press, second, that he should not seek to entertain visitors, and third, that on condition of entering the collection he will be 'subject to the usual discipline' practiced by the keepers – in other words he will be treated 'as though he were one of the ordinary creatures'. This novel is of particular interest, then, because humans are relegated in position according to, and understood by, the transcendent logic and monolithic hierarchy of zoological taxonomy. The 'exact place' that Cromartie has in mind reduces the entire category of 'human' to that of other animals who are suitable for the display cage – a system based upon using an 'example' to distinguish between 'types' mirroring their 'place' within the hierarchy of a kingdom. Sarah Knights's re-appraisal of Garnett's life, *Bloomsbury's Outsider: A Life of David Garnett* (2015) situates *A Man in the Zoo* as 'a dig at what was to become Bunny's *bete noire*: organised religion'.³³ Garnett's novel conjures up an image of Darwinian rationalism for the purpose of displacing the notion of a supernatural creator that favours the human.

By incorporating the subject of the human as a legitimate or comparable object of study Garnett touches upon the theme of objectivity within scientific discourse. Daston and Galison argue that scientific sight is 'epistemologically saturated' because they are practices of seeing. Garnett's novel presents a rational scientific view based on 'Trained Judgement' where a scientific self is trained to interpret images, patterns, and families of objects, for example the display of the human

³² *Ibid*, p. 11.

³³ Knights, *Bloomsbury's Outsider*, p.191.

taxa completes the family of species at the zoo.³⁴ Donna J. Haraway casts a nuanced and critical gaze onto the subject of the discourses and conflicts within the sciences as read through the visual constructions and productions of key practitioners. Haraway, in contrast to Daston and Galison, reduces science to one episteme ‘self-invisibility’ which was ‘the specifically modern, European, masculine, scientific form of the virtue of modesty’.³⁵ Haraway argues that,

acting as [an object of scientific study’s] transparent spokesmen, the scientists had the most powerful allies. As men whose only visible trait was their limpid modesty, they inhabited the culture of no culture. Everybody else was left in the domain of culture and society.³⁶

Haraway’s critique is powerful but it presents science and scientist as exemplars, whereas, Daston and Galison show the diversity and depth of epistemic discussions and conflicts.

In contrast to epistemic debates, or transforming modest witnesses to engaged witnesses, Pierre Bourdieu finds in Garnett’s novel a metaphor for his own approach to cultural research because the narrative,

tells the story of a young man who quarrels with his girlfriend in the course of a visit to the zoo. He writes to the director in despair, a kind of suicide note, offering him a mammal that is missing from the zoo’s collection: himself. He is put in a cage along with a chimpanzee, with a label [...]³⁷

Garnett’s narrative, for Bourdieu, offers a metaphor for his own methodology which explores how ‘*homo classifier* has fallen into his own classifications’.³⁸ According to Bourdieu, the mixture of quantitative research and interpretative methods with qualitative ones, and vice versa, is positive because flexible and reflexive practices call into question dominant class ideologies that govern standards, distinctions, and tastes. Bourdieu’s elaboration of the influences that taste, class, and cultural capital have on the available decisions for different socio-economic groups is an element

³⁴ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (London: Zone Books, 2007), p. 363–71.

³⁵ Donna J. Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium. FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse TM* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 23

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, ‘The Naked Emperors of the University: Interview with Didier Eribon’ in *Political interventions: social science and political action* Trans. by David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2008), pp. 149–50.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

rejected by Haraway who argues that what is of primary importance is a post-modern rejection of economic analysis.

In the novel, Cromartie's entrance into the panoptical collection is dealt with by Garnett's meticulous description of the cage. The novelist draws the reader's attention towards the quotidian design of the protagonist's enclosure by embodying the features of the Victorian home. Garnett pits the cultured materialism of the drawing room against the wildness in which the classified man is now situated, encapsulated by the 'screaming', 'howling', and later, the physical violence, of fellow captive animals. Cromartie's display cage included 'an upright chair, an armchair, [...] a bookcase [...] a French bed, a wardrobe, a cheval glass, a dressing table with mirrors in gilt and satinwood', which all 'combined to make him feel at home'. An illustration of the cage from the novel vividly captures Garnett's vision:

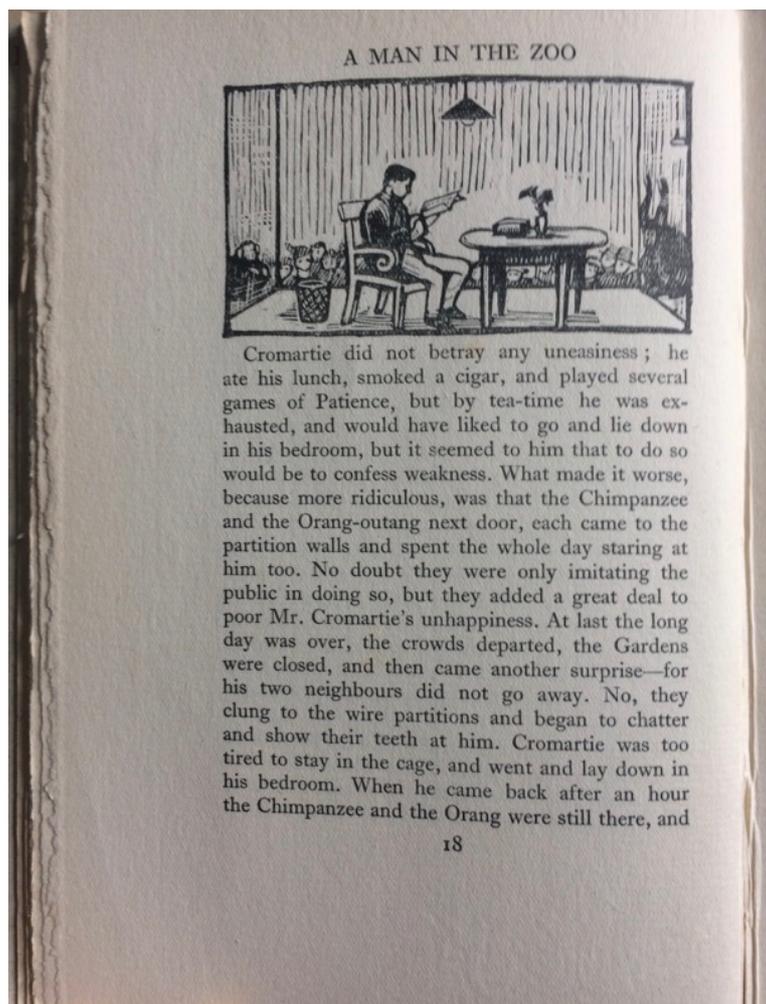


Fig. 1. Woodcut illustration of the caged Cromartie by R. A. Partridge (Garnett's first wife) from a first edition.

The illustration depicts the main character in his display cage: he is sat beneath an electric light in a chair at a table reading a book, and the image is full of details that signify home comforts. The human cage is one filled with the industrial accoutrements of capitalism, where a system of objects surrounds the exhibit in *his* natural environment. The objects we see — a jar of flowers on the table, the electric light and shade, stylish furniture, a waste paper bin in-front of bookshelves — are inter-related consumer products and they structure the meaning of the human-animal on display. But, the man is enclosed and the only thing separating Cromartie from ‘the chimpanzee on one side and the orang-utang on the other’ is the ‘wire netting’ of the cage. On first entering his enclosure Cromartie employs the ‘evening in unpacking his belongings, including his books’.³⁹ This list of particular items and practical concerns signal the composite nature of Cromartie’s character which clearly in part relates to the author’s identity – a literate male member of the English middle-class between the wars. Garnett’s novelistic concern with expressing a particular relationship between the human quotidian and the containment of wild nature is a sublime discursive *topoi*. In an essay from *Mythologies* (1957), Roland Barthes identifies a similar common-place literary tradition expressed in the duality between the human and nature in the novels of Jules Verne.

Barthes argued that Verne’s approach to writing was comparable to that of ‘an eighteenth-century encyclopaedist’ or to that of a ‘Dutch painter’ in the sense that it is the task of ‘artists’ to ‘make catalogues’, ‘inventories’, and to chart ‘the creations and the instruments of man’. Verne’s novels are related to the ‘progressive lineage of the bourgeoisie’ because the central premise of his oeuvre celebrates the capacity to reduce nature to an object of contemplation for safe appropriation by humans – and this is an approach that is also apparent in Garnett’s novel. The moral of Verne’s stories is that the exterior world is pliable, and Barthes argues that we can see this in the way the Verne ‘sought to shrink it [nature], to populate it, to reduce it to known and enclosed space, where man could subsequently live in comfort’. Barthes’s assessment of Verne’s *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* (1870), and subsequent novels, is that ‘the man-child re-invents the world, fills it, close it, shuts

³⁹ Garnett, *A Man in the Zoo*, pp. 14–15.

himself up in it, and crowns this encyclopaedic effort with the bourgeois posture of appropriation: slippers, pipe and fireside, while outside the storm, that is the infinite, rages in vain'.⁴⁰ The identity of the man of science who observes nature through the prism of a sphere of domesticity that Barthes reads in Verne seems to correspond with White's reading of Huxley who constructed a retreat of domesticity and learning in his cabin on *HMS Rattlesnake*. What the collector misses is the impossibility of a completed zoological collection because accumulation collapses in the face of the infinite variety of the seething biosphere – new species are both continually discovered and falling extinct, beyond the range of zoological display. Haraway's strength is that she tries to reduce and compress disparate objects into new metaphors that displace 'humanist' categories: lab mice and patients are shared 'kin', animal meat and masticating humans become 'mess mates', and pet dogs and owners are an exemplar for compassion between species (which is similar to Nigel Rothfel's vision of zoo animals and keepers). Haraway wants us to imaginatively face up to the sordid reality of daily life rather than to seek solace in the failed humanism inherent in concepts such as equality, rights, redistribution – her project is a deeply conservative one but its target of the failure of democracies, feminisms, and Marxisms to effect positive, or even imaginative, change in the face of technological and scientific advance is difficult to argue against.

In Franz Kafka's short story, *A Report to an Academy* (1917), sympathy resides with the captive animal who earns freedom in contrast to Garnett's character Cromartie who opts into confinement. In Kafka's story, an ape nicknamed Red Peter has been captured by the famous nineteenth-century animal trader Carl Hagenbeck, who doubles as a distant father figure for the protagonist. The wild animal's conflict with the loss of free movement leads to its domesticity: rules and confinement civilise the animals but can never heal the trauma of enforced change. Kafka uniquely captures the separateness and dilemma of the ex-situ animal who cannot return home or become a full member of society. On 13 October 2016, a silverback gorilla named Kambuka mirrored the fictional actions of Kafka's Red Peter by escaping from his enclosure and exiting through an unlocked 'entrance', temporarily surpassing the rules and expectations at this tangled institution. In an

⁴⁰ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (London: Vintage, 2009), pp. 73–74.

ironic twist, the patrons and staff at the zoo locked themselves into buildings around the site to counter the danger presented by this unleashed ‘wildness’. The spectators watched through the windows of their temporary enclosures as the gorilla strolled freely around the grounds of the zoo. Kambuka was later found helping himself to juice from an unlocked storeroom and was quietly re-captured without any further incident. Both of these cultural objects ask questions about the lines of distinction drawn between human and animal. According to Kafka’s unlikely narrator the gap between the categories of ‘wild’ and ‘civilized’ are not as wide as might be assumed. For the ape who addresses the academy, it is the granular elements of an individual’s daily choices — a process typified by intellectual reflection and gestural adaption — whereby, the norms of ‘civilization’ can be mastered. Recent scholarship has tried to locate the ‘ape displayed as a man’ in popular entertainments at the beginning of the twentieth century which inspired Kafka’s story.⁴¹ The location of the exact ‘origin ape’ (there are a number of contenders) for the narrative while of interest overlooks the importance of other factual sources, such as the animal trader and the cogent question posed about animal emotion.

Red Peter, the ape, sees a similarity between the captive animals who ‘think with their bellies’ blindly inhabiting the strictures of their ‘wild’ subjectivity and the human acrobats that perform on a trapeze.⁴² Kafka’s exemplary image is of the human acrobat — impeccable physicality married to computational precision — which reveals that we are no more free than captive animals, because the acrobat inhabits an inner cage of ‘self-controlled movement’ where the rule of discipline are internalized and physically exhibited. The keywords from the headlines of the news reports that accompanied Kambuka’s escape included ‘psycho Gorilla’, ‘attacked enclosure’, ‘smashed window’, ‘bid for freedom’, ‘return’, and ‘sombre’.⁴³ These words highlight the existence of an ambiguity about

⁴¹ Gregory Radick, ‘Kafka’s Wonderful Ape’ in *Times Literary Supplement*, 6048, (2019), pp. 8–9.

⁴² Franz Kafka, ‘A Report to an Academy’ trans. by Willa and Edwin Muir in *The Complete Short Stories*, ed. by Nahum N. Glatzer, (London: Vintage, 1999), pp. 269–73.

⁴³ A selection of these illuminating keywords can be found in the following selection of news stories that reported the escape: Amie Gordon, ‘Psycho Gorilla’, *Daily Mail*, 14 October 2016, <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3839142/The-ape-escape-psycho-gorilla-Kumbuka-bid-freedom-smashing-window-cracked-London-Zoo-enclosure-crowds-warned-taunting-him.html>> [accessed October 2017]; Jamie Micklethwaite, ‘Sombre Gorilla’, *Evening Standard*, 14 October 2016 <<https://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/london-zoo-sombre-kumbuka-the-gorilla-returns-to-his-cage-after-trying-to-escape-a3369521.html>> [accessed October 2017]; Nicola Bartlett, ‘“See Moment Kambuka Jumps at

the circumstances of institutional breakdown at the zoo because the occurrence of such an event forces us to stop and think about the meaning of zoological display – and the place of animals in relation to ourselves. The tone of the media reportage signals one of the underlying problems of exhibiting animals as ex-situ exemplars that stand in for the ‘wild’, or, in-situ species. Kambuka was re-captured after being discovered drinking cartons of juice from an unlocked store room.

In contrast to Kafka, Garnett’s vision is of a man sitting comfortably, reading, and drinking whiskey in his cage among the wild representatives of other species – the human animal in this case feels no desperation as Red Peter did during his confinement. *A Man in the Zoo* flows in the same stream as Verne’s work because it communicates a bourgeois individualist vision that turns nature into a space for the contemplation of the sublime – from the safety of the study. Virginia Woolf records the closeness of the main character of the novel to the ideas and personality of the author in a reflection on how he progressed as a writer:

he [Lytton Strachey] had read Bunny [Garnett’s nickname] ‘Really it is very extraordinary – so arty, – so composed, – the competence is terrific, but...well, it’s like a perfectly restored Inn – Ye Olde...everything tidied up and restored’. No Bunny in it, as there were signs of being in *The Man in the Zoo*; ‘no humour, a perfect restoration’.⁴⁴

We learn from Woolf that Strachey thought Garnett’s follow up to *A Man in the Zoo* ought to be regarded as a better achievement because it contained less of the author’s self. This question of the self, expressed through texts, was a central concern for Barthes, and the scholar Marie Gil brings a Freudian reading to Barthes’s article on Verne. Gil discusses biography and the way that it creates a ‘life-oeuvre’ by arguing that the purpose of Barthes’s work, on biography and the self, is to draw a poetic resonance between language and its relationship to what is ‘real’ and ‘textual’.⁴⁵ Gil interweaves elements of Barthes’s life story back into the content of his writings in order to elucidate his own theory of the ‘life-text’. Gil’s argument is that by rejecting the ‘retrospective unity’ imposed

Glass and Bursts Out of Enclosure’, *Mirror*, 15 October 2016 ‘<<https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/see-moment-london-zoo-gorilla-9049547>> [accessed October 2017].

⁴⁴ Anne Oliver Bell and Andrew McNeillie, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, Volume Three: 1925–1930* (London: Hogarth Press, 1980), p. 44.

⁴⁵ Marie Gil, ‘Roland Barthes: Life as a Text’, trans. by Sam Ferguson, *Barthes Studies*, 1 (2015), pp. 35–60, (p. 56).

by traditional biography, Barthes opened up the possibility of a different narrative – one based on a ‘hermeneutic, a reading, a rewriting’.⁴⁶

Barthes’s autobiography *Roland Barthes* (1977) revitalises how we might think about the ways in which a life, when roundly conceived of, actually resists translation into neat linear forms. Tiphonie Samoyual’s recent biography of Barthes engages with the semiologist’s ambivalence towards biography, especially when it came to his own because his life was not filled with adventure – instead he pondered what excitement there was in a life spent writing.⁴⁷ This is in direct contrast to the texts of the *Daily Occurrences* which are full of life stories and exciting memories teeming below the surface of individual words, restricted by the reductive discourse: the name of an exotic animal in the arrivals box of the pro formas, the recorded name of a famous visitor, the presence of the crowd filtered down into single digits, ticket categories, collated numbers. Samoyual neatly defines Barthes’s concept of the *biographeme* as ‘the detail that will end up being dispersed’ and it is ‘to biography what a memory was to a monument, stone or steel: a fragile but open memory that could set fantasy free and give birth to a new work’ and Barthes’s autobiography illustrates this approach.⁴⁸

Roland Barthes has two distinct sections: first, a sequence of personal photographs and documents, accompanied by captions which describe and comment upon the images; these include family portraits, locations, holiday snaps, a deed, a school report, and a medical chart (Barthes suffered from tuberculosis). As well as the juxtaposition between image and text, two distinct written forms emerge in *Roland Barthes*: the dictation (*dictee*), and what Barthes called the ‘anamneses’ – a fragmentary form inspired by the haiku. The written form of the dictation holds a personal significance for Barthes because it was the writing of ‘schooldays’, therefore, the mode itself becomes part of the biographical text, since, as Barthes states its ‘the way we were taught to write’, and this ‘discourse of dictation’ is the ‘natural discourse of memory’.⁴⁹ The authorial adoption of this

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Tiphonie Samoyual, *Barthes*, trans. by Andrew Brown (Cambridge: Polity, 2017), p. 17.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

⁴⁹ Roland Barthes and Jean-Jacques Brochier, ‘Twenty Keywords for Roland Barthes’ in *The Grain of the Voice* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1985), pp. 210–11.

‘scholastic discourse’ adds an ‘intertextual’ component to the autobiography that is contrasted with an ‘anti-*dictee*’, the haiku.

Barthes encountered the haiku in its ‘real and historical nature’ during travels in Japan and he argues that it bears a resemblance to the ‘maxim’ – a short statement that expresses a general rule or truth, which in itself, is a form familiar from biographies. The difference between these forms is that the haiku is characterised by a ‘mattiness’, which, as Barthes argued keeps ‘meaning from taking hold, but without abandoning meaning’ as distinct from the assumed concreteness of the declarative statement.⁵⁰ Barthes’s approach to autobiography plays with the proposition that lives are processes, not the foreclosure implicit in language – for example, a life might be reducible to a timeline because lives leave behind details through the very process of living but something is missing; in short, Barthes’s argument is that we can never see the whole picture, yet, the institutional diary of the *Daily Occurrences* attempts to do just this, to see the whole, to compartmentalize and make the observable relational within a visual language system directed towards action and reflection in the realm of foreclosed boundaries. *Roland Barthes* ends with a timeline that speaks to the preceding one hundred and eighty-two pages because we see the key themes and plot points of a life – birth, death, place:

Biography

November 12, 1915	Born in Cherbourg, son of Louis Barthes, naval officer, and Henriette Binger.
October 26, 1916	Death of Louis Barthes, in a naval battle on the North Sea
1926–24	Childhood in Bayonne. Elementary-school classes in the lycee of this city.
1924	Move to Paris, rue Mazarine and rue Jaques-Callot. Henceforth, all school vacations spent with the Barthes grandparents, in Bayonne.
1924–30	At Lycee Montaigne, from the eighth form to the fourth.
1930–4	At Lycée Louis-le-Grand, from the third form to Philosophy. Baccalaureates: 1933 and 1934.
May 10, 1934	Hemophthisis. Lesion in the left lung. ⁵¹

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 210–11.

⁵¹ Roland Barthes, *Roland Barthes*, trans. by Richard Howard (New York: Noonday Press, 1977), p. 183.

The timeline continues up until 1962 and concludes with a note that reminds the reader of the autobiography of what is problematic with the reduction of a 'life' to a retrospective, linear, narrative;

1962 Director of studies at the Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes ("Sociology of signs, symbols, and representations").

(A life: studies: diseases, appointment. And the rest? Encounters, friendships, loves, travels, readings, pleasures, fears, beliefs, satisfactions, indignations, distresses: in a word: repercussions? – in the text – but not in the work).⁵²

The contents of the 'And the rest?' list above is explored earlier in the autobiography, which as well as using forms that hold biographic meaning (*the dictee/the amanese*) Barthes also problematises the authorial voice by switching between 'four regimes: 'I'; 'he' (I speak of myself by saying 'he'); 'R.B.,' my initials; and sometimes I speak of myself by saying 'you'.⁵³ Barthes shows how biographical details are never wholly indicative of the whole but instead hold interest as fragmentary details. Samoyual argues that these fragments, or 'biographemes', are the 'shards of life that point to the body of the subject'.⁵⁴ The *Daily Occurrences* are a text whose every inscription acts as a unique opportunity to follow the direction of a shard, to uncover the story behind the solitary entries in the pro formas.

A Man in the Zoo by having the protagonist classify himself, including the biographemic label attached to his own cage, satirises the possibility that a literate Londoner could be put on display at the zoo; however, in a more general sense the display of humans in a zoological context is a transgressive view and one that has never been far from sight. In 2005, eight people entered a competition to win the opportunity to be exhibited at London Zoo, where they appeared to surprised spectators 'caged and barley clothed in a rocky enclosure' and labelled by a sign that read 'Warning: Humans in their natural environment'.⁵⁵ In *A Man in the Zoo*, a representation of the label on Cromartie's cage breaks up the text:

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁵³ Barthes and Brochier, 'Twenty Keywords', in *The Grain of the Voice*, p. 215.

⁵⁴ Samoyual, *Barthes*, p.17.

⁵⁵ Associated press, 'At London Zoo', *New York Times*, 28 August 2005

<<https://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/28/world/europe/at-london-zoo-homo-sapiens-is-just-another-primate-species.html>> [Accessed 14 April 2018].

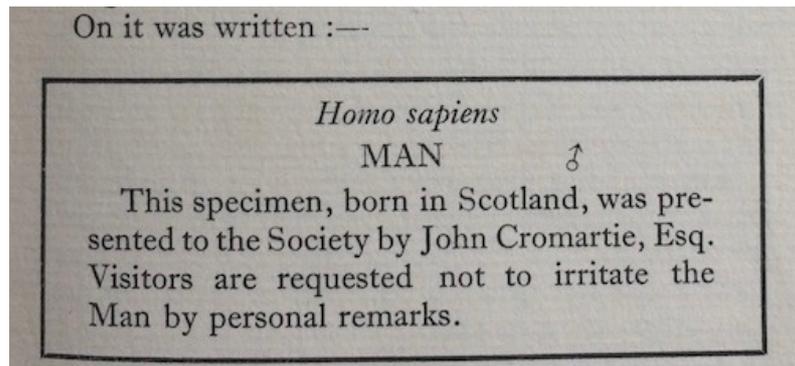


Fig. 2. Label illustration from *A Man in the Zoo*.

Here, the biographemes of the character are reduced to those of the other animals at the zoo: species, name, sex, and region of origin. The premise that Cromartie uses in his letter to the zoo strikes a similar tone to this more recent *real-life* display, as a spokesperson for London Zoo explained to a reporter from the *New York Times*: ‘seeing people in a different environment, among other animals [...] teaches members of the public that the human is just another primate’.⁵⁶ The finale of Garnett’s novel ends in a particularly racist manner — the zoo opens an entire series of enclosures to display all the different ‘species’ of ‘man’ — with humans beings described as more evolved than others on the basis of skin colour. Cornelius Holtorf argues that zoos are complicit in this because they ‘contain explicit references to the evolution of primates and human origin in particular’, and ‘embrace this form of universalism and zoological racism’.⁵⁷

Garnett’s satire, along with Dunn’s *The Taxidermy Museum* and the recent media stunts involving members of the public displayed in zoological enclosures, is based on the idea that it is absurd to have humans displayed at the zoo or, more broadly, in any institution of animal display; but historically humans have been subject to exactly this type of exhibition. As Herman Reichenbach’s study on the animal trader and zoo owner Hagenbeck has shown, zoos have been complicit in displaying humans, classified and designated, in a position below that of the governing bourgeoisie. Reichenbach uncovered evidence of ‘seventy performing ethnographic shows’ at Hagenbeck’s Tierpark. These ‘ethnographic shows’ included the display of groups that ranged in size from three to

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Cornelius Holtorf, ‘The Zoo as a Realm of Memory’ in *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures: History, Heritage, and Place Making*, 22: 1, (2013), 98–114 (pp.107–08).

four hundred people and would focus on a particular ‘tribe’ or ‘race’.⁵⁸ Reichenbach’s analysis of the institution’s guidebooks provides evidence that recounts the scale of the practice of human display through the diversity of the ethnographic exhibits in these records – humans located within the wider compendium of taxonomy. Reichenbach’s study embraces ephemeral material culture using original postcards sold from the period to recover the visual aspects of the different exhibition scenes held at the zoo. One postcard presents an ‘authentic Ethiopian village’ complete with human ‘examples’, while another depicts ‘authentic Oglala Sioux’ as they perform a dance at the foot of an artificial mountain scene.⁵⁹ These are clear examples of the way that the reduction of humans to animals occurred at such institutions – fragments of institutional ‘biographemes’ that constructed by pointing to the bodies of the ‘other’ through ‘plot points’ and ‘facts’. *A Man in the Zoo* concludes with a negative encounter between animals and humans, and it is where the zoo as a celebration of imperialism reaches its logical endpoint, echoing Steven Dunn’s contemporary satire (discussed in Chapter Two). Garnett’s novel concludes with Cromartie leaving the zoological collection because he cannot get on with the other ‘species’ and ‘races’ of humans who have been put on display, to elucidate the ‘family of man’, in the cages next to him.

Politics at the Zoo

Leonard Woolf’s biographer, Victoria Glendenning, situates Woolf’s short story *Fear and Politics: A Debate at the Zoo* as a landmark in English literature shining a ‘torch towards Orwell’s *Animal Farm*’.⁶⁰ Leonard Woolf’s satire, which like Garnett’s is set in London Zoo, was first published as number seven in a series of eleven shorter works and essays printed as pamphlets by the Hogarth Press. The first pamphlet in the series was Virginia Woolf’s appraisal of modernism, *Mr Bennet and Mrs Brown* (1924), with other notable pamphlets appeared later in the series by Roger Fry, T.S. Eliot, and Edith Sitwell. Leonard Woolf’s pamphlet appropriated the form of the reportage essay,

⁵⁸ Herman Reichenbach, ‘A Tale of Two Zoo’s: The Hamburg Zoological Garden and Carl Hagenbeck’s Tierpark in *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menageries to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Hoages, R. J., and William A. Deiss (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 51–62 (pp. 55–56).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57–60.

⁶⁰ Victoria Glendenning, *Leonard Woolf: A Life* (London: Pocket Books, 2006), p. 267.

repurposing it to contextualise and record an imaginary debate held at London Zoo during the first world war, with the twist that the account records the zoo animals congregating for the purpose of interrogating the assumed superiority of humans.⁶¹ In the story, the animals engage in a participatory group discussion and Woolf anthropomorphises his characters by selecting a feature associated with a species of animal to orientate or express a political opinion or outlook, for example: an ostrich has its head in the sand over the issue under discussion by suggesting that they should just ignore the humans, a mandrill argues that monkeys are naturally part of the proletariat, a rhinoceros takes an aristocratic position as a result of considering itself majestic, and thus in this way the characteristics of different species come to mirror recognisable political philosophies.

Leonard Woolf, like other members of the Bloomsbury Group, often made use of animals as a metaphor for elucidating the emotions and judgements of the character of other people. In a memoir that Woolf read at a meeting of the Memoir Club, he spoke of his reminiscences about life as an imperial administrator in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). Below, the mind of one of his colleagues, B. J. Dutton, is described in such a fashion:

I became an extremely incompetent shooter of big game & in cutting up the animals killed by me. When I saw the horrible semi digested contents of their upper intestines, I was always reminded of Dutton's mind.⁶²

The comparison is a powerful one and it demonstrates clearly the writer's sympathies and humour. Leonard Woolf was impressed by the sixteenth-century philosopher Michel de Montaigne's ambivalence towards the cruel treatment of animals. Montaigne started from the position that all beings share the world in common, where perception is unique to each individual (including creatures), rather than proceeding from Descartes's privileging of human perception as the only standard. Woolf's personal experience chimed with the themes present in Montaigne's essays with respect to animals.⁶³ Montaigne's ideas about the nature of cruelty and the importance of extending

⁶¹ Leonard Woolf, *Fear and Politics: A Debate at the Zoo* (London: Hogarth Press, 1925).

⁶² TK, SxMs-13/2/P/6, *Memoir Club Papers* (probably read by Leonard Woolf) (1943)

⁶³ Sarah Bakewell, *How to Live: A life of Montaigne in One Question and Twenty Attempts at an Answer* (London: Vintage, 2011), p. 136.

empathy is a key theme in *Politics at the Zoo*. The animals at the zoo gather to debate the problem of humankind:

you know that [man], with his extraordinary love of malignant cruelty, he has invented a small cage with a wheel in it, and that he is accustomed to confine in it one of the most beautiful and cheerful of all animals, the squirrel, and that apparently, it gives him pleasure to see the squirrel go around and round without making any progress in any direction. The squirrel in the cage is the epitome of man's history.⁶⁴

Leonard Woolf rejected Descartes's reduction of animals to the status of un-feeling automata and this came via an understanding of Montaigne. Woolf considered such an attitude to be modern because of its recognition and rejection of cruelty.⁶⁵ Cruelty, in the passage above, is being related to confinement and display.

An investigation into the papers of Leonard Woolf's archive shows how pets were an important aspect of his private life. For example, his correspondences and participation in animal clubs, exhibitions, and society competitions (for which his cats won a number of prizes) are a testament to his interest in Shetland sheep dogs and Siamese cats. The children's author Lorna Lewis wrote to the Woolfs in 1935 to ask if they would agree to allow their dog 'Pinkie' to be included in a proposed book about the dogs of famous authors. 'Pinkie' would be the 'living representation' in the collection that would also include the following authors and their pet dogs: William Cowper's 'Bean', Lord Byron's 'Boatswain', Walter Scott's 'Maida', The Brontë sisters' 'Keeper' and 'Flossy', and of course, Elizabeth Barrett Browning's 'Flush'. In the letter, Lewis describes the form of the proposed book as 'a volume of short biographies', where each section would be written from 'an external point of view' and reference the owner's own works. Leonard Woolf replied to Lewis and agreed that she could include them, but they would not contribute any material for fear of 'self-advertising'. Woolf did, however, suggest an addition to the list: 'Argos' the 'greatest literary dog', who 'appears in the 'seventeenth book of the Odyssey'. In the story, Odysseus returns home and his dog Argos 'recognizes him after 20 years' even though he was by then 'too old to get up'. Woolf praises 'the

⁶⁴ Woolf, *Fear and Politics*, p. 18.

⁶⁵ Bakewell, *How to Live*, p. 180.

admirable remark of Odysseus' in the retelling of his relationship to Argos because it provides a moral lesson 'about the difference between a really good dog like Argos and the kind of dogs which the rich simply keep as pampered pets in the house for show'.⁶⁶

The species of orangutan plays an important role in both Garnett's and Woolf's satires. For Garnett, the ape is important because it represents the wild heritage of humans. The ape also plays an important role in Woolf's story where they act as the first animal species to dispel the belief that the zoo keeper and spectators are gods. The humans bring light, food, and shelter but they appear and then disappear moving beyond the boundaries of the worlds that the animals inhabit. In the two works, the classificatory hierarchy found in Huxley's essay 'On Man-like Apes' is deployed where the orangutan are the category closest to the human protagonists. The orangutan is displayed next to Cromartie in Garnett's novel, and in Woolf's satire the ape is the first to notice the resemblances between humans and animals. The zoo animals learn to read, as Woolf explains, because there is always a lot of ephemeral reading material left by the visitors. They can communicate well and make friends with the birds who can fly between both zones. The animals feel the effect of the war — through a reduction in their food supplies — and have moved from worship to outright disdain for their captors:

our friends the Rhinoceros and the Mandrill, though right in some of their judgements, have made not unnatural errors regarding the irrational conduct of the human race. It is true that the human political organisation is founded upon fear, and that when men talk about justice and reason and patriotism, they often really mean panic and terror [...] fear enables power: politicians manufacture fear of other nations to justify themselves [...] people gain power by marginalising a minority by making other people fear the minority.⁶⁷

Woolf's story, then, is a way to reflect upon the desire for normalisation that is at the heart of the practice of imprisoning animals and, by extension, humans.

People are held captive in order to correct them, and Woolf employs the fictional story as a thought experiment to try to understand captivity and the discourses that underpin such actions.

⁶⁶ TK, SxMs-13/2/G/1, Letters, pedigrees, prizes, notes, receipts, etc. relating to Leonard Woolf's dogs and cats.

⁶⁷ Woolf, *Fear and Politics*, pp. 19–20.

Woolf's story is ultimately more nuanced in its exploration when compared to Garnett's biological stance. The animals arrive at the conclusion that humans are divided, and it is their political positions which separate them into different species, for example national identity (Germans versus British) or class identity (Aristocrats versus Bolsheviks). Ultimately, the zoo animals overcome the determinism of their respective 'biographemes' — the pre-ordained plot points and facts that classify them and divide them into species — because they are worried about the waves of human violence that disrupt all species.

The engagement of the Bloomsbury Group and others towards the question of biography opened up the possibilities of how we can think more broadly about life writing. If the *Daily Occurrences* are a way of tracing an institutional voice it is in opposition to the edited, published, personal memoir of the famous writer or painter. Pro formas are a relational format that persists in reducing the individual voice — or as Haraway defined it the 'modest witnessing' — that avoids the complicated business of the economics and politics inherent in scientific and technical discourses. The difference between Leonard Woolf's memoirs of his time as a colonial administrator and his music diary reveal different modes of recording personal experiences. His memoirs were produced for the purposes of reflection and communication to a specific audience, whereas the music diary is an objective record of a specific subjective experience: a list that compiles the details of the musical pieces and the time of their listening but not how the listener responded. Details are filtrated and streamlined in the art of the self-construction of a human subject.

The central political concern raised by Woolf's satire is still relevant because the question of animals and display is still unresolved. The zoo, for Woolf, is a prison, and as such it requires our engagement and attention. These traditions of literature that speak to the question of the zoo find expression in more recent and contemporary narratives. Woolf's story from the 1920s appears to go beyond Haraway's intervention whom seeks a cultural change rather than an economic or legalistic response to the challenges presented by animal incarceration in the name of 'science' or 'progress'. Haraway parodies rival positions in much the same metaphorical manner as Woolf's anthropomorphism, using imitation and pastiche to accommodate rather than judge. She seeks to replace stark utilitarianisms with a post-human language that allows for co-existences and problematic

‘mess-mates’ (e.g. Haraway enjoys eating meat but is also concerned about animal welfare).

However, as the *Daily Occurrences* and more recent writers with similar concerns to Woolf show it is not just the animals who are diminished by the zoo.

Captive Animals: Carter’s Zoological Utopia and Berger’s Living Monuments

The zoological stories of Garnett and Woolf use the zoo as a metaphor for human relationships – Garnett employs the cage as a metaphor for emotional estrangement and Woolf anthropomorphises the animals within the cages to deploy such physical division as a metaphor for political positions. In this section, I turn to the writers Angela Carter and John Berger who also interrogated the meaning of the spectacle of the cage in order to cast a light upon the qualities and form of the *Daily Occurrences*. They ask what are we actually looking at when we visit the zoo? Both Carter and Berger provide attentive readings to the potential meanings, lineages, and consequences of the relationship between spectator and display that is set up by the cages, enclosures, and tanks.

‘Blooming Baboons’ (1976) by Carter and ‘Why Look at Animals?’ by Berger (1977), are two articles that first appeared in the weekly magazine *New Society*. Both texts addressed similar themes exploring the representation of animals at the zoo: the negativity of animal commodification for humans, the place of animals within our cultural imaginaries, and contributing new metaphors to rethink the relationship between the ex-situ animals and the human spectator. The readings of the zoo that these writers offer are interpretations concerned with aesthetics, culture, and economics. Carter’s and Berger’s imaginative re-conceptualisations gesture towards the instability of the meanings assigned to the animals enclosed and displayed for our spectatorship at the zoo.

In ‘Blooming Baboons’, Carter approaches the animals put on view for humans as stimulus, an imaginative prompt or stage, whose origins are located equally in the renaissance botanical garden and the religious mythology of Noah’s Ark. Her insight is that ‘in the zoological gardens the beasts are themselves like sentient plants, laid out as in flower-beds, objects of study, contemplation, surmise and fantasy’. Carter strays from the rationalist perception of the ordered garden and instead proposes the image of the garden as utopia, another potential metaphor raised by what the zoo presents to us: it is an Eden of ‘perpetual leisure’ where the enclosures divide the animals and spectators in the same

way that the rose hedge protects ‘the lapse of consciousness of Sleeping Beauty’.⁶⁸ Carter captures the complexity that resides in the contemplation of the animal. When confronted by the captive animals our subjective cultural understandings of them are exposed. Carter’s essay untangles these powerful, perhaps unquestioned or latent, narratives – engaging with what Barthes referred to as mythologies. Carter considered the zoo from both a historical (i.e. the zoo is a logical progression of Renaissance garden) and mythical perspective (i.e. the zoo is a contemporary garden of Eden). At the zoo, what blossoms and blooms is not the flowers and plants of a Renaissance garden, but rather an explosion of genitalia. Carter’s vision of the zoo is as a fecund site for weeding out what might appear from underneath the surface: here, the mandrills at London Zoo bloom like a ‘tropical flower’.

The zoo is like a fairy tale because there is wonder as animals are not bred for ‘food or service’ but to simply ‘be’, to exist in a ‘paternalist utopia’ – at once a site of sexual excess tinged by the suspicion that the spectre of enclosure also conjures the antithesis of freedom: an enforced Sadeian ordering of community by sexual-predatory.⁶⁹ Even the lavish, the unbridled, and the lecherous, are tainted by Carter’s final image of the zoo which considers the total isolation that must encapsulate the lives of the animals. Carter imagines — like Leonard Woolf did — that when the zoo closes in the evening it is the ‘beasts [who] inherit Regent’s Park’. The problem for Carter corresponds with Adorno’s notion that the more complete the reproduction the more total the domination, and so it logically follows, ‘the nicer the zoo, the more terrible’. For Carter, the mandrills do not foster revolution, as Woolf’s do, but instead are thankful for the ‘nice food, regular meals, no predators, no snakes, free medical care’ that they receive from the zoological authority.

In the face of environmental collapse, the zoo has become a comforting fiction for neo-liberal thinkers where the institution is a repository — a zoological bank, an insurance policy — for animals facing extinction. But, this misunderstands the gap between the ex-situ and in-situ animal. As Carter argued, the captive mandrills, are nevertheless, still aware of how they have been left with the existential problem of only having themselves for consolation. The spectre of stasis, repetition, and

⁶⁸ Angela Carter, ‘Blooming Baboons: At the Zoo’ in *Shaking a Leg: Collected and Journalism and Writings*, ed. by Jenny Uglow (London: Vintage, 2013), pp. 359–64 (p. 360).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 360–61.

boredom lingers in the ever-present of the enclosure which for Carter is a horror that underlies the surface of the saccharine zoological Eden, where species are isolated. The zoo animal is kept in perpetuity under the organisation of an eternally repetitious patriarchy.⁷⁰ Carter's essay is useful because it draws attention to the segregated animal placed within a structure that isolates on the basis of designation, and ultimately, this appointment is an invitation to comprehend the meaning of ennui.

Berger extends the metaphor of Carter's isolated animals to include the spectators for whom the constructed enclosures are designed to address. The ability to confine is also the ability to separate and exclude, and Berger argues that this has an effect on the relationship between animals and humans. Berger's essay explores the consequences for animals (including, of course, humans) after the expansion and inventions that occurred under capitalism during the nineteenth-century. Animals under capitalism were, and are, transformed into processed ingredients, raw materials, and resources that supplement human labour, diets, and experimental sciences. The contemporary vision of the zoo shares some sympathy with this narrative where the institution self-identifies as a repository for endangered species: a biocultural collection similar to systems that preserves a variety of ethnobiology (diverse collections holding examples of crop evolution, domestication, genetic diversity).

The aims of this modern zoological repository are modelled on contemporary germplasm collections that advance the economic application of their contents, which are vast, for example, current archives already hold '7.4 million *ex situ* germplasm accessions [...] world-wide in more than 1,750 individual gene banks'.⁷¹ However, this multi-disciplinary identification and approach is problematic because their recognition is based on the assumptions of market economy where such institutions are also barriers withholding 'unprocessed economically useful plant and animal parts, DNA collections, live collections in-situ and ex-situ, botanical and zoological reference collections, and documentation libraries and archives', therefore, the challenge is to financialize the categorized

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

⁷¹ David M. Spooner, 'Research Using Biocultural Collections.' in *Curating Biocultural Collections: A Handbook*, ed. by Jan Salick, Katie Konchar, and Mark Nesbitt (London: Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, 2014), pp. 295–312 (pp. 295–305).

objects of these institutions.⁷² The success of captive breeding programmes, within zoological institutions, offers opportunities for such ‘mirroring’ in discourses that are concerned with the challenges of habitat management. For example: ‘zoos have been encouraged to broaden their role beyond education and facility-based captive breeding to more *in-situ*, field-orientated effort’.⁷³ Albeit in modified language, we have arrived once more at the nineteenth-century projection of the zoo as a reworking of the story of Noah’s Ark.

From this perspective, zoos are places that have an essential role to play in conversations around planetary change: *Protected Areas: Are They Safeguarding Biodiversity?* (2016) is part of a series of publications dedicated to conservation sciences and practice, published in association with ZSL. Out of the fifty-one contributors, twenty-two are from UK institutions and twelve from US institutions, which seems to illustrate the concerns about the exclusionary aspects inherent in the concept of the Anthropocene where the ‘Anthro’ pre-figures any conversation or debate about the existing relationships between capitalism and ecology.⁷⁴ Concern for wildlife quickly turns to the problem of *other* humans where population growth presents a challenge to conservation because it increases ‘pressure to both develop and extract resources from the world’s protected areas’. The designation of boundaries in conservation projects comes into conflict with other interests, for example, companies who hold ‘oil and gas concessions’ in for ‘27% of the natural World Heritage Sites’. *Protected Areas* seeks to understand these conflicting priorities by asking ‘what is permissible within protected areas? What activities will not be tolerated in protected areas under specific management regimes?’.⁷⁵ The conceptual and legalistic framework of *Protected Areas* aims to be the basis for a future global report on the effective planning for conservation habitats.

Berger’s argument that social and economic values can be extrapolated from considering identifiable relationships is useful, however, his framing of the zoological relationship between ‘man

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 295–306.

⁷³ T. J. Coonan, A. Varsik, C. Lynch, and C. A. Schewmm, ‘Cooperative Conservation: Zoos and In Situ Breeding for Endangered Island Fox *Urocyon littoralis ssp*’ in *International Zoo Year Book*, 44 (2010), 165–72 (p. 165).

⁷⁴ Jamie Lorimer, *Wildlife in the Anthropocene: Conservation after Nature* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2015), pp. 1–7.

⁷⁵ Jonathon E. M. Baillie, Lucas N. Joppa and John G. Robinson, *Protected Areas: Are They Safeguarding Biodiversity?* (West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell & ZSL, 2016), p. 9.

and animal' is problematic, because these are binary terms open to discussion, indeed dismantlement. Jacques Derrida's *The Animal That Therefore I Am* (2008) describes and enacts historical texts which serve to expand upon the theme of 'the animal' — with inimitable style — he exhaustively redresses, personalises, and unsettles, the assumptions, rationales, and shibboleths, that front load our interpretation of animals. The naming and definition of other beings as an animal reduces a vast multiplicity to the singular, and for Derrida the result of this linguistic reduction has the consequence that within language 'we have no scale'. Labelling skewers our account of others, effacing, as it does, the abundance of animal differences: presences, perspectives, viewpoints, narratives, and psychologies.⁷⁶ The 'zoological conservatory' challenges Berger's image of the 'zoological animal' as 'monument' because in these discourses the specimen is transposed into the role of an archived object — an entry in a repository to be retrieved, accessed, disseminated — that bears the unspecified and assumed promise of a return to a re-pacified space which is now 'protected'.⁷⁷ The concept of protection is valuable only if it accounts for, adequately engages with, and seeks to understand its discursive relationship to the histories and legacies of colonialism. Berger's main argument is that the animals on display at the zoo were best thought of as a type of monument, and in this metaphor, he concluded that the prospects for humans is bleak.

Gilles Aillaud (who Berger dedicated his essay too) painted zoological specimens in their cages, using great painterly skill to show the accoutrements of captivity: the material forms of enclosure (bars, glass, concrete), the faux habitats (foliage, decorated walls, paved flooring), and the technologies of captivity (waterpipes, locks, gates, panoptical regularities). Aillaud's paintings are concerned with the realist representation of zoo animals in their environment. His brush marks are as delicate in depicting the exterior and interior elements of the cages as that of the animals (form, surface, volume, being) who are held captive within banal living spaces which fail to live up to the diversity of their original habitats. Berger wrote an introduction to Aillaud's first exhibition in Britain and he asked the visitors of the exhibition to:

⁷⁶ Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am* (New York: Fordham Press, 2008), p. 31.

⁷⁷ John Berger, *About Looking* (New York: First Vintage, 1991), pp. 12–13.

imagine a table elaborately laid out for a meal, before anybody has come to eat. According to what was on the table one would be able to form some idea of the sort of people who were awaited. In Aillaud's world it is not a meal that has been laid out but what use to be called the Animal Kingdom. And, here, in the same way, we are obliged to form an idea of those who are anticipated.⁷⁸

Berger, then, asks us, the viewers, what do the subjects of these works say about the implied spectator? Who is expected in Aillaud's paintings? The answer is the isolated visitor to the zoo, who we can form an idea of, because of what is offered up for visual consumption in Aillaud's optic — the quotidian reality of enclosing an animal — the faux representations of in-situ territory, the limits of the structure, synthetic boundary, and ultimately our complicity in the marginalisation of the animals. After all, the frame in which the spectator is invited to peer doubles as a living space. The zoological exhibit is framed by the means of its exhibition and this creates a fabricated vista. What is witnessed is not an exemplar or a taxon of a species, it is in fact, the receding of animals into a physically constituted human aesthetic, hence, Berger's analogy that these displays are monuments.

What Berger witnesses at the zoo is not just the animal but also the accoutrements of live exhibition. The isolated visitors are next in line for their own marginalisation:

looking at each animal, the unaccompanied zoo visitor is alone. As for the crowds, they belong to a species which has at last been isolated. This historic loss, to which zoos are a monument, is irredeemable for the culture of capitalism.⁷⁹

Berger concluded that an animal on display in the zoo was interpretable as a type of living monument, marginalised because of the discursive and physical construction of its display, which signals a new relationship between animal-humans and the environment. A dualism that misses the pluralism at play in the lives of both in-situ and ex-situ animals is taken for granted by the alienated spectator. The metaphor of the zoological monument is used to describe a particular instance of estrangement, whereby, the means of a zoo animal's life belongs to 'another' (the zoological institution). Berger's view is close to Carter's because the ex-situ zoo animals are caught in perpetuity unlike their

⁷⁸ John Berger, 'Gilles Aillaud.' in *Zoo's Four Exhibitions at the Institute of Contemporary Arts*, ed. by Johnathan Barzdo, London: ICA, 1982), p. 27.

⁷⁹ Berger, *About Looking*, p. 28.

counterparts who are bred for food or service. The ex-situ animals have after all crossed a threshold and entered into a system of economic circuits and relationships where ‘all things are other than themselves’.⁸⁰

Berger moves beyond Carter’s view of the zoo because he situates the institution within the wider system of capitalism where animals disappear. This is because the invention and proliferation of the ‘internal combustion engine’ replaced the need for animals in ‘streets and factories’. During the industrial revolution, capital unleashed new processes that disrupted the place occupied by animals, including across the visual spectrums of public life. The displacement of animals precipitated by capitalist transformation of production facilitated a nostalgia for animals — a form of distorted anthropomorphism embraced by the petit bourgeoisie — accelerated by the physical displacement of animals from customary modes of economic activity. Berger argues that the expansion of urbanization ‘at an ever-increasing rate’ transformed the surrounding countryside into suburbs causing an optical effacement ‘where field animals, wild or domesticated’ became increasingly rare.⁸¹

The art historian, Joan Coutu, argues that monuments are ‘traces’ which ‘purport, in their solid stone permanence, to be historical records’. The ‘trace’ of the monument locates deeper circuits of imperial meaning, which traversed back and forth, between the periphery and centre. Monuments, here, are understood as commemorative memorials which littered the British Empire and expressed implicit and explicit imperialist sensibilities.⁸² Coutu discerns meaning from such objects by reinserting the key themes of commission, location, and design — which were integral to the existence of monuments — yet are largely absent from scholarly readings. For the colonist, a monument was a way to ‘manufacture pedigree’ for their family because by commissioning a public work (whether to celebrate the life of a relative, memory, or an event) their name is inserted into the past for the sake of the future.⁸³ The monument as a specific aesthetic subject has largely been overlooked, especially in art histories, because of its status within the hierarchy of art; sculpture is the

⁸⁰ Karl Marx, *Early Writings* trans. by Rodney Livingstone and Gregor Benton (London: Penguin, 1977), p. 366.

⁸¹ Berger, *About Looking*, pp. 12–13.

⁸² Joan Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (London: McGill-Queens University Press, 2006), p. 5.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

‘poor cousin’ of painting and architecture, and the monument was regarded as a lesser branch of sculpture, because they were commissioned works for general dissemination. The discussions between artist and patron, which was the determinant of the iconography in the monument, provides the opportunity for a nuanced economic, social, and political reading of the empire. The popularity of ‘stock-in trade pieces’, the shipping of objects for display, and the choice of subject matter, all contributed to a historical approach that addresses how personal memory is always inextricably bound to public artifice.⁸⁴

Monuments, in this context, are the result of deliberative processes that cross many boundaries. One of the criticisms of Berger’s analogy is that he does not attend to the institutionally discursive, procedural, and collaborative aspects of the zoological monument. Nigel Rothfel critiques Berger for an anthropocentrism which overlooks how ‘the categories of animal and humans are in constant flux’, thereby, masking the potential collaborative relationships that can, have, and do, exist between animals and humans.⁸⁵ But, Rothfel’s excitement about the forging of new relationships which he finds in the ‘productive relationship’ between human trainer and animal student does not discount the clear impact that nineteenth-century economic activity had upon the transformation of a variety of relationships and roles formerly inhabited by animals.

Berger’s analogy draws attention to the wider processes that denote animals as complicated objects rather than as simple stand ins for in-situ counterparts. Rothfel highlights how the spectrum of animal display is broader than Berger imagined; this, however, misses Berger’s concern with the direct visual status of the zoological animals and their relationship to collective memory. The monument holds a special place in relation to memory and it is a notion that Berger shares with Roland Barthes. Barthes identified the visual importance of monuments for the mythological construction of national identity by memorializing idealized landscapes. Barthes’s critique rests upon his reading of the *Blue Guide* travel books which reduced places to a myth, at the expense of the embodied moment, by positioning monuments at the narrative centre of discourses about nationhood.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11–12.

⁸⁵ Nigel Rothfel, ‘Why Look at Elephants’ in *Worldviews: Global Religions, Culture & Ecology*, 9 (2005), 166–83 (p. 172).

The way of life of an area, the contested histories of a place, its economics, its local industry, and culture are all displaced in favour of the reductive monument which provides a short, simplistic, exemplary, and stereotypical image of a region. This is because the information that the *Blue Guide* chooses to present is a mythological commentary about place. The guide makes a classificatory decision by selecting:

only monuments [which] suppresses at one stroke the reality of the land and that of its people, it accounts for nothing of the present, that is, nothing historical, and as a consequence, the monuments themselves become undecipherable, therefore senseless. What is seen is thus constantly in the process of vanishing, and the *Guide* becomes, through an operation common to all mystifications, the very opposite of what it advertises, an agent of blindness. By reducing geography to the description of an uninhabited world of monuments, the *Blue Guide* expresses a mythology.⁸⁶

The monument robs our attention away from the moment, because like all reliquaries they distract us from what ‘is real *and which exists in time*’. The spectator is left to revel in the mere idealizations and abstractions exhibited by the sliced out of time monument.⁸⁷ Berger transfers the negative meanings that Barthes ascribes to monuments onto the image of the zoological animal – as zoological spectators we are accustomed to seeing only exemplars where each *lion is lion*, whereas, what we are seeing is an isolated ‘part’: a displaced resident trapped inside a visual panorama of economic estrangement.

Rashmi Duraiswamy locates Berger’s privileging of the act of looking as part of a ‘classical problematic’ concerned with ‘moments of interface’ between the ‘real’ and how it is ‘represented’. Berger’s thought is classical in its approach because ‘his focus is on the individual caught up in larger social processes’ and he does this by addressing the ‘individual cogito going about the business of looking and being-looked-at’.⁸⁸ The zoo commands the act of looking at individuals (the animals by the visitor) and this is the end product of a system of fabrication carried out by a ‘larger social process’. The strength of Berger’s argument is the attention given over to the ‘act of looking’ for the

⁸⁶ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* trans. by Annette Lavers. London: Vintage, 2009), p. 87.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁸⁸ Rashmi Duraiswamy, ‘A Mirror: Bound by the Look.’ in *A Jar of Flowers: Essays in Celebration of John Berger*, ed. by Yasmin Gunaratnam and Amarijt Chandan, (London: Zed Books, 2016), 235–48 (p. 237).

purpose of tracing the ‘history of the power equations that marginalises one of the ‘looks’’.⁸⁹ The view of the animals is mediated by the enclosure, which as we have seen, acts as a frame for interpretation.

This can be related to the animal historian Jonathan Burt’s rejection of Berger’s description of the visual relationship available at the zoo: the image of the isolated zoological specimen, a metaphor, which illustrates the ‘changing status’ of animals. For Burt, Berger’s argument is too reductive because animals in Berger’s narrative move from linguistic connotation to visual spectacle. Burt argues that,

Berger is incorrect, given the widespread variety of animal representations. Furthermore, the growth of animal representations in film, photography, and print, which is particularly noticeable [...] with the expansion of the animal-welfare movement and nature conservation.⁹⁰

From Burt’s perspective, Berger is drawn to a ‘spectacle of captivity’ that misses the fluidity of animal images during the nineteenth-century. The visual status of animals did not just shift towards spectacular (and ultimately alienated forms) but also towards positive institutional and legislative arrangements. Animal imagery accompanied expressions of societal advancement, which vitally, led to the passing of legislation and the formation of important groups from the 1820s onwards, for example: the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (1824), the Vegetarian Society (1847), and the Humane Slaughter Association (1911).⁹¹

It is true that powerful discourses have unfolded in relation to animal rights but, I argue that this misses the important metaphorical contribution made by Berger which has more in common with Carter’s essay on zoo animals. Carter and Berger explore the aesthetics and meaning of the zoo animals as opposed to questions about the development of animals in film or legislation – interesting a subject as this is. The question that this thesis asks is: if the animals of the zoo are, as Berger proposed, living monuments, how have they been constructed? I argue that an answer can be found in

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

⁹⁰ Jonathan Burt, ‘The Illumination of the Animal Kingdom: The Role of Light and Electricity in Animal Representation’ in *The Animals Reader: The Essential Classic and Contemporary Writings*, ed. by Linda Kalof and Amy Fitzgerald, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2007), 289–302 (p. 292).

⁹¹ Jonathan Burt, ‘John Berger’s ‘Why Look at Animals?’: A Close Reading’, *Worldviews: Global Religions, Culture & Ecology*, 9 (2005), 203–18 (pp. 207–14).

the archive at London Zoo where the series of pro forma sheets of the *Daily Occurrences* provide written evidence for the strategic processes that allowed for animals to be seen as exemplars of imperial power, and equally, and just as importantly, as resources (for both display and for the exploration of their deep anatomy). These documents can be described as the constant articulation of the zoological collection. This is because these pro forma pages allowed for a series of authorial statements about the collection to appear concerning the practical running of the zoo: animal arrivals, departures, births, deaths, work, and finance. The *Daily Occurrences* are the structure that support the contemporary valence of Berger's analogy and Burt's critique. The day sheets are the account through which a method for regulating the physical marginalisation of animals was made possible. Burt's critique is guilty of the charge he makes of others, for example, Burt reduces animal representation to limited consumer products and narrow examples of contemporary media — most specifically film and its relationship to ethics — rather than turning to the archive or discourses which shape what types of representation are on offer, even within his own case study. The existence of animal representation in film during a specific time-period does not negate the power or specificity of other modes of cultural analysis or critique in, and of, itself. The *Daily Occurrences*, as one type of representation amongst a network of others, tell us why — in the specific context of London Zoo — animals were written about and they reveal to us the scaffolding, mouldings, and casts which construct them as living monuments.

Berger's argument, like Carter's, is pessimistic but to insist, as Burt and Rothfel do, that the cynicism is overstated is to miss the importance of the Berger's and Carter's reflection on animals and the meaning of their residence in the zoo. For Carter, the zoo animals are trapped in an ever-present condition that reflects back to us the wider social norms and attitudes that reside in the undergrowth of the public self. For Berger, the persistence of captivity that reduces the zoo animal addresses the symptoms familiar to the isolated spectator who is likewise trapped. However, it is through practices that the animals, and therefore humans, are marginalised. The pro formas indicate one practical way in which humans were reduced to animals at the zoo. A short story by the Argentinian writer Julio Cortázar explores a different type of liminality between the animals who are displayed in enclosures, cages, and, tanks, and what this means for the humans who observe them.

Context Collapse: Haraway, Cortàzar, and Zoological Horror

Julio Cortàzar's short story, 'Axolotl' (1956), captures a unique horror to be found at the zoo, and his staging of anxiety over boundary pre-emptly Haraway's project to rethink the boundaries between humans, animals, and the environment. These writers each raise key questions that forces us to ask: is it enough for writers to only ruminate on the living objects that are framed for our visual consumption? I argue that by extending questions of voice, biography, and account — as is implicit in Cortàzar's work and explicit in Haraway's — new narratives emerge that productively problematise interpretations of the zoo.

In Fig. 3 we can see an arrival, recorded in the pro formas, of six axolotls to London Zoo and these are the spectacular species that captivate the main character in Cortàzar's memorable short story.

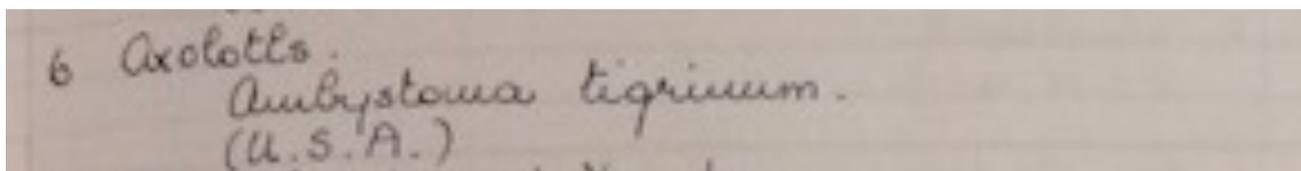


Fig. 3. Arrivals: six axolotls, *Daily Occurrences*, 18 February 1942.⁹²

The story is about the excitement of experiencing a chance encounter at the zoo with a new species, and leads the reader into an absurdist meditation on consciousness and the limits of perception.

Cortàzar's prose asks us, as Haraway's work does, to reflect on how we distinguish between boundaries. The text collapses by switching perspectives yet the narrative voice maintains a consistency between the spectator and the animals under observation. Cortàzar links sight, the somatics of embodiment, and what it means to be confined by both physical and cultural structures. The main protagonist while walking in the city of Paris spontaneously visits the Jardin des Plantes. Unexpectedly finding himself in familiar surroundings the narrator has his memory jolted because of the 'green among all the city's grey' which causes him to 'remember[ed] the lions'. The man decides

⁹² London, Zoological Society of London, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002), Arrivals, 18 February 1942.

to go into the zoo to see his ‘friends’ (the lions and a panther), but, once inside he is disappointed with what confronts him. The lions ‘were sad and ugly’ and ‘my panther was asleep’ recalls the narrator, now at a loss, because the reality did not correspond with the fantasy of his (presumably childhood) memory. This disappointment prompts the spectator-protagonist to try something new, so he decides to go into the aquarium for the first time. The man peruses the tanks of ‘banal fish’ until, suddenly, he is confronted by a display populated by the axolotl of the story’s title.

The axolotl are silent, enticing, unique – the spectator is so transfixed by these animals that he watches them for an hour in a sort of trance, and upon leaving the zoo he rushes to a library to learn everything there is to know about the species. Reading through documents such as the *Daily Occurrences* can, on occasion, elicit a similar experience because the endless lists of exotic animals come loaded, plump, and are rich with signification. Grids overlap with the lists and animals move beyond the pro formas to become processed as biocultural objects after their deaths. The latent knowledge accumulated throughout our lives under the force of entrepreneurial persuasion colours our knowledge. External objects are perceived through the socially constructed metric of the individual. Many of the animals inscribed into the pages of pro formas seem distant as a result of media saturation. The images circulated are unreliable *anthropomorphs* that settle, accrete, and, exist, in our imagination. A spectral zoo resides in the mind and it is stirred up, again and again, by the stimuluses of high and low cultures.

The axolotls estrange the spectator from the position of the isolated voyeur. The protagonist returns to the zoo every day to watch these nine ‘alien’ specimens that remind him of ‘Chinese figurines of milky glass’ whose eyes are a jumble of potential resemblances ‘two orifices, like brooches, wholly of transparent gold’. There are many levels of signification that seep out of Cortázar’s description of the eyes and body of the axolotl: otherness, commodity, sexual organ, self-proclamation, and crossing points. The eyes of axolotl are liminal borders that sparkle and shine pulling the spectator in from the safety of the margin: here, the protagonist is a spectator not an informed observer. The following excerpt captures the spectators growing infatuation, he explains to the reader that,

above all else, their eyes obsessed me. In the standing tanks on either side of them, different fishes showed me the simple stupidity of their handsome eyes so similar to our own, the eyes of the axolotls spoke to me of the presence of a different life, of another way of seeing.⁹³

The story ends with a division between the spectator and the act of mutually interpenetrative spectating which causes a context collapse between subject and object falling in upon one another.

The perspective of a spectator outside of the tank merges with the spectator(s) inside the tank – we do not have to wait until the zoo closes to imagine animals with interiority as is the case with Garnett and Woolf. Cortázar's narrator describes the metamorphosis from zoological spectator to spectacle:

no transition and no surprise, I saw my face against the glass, I saw it on the outside of the tank, I saw it on the other side of the glass. Then my face drew back and I understood.⁹⁴

This is an inversion and reversal of Kafka's ape, Red Peter's, experience of transition where, instead of an opening of a space into observation, Cortázar's protagonist experiences the horror of being buried alive: 'I was an axolotl and now I knew instantly that no understanding was possible'.⁹⁵ Cortázar's story is unique because the reader becomes aware of a role reversal where the position of the other is revealed. In this story, we get a sense of Cortázar's concern with the absurdities of enclosure, thought, and communication. The story posits and plays with an internal voice that fragments and 'metamorphizes' into that of another's. The denouement of Cortázar's story is the move away from an individual voice in order to explore the possibility of a collective one – with all of the trouble that this may unleash.

Haraway's study of 'technoscience', *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium.*

FemaleMan@_Meets_OncoMouseTM, collages a variety of textual, written, and visual forms in order to describe the contemporary moment where the boundaries between animals and humans are collapsing. Haraway situates the contemporary subject alongside Cortázar's zoological spectator; a person who is compelled by technologies — of display, scientific discourse, semantics, and the

⁹³ Julio Cortázar, 'Axolotl' in *Bestiary: Selected Stories*, trans. by Paul Blackburn (London: The Harvill Press, 1998), p. 162.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

somatic spectre untouched within ocular spectacle — to face new embodied relationships. Haraway adopts Foucault's concept of biopower which she understands as 'the practices of administrative, therapeutics, and surveillance of bodies that discursively constitute, increase, and manage the forces of living organisms'.⁹⁶ In conjunction with technological breakthroughs that take humans and animals as the subjects of biopower, humanism is shown up to be an abstraction. Haraway argues that the offspring of nineteenth-century science has grown up to incorporate four 'technoscientific wombs' — military innovation, capitalist accumulation, international discourses on climate, trans-national media networks — which, in the contemporary moment, are birthing: 'the concentrated control of information and communications'; 'hyper-capitalist market traffic'; 'global modelling practices'; and, 'U.S. dominated, broad-spectrum media conglomerates'.⁹⁷ The strength, and frustration, of Haraway's work is the postmodern play of forms within the text which, in equal measure, illuminate, problematise, and collapse — in terms of metaphor and context — ways of approaching new science outside of the limits of present discourses.

In this mythic imaginary landscape, the perspective of the human subject needs to adapt to its biopolitical merger with observers and kin inside the 'Second Millennium'. Each chapter of Haraway's book starts with a written response to a painting by the artist Lyn Randolph, and this is an approach that resonates with both Berger's and Carter's reflections upon how the visual representation of animals in paintings and design denote human-animal relationships. For Haraway, modern society is configured by overloading, over-flowing, and, perhaps, also over-flowering, categories within a web of human-animal-environmental-technical networks that culminate in a type of hyper 'techno-biopower' that masks the reality of potentially shareable knowledges. The most poignant example is the figure of 'OncoMouse™' the first animal — a genetically modified mouse (also known as the Harvard mouse) — to be patented. OncoMouse™ is a laboratory mouse modified to generate tumours that produce breast cancer for the purpose of testing potential cures. Haraway powerfully, and subjectively, illustrates the complicated discourse in which this figure inhabits,

⁹⁶ Haraway, *Modest_Witness*, pp. 11–13

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11–13.

whether I agree to her existence and use or not, s/he suffers, physically, repeatedly, and profoundly, that I and my sisters may live. In the experimental way of life, she is the experiment.⁹⁸

This is one example, of many, where Haraway problematises how we think about the asymmetrical relationship between humans and animals which are often based upon a ‘species chauvinism’ – a charge which she levels against the ‘humanism’ she finds in the works of feminists, Marxists, and post-structuralists.⁹⁹

Humans, as a result, need to adopt new approaches to classificatory practices, and Haraway interrogates how to do this through a series of examples. These include: Randolph’s paintings; the creative use of textual characters (exemplified by the novels alphabetic, numeric, and non-alphanumeric title); epigraphs and quotations; bad jokes; paranoia; corny horror stories (popular forms, slang, hip-talk); information tables; figures; and, illustrations. All of these examples explored by Haraway, as she argues, ‘involve at least some kind of displacement that can trouble identification and certainties’.¹⁰⁰ In this account of human-animal relations, sociological classifications — ‘background’, ‘class’, ‘gender’ — are ‘clumsy categorical attempts to name how the world is experienced by the nonstandard’.¹⁰¹ Such different modes of analysis — qualitative, quantitative, visual, structuralist, biographical — are deployed in a similar manner to Bourdieu’s study and theorisation of the class construction in bourgeoisie culture. What is absent though is an engagement with the role that habitus plays in the fields of economy which underpins society and its categories.

In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1979), Bourdieu adopts a method which emphasises the contention that ‘social class is not defined solely by a position in the relations of production, but by the class habitus which is ‘normally’ (i.e. with a high statistical probability) associated with that position’. The habitus, in its most simple form, is the cultural capital available to, ‘conditioned’ into, and ‘exerted’ upon an individual on the basis of their relation to the dominant

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 79.

⁹⁹ Donna J. Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), p. 59.

¹⁰⁰ Haraway, *Modest_Witness*, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

system of economics.¹⁰² This insight is constructed and interrogated throughout Bourdieu's analysis by pitting qualitative and quantitative research methods, alongside increasingly elaborate modes of demonstrating and presenting the findings, against one another. The argument and method are united in order to question practice because:

the epistemological obstacles which social science has to overcome are initially social obstacles [...] unlike the sometimes illuminating *intuitions* of the essay form, the sometimes coherent *theses* of theoreticism and the sometimes valid *observations* of empiricism, provisional systems of scientific propositions which strive to combine internal coherence and adequacy to the facts can only be produced by a slow, difficult labour which remains unmarked by all hasty readings.¹⁰³

This concern with methods, modes of study, and data set presentations are endlessly put into conversation with one another in Bourdieu's text; incorporating, juxtaposing, and problematising these diverse forms. Arguments, commentaries, diagrams, exegesis, figures, graphs, photographs, sample questionnaires, sequences of photographs, statistical data, and tables overload the space of the manuscript, bombard the reader with ever intensifying arguments, and challenges these research methods while distinguishing the benefits of each. What emerges in both of these approaches are meditations on classificatory practices which fabulize research outcomes, data sets, and evidence in relation to subjects.

Haraway asserts that how we classify is a central question which faces researchers who study human and animal subjects, across the arts, humanities, and sciences. This, as we have seen, is an approach similar to Bourdieu whose view on the research methods and human subjects, interrogated in his social survey of class formation, argues that,

the classifying subjects who classify the properties and practices of others, or their own, are also classifiable objects which classify themselves (in the eyes of others) by appropriating practices and properties that are already classified (as vulgar or distinguished, high or low, heavy or light etc.– in other words, in the last analysis, as popular or bourgeois) according to their probable distribution between groups that are themselves classified. The most

¹⁰² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1979), pp. 372–73.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 512.

classifying and best classified of these properties are, of course, those which are overtly designated to function as signs of distinction.¹⁰⁴

The quote above captures Bourdieu's assertion that members of a class or group orientate their social position themselves within the social 'field' relationally, in part, based upon classificatory and taxonomic practices – hence the precision of Garnett's satire of the man who displays and classify himself at London Zoo. Bourdieu captures the agency of individuals who are nevertheless hailed by systems of authority, and he argues that 'social subjects comprehend the social world which comprehends them'.¹⁰⁵ Haraway argues that this question of how we classify is one of the most central questions we, as a species, living under the system of 'technobiopower' should address. This is because taxonomic designations are critical for the 'technologies of standardization and others' ease of fitting' whereby 'material-semiotic articulations [...] bring [...] ill-fitting positions into being and sustain them'.¹⁰⁶ By challenging these assumptions a more productive way for thinking about the representation of humans and animals emerges.

Such a written project is perhaps too rich and rhetorical to fully draw concrete 'facts' from because of the play of metaphors, which, are on the one hand 'tools' and on the other 'tropes'.¹⁰⁷ Haraway argues that different modes of thinking and reading are required, as are new ways of perceiving, relating to, and stretching out of 'humanistic' categories which fail to meet the challenges of scientific advancement: cancer research, genetically modified foods, and connectivity of digital communication. For Haraway, philosophical Marxism and feminism fail to account for the new because they cling to a human exceptionalism that is increasingly challenged by the scientific advancements achieved by science. As a result, the consequences this poses for critical theory is that,

analytically and provisionally, we may want to move what counts as the political to the background and to foreground elements called technical, formal, or quantitative, or to highlight the textual and semiotic while muting the economic or mythic.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

¹⁰⁶ Haraway, *Modest_Witness*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

Technoscience offers great opportunities, and horrors, which have both been insufficiently addressed due to the failure of imagination locatable in out-of-date humanism. Haraway's solution is to emphasise elements that highlight the situatedness of knowledge – in her discourse, peculiar human-animal relationships and debts are acknowledged, problems of witnessing are posed, and new mythic figures are introduced. It is in this 'situatedness' that George Myerson notes the ambiguous position which Haraway adopts towards a tomato genetically modified by a gene from flounder fish (Haraway names the GM product 'Flavr Savr' on account of its modification to stay fresh longer). Such scientific advancement, or 'post-modern encounters', undermine our previous categories, and therefore, the question it poses is should we 'acknowledge our kinship with these new possibilities, either as victims or as heroes?' Haraway's argument, as Myerson sees it, is that we should embrace 'a fulfilment of ambiguity rather than escape back into definition'.¹⁰⁹

Vinciane Despret, following Haraway, attempts to balance such complex, ambiguous, ideas by looking to accommodate a range of perspectives in *What Would Animals Say If We Asked The Right Questions?* (2016). The scope of Despret's work is broad, and like Haraway, it is richly researched and seeks to challenge preconceived ideas about animals. However, a charge that can be levelled at both is that rarely do their critiques turn upwards. The preconceived ideas that are challenged by Despret often end up reinforcing established conventions. In answering the question 'are any species killable?' Despret describes Haraway's notion that 'eating and killing are an unavoidable fact of the relations that tie together all mortal companion species'.¹¹⁰ While acknowledging that veganism may have some merit Despret adopts Haraway's point that although many animals 'live, suffer, die, and eat, from the laboratories that bring humans and animals together, to the domain of animals husbandry, all the way up to our table' we need to find a way to 'honour' these companion species rather than to embrace new forms.¹¹¹ The way to 'honour' the animals whose lives are entangled with humans — whether they have our affection as pets, benefit from the medical

¹⁰⁹ George Myerson 'Donna Haraway and GM Foods' in *The End of Everything: Postmodernism and the Vanishing of the Human*, ed. by Richard Appignanesi (Cambridge: Icon Books, 2003), pp. 87–88.

¹¹⁰ Vinciane Despret, *What Would Animals Say if we Asked the Right Questions?* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), p. 85.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86.

research, or who feed us — is to ‘create stories’ about these ‘companion species’.¹¹² I argue that we need to extend the definition of ‘stories’ by turning to the ‘voices’ which surround and act upon animals. For example, many of our preconceived ideas about animals stem from practices such as those narrated by the *Daily Occurrences*.

I agree with Haraway and Bourdieu that it is important to refer to, and grasp, the discursive technologies we use to classify. What the *Daily Occurrences* reveal, however, is less the centrality of mythic figures such as animals, traders, scientists, particular visitors, workers, and the public, but instead, the spectre of an institutional voice classifying and extending a taxonomic gaze that crosses species and reduces humans. This voice is different from the types found in first-person narratives, for example, the zoological diaries of Edward Thomas Booth explored in the last chapter. Instead, it is a collective voice that we find within the *Daily Occurrence*, and it is similar to the relationality found in Cortázar’s tale where the gaze of the spectator — the human narrator — is reduced to the same level as the objects on display. The axolotls become the stand-in for the meaning of the relationship between humans and animals at the zoo. What stands in the shadows are the abstractions of imperial networks, class structure, and biopolitical deployment of power; and this is the horror of the zoo where the estrangement and alienation denoted by Berger’s living, ex-situ, monuments mirror the predicament of the isolated, in-situ, human spectator.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Chapter Four: Zoological Marginalia

Margins

This chapter explores the relationship of pro formas to marginalia in order to reveal the specific qualities of an institutional voice that speaks from the historical page. Material from the zoological archive links to a network of institutions beyond the cages and library of London Zoo which are traceable, in subtle, marginal, and nuanced ways, deepening our understanding of the way the zoo was discursively engaged beyond its own boundaries. The concept of the biopolitical is a basis from which we might start to question institutional narratives today as part of the wider story of the alienating processes of commodification. This is because, as developed over the last three chapters, the disciplinary gaze of the nineteenth-century zoo —located in the classificatory grids of the pro formas — reduced both animals and humans. By interrogating and contextualising events and occurrences at the zoo which exceeded norms, the reader moves from the margins of these zoological ‘blanks’ and into the pre-fabricated processes and pro formas of other legislative bodies and systems of animal representation. This chapter will examine how entries found in the margins, where the classificatory system breaks down or is found to be contingent in the face of forces beyond its control, connect to a broader regulative power identified by Michel Foucault.

By paying attention to paperwork as an object of original study and recognising the physicality of paper and form (in the case of the *Daily Occurrences*: paper sheets bound into volumes of codex) a more nuanced understanding of classificatory practices becomes apparent. Such an approach takes seriously the design, production, and distribution of paper as a method to understand the languages of classificatory practice – rooted, as they are, in the quotidian transference of knowledge, expression, and thought to material form. The paper historian Matthew P. Brown argues that literature is not necessarily the most prevalent discursive form found in archives and repositories.¹ Mass-produced and ephemeral documents have accumulated in the archives and yet are

¹ Matthew P. Brown, ‘Blanks: Data, Method, and the British American Print Shop’, *American Literary History*, 29 (2017), 228–47 (p. 228).

often pushed into the margins. The scale of the institutional traces of the past intimidate, as much as, in the future they will (and already do) impede, problematise, and, frustrate, the ineluctable drive towards digital translation. This process has already disrupted the identity of the practice-based artisan who fails to incorporate the antonyms of the quotidian: context collapse, ease of access to information, and the excitement of learning. The threshold of the *Daily Occurrences* reveals to us one of the key forms through which societies have moved from sovereign based imposition towards disciplinary societies.

Marginalia

This chapter explores the relationship of pro formas to marginalia in order to reveal the specific qualities of an institutional voice that speaks from the historical page. The observation and accounting of the activities at the zoo aligns with aspects of the literary and historical contextualisation of marginalia, but breaks through the pro formas' arrangement of language into rows and columns. The notion of marginalia was coined by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and it refers to the practice of annotating in the margins of printed books: responding to the content, correcting grammatical errors and mistakes, clarifying perceived gaps in knowledge, and, entering into a discussion with the printed material.² The reader who writes in the margins physically elucidates the printed ideas of the manuscript or book and in doing so pushes up against the boundaries of the material form. For Coleridge, a prolific annotator, the spaces in the codex (the endpapers, front-pieces, edges, gaps, and corners of manuscripts and books) were 'a positive element of design'. Just 'as for a typographer' this 'space' assumed a constructive value – room to annotate was an essential feature of a book.³

It was recognised early on by readers and collectors of Coleridge that his handwritten interventions are valuable adjuncts to his cannon. As George Whalley observed, these annotations:

² H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2001), p.13.

³ George Whalley 'Editors Introduction' in *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Marginalia* ed. by George Whalley (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), VI (1980), p. lxx.

were not simply expressions of an opinion or statements of conclusive thoughts or sustained reflective dialogue; they can be seen also as an essential physical deposit or secretion in a process of self-knowing, self-realisation, [...] self-production [...]⁴

As Whalley argues in the following excerpt, the process of annotation is a way for readers to construct a space for themselves in the field of knowledge. Whalley observed that ‘Coleridge wrote marginal notes for a variety of discernible purposes’, including:

preparing lectures, to provide critical advice for an author (or reviewer), as instruction to a person younger than himself and less deeply informed, as memoranda to himself of his own concentrated reflection upon difficult or obscure texts.⁵

Marginalia, then, can be broken down in the following way: as a form of note or reference, a method of peer-to-peer communication, an educative tool, and a way of underscoring important elements in a body of a text. Coleridge’s process of annotation was a form of gestural thinking, and marginalia is a representation of the ‘powerful heuristic [...] of [the] mind’. His notes sprawl, weave, and rotate, around the published ideas of other writers contained within pre-composed blocks of text.⁶

The layout of the pro forma page pre-organises subjects for response by the worker-writer. I have argued that the pro formas offer the potential for a critical reappraisal of the institution to which it narrated, and the ways that these forms were used indicate the need to conceptualise the activities of those who completed the forms. The variance between the printed structures and the layout of pro formas simultaneously invited notation but in doing so excludes the possibility of marginalia. It is in the gap between how the pro formas functioned and where they broke down or were amended that the ideology of the institution also becomes apparent. The literary theorisation of marginalia, with its relationship to author, materiality, and value, points to the absence inherent on the ways that we might begin to describe the authorship of non-literary texts. I argue that the pro formas illustrate the subtle ways that non-literary texts underpin institutional narratives, and that at the margins counter narratives may emerge.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. lxi.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. lxii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. lxii.

Muhamed Fajkovi and Lennart Bjørneborn trace the iterations of marginalia from the start of western manuscript and print culture to the present day. Marginalia, they observe, was once a ‘legitimate and desirable way for scholars to comment’ on the subjects under discussion in a text. It was an established aspect of literary culture where ‘printed comments’ offered ‘dogmatic instructions on how to understand the text properly’.⁷ During the nineteenth century value was attached to the marks made by famous and popular figures such as Coleridge. Fajkovi and Bjørneborn argue that the contemporary iterations of marginalia are more commonly associated with defacement or graffiti – their study on marginalia in library books highlights how it is considered as a form of vandalism that blights the circulating books and items of libraries and collections. The value of marginalia is predicated on the status of the author, but what the work of Fajkovi and Bjørneborn points to is the importance of material form. The *Daily Occurrences* embody the original conception of marginalia as a way to communicate on a specific subject, but on a pro forma the peer-to-peer communication has been codified and accounted for in its design.

Fajkovi and Bjørneborn argue that the greatest mystery about marginalia ‘remains its continuous existence [...] one might think that the abundance of physical and digital recording/writing devices would make it obsolete’.⁸ However, this ‘mystery’ ignores the ubiquitous nature of blanks and pro formas within society where responding to requests for information is a quotidian aspect of navigating systems of disciplinary power. Marginalia takes different forms, for example, it can be embedded and evaluative but also extra-textual. Book historian H. J. Jackson argues that there is a difference between ‘signs of reader attention’ where the text is witnessed by an asterisk, exclamation mark, or some other non-verbal code (crossings outs, arrows, scribbles), and discursive notes which express a reaction or an opinion. Jackson argues that ‘marginal notes seldom have the confessional intimacy that many passages in notebooks have’ because, of course, ‘margins of books are too public for that sort of writing’.⁹ In this context, how might we better understand the

⁷ Muhamed Fajkovi and Lennart Bjørneborn, ‘Marginalia as Message: Affordances for Reader-to-Reader Communication’ in *Journal of Documentation*, 70 (2014), 902–26 (pp. 902–03).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 903.

⁹ Jackson, *Marginalia*, pp. 114–18.

annotation of prescribed texts such as the *Daily Occurrences* which facilitated a mode of professional notation that strove for a confidential accuracy?

Esther Leslie's framing of the relationship between content and form in *Walter Benjamin's Archive* (2007) distils the ways that we might think about mark making practices through her contextualisation of Benjamin's cache of papers. Close attention is paid to the marginal forms (postcards, scraps, headed paper, notebooks, lists, and fragments) which compose the collection. Benjamin's 'papers' epitomize how the very materiality of paper is a 'medium that connects author and work' because of the qualities of the specific surface, its size, and the structure of the form. These elements connote the opportunity for an 'archiving function' which provides a space where 'thinking and writing take place, quarries, field for experimentation, [...] thoughts can be gathered, structured, discarded, formed anew – creatively and sometimes chaotically'.¹⁰ This seem important because what comes through in the zoological pro formas is a form that codifies thinking through structure, and this contrasts with the caches and diaries of writers, authors, and even animal collectors such as Edward Booth.

The pro formas of the zoo arranged 'quarries' of thinking and writing in order to create certainty for the management of the institution. These pages share a commonality with the colonial records identified by Ann Laura Stoler because such pages of governance are uniform in their attempt to produce classificatory rules that fashion intelligibility and regularity beyond any one individual author. This would be essential at the zoo because wild and exotic animals — like other imperial subjects and objects — presented 'epistemic uncertainties' that the hierarchical and taxonomic conceit of the pro formas attempted to alleviate.¹¹ Leslie observes that Benjamin often used 'several notebooks in parallel' including: 'booklets in which he wrote his diary, described his travels, fixed his ideas, drafted texts and letters and composed literature', plus, 'a little book that was a Catalogue of Items Read'.¹² The rules that are set, broken, or overturned by a writer are encapsulated by Benjamin's diverse writing practice. Whereas the pro formas are pre-inscribed with questions that are

¹⁰ Esther Leslie, *Walter Benjamin's Archive* (London: Verso, 2015), p.153.

¹¹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), p. 1.

¹² Leslie, *Walter Benjamin's Archive*, p. 154.

posed to a future individual or group engaged in deploying a regulative power. What is at stake in proformas is the foreclosure of language and the structuring of observation that commands the horizon of response.

Beyond Marginalia

At the National Portrait Gallery in London, Peter Vandyke's portrait of Coleridge hangs directly opposite Henry Howard's portrait of Humphry Davy. The poet and his contemporaries hold court, as if in conversation with Davy and the other nineteenth-century scientists who are framed on the gallery wall opposite. Their respective positions on the wall are fitting because Coleridge and Davy did share an important dialogue during their lifetimes. Such dialogues caught the public imagination because early nineteenth-century audiences experienced many new ideas and spectacles for the first time.

Richard Hamblyn conjures this exciting cultural climate,

sodium [...] first isolated by Davy [...] fizzing profanely in a container of water with a diabolical mineral energy. Metals that burned upon contact with air, or drab looking powders, harmless on their own, that when mingled in a jar combusted suddenly and violently to produce billows of noxious gas. Phosphorus, with its white flame and searing heat.¹³

Hamblyn shows how the presentation of such visually stimulating and revolutionary discoveries caught the Victorian imagination. His account of the life and career of the meteorologist Luke Howard in *The Invention of Clouds* (2001) brings to life the wider context in which these new ideas met a receptive audience. Davy paved the way for amateur practitioners like Howard by opening up a dialogic space. As a result, breakthroughs such as Howard's classification system for clouds, generated and acclimatised in the minds of the public. New ways of looking, describing, and communicating were embraced by great numbers of people. It was a time when 'images from scientific discourse began to permeate the wider language in an unprecedented way'.¹⁴ In this climate, Davy and Coleridge became fellow travellers.

¹³ Richard Hamblyn, *The Invention of Clouds: How an Amateur Meteorologist Forged the Language of the Skies* (London: Picador, 2001), p. 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Davy's notoriety was the result of his skills as an 'incandescent public speaker' and it was this that helped him to become the 'presiding spirit of public science in Britain'.¹⁵ Coleridge became an early admirer of Davy's charismatic performances. Davy's achievements were numerous and long lasting, for example, he was responsible for: discovering 'laughing gas' (nitrous oxide); the identification of sodium, potassium, calcium, barium, strontium, magnesium, and boron; demonstrating that chlorine and iodine are elements; making a safety lamp for miners; inventing cathodic protection which is vital for boats and buildings today.¹⁶ In the collected notes that comprise Coleridge's body of marginalia we can see his responses to, and the incorporation of, Davy's ideas. Coleridge references Davy's discovery of nitrous oxide in an annotation found in the margins of a second edition copy of Carl Alexander Ferdinand Kluge's *Versuch einer Darstellung des Animalischen Magnetismus, als Heilmittel* (1815). Coleridge — in response to a description of the results of the application of animal magnetism to nervous disorders — recalls that 'this sensation is the first noticeable effect of the nitrous Oxyd of Davy, when inhaled'.¹⁷

Coleridge and Robert Southey — another poet whose portrait holds court with his contemporaries at the National Portrait Gallery — were two of the first people to inhale 'laughing gas' as part of an experiment supervised by Davy. Coleridge's account was used by Davy in a publication of his researches into nitrous oxide and the discovery of its intoxicating properties when respired.¹⁸ Tim Fulford, a scholar of Romantic literature, has examined the influence that Coleridge and the other 'Lake Poets' had on Davy's experimental scientific practice.¹⁹ Davy 'fed' the poetic dreams and 'visions' of his poet friends into a 'program of gas inhalation' at the Pneumatic Institute in Bristol during his appointment there in the late 1790s. Davy utilized the exhilarating and self-reflective language associated with Coleridge's poetics to write up his own personal experiences of inhaling large doses of the gas. Fulford argues that Davy at this early period of his career was,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ J. M. Thomas 'Sir Humphry Davy: Natural Philosopher, Discoverer, Inventor, Poet, and Man of Action' in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 152 (2013), 143–63 (pp. 144–46).

¹⁷ *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Marginalia*, ed. by H. J. Jackson and George Whalley, 6 vols (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1980–), V3 (1992), p. 375.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 375–76.

¹⁹ Tim Fulford, 'Science and Poetry in 1790s Somerset: The Self-Experiment Narrative, the Aeriform Effusion, and the Greater Romantic Lyric' in *ELH*, 85 (2018), 85–117 (p. 111).

living up to the language of his friends' poems, [he] made the self-experiment a highly subjectivized form in which the gas precipitated a quest for an in-the-moment yet self-aware state of mind/body/world union — a state indicated in the writing by a move from past tense reportage to present tense, quoted speech — a 'prophetic manner' reminiscent of their aeriform verse. In deed and word, he fashioned himself as a Romantic hero of self-experimentation.²⁰

Davy went on to earn a reputation as a scientific celebrity at exactly the time when scientific lectures had become the ineluctable medium for presenting the discoveries of experimental fields such as pneumatics. Later, Davy regretted and abandoned this type of experimentation in the face of the transition that scientific discourses took towards instrumentation in the nineteenth century.

Fig. 1. is a satirical print depicting a discourse on pneumatics at the Royal Institution by the caricaturist James Gillray. The subject of the print is a pneumatics lecture and it is being ridiculed by Gillray who presents the scene as a farce.



²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.106–07.

Fig. 1. James Gillray and Hannah Humphrey, Scientific Researches! – New Discoveries in Pneumatics! — Or — An Experimental Lecture on the Powers of Air, National Portrait Gallery, London.

The satire depicts a giant gust of wind emanating from Sir John Cox Hippisley's behind, as Dr Garrick feeds a tube into one of Hippisley's nostrils, while Davy (the third figure on the right) assists Garrick. Davy is intense-eyed, poised, ready, waiting, as he gleefully pumps away at the bellows.²¹ Gillray presents the lecture as little more than a performance for the pretentious who are sitting, scrutinising, and taking notes. These lectures, however, coupled with a rich publishing climate, introduced natural philosophical thought, exploratory theories, and experiments to a wider audience. Gillray's ridicule attests to the popularity of these exciting new practitioners who needed to be brought into line by the establishment.

Fulford describes the taming of these innovators who became trapped by economic and cultural circumstances. He argues that for the transition from natural history to science, there was a need,

to impress conservative aristocrats who controlled scientific patronage in London, Davy abandoned pneumatics and turned from self-experiment narratives to enquires that emphasized results from an independent instrument.²²

The consequences of the circumstances described in the excerpt above for Davy meant abandoning his earlier work behind in order to establish a career (much the same as his friend Coleridge had done). In Fig. 4. we can see the founding statement of the Zoological Society which records Davy's attendance, who along with Stamford Raffles, as a founding member.

²¹ James Gillray, 'Caricatures of Chemical Lecture, London, England', 1802, Coloured etching <<http://collection.sciencemuseum.org.uk/objects/co66839/caricature-of-a-chemical-lecture-london-england-1802-print>> [accessed 8 December 2018].

²² Fulford, 'Science and Poetry in 1790s Somerset' in *ELH*, p. 111.

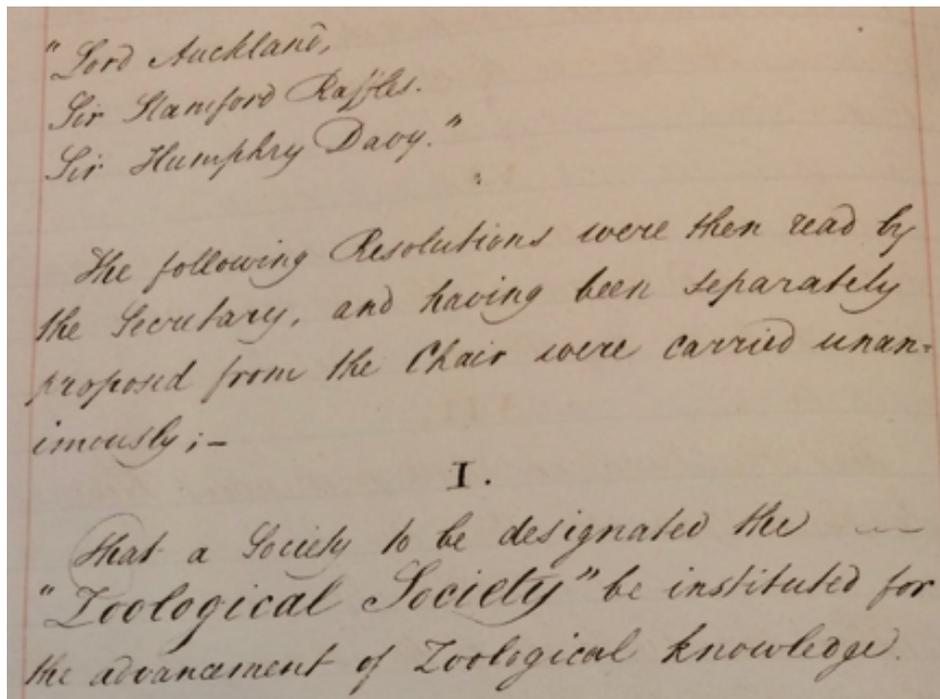


Fig. 2. Founding document of the Zoological Society of London.²³

“Lord Auckland
Sir Stamford Raffles
Sir Humphry Davy.”

The following resolutions were then read by the secretary, and having been separately proposed from the chair were carried unanimously; –

I.

That a society to be designated the “Zoological Society” be instituted for the advancement of Zoological knowledge.’

The excerpt above illustrates the distinctive trajectory of Davy’s career, which is one of transformation from an experimental scientist satirised in the press to an established figure who went on to co-found London Zoo – an exemplary imperial institution. Davy’s earlier works demonstrate a neat contrast to the tone of voice found in pages of the *Daily Occurrences*. The work of Hamblyn and Fulford indicate how Davy traversed two specific voices: educational spectacle and a natural

²³ London, Zoological Society of London (ZSL), GB 0814 FAA ZSL EAAA, *Minutes of the General Meetings for the years, 1826–1999*, Founding statement of ZSL.

philosophical poetics. Both are counter to the voice found in the pro formas with its regularised and polyvocal present-tense.

Where historians of science, such as Donna Haraway, seek to adopt an admirable new, post-modern, collage of written forms to argue for a new orientation in how we might think beyond *modest* witnessing, the material found in the archive possess a powerful voice that cannot easily be dismissed. The lives and works of scientific practitioners, in this example Coleridge and Davy, speak through how we interpret practices, findings, context, and outcomes. The strength of Haraway’s approach is to never assume that personalities and documents from the past have a final say, and I argue that by turning to the margins in the archives of key institutions surprising information can be found on its own terms without defaulting to anthropomorphism, biography, fiction, or indeed, an uncommitted corroboration.

Marginalia to Annotating Practices

The information in the boxes and grids of the *Daily Occurrences* regulated the institution. In Fig. 5. and Fig. 6. we can see the repetitiveness of the institutional voice recording the temperatures of the animal enclosures in the bottom right hand corner of the sheet over a ten-year period. Any notes in the margins are supplements to boxes that have been filled due to a lack of space:

	at 10 o'clock	During the day	
		Heat	Cold
Giraffe house	30	61	49
Elephant house	57	64	56
Repository	57	61	56
Monkey house	56	63	56

tickets none
 Davy's Report
 Temperature Saturday morning
 issued by the Superintendent 5
 admitted by the order 22
 54 Alexander Miller

Fig. 3. Temperatures, Daily Occurrences, 24 August 1838.²⁴

²⁴ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002). Temperatures, August 1838.

Place	During the 14 hours			Retained at 120°
	Heat	Cold		
Giraffe house	50	50	48	
Elephant	53	53	50	43
Monkey	47	47	45	

Alexander Miller Supr

Fig. 4. Temperatures, Daily Occurrences, 24 August 1848.²⁵

The monitoring of heat was based on the idea that animals from warm climates needed warm environments. However, these dirty, close, heated environments also provided the perfect climate for spreading diseases which killed many of the specimens.

The establishment of annotating practices, categories, and their repetition, does not automatically lead to progress or effective knowledge – interpretation is also required. This is similar to Daston and Galison’s exploration of the underlying concerns of scientists in relation to the practice of image making. The accumulation of methods — ‘truth-to-nature’, ‘objectivity’, and ‘trained judgement’— are the epistemic frames shaping differing scientific identities. The way that ideas are presented by an individual, or a group of scientists, tell us about their perspective(s) because ‘making a scientific image is part of making a scientific self’.²⁶ What are the other parts? I argue that it is the ways institutions record and account for themselves in their internal documents of communication. Jonathan Crary’s study of vision reveals that radical changes in visual discourse preceded the epistemic break usually associated with modernist painting in the nineteenth-century. The consequence of the ‘relocation’ of vision to the ‘subjectivity of the observer’ had the consequence of a

²⁵ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002). Temperatures, 24 August 1848.

²⁶ Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (London: Zone Books, 2015), p. 363.

liberation in visibility, as illustrated by the ‘newly empowered body’ explored by modernism, and the increasing ‘standardization and regulation of the observer’.²⁷ This seems important as the pro formas were used by the institution to direct the gaze of the supervisor whose vision is disembodied.

Jackson argues that the marks and gestures seen in the margins of texts are visual traces which display aspects inherent in the practice of reading and processing information. This can be summarised as the oscillation between surrender and resistance or identification and detachment.²⁸ The staff who completed the pro formas would have inhabited this divided position, hovering between the prefabricated form of the codex and the interpretative agency of their self-perception (an embodied complier). Jackson’s notion is applicable beyond the somewhat limited margins of the *great writers* of the established literary and scientific canon. The position of the reader who notes in the margin forces us to ask: who is the note for? In a pro forma this question is easily answered: the surveillance of authority.

The steady, consistent, and uninterrupted record of the temperatures of the animal enclosures add a certain quality to the voice of the pro forma. Slow and reflective, the voice speaks as a result of the processes of accumulation, reflection, and response, that the annotating practice of the pro formas facilitate. Matthew Brown’s research has drawn attention to a format of text that he has labelled ‘blanks’. These are the troublesome pages that clog up the archive over and above what is classically defined as literature (novels or canonical masterpieces). Brown’s insight is that the quotidian sheets and documents which his research draws attention to are more often than not are shifted to the margins because of their perceived lack of literary value or artistic merit – and as I argue their interpretability.

Brown defines blanks as paper composed of a mixture of manuscript and print that constructs spaces for future completion (and duplication) – entailing and encouraging marks that perform a role for social agents invested in a specific subject under discussion. Brown emphasises the centrality of these documents to historical study because of their ‘ubiquity and utility’.²⁹ Brown’s study is limited

²⁷ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Massachusetts: MIT, 1995), pp. 149–50.

²⁸ Jackson, *Marginalia*, p. 86.

²⁹ Brown, ‘Blanks’, *American Literary History*, p. 230–32.

because his examples of these hybrid pages are only drawn from an American context focused on legal forms, contracts, bonds, indentures, and bills. But it can be argued that the *Daily Occurrences* are a form of ‘blank’ and these zoological pro forma pages perform as a type of self-referential instrument supporting the surveillance and governance of a territory.

These types of ephemeral modes — constructed for the purposes of record, account, transaction, and identification — were spread across the globe and focused upon infinite subjects in an innumerable number of different discursive formations. They are identifiable in a great many international, national, regional, and local contexts which flourished across institutions and other formations of power in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Brown goes as far to say that blanks became the very ‘texture of everyday life’.

These written forms were widespread because of their functionality and Brown’s study indicates that these day-to-day documents have not received enough scholarly attention. Brown argues that these transactive documents often live very short lives because,

from a historical perspective, their use is their value, their low survival rates a sign of their vitality and dynamism. Given this paradox, the blanks recommend a deeper study of their poetics.³⁰

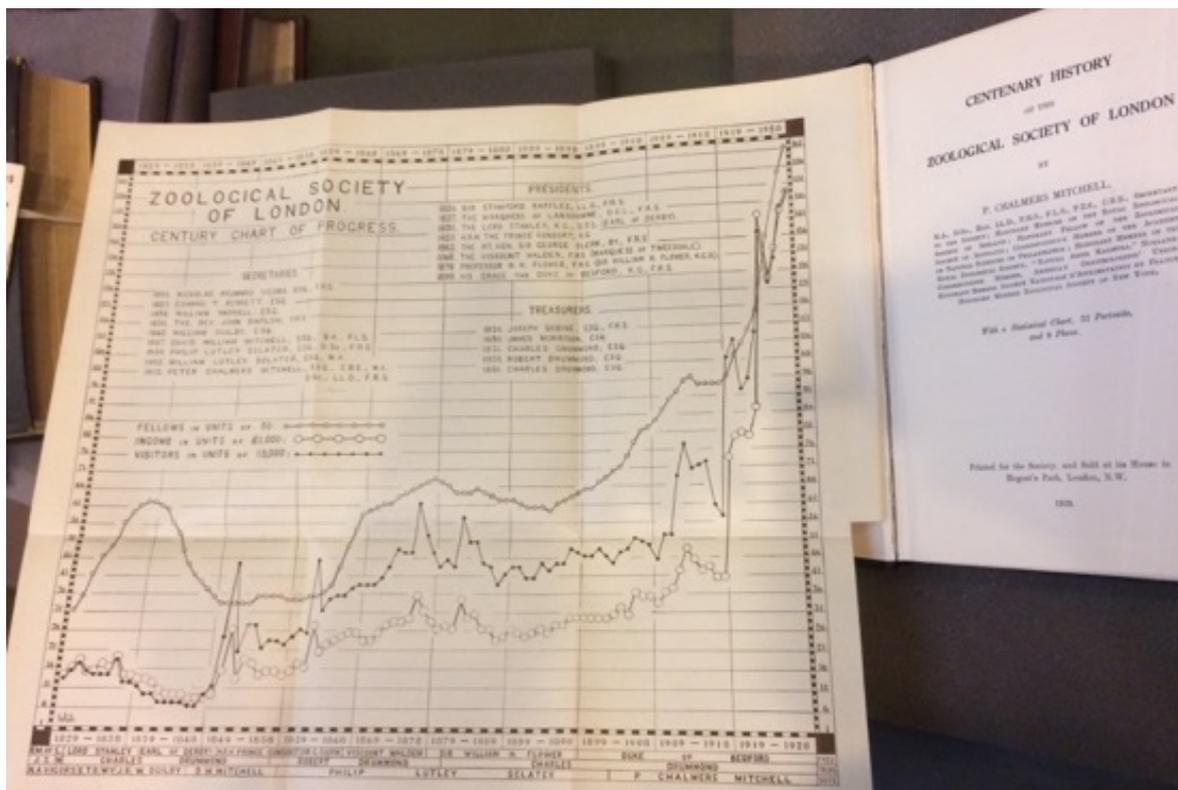
The *Daily Occurrences* are an example of a localised version of Brown’s ‘blanks’ because they are a hybrid mixture of formatted and structured pages, regularised in a print run which is then marked up, filled in, and signed off. This fosters a polyvocal voice that is concerned with the objective policing of its zone which, in turn, is then governed by the subjectively formulated rules. This is a poetics of the quotidian, a writ, an account, and it engenders a restricted autonomy for the parties concerned – a lingual simulacrum of the territory under disciplinary control. These forms are the opposite of Davy’s experimental monographs, or Coleridge’s digressionary interjections, and signal the move away from the individual towards a collective mode of account and surveillance.

It is clear, then, that blanks are complicated objects. This is because the items or objects under discussion are confirmed in some way by the author on a pro forma, for example, the temperature

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

reading, the amount of money taken, the animal that has died. But, this act of authorial completion is also an act of agency, albeit, one restricted by symbolic structure, hierarchy, and repetition. At play in these blank forms is a ‘double valence of the human and the technology’ and it is here where we can see another mode of marginalisation at the zoo — different from Berger’s isolated spectator but familiar — in the figure of the overseer who is ‘standardized’ by the ‘singularity’ of the sheaves ordered by the institution, which are then printed and distributed by the ‘jobbing’ commercial press.³¹

The uniformity of the *Daily Occurrences* allowed for an accrual of facts and figures. It provided empirical evidence of the activities of the zoo that reproduced or altered the values of the zoological authorities. Chalmers Mitchell’s *Centenary History of the Zoological Society of London* (1929) featured a pull-out graph, an infographic, illustrating the progress of the zoo (Fig. 5). The evidence it presents is drawn from the daily marks, tallies, and accounts of the *Daily Occurrences*. Progress is found in the total number of visitors and money taken:



³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Fig. 5. Fold out 'Century Chart of Progress'.³²

Mitchell's graph is an example of a 'data soliloquy', in Hamblyn's phrase, 'information monologues [...] displayed more for their visual and rhetorical eloquence than for their complex (and usually hard-won) analytical content'.³³ To what extent are the *Daily Occurrences* analytical? The pro formas were a set of pages that mediated what was done, based on what was seen, with a view to acting in the interests and norms of the zoological enterprise, which was to facilitate the display of live animals. This argument builds on the existing explanations put forward by Foucault and Crary that the human observer is, in part, a product of discourse about *how* to see, or more accurately how an institution directs vision towards itself.

The upward curve in the illustration is based on an axis of time (in years) and numerical quantity. Only positive increases over time are shown to represent the progress of the institution, most obviously, the increases are in the number of visitors and financial accumulation. Tellingly, the information missing from the chart is the accumulation of animal deaths. The pro forma pages underpinned the subjective way that animals became spectacles and objects of scientific enquiry (something that continues today). The exhibits — spectated lives, deaths, and, bio-cultural trajectories — are missing, silenced by their representation in the institutional monologue. They are rendered marginal by this narrative voice where the spike of their deaths is absent from the illustration.

The pro formas were completed for a known audience, the institutional hierarchy, that used the inputted information to direct decisions and to select elements to support established values. On the page, the eyes of the reader can move across the grids and boundaries. Here, the reader does not read in sentences, instead only clips and nodes in spheres of data, about the confinement of animals that orbit the goal of display. The records promise to offer a relational oversight over the territory of the zoo. All of the categories for completion on the pro formas are related to the physical area and objects that inhabit the zoological gardens. As a consequence, there is no space for marginalia, only gaps to be filled to satisfy the requirements of commanded observation. But humans and animals are

³² P. Chalmers Mitchell, *Centenary History of the Zoological Society of London* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1929).

³³ Richard Hamblyn and Martin John Callanan, *Data Soliloquies* (London: UCL Environment Institute, 2009), p. 14.

not so easily ring-fenced, and resistances to this reduction appear in the most subtle and surprising of ways on the institutional page. This challenge to the functionalism of pro formas happens in two specific ways, first, as a result of the habitus of the documents themselves (the accumulation of dirt, mistakes, corrections), and second, as a result of observed situations that level the boundaries implicit in this particularly fragile heuristic (animal escapes, deaths, and staff behaviour). The zoological territory under surveillance in the blanks is part of a busy imperial city that physically complicates the notion of a stable border.

Marginal matter: Muck, Letters, and Commodification in the Margins

The chance encounter with a marginal note or letter outside of the established codex can illuminate the inter-connected moment in which the events at the zoo occurred. The *Daily Occurrences* are a codex that excludes as much as it includes, it is a repository of past gestures that were both intentional and unintentional: corrections, dirt, and smudges. Blanks are problematic because they codify institutional voices and seek to filter out noise that does not correspond to the established subject. This explains the monotony of the documents, their general utility, and ultimately, their simplicity. These bound records were a site of daily attention, and as a result they are well thumbed, muck flecked, and musty. The dirt of these archival documents reflect the material conditions in which they were produced: a tough working environment. The pro formas directed the intentions of those who worked at the zoo incorporating them into a circulating lingua franca concerned with captivity. This was done to such an extent that even the most intimate of moments — the passing from life to death — was coloured by the tone of the institution.

Traces of life and the passage of time at the institution is literally wrought upon the pages of the pro formas. Below in Fig. 6. is an unidentified stain which is a fairly regular entry into the *Daily*

Occurrences:

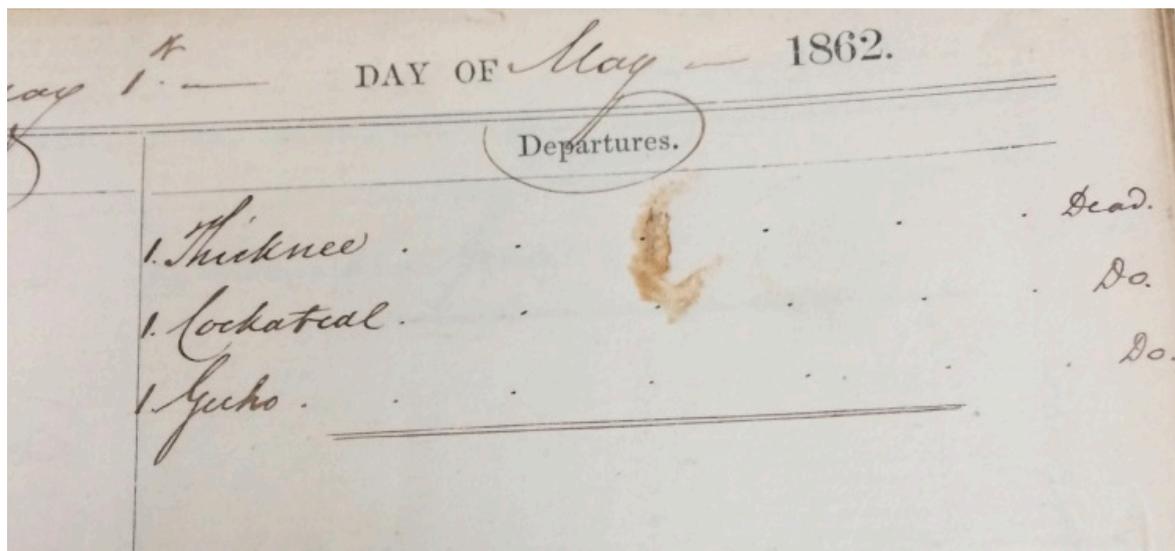


Fig. 6. Unidentified stain, *Daily Occurrences*, 1 May 1862.³⁴

In this example, marginal matter from the zoological space has splashed onto the page. Reading through the volumes is a process of absorbing subtle clues to the very material of these pro formas which span decades of existence within a busy, dirty, working zoo. In other instances, such as Fig. 5., muck cruds and crusts up the paper:

³⁴ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002), Temperatures, 24 August 1838.

dried, and taken in by the paper fibres to darken the once fresh sheet alongside the ink that recorded a day at the zoo. Below, in Fig. 8. is another example of an unidentified stain discolouring, among other things, the entry to the zoo of animals presented by the Viceroy of Egypt (including one lioness, one cheetah, and one ibex):

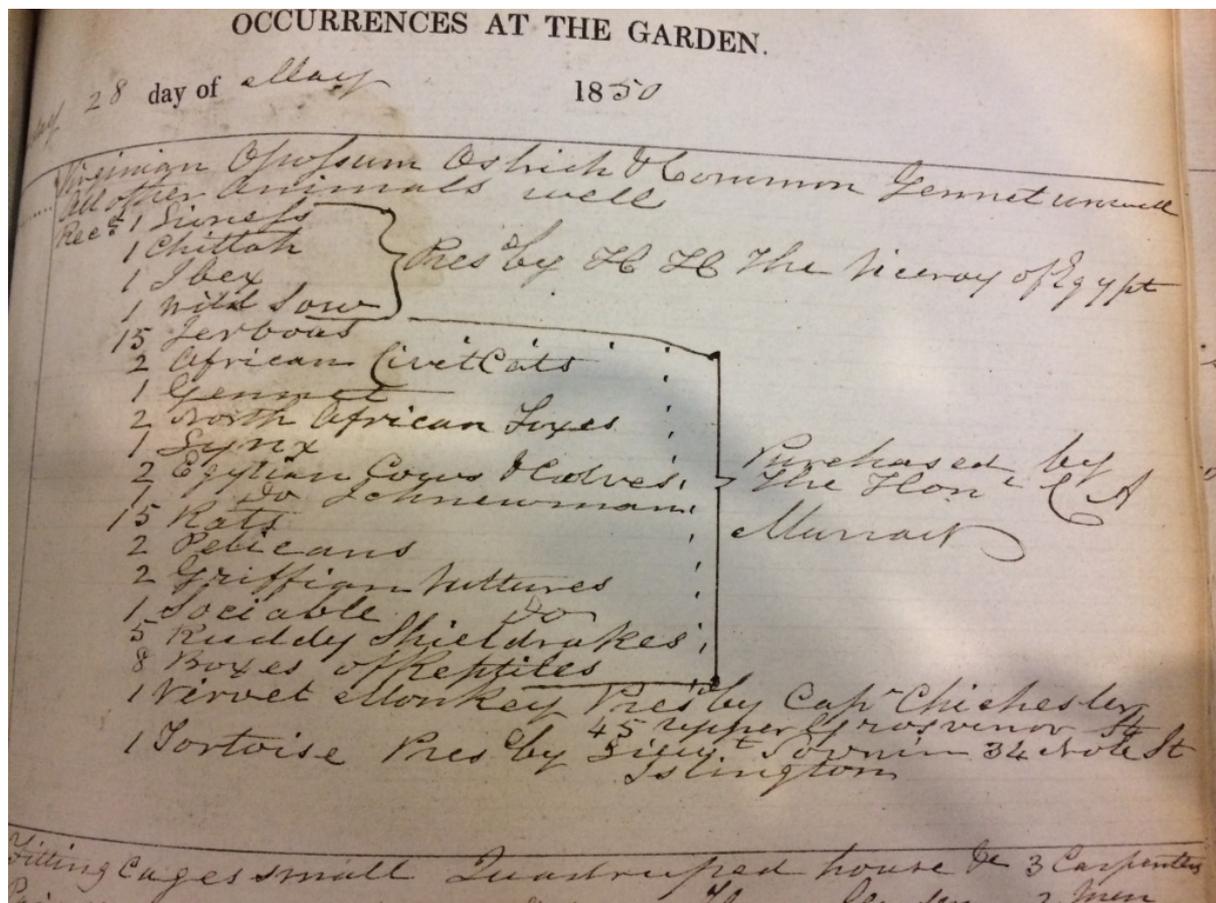


Fig. 8. Unidentified stain, Daily Occurrences, 28 May 1850.

This transference of dirt, smudges, and splashes into the pro formas draws attention to the working conditions in which they were completed. The presence of animals is palatable on the pages beyond the language that record them, and the diversity of the animals entering the zoo in Fig. 8. seems absurd when considering the skill and effort that would have been required to deal with these arrivals. For example, as well as the Viceroy of Egypt's lioness and cheetah the zoo purchased: North African foxes, two pelicans, a lynx, fifteen rats, two vultures, eight boxes of reptiles, and not forgetting, one tortoise presented by a resident of Islington.

Archives are places where materials and objects can get overlooked, lost, left to recede into the margins of institutional memory. Just because an item is deposited and held under the custody of

an archive objects are not immune from the passage of time, for example in Fig. 9. we can see the effects of physical aging and exposure where damp has seeped onto the mouldy corners of a series of pages:

OCCURRENCES AT THE GARDENS, *Sunday 2^d* DAY OF *July* 1876.

Arrivals.		Departures.	
<i>1 Grey Parrot. <u>Pittacus erithacus</u></i> <i>urchased of W. Cross Esq.</i> <i>for Miss Bland in</i> <i>change for <u>Surrex</u>.</i>		<i>1 Blood-faced Tiger Monday Dead</i> <i>urchased May 1. 1876.</i> <i>1 clear Monday</i> <i>urchased June 3. 1876. Dead</i> <i>2 Young Leopards Dead</i> <i>Monday 10. 13 Brought by May 2. 1876.</i> <i>1 Common Badger Dead</i> <i>Monday 7. Brought by Aug 27. 1876.</i> <i>1 Silver Shearwater Dead</i> <i>Dead July 3. 1876.</i>	
WORKS IN PROGRESS.		Animals unwell.	
Carpenters.		<i>Washed Crane.</i>	
Labourers.			
Painter.			
Labourers.			
Smith.			
Labourer.			
Water Pumped.			
SERVANTS.		gallons } <i>1/2 Thompson</i> } day off <i>3. Charles</i> All on Duty. <i>except.</i> } <i>A. Roberts</i> on leave. <i>M. West</i> unwell	
NUMBER OF VISITORS.		Particular Visitors.	
Privileged { <i>Fellows 251</i> <i>Companions 1499</i> <i>By Orders 2449</i> <i>By Ivory Tickets 45</i> <u>2944</u>		<i>Lord Abinger.</i> <i>Prof. Flower.</i> <i>Prof. Mivart.</i> <hr/>	
Paying { <i>Visitors at 1s. each</i> <i>Ditto at 6d. each</i> <u>4944</u>			
MONEY TAKEN			
Admissions at 1s. each Ditto at 6d. each £			
WEATHER <i>Fine</i>			
TEMPERATURE.		In the 12 preceding hours.	
		At 6 A.M.	At 6 A.M.
		Heat. Cold.	
Sloths' and Anteaters' House		69	69
Reptile House		74	68
Tortoise House		70	72
Parrot House		69	65
Elephant and Rhinoceros House		70	62
Hippopotamus House		71	62
Giraffe House		72	65
Elands' House		70	65
Ostrich House		73	62
Western Aviary		64	64
Monkey House		64	50
Eastern Aviary		62	60
Bear Dens		62	59
Hyena Dens		64	62
Zebra House		69	66
Antelope House		69	64
New Lion House		64	59
Aquarium		62	60
Winter Aviary		65	64
Small Mammal House		65	64
External		65	64
		<i>A. B. Battell</i> Superintendent.	

Fig. 9. Mouldy corners, Daily Occurrences, 2 July 1876.

In these examples, material traces of the work environment and archive have entered into the pages as marginal matter, grounding the content — zoological knowledge — within a specific material context

related to its formation. These intrusions from the environment extend the meanings that we can read into the objects of the archive because they locate a practice of thought in a context of production.

A surprising letter found in the margins of the archive recalls the trajectory of the fragments of animals once displayed. Fig. 10. is a letter from the ZSL archive stored in an envelope alongside a disparate collection of paperwork belonging to A.D. Bartlett, including: an unfinished report responding to a complaint about animal sewage seeping into Regent's canal, an unfinished manuscript, and, a few scraps of paper with notes. The letter in question is a correspondence sent by Bartlett to the Crystal Palace Company and it shows a unique link between the zoo and the continuation of the Great Exhibition of 1851:

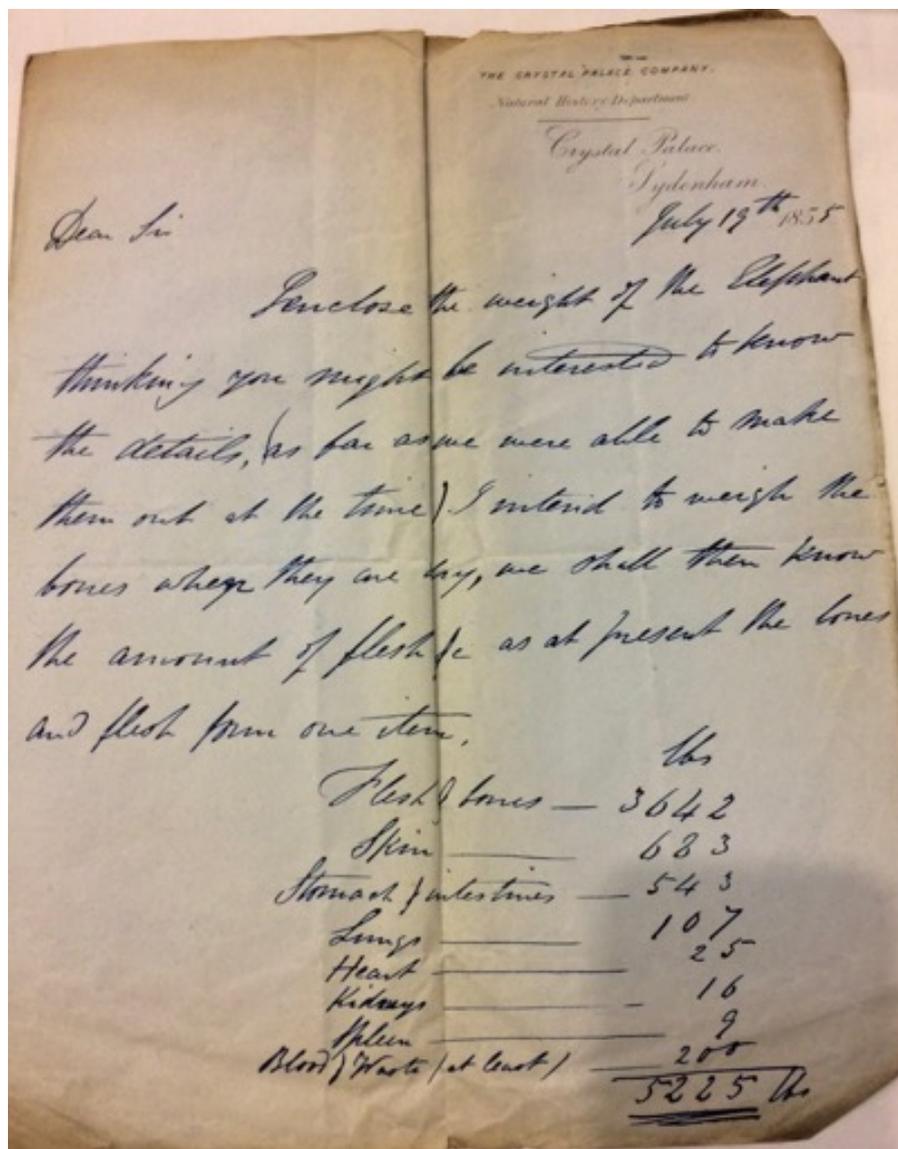


Fig. 10. Letter from A.D. Bartlett to Crystal Palace, Sydenham, 19 July 1855.³⁵

The Crystal Palace Company
Natural History Department
Crystal Palace
Sydenham

July 19, 1855

Dear Sir, I enclose the weight of the elephant thinking you might be interested to know the details as far as we were able to make them out at this time. I intend to weigh the bones when they are dry, we shall then know the amount of flesh as at present the bones and flesh form one item:

	Lbs
Flesh & Bones	3642
Skin	683
Stomach & Intestines	543
Lungs	107
Heart	25
Kidneys	16
Spleen	9
Blood & waste /at least/	200
	<u>5225 lbs</u>

[NB: The text continues over the page of the letter and concludes with the line, 'I shall be glad to know as soon as possible if the people at the palace will have the animal, Faithfull yours A.D. Bartlett']

The letter (Fig. 10.) records the classificatory break down of an elephant's body. The dissected parts, labelled and weighed in pounds, are re-constituted in the list as if they were interchangeable objects rather than specific to the elephant. The border of the elephant's physical form has turned into a liminal site for disassembling, exploration, description, and commodification. There is a pattern to the list of bio-parts where a concern with the organs that have specific functions loom above other perspectives: the structure ('flesh & bones', 'skin'); the respiratory system ('lungs', 'heart'); the

³⁵ ZSL, GB 0814 BADB. *Letters and reports from Abraham Dee Bartlett, 1855–1893*, Letter to Crystal Palace Company, 19 July 1855.

digestive system ('stomach & intestines', 'spleen'). The classification of body parts is problematic because we might ask does the classification of 'blood & waste /at least/' (which weighs two-hundred pounds) accounts for the elephant's tusks, its reproductive organs, its brain, and eyes? Here, we see how animals were treated as resources for circulating to other institutions. The trajectory of this elephant is worth considering by referring back to Stoler's concept of 'lettered governance': in this case an animal has moved from the periphery of a colonial context, to the centre (as a displayed object at the zoo), and then, as described in the letter, entered into a process of physical evisceration. For Stoler, the practice of classification covered the territory of empire, and thereby reinforced the confidence of the centre.³⁶ Harriet Ritvo's work also addresses this notion of where the station of national standing is located – and for her it is, in part, rooted in imperial institutions such as the zoo. Ritvo argues that,

the maintenance and study of captive wild animals, simultaneously emblems of human mastery over the natural world and of English domination over remote territories, offered an especially vivid rhetorical means of re-enacting and extending the work of empire.³⁷

In the margins of the archive, a correspondence between two imperial institutions dedicated to display seems to illustrate Ritvo's argument of re-enactment where the body of an elephant transcends both living and lifeless animal exhibition. Bartlett's letter is an example of the stages in the circle of colonial commodification identified by Ann C. Cooley where the life of an animal includes the financial dispersal of its remains. Bartlett is maximising the value of this desirable resource — an exotic bio-cultural object — a trophy to symbolise the embourgeoisement of the national settlement.

This example broadens and domesticates Stoler's approach to the marginal subjects found in colonial archives. Stoler acknowledges the feel of the physical documents on the one hand, and on the other, she contextualises the traces of the lives of those who were governed by lettered administration. Stoler's work focuses on Dutch Colonial rule but her insights have further application, for example, the explanation of how the colonial 'rules of classification' and 'grids of intelligibility' were

³⁶ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, pp. 1–3.

³⁷ Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 205.

challenged by and ‘fashioned from uncertain knowledge’ have a broad application. The conceit of the cataloguer was that ‘all was in order’ because ‘records were prepared, circulated, securely stored, and sometimes rendered to ash’. Here, Stoler reinserts the role of the archive in the shaping of colonial discourse and the tension between the centre and the periphery.³⁸ In this example, from the forgotten margins of the archive we can see the trajectory of an animal across the order of imperial networks.

The date of the letter is of interest because it was at this time that Sydenham was crowned the new home for the original Crystal Palace. The palace was famous for housing Prince Albert’s Great Exhibition in Hyde park in 1851. After the exhibition finished there was a prolonged debate over what to do with the structure with it eventually being sold off to the Crystal Palace Company. The design historian J. R. Piggott argues that the history of Sydenham ‘is inseparable from that of its ‘parent building’, although now a private enterprise, the move was a continuation of the ideals set down at the Great Exhibition.³⁹ Prince Albert did not want the iconic structure in Hyde park to become a site for leisure, as proposed by a scheme to turn it into a winter garden, because he believed this would undermine the ‘lofty’ imperial ideals of the exhibition.⁴⁰

A key part of the debate over what to do after 1851 was a concern with the ‘morality’ of the exhibition. This theme is identifiable in the company prospectus (which was registered 17 May 1852) and was printed to pique the interest of potential shareholders. The company expressed the view that one of the great successes of the original exhibition was the adoption of shilling admissions because it opened up a vast market from the ‘poorer classes’. The design historian Louise Purbrick argues that the historiography of the Great Exhibition overplays the actual importance of the event. It has been argued that the unification of products, display, and, access to spectatorship for the lower classes, ‘presents an ideal industrial world’.⁴¹

³⁸ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, pp. 1–3.

³⁹ J. R. Piggott, *Palace of the People: The Crystal Palace at Sydenham 1854–1936* (London: Hurst and Company, 2004), p. 31.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33.

⁴¹ Louise Purbrick ‘Introduction’, in *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays*, ed. by Louise Purbrick (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 1.

Purbrick identifies a problem with this tendency to introduce the Great Exhibition as a way to ‘summarise the future rather than to assess the past’, this is because the argument effaces the complexity of the history of the exhibition and its aftermath by stating simply that,

after 1851 the principles of modern design are accepted, shopping becomes dreaming, empire is popularised and the working class no longer presents a revolutionary threat since its representatives visited crystal palace and learnt how to behave in public.⁴²

Purbrick observes that the mass of visitors who visited these exhibitions on the concessionary (Monday to Thursday) shilling days would not have had the time to see or study the hundreds and thousands of exhibits. Instead, visitors were witnesses to a demonstration of the bountiful quantities provided by industrial production and curated by the state. The original exhibition instilled a false picture of a nation pacified by consumption. The second exhibition at Sydenham aimed to continue this ‘false picture’ by adopting the shilling ticketing strategy and deploying a classificatory system for the exhibits. The displayed objects and their curation placed an emphasis on comprehensiveness and instruction for the public.⁴³

For Purbrick, the real interest in studying the Great Exhibition lay in the ways in which it curated and displayed material cultures for the purpose of flattering the imperial system. The exhibition constructed an idealised relationship between the colonial power and the industrial economy. Purbrick is particularly interested in the lives of those who participated in, or were subject to, such spectacular imagery. This approach offers a more nuanced reading that encapsulates a perspective reminiscent of Walter Benjamin’s notion of the spectacular aura of objects. Benjamin catalogued the ‘phantasmagoria’ of industrial products — memory-objects — that he found in the arcades of Paris. The Victorian crowds were presented with the reductive image of:

enormous quantities of exhibited manufactures, [which] regardless of how they were produced, seemed to owe their existence to the benevolence of the machines, while these exhibits, displayed without the demands of actual production, illustrated the achievements of industrial technology without reference to conditions of industrial labour.⁴⁴

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 2–3.

⁴³ Piggott, *Palace of the People*, p. 35.

⁴⁴ Purbrick ‘Introduction’, in *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, p. 15.

Bartlett's correspondence with the Crystal Palace company further complicates the historiography because we can see the diversity and nicheness of just one of these consumer items: a dead elephant. The body of the deceased animal metamorphizes into a commodity-biomass that fuels the exhibition which presents, displays, packages, and distributes, the bio-cultural object in the same manner as other industrial products. The unique qualities of production are compressed into the product.

The exhibition at Sydenham included a 'Natural History' section that showcased three-dimensional installations comprising representations of botany, animals, 'primitive peoples', and ethnographic objects. Bartlett arranged and designed some of these three-dimensional installations at the new exhibition space, for example, he created an [artic] tableau scene displaying 'a Greenlander in his skin-cannoe', a polar bear, a reindeer, dogs, and seals.⁴⁵ This section of the exhibition divided nature into the themes of 'old world' and 'new world' and the 'animals' (including Bartlett's elephant seen in Fig. 14.) came from the zoo. Piggott suggests that a 'severe frost enabled some of the animals for stuffing — the leopards and an antelope — obtained from the Zoological Gardens at Regent's Park'.⁴⁶ The tableaux arranged by experts from their respective fields, including both Bartlett and John Gould from the ZSL, provide a bio-cultural link between an imperial institution and the self-representation of the empire to the public.

Purbrick sees a productive value in the deployment of Guy Debord's definition of the term spectacle in relation to these exhibitions. The process of commodification is one that separates the origins of production from consumption, and commodification is the effect of this separation. The elephant from Bartlett's letter has been commodified, which is significant as the process is one of, decontextualization, and eviction from a place of production, and this condition of being without a context is exacerbated in objects when that place is geographically distant.⁴⁷

The constitution of the type of consumption on offer by the Crystal Palace Company separates the products from their processes of production – a contradictory feature of capitalism.⁴⁸ This seems particular pertinent if we consider that an elephant has travelled through the zoological institution in

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.127.

⁴⁶ Piggott, *Palace of the People*, pp. 127–28.

⁴⁷ Purbrick 'Introduction', in *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, p. 15–16.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15–16.

life and then is offered up for another form of spectacular consumption in death – its journey is one of physical separation where ultimately the animal’s skin, organs, and, bones, have been transmuted.

Knowledge is an evolving process, and there is a link between the content and material conditions of the sources from the past that we use in our research. Our attempts to reconstruct quotidian conventions requires an engagement with the wider culture in which objects were once placed. Anouk Lang’s research is concerned with the changing material understanding of book history. Lang has argued that what readers interpret from texts or documents are ‘contingent on the contexts’ where the reading occurs, but also that, reader interpretation needs to be understood as being ‘embedded within a network of social and interpersonal relationships’.⁴⁹ Lang reminds us that despite many claims to the contrary, the difficulty of interpreting texts has not been resolved in the digital world, but rather, the complexity of reading (and writing) has instead just been reconfigured. For example, there are a range of relations that exist between texts and their interpretation, and these include: ‘discursive, intertextual, institutional’ (including technological) influences which organise the cultural terrain. If it is important to recognise the materiality of present reading cultures, it is also important to consider the cultures of the past rather than relegating them to the margins of contemporary discourse. The context of documents such as the *Daily Occurrences* are of especial interest, illustrating as they do, the written management of space that had consequences for the dispersion of the functionaries of the collection: humans and animals.

Bartlett’s elephant letter supports Lang’s argument that processes of consumption and production:

exist in reciprocal relation, shaping and setting the limits for each other and inflecting the interrelations between readers and the networks of social relations in which they are embedded.⁵⁰

This can be fruitfully applied to the objects and contents of the zoological discourse found in the proformas. A recent blog post on the ZSL’s website, a regular feature called ‘Artefact of the Month’,

⁴⁹ Anouk Lang ‘Introduction: Transforming reading’, *From Codex to Hypertext: Reading at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century*, ed. by Anouk Lang (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), pp. 1–5.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

responds to the gaps that can occur between reading cultures within old institutions whose collections outlive those who have worked within them.⁵¹ The blog is co-written by a librarian at ZSL and an archivist in the Natural History Department of Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales. Both archivists were surprised to discover a paper trail that led from a ledger at the zoo to a large collection of unopened brown paper packages in a storage room. A cache of bio-cultural objects originally from London Zoo had quietly resided in the museum's storage rooms since their original arrival some sixty to eighty years earlier.

The archivists found the pile of specimens still wrapped in their original packaging, unopened for almost one hundred years. The parcels contained the tagged, classified, and preserved remains of a series of former display animals from London Zoo that were subject to a process of commodification acquiring an economic value. Lang suggests that reading gives 'rise to new instances of textual generation', and here is a practical example: as the archivist at Cardiff explains, the uncovering of this cache of forgotten bio-cultural objects will generate new questions:

what do [contemporary] museums use dead animals for? One of the primary roles is in education and promoting the public understanding of science. This could be through focused workshops with schools or outreach events with our visitors. We use the specimens to talk about a whole range of subjects such as evolution, adaptation, diet, reproduction, camouflage, food chains, and much more. They are also really important in scientific study, aiding researchers looking at anatomy, sampling DNA, even bioengineering.⁵²

The reading culture discussed by Lang has a digital role in furthering education, leisure, and consumption. However, what is missed is a recognition that reading and writing are key tools for production that transcend media and institutional functionalism.

The approach by the institutional archivists illustrates Stoler's insight that the deposition of objects in an archive does not diminish their agency, or potency, for re-inscribing the inherent values of their original formation. In fact, the converse is true; these items are potent because such catalogued items, classified and stored away in the colonial archive 'were not dead matter once the

⁵¹ ZSL, 'Artefact of the Month', <<https://www.zsl.org/blogs/artefact-of-the-month/animal-death-records-links-between-our-specimens-and-museum-collections>> [accessed 14 November 2018].

⁵² *Ibid.*

moment of their making had passed', but rather, they provide an intellectual 'arsenal of sorts [...] reactivated to suit new governing strategies'.⁵³ The archivists who have recovered these items from the depths of their collections are concerned with the pedagogical use-value of the objects. They value them as descriptive objects of animals, rather than as a physical opportunity to engage in a critical analysis of the historical role that their institutions played in the shaping and construction of knowledges. These bio-cultural artefacts have been reactivated because they are intended to be used as physical illustrations of the animals that they supposedly represent – which, as it happens they fail to do. One use does not necessarily efface the other, which is why it is important to acknowledge the aesthetic, intellectual, and technological contexts of the objects. These objects have an alternative value as examples of the scientific practices and colonial networks that produced such bio-cultural items in the first place. They are interesting because of what they tell us about a specific moment of historical cultural production, not just because of their aesthetic form.

The recovery and linkage of these lost bio-cultural objects between institutions may be useful for exploring 'evolution, adaptation, diet, reproduction, camouflage, food chains'.⁵⁴ But, the main criticism here is that this misses the wider material context of the objects themselves. Cultural institutions by constitution are not neutral or objective, and as Chris Gosden and Frances Larson have argued, this is because they:

contain in their titles subtle value judgements about their contents and the importance of their collections. Museums are means of condensing various elements of the world into one space, making their connections more visible and, through the human labour invested in them, providing concrete arguments for their importance. Although, museums are arguments for the saliency of particular accumulations of material and ways of seeing, these arguments are not simple or without contradictions.⁵⁵

The rediscovered (and reactivated) objects discussed in the blog reveal a discursive formation that has outlived the memories of those who are no longer here and this, to an extent, perplexes those who

⁵³ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, p. 3.

⁵⁴ ZSL, 'Artefact of the Month', <<https://www.zsl.org/blogs/artefact-of-the-month/animal-death-records-links-between-our-specimens-and-museum-collections>> [accessed 14 November 2018].

⁵⁵ Chris Gosden and Frances Larson, *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 242.

have taken over the management of these complex collections. Historical literary objects, as well as physical objects, contribute to the zoological discourse. This raises the importance of critical contextualisation because close reading can resurrect certain kinds of documents and objects that because of their quotidian aspects have been pushed to the margins. Or, in this case, have been left for a hundred years on a long-forgotten pallet in a storeroom, only to be revived to fulfil the original purpose that they failed to do.

Animals in the Margins

Just as texts can generate new texts that reveal connections to individuals and institutions, they can also lead to dead ends, especially in a series of documents as seemingly predictable as the *Daily Occurrences*. As well as recognising the importance of pro formas, Brown argues that blanks are cultural objects that display the subjectivities of readers – which adds to Bowker and Star’s discussions of classification. In a dissection of the particular conventions of American legal documents (their format, regularised language, space for signatures which bind the signatory to the document), Brown concludes that blank documents have literary qualities because ‘it does not take much to feel the rhetorical sway and human weight taken up in legal forms, evinced through literary and documentary aesthetics’.⁵⁶ The literary and aesthetic qualities of the *Daily Occurrences* are different from those of legal blanks but I argue that they hold a particular interest as a result of the marginal history to which they belong. By speaking primarily of the non-human, these forms abdicated the legislative language of ‘rights’, and appear instead as a polyvocal narrative voice that is clipped and streamlined for the purpose of cultivating display animals. These blanks propose and record actions in a mode of registration that eliminate, or regulate, the room for digressionary recourse. The compositional techniques of the pages reside in a directness and precision that structures the perspective of the zoological worker – these blanks aim to restrict the possibility of dialogic digressions. However, the reality of the working environment enters into the pages and disrupts the neat classificatory demarcations of the pro formas.

⁵⁶ Brown, ‘Blanks’, *American Literary History*, p. 239.

It can be argued that the pro formas are in a literary sense unreadable, but this misses the different frames that critical insights can bring to non-literary texts. Brown notes that reading can be ‘instrumental, extractive, obsessive, meditative, glib, somnolent, fetishistic, distracted, imitative, bored, and on, and on’.⁵⁷ A mythic story from the recesses of peripheral memory that resurfaced in a BBC South news report illustrates the ability of ‘instrumental’ texts to throw up narrative threads that present new challenges.⁵⁸ The news story gave credence to a tale about a chance meeting between British and Russian forces during the Second World War. Soviet seamen were rumoured to have gifted a reindeer named ‘Pollyanna’ to the British seamen as a symbol of friendship, and the crew kept the animal as a pet onboard their cramped submarine. At the end of their voyage the crew presented the reindeer to London Zoo in 1941, which remained at the zoo until its death in 1947 – apparently dying a week after the submarine had been scraped after decommission from active service. This story has recently resurfaced on another website, War History Online. The facts of the story are the same as the BBC South news article but curiously the photographs of the submarine and crew have changed.⁵⁹

The *Daily Occurrences*, meanwhile, do not record the arrival of any reindeers to the zoo in 1941 but there is a record of the death of a female reindeer named ‘Keino’ in 1947, though, it is listed as having been born in the menagerie. This neither proves nor disproves the news story (just because I could not find the entry does not mean there isn’t one) but it leads to something coincidental. On the day before Keino’s death a large consignment of animals is recorded departing for the Moscow Zoo (Fig. 11.):

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁵⁸ Associated Press, ‘Reindeer’s Wartime Submarine Trip’, BBC South, 21 December 2009 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/hampshire/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8386000/8386947.stm> [accessed 11 November 2018].

⁵⁹ Claudia Mendes, ‘A Reindeer Lived on a British Sub’, <<https://www.warhistoryonline.com/instant-articles/pollyanna-the-reindeer.html>> [accessed 11 November 2018].

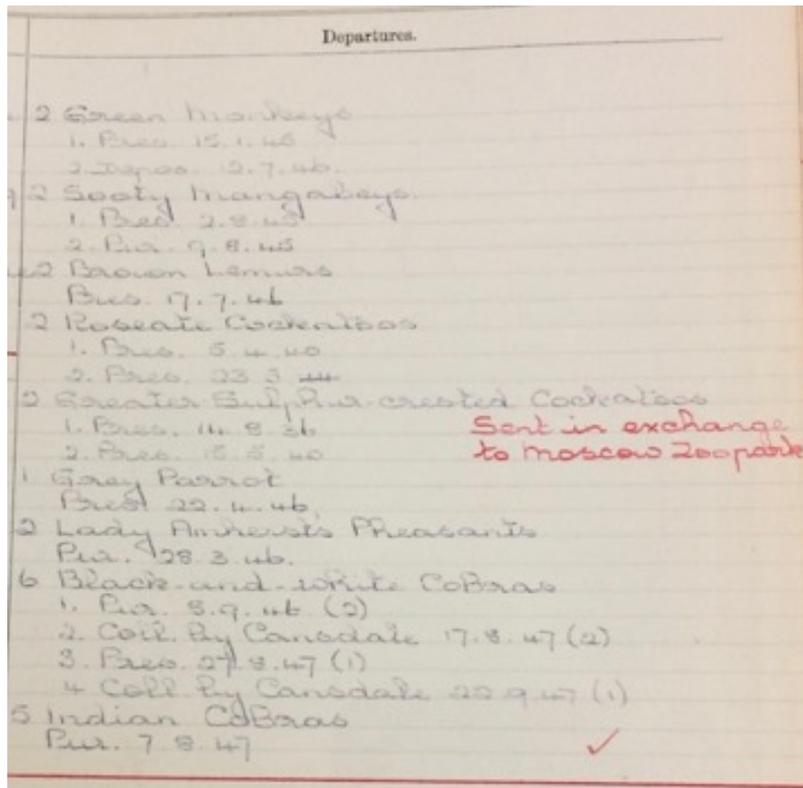


Fig. 11. Departures: Animals sent to Moscow Zoo park, Daily Occurrences, 24 October 1947.⁶⁰

This is a more compelling story than the reindeer on the submarine myth because the animals recorded leaving London for Moscow were doing so at the very start of the Cold War. And, again, fifteen years later in 1961, as the Cold War began to heat up — Yuri Gagarin was the first human in space, John F. Kennedy was elected President, the Bay of Pigs invasion started — we see the arrival at London Zoo of three male reindeers from Moscow Zoo (Fig. 12.).

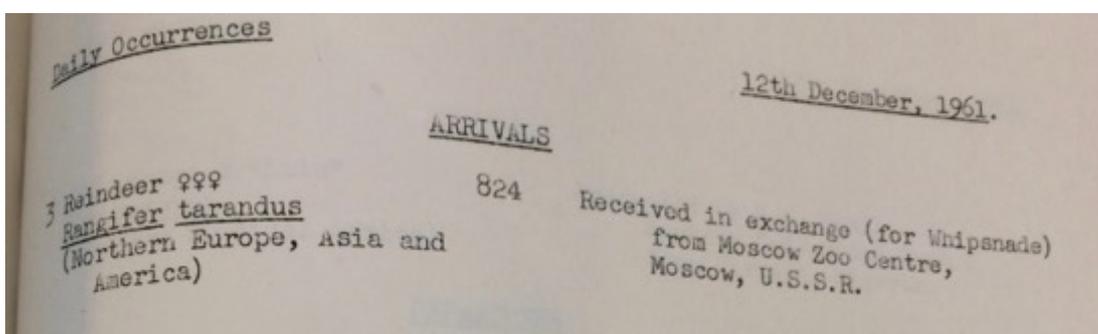


Fig. 12. Arrivals: Animals received from Moscow Zoo park, Daily Occurrences, 12 December 1961.⁶¹

⁶⁰ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002), Departures, 24 October 1947.

⁶¹ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002), Arrivals, 12 December 1961.

These examples show that an official circulation of animals occurred between two countries in political deadlock, and unlike the submarine story there is evidence in the archives.

The year 1947 seems to have been a busy year for London Zoo in terms of circulating animals with countries involved in the Cold War, for example Fig. 13. is a record that the ‘Children of the State of New York’ presented a ‘White-tailed Deer’ named ‘Flag’ to London in 1947:

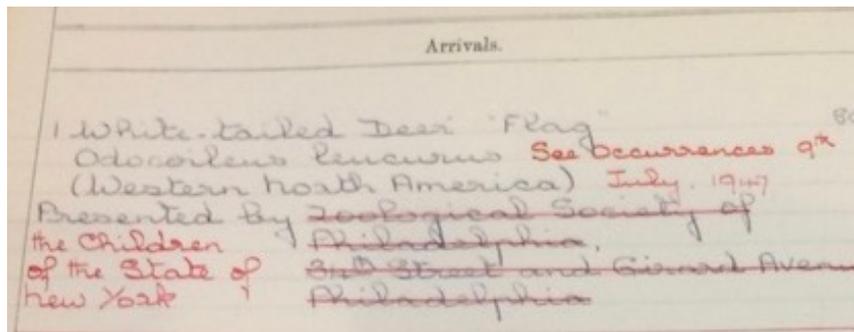


Fig. 13. Arrivals: ‘Presented by the Children of New York State’, Daily Occurrences, 19 May 1947.

As well as circulating animals with the USA and USSR during the period, London Zoo also sent a group of animals (including two bears and a male lion) to Jerusalem in 1947 – just two weeks before riots broke out as a result of the UN General Assembly’s vote on the partition of the city (see Fig. 14.). So, at times of political upheaval in the twentieth century, animals were being circulated in much the same as they were during similar moments in the nineteenth-century (for example the gift of Prince Albert’s elephants to Berlin Zoo). The animals that were used as displays at the zoo could also function as a currency in a form of zoological diplomacy.

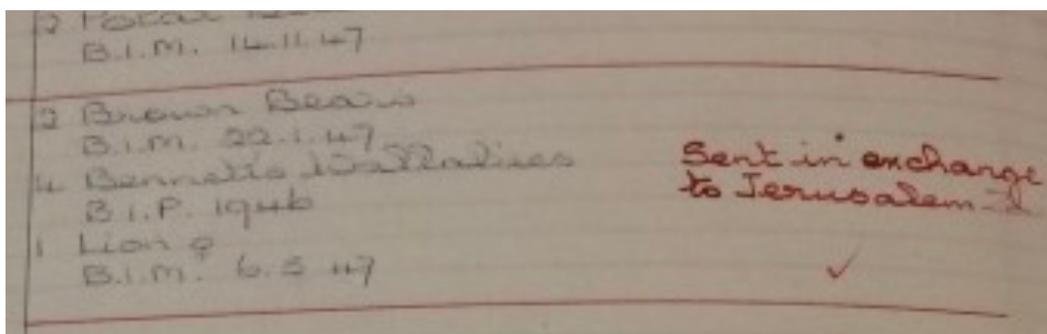


Fig. 14. Departures: ‘Sent in exchange to Jerusalem Zoo’, Daily Occurrences, 14 November 1947.⁶²

⁶² ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002), Departures, 14 November 1947.

No mention of Empire and the Cold War would be complete without an obligatory Orwellism. As the Cold War set in and war-time rationing was still in operation, we see a surprising animal sale in the departures section in Fig. 15:

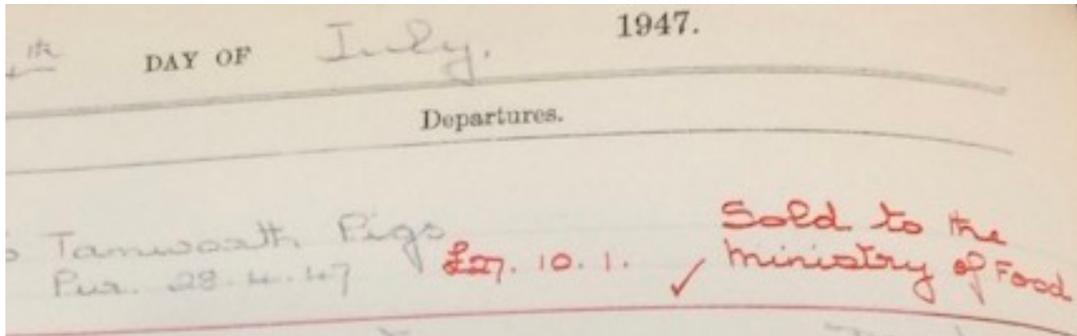


Fig. 15. Arrivals: Six Tamworth pigs sold to the Ministry of Food, Daily Occurrences, 4 July 1947.⁶³

Here, six Tamworth pigs have been sold to the Ministry of Food. Was this purchase for research? for food? for a party? Is this a case where everyone is rationed, but some are more rationed than others? These records indicate how, yet again, those who present or take animals from the zoo can be used to reflect social trends. By the 1960s there is an increase in the appearance of legislative bodies in the *Daily Occurrences*.

In Fig. 16., below, there is a record for the arrival at the zoo of ten quails deposited by H.M. Customs,

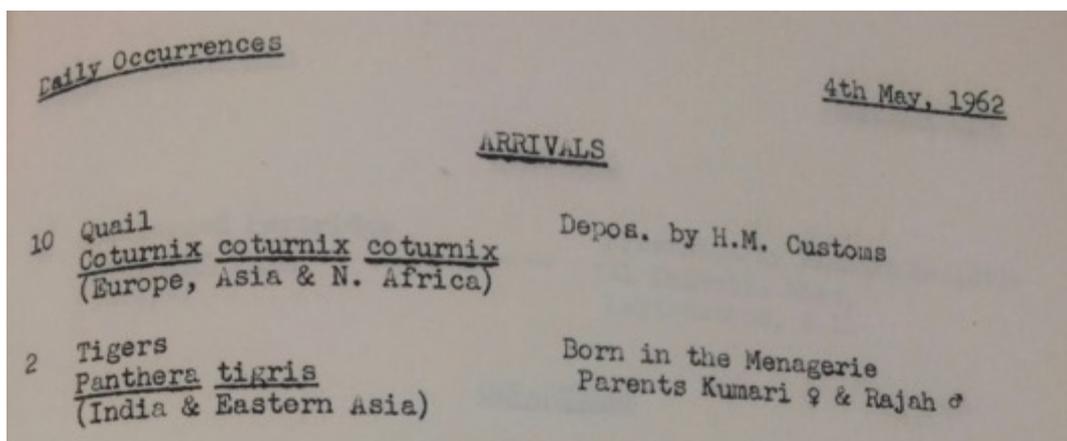


Fig. 16. Arrivals: '10 Quail Coturnix, coturnix, coturnix (Europe, Asia, & N. Africa) Depos. By H.M. Customs', Daily Occurrences, 4 May 1962.⁶⁴

⁶³ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002), Departures, 4 July 1947.

⁶⁴ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002), Arrivals, 4 May 1962.

And Fig. 17. shows a record of the arrival of a monkey to the zoo deposited by the Metropolitan Police,

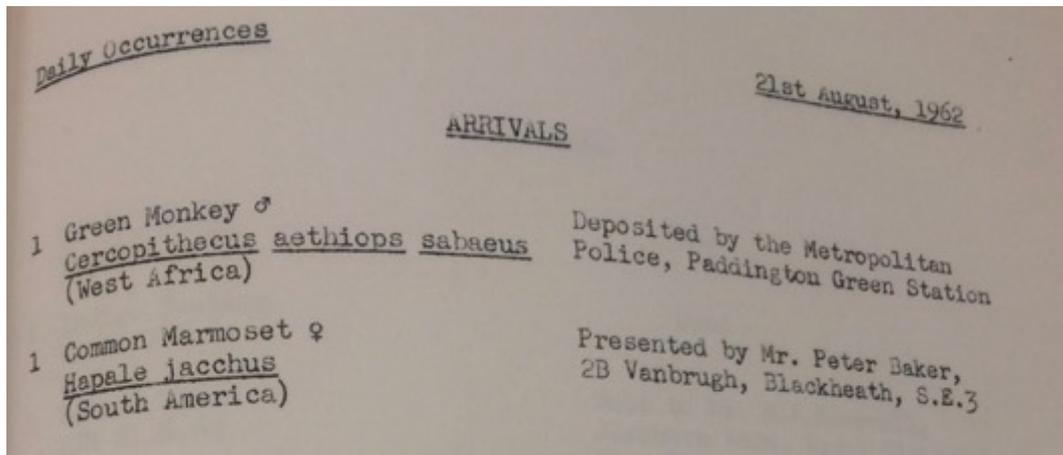


Fig. 17. Arrivals: '1 Green Monkey [Female] *Cercopithecus aethiops sabaeus* (West Africa) Deposited by the Metropolitan Police, Paddington Green station. H.M. Customs', *Daily Occurrences*, 21 August 1962.⁶⁵

Were the quails requisitioned from an animal smuggler by Customs Officers? And how did the police come to be in the possession of a monkey? These questions indicate the specificity of each entry into the *Daily Occurrences* where each animal has a provenance. The increase in the ownership of exotic and potentially dangerous animals as pets during the 1960s led to the introduction of the Animals Act 1971 adding to the many laws governing animals. This act defined a dangerous species as:

a species which is not commonly domesticated in the British Isles; and whose fully-grown animals normally have such characteristics that they are likely, unless restrained, to cause severe damage, or that any damage they may cause is likely to be severe.⁶⁶

All of these examples in the *Daily Occurrences* — from the Cold War to exotic pets — are in part, examples of the frustration of working with an extensive and continuous series of blanks. The passage of time occludes the full story but trends drift across the surface of the pages. Specialists from different fields will find different forms of understanding in the raw data that has been recorded. I argue that the content, material form, and cultural specificity of the pro formas each hold importance

⁶⁵ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002), Arrivals, 21 August 1962.

⁶⁶ Julian Palmer, *Animal Law: A Concise Guide to the Law Relating to Animals* (Kent: Shaw & Son, 2001), p. 5.

because they are elements of a written practice that demonstrates an alternative history of London Zoo.

Fragmentary information invites the reader inside but often eludes just beyond the margins, asking us in their richness or incompleteness to seek clarification elsewhere. But what these examples point to is the interrelation of institutions: London Zoo with Moscow's, New York's, and Jerusalem's zoos; they link animals and the law, both domestic and international, touching upon changing social customs. These marginal documents point to a trend that Foucault identified as a mode of 'biopolitics'. I would argue that these documents relate to biopower — and by association 'biopolitics' — Foucault's analytical concept which describes the elements of administration and configurations of power governing the 'living'.⁶⁷

Through the *Daily Occurrences* an alternative history of the zoo is presented, and part of this narrative is the linguistic reduction of humans to animals. The modular configuration of the pages reduces and regularises each subject for the purpose of abstracting and generating information for the gaze of decision makers. Where some examples found in the pro formas correspond to accepted belief, historical events, or intriguing mysteries, the exceptions to the quotidian running of the zoo where animals do not perform seamlessly as ex-situ stand-ins for their in-situ counterparts cross the threshold into the watchful eye of other institutional accounts and records. A reading of biopower is enlivened when put into discussion with the effaced history behind the deaths of ex-situ animals whom entered the zoo from the far edges of the empire.

From Periphery to Centre

On 7 February 1938 an arrival to the zoo included a stock of infected animals; this illustrates how events and information, traceable in the *Daily Occurrences*, speak to current debates about Foucault's notion of biopower and the related term biopolitics. From this consignment of animals originating in the periphery, a network of institutional texts disclose themselves as interstices in a narrative that encompasses animal illness, staff absences, medical case studies, and the empire. As I have already

⁶⁷ Kay Peggs and Barry Smart, 'Foucault's Biopower' in *After Foucault: Culture, Theory, and Criticism in the 21st Century*, ed. by Lisa Downing (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 61–78, (pp. 61–63).

argued, the pro formas are an example of how power is organised in a zoological context, and this particular example challenges some of the assumptions of recent debates concerning biopower and its application to animals. The entry of the large deposit of animals, originating from South America, into the zoo is recorded as follows in the pro formas:

a collection of mammals, birds and reptiles presented by Lord Moyne and Mons. J. Delacour. For details see Feb. 13th 1938.

Due to the high number of incoming animals — presented by two Fellows of the Zoological Society (Lord Moyne and Jean Delacour) — the full list of species entering the zoo was compiled onto a pro forma sheet found later in the volume where there was more space to accommodate the collection, as seen in Fig. 18 below:

Arrivals.			
<i>Details of Collection which arrived Feb. 7th 1938.</i>			
2	Cayman Island Parrots. <i>Amazona leucocephala caymanensis</i> . Grand Cayman, W. Indies.	1175a	
2	Yellow-cheeked Parrots. <i>Amazona autumnalis</i> . Bay Is. of Honduras.	1166	
2	Red-and-Blue Macaws. <i>Ara uacaso</i> . British Guiana.	1092	
1	Honduras Squirrels. <i>Sciurus boothiae</i> . Bay Is. Honduras.	415	
2	Brazilian Tree Porcupines. <i>Coendou prehensilis</i> . British Guiana.	577	
6	Swan Island Hutias. <i>Capromys thoracatus</i> . Swan Island, W. Indies.	587	
6	Golden Agoutis. <i>Dasyprocta aguti</i> . Bay Is., Honduras.	593	
1	Black-faced Spider Monkey. <i>Ateles ater</i> . Panama	110	
1	Weeper Capuchin-Monkey. <i>Cebus apella</i> . (S. America)	97	
2	Squirrel Monkeys. <i>Saimiri sciurea</i> . British Guiana	94	
5	Hose-crested Iguanas. <i>Iguana iguana rhinolopha</i> . Swan Is.	225a	
5	Black-pointed Tequexius. <i>Tupia ambly nigropunctatus</i> . British Guiana.	381	
1	Surinam lizard. <i>Ameiva ameiva</i> . British Guiana.	383	
2	Bilron's Snakes. <i>Dromicus angulifer</i> . Swan Is.	563a	
* Presented by the Rt. Hon. Lord Moyne, P.C., D.S.O., F.R.S. 10, Grosvenor Place, S. W. 1.			
		599	
1	Yellow-faced Macaw. <i>new to Collection</i> <i>Ara manilata</i> . British Guiana.	1091a	
1	Fahn's Macaw. <i>Diopsittaca fahni</i> . British Guiana.	1099	
2	Black-headed Caiques. <i>Pionites melanocephala</i> . British Guiana.	1190	
1	Pileated Toucan. <i>Crypturus soui</i> . Panama.	2304	
2	Magpie Tawagers. <i>Cissopis leveriana</i> . Peruambuco.	352	
1	Black-headed Tawager. <i>Schistochlamys atra</i> . Peruambuco.	254	
2	Cayenne Crakes. <i>Oreoscoptes viridis</i> . Peruambuco.	1941	
2	Guatemala Bob-whites. <i>new to Collection</i> . <i>Collinus insignis nelsoni</i> . Guatemala.	2153b	
1	Reddish Finch. <i>Sporophila boureuil</i> . Brazil	387	
2	Scarlet Tawagers. <i>Ramphocelus bresilius</i> . Brazil	341	
3	Yellow-winged Sugar Birds. <i>Cyanerpes cyaneus</i> . Brazil	361	
2	Martinique Gallinules. <i>Porphyrylla martinicensis</i> . Brazil	1954	
1	Banded Aracari. <i>Pteroglossus torquatus</i> . British Guiana.	909	
1	White-crested Guan. <i>Pipile jacutinga</i> . British Guiana.	2294	
Presented by Mons. J. Delacour, F.Z.S., Chateau de Clères, Seine Supérieure, France.			

Fig. 18. Arrivals, Daily Occurrences, 13 February 1938.

This collection of animals from across the Caribbean and South America — Brazil, 'British' Guiana, Guatemala, Honduras, Swan Islands — exceeded the margins of the arrivals section and was listed on

the pro forma for a Sunday later in the month (Sunday's being quieter days for animals delivered to the zoo and therefore providing lots of space to record Moyne's deposit earlier in the month).

Over the preceding weeks, the departures section of the pro formas records the deaths of a number of these recently arrived animals. The pro formas also show the departure of a number of members of staff.

The following table lists the dates of the animals who departed (due to their death) soon after their arrival and initial deposit on 7 February 1938:

Deposits from 7 February 1938	Date of Death
Yellow winged sugar bird	14 February
Tinamou	15 February
Martinique gallinule	17 February
Black-headed caique (parrot)	22 February
Dormouse	24 February
Squirrel monkey	26 February
Swan Island hutias (two died)	2 March
Scarlet tanager	4 March
Red and blue macaw	15 March
Scarlet ibis	18 March
Yellow-faced macaw	19 March
Hahn's macaw	19 March
2 x Yellow-cheeked parrots	19 March
2 x Cayman Island parrots	19 March

Later, we also learn from the departure section that some of the animals were soon returned to one of the original depositors, the famous ornithologist Delacourt (originating from France, Delacourt escaped the Nazis in 1945 and worked in zoos in the USA), as seen below in Fig. 19:

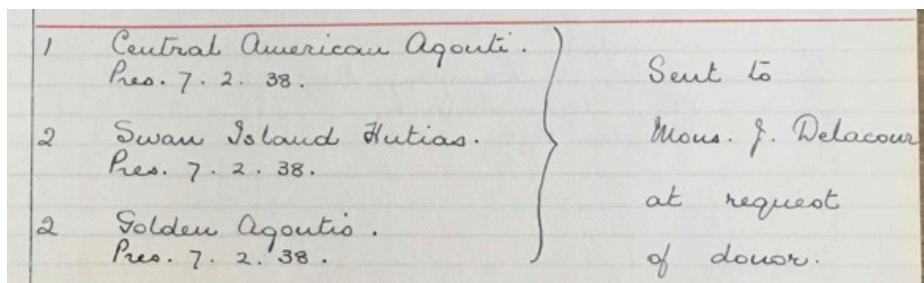


Fig. 19. Departures, Daily Occurrences, 25 March 1938.

Sent back to donor:
 Central American agouti
 2 Swan Island hutias
 2 golden agoutis

Sent to J. Delacourt at request of depositor.⁶⁸

Out of the sixty-one animals deposited by Moyne and Delacourt, twenty-two had departed in just under six weeks. The departure of so many animals in such a short time in the 1938 volume seems irregular because the number of animal deaths recorded are, by this time, visibly less frequent than compared with the corresponding sections of the nineteenth-century volumes. The increase in animal departures is mirrored in the 'Staff Absent' section of the pro formas over the same period. A number of staff members are record as ill and sick over the following weeks, and this is because of an outbreak of psittacosis amongst the birds in the parrot house which spread from the animals to a number of staff members and keepers (including the assistant curator at work in the dissection house). The newly arrived animals on 7 February appear to have been the source of the disease proliferating at the zoo and resulting in the parrot house being closed to the public on 14 March.

Procedural practices and research on animals displayed at London Zoo was well established by the beginning of the 1930s, and as we can see in the following excerpt, Chalmers Mitchel sketches out the problem presented by animal illness and the institutions strategy. The techniques for responding to the spread of disease and potential infection was based on the recognition that,

it may be necessary to isolate any animals that were in contact with the creatures which had died, and to take immediate steps for the disinfection of adjoining cages and compartments. In our present system, disinfection follows the death of an animal as a matter of routine.⁶⁹

This strategy of disinfection, according to Chalmers Mitchel, was not only a routine procedure but a reflexive engagement combating the potential threat posed by contamination. The procedures in place were responsive and 'where there is actual or suspected danger' immediate action was taken by the pathologist. This involved isolating animals that had been in contact with the diseased animal, disinfecting adjoining cages and compartments, and reporting updates to the superintendent regarding the situation. This was a fast process where:

⁶⁸ ZSL, QB 0814 QAAA, *Daily Occurrences of the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London*, 330 Volumes (1828–2002), Day sheet, 25 March 1938.

⁶⁹ Chalmers Mitchel, *Centenary History*, p. 264.

sanitary precautions may be taken within a few minutes after the body has reached the *post-mortem* room. Apart from preventing infection, knowledge of the cause of death may lead to preventative measures in the case of other animals.⁷⁰

Chalmers Mitchel's conclusion captures the ethos of Foucault's conception of biopolitics where the decisions of the institution are driven by due attention paid to the building of knowledges about bodies. In this case, an investigative discourse whose goal is prevention, but also, as seen in Chapter Two, it is a related part of one of the wider trends within the London Zoo and its relationship to comparative anatomy.

The history of this specific psittacosis outbreak at the zoo, linked to Moyne's and Delacourt's collection of animals, was reported and analysed in detail by a team of medical practitioners and researchers who published a journal article in the *British Medical Journal*. The authors of the article, A. G. Troup, R. Adam, and S. P. Bedson, investigated the outbreak of psittacosis with information supplied by London Zoo from Superintendent Vevers and the zoo's animal pathologist from the institution's zoological records – including information on animal arrivals and staff absences. The article concludes that London Zoo's strategies and techniques for addressing outbreaks, in light of the psittacosis outbreak, were adapted to a more rigorous practice. The authors note that the Ministry of Health regulations on the importation of parrots and parakeets under licence did not apply to birds intended for London Zoo.

The key finding of the paper is that 'in the case of the batch of birds responsible for the human case at the Zoological Society the period of quarantine imposed was much too short to be effective'. The freedom of London Zoo to import without licence clashed with the authority of the Ministry of Health whose licencing system for every other instance of 'importation of these birds' ensured 'control' and 'supervision'. We learn from the paper that this gap in juridical hegemony is resolved through a,

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

consultation between the authorities of the Zoological Society and representatives of the Ministry of Health, to impose three months' quarantine on all newly acquired parrots — that is, psittaciformes — arriving at the Zoological Gardens.⁷¹

Additionally, the precautionary measures detailed by Chalmers Mitchel are reiterated but the importance of modifying practices in order to protect workers are advised. The paper concludes by pointing out that psittacosis infection enters humans through the respiratory tract, and therefore while wearing 'rubber gloves while feeding birds and cleaning out cages', 'cleaning with antiseptics' (floors, utensils), is important; the provision of goggles and masks is essential.⁷²

The seriousness of the outcomes of the research paper is based upon the border between animal departures and staff absences at the zoo between February to March 1938 where undiscovered facts lay just beyond two regularised categories of the pro formas: staff absences and animal deaths. It is clear that without turning to specialist knowledge to add context an uninitiated reader may miss the significance of certain occurrences. This case passes over the intricate relationship that exists between the borders of two key categories, 'arrivals' and 'staff absence', and here, is a border bridged between two types of institutional power concerned with the control and surveillance of bodies. The question that the medical professionals were interested in finding an answer to was: what is the link between the arrival of these animals, and their ultimate departure, with the 'staff absent' section of the pro formas during this period of time? Troup, one of the authors of the research paper, was employed as a medical superintendent at the Willesden Municipal Hospital and oversaw the treatment of three of the infected workers from the zoo – including one whose case was fatal.

In the report, the entry of animals from the periphery of the empire into the zoo and the subsequent spread of infection is marked along a timeline of events. An itinerary of the outbreak is traced across the terrain of the zoo and beyond: the dates and places of human exposure to the infection, the onset of the illness in those infected, and the outcome of the illness. The dates of the onset of the illness correspond to the information recorded in the 'Staff Absent' section of the pro

⁷¹ A. G. Troup, R. Adam, and S. P. Bedson, 'An Outbreak of Psittacosis at the London Zoological Gardens' in *The British Medical Journal*, 1: 4071, (1939), 51–55, (p. 55).

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

formas, and reveal that twenty-four members of staff were exposed to the infected animals, and out of these, five developed into serious cases, for example:

within thirteen days four out of the five men concerned had gone down with a febrile illness accompanied by respiratory symptoms of varying severity. The fifth case was [...] a man who was temporarily employed [...] who had access to the room in which the suspected birds had been housed though he was not concerned with looking after them.⁷³

The clinical history of the five case are described in the medical paper, and in these analyses of the bodies of workers absent from the *Daily Occurrences* have crossed over into the sights of an institutional medical gaze that demonstrably attempted to ‘foster life’ through mechanisms of power.

What is brought to the fore in the clinical histories of the zoo workers is the progressive aspect of the ‘spiral’ caused by the transition of sovereign power towards the modern techniques and discourse of power. This is because the dominant shift over to biopower, with its constellation of controls and regulation, is demonstrated by the way that: first, the health of the infected is monitored for the purpose of optimizing their life expectancy. Second, the medical cases and history of the outbreak are used as an opportunity for reflection upon causes for the purpose of modifying practice. In this case, we see the power of the medical gaze to ‘disallow’ life because many animals only suspected of contagion through proximity to confirmed cases were eliminated:

a second one [macaw] appearing very ill was killed [...] The second macaw showed [...] suggestive post-mortem findings, but microscopical examination of spleen smears failed to show any sign of virus. [...] all the remaining birds in the newly arrived batch, as well as the contacts with the Cuban parrot and Guilding’s parrot, were then destroyed.⁷⁴

Post-outbreak, it was recognised that the zoo had deviated from standard practice because ‘any consignment of parrots or parakeets should be destroyed if, for any reason, active psittacosis infection is suspected’, not to do this, as happened in this case, is ‘simply to court disaster’.⁷⁵

The medical investigation and report provide a wealth of information about the lives and jobs of the workers at the zoo beyond their non-attendance, and of course, in one case a worker marked

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

‘absent’ never returns from their absence – yet, we have to look beyond the *Daily Occurrences* to find this information out. The assumption behind the category for staff absence is that the workers are eminently present to the institution. Just like the animals that circulate in and out of the pro formas and display cages, the workers, too, appear as exemplary resources on the page. But as this example shows such a binary reading of presence is incorrect, the consequences of illness at the zoo for staff could be fatal, and here a final permanent staff absence is effaced in the institutional record. This is compounded by the absence of a category that details the return of staff to work after illness or accident at work. Does this, like the classifications for animals and particular visitors, speak of another hierarchy lurking behind a previously unspoken assumption? There is a fatal link between labour value and a worker at the bottom of the taxon whose death at work due to negligence are signalled in this case.

This intersection between zoological and medical institution offers a rich micro-history which, when read in conjunction with contemporary debates about the usefulness of Foucault’s conception of the relationship between knowledge-power, elucidates readings of modern power. The psittacosis outbreak intersects across ‘cluster of relations’ linked by ‘two poles of development’ whose institutional traces detail the trajectories of the staff illness and death at the zoo. On the one hand, this outbreak of disease at the zoo foregrounds the procedures and practices of power that developed around ‘an *anatomo-politics of the human body*’: discipline, optimization, and evidence of the extraction of labour power from human bodies reducible to machinic function (the records of staff in the pro formas and medical case studies). And, on the other hand, the emergent political terrain of the ‘species body’ where the ‘administration of bodies and the calculated management of life’ came to focus on the conditions that caused the biological processes (births and mortality, health levels, life expectancy and longevity) of population to vary.⁷⁶

The reflection and intervention in zoological processes, as a result of worker infections and death, recounted in the medical report mirror these themes across the human-animal species divide. Foucault argued that ‘the ancient right to *take* life or *let* live was replaced by a power to *foster* life or

⁷⁶ Michel Foucault, ‘The Politics of Health’ in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rainbow (London, Penguin: 1991), pp. 261–61.

disallow it to the point of death'.⁷⁷ In his interrogation of the histories of power, 'sovereign power' was, in short, reducible to the 'right of seizure: of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself'. Foucault's insight is that there was a dialectical change in the discourses of power which flipped the emphasis upon sovereign power — the supreme juridical being — over to a regulatory and corrective power focused on measurement of the body, e.g. biopower, which I argue is what we see in the regulation of animals, absent staff, and this report which unfolds its medical gaze upon not just the infected workers and their clinical histories but the micro and macro histories that envelope the human-animal.

Biopolitics is a contemporary model for the exercise and deployment of power, and as Thomas Lemke argues, the relevance of the concept resides in its reformulation of, concepts of political sovereignty [subjugating] them to new forms of political knowledge. Biopolitics stands as a constellation in which modern human and natural sciences and the normative concepts that emerge from them structure political action and determine its goals.⁷⁸

The network of institutional texts — pro formas, medical report, and as we shall see an exemplar of biopower — are revealed as the interstices that narrate the results of staff being infected by psittacosis passed on by a parrot from the Caribbean. According to Lemke, there are three key aspects that are central to the 'normative concepts' at the heart of biopower from which authority governs. First, a radical change in political thinking where, as Foucault himself comments, 'for millennia, man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capability for a political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being in question'.⁷⁹ Second, the techniques and mechanisms of this shift in how power is deployed, and upon what discursive basis it governs from, has negatively contributed to the development of modern racism. Third, and in a problematic but positive sense, this change in power which centres the question of the workers suitability for the economy has improved health. This has consequently given rise to new resistances based on modern conceptions and values relatable to the health and quality of

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.61.

⁷⁸ Thomas Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), p. 33.

⁷⁹ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume One The Will to Knowledge*, (London: Penguin, 1990), pp. 142–43

life for one another.⁸⁰ Although, as Foucault points out, this is not the result of a humanitarianism (as might be claimed by power) because such advances are not universally planned or extended beyond identifiable groupings, and such positive outcomes found in the archive, like the concept itself, are contingent, and therefore the basis of potential revolt.

Lemke argues that ‘biopolitics [...] has nothing to do with the ecological crisis or an increasing sensibility for environmental issues [...] nor could it be’.⁸¹ While this is correct, recent scholarship has challenged this perspective by arguing that a biopolitical reading of power has purchase on contemporary debates about the role of the development of ‘humans as a species’, in particular, with relation to other species of animals and ecological systems. Kay Peggs and Barry Smart, for instance, argue that the biopolitical identification and classification of modes of human living has, and does, directly impact the lives of animals. From this perspective, Peggs and Smart recognise how the usefulness of Foucault’s analysis of power because it,

draws a contrast between the sovereign power to take life and biopower understood as a series of interventions, predicated upon and generative of knowledge, that seeks to make live and improve life.⁸²

The centrality of making live and improving life in the emergent discourse of power that broke with the sovereign discourse had a direct effect on other species. Pegg and Smart argue that there are ‘complex forms of articulation *between* species [for example] the development of medicine’.⁸³ The case of staff contracting psittacosis from animals at the zoo emphasises both the discourse of making live and the means to develop knowledge. The workers infected in the outbreak become representative cases — specimens — in an ever-growing body of knowledge.

By returning from the medical article, which recounts the intervention of the Ministry of Health, and turning back to the initial record of the deposit, a direct link to another aspect of biopolitics — the health of population as the concern of imperial power, the observant-mechanic deliberation of power, the propagation of racism — is found. The identities of the depositors to the

⁸⁰ Lemke, *Biopolitics*, pp. 33–34.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34

⁸² Peggs and Smart, ‘Foucault’s Biopower’ in *After Foucault*, p. 73.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

collection betray the gentlemanly facade that thinly veils the centrality of colonialism to the buoyancy of the zoological collection. Adrian Desmond connected the importance of science to empire for T. H. Huxley's career, and in this example two representative figures of these discourses, empire hand-in-hand with science, are depositing the (infected) exotic animals into the zoo.

The depositor is recorded below in Fig. 20., and we can see how Lord Moyne's name is accompanied by a number of initials that disclose his hierarchical and class status through a number of classifications designated by a series of post-nominal initials:

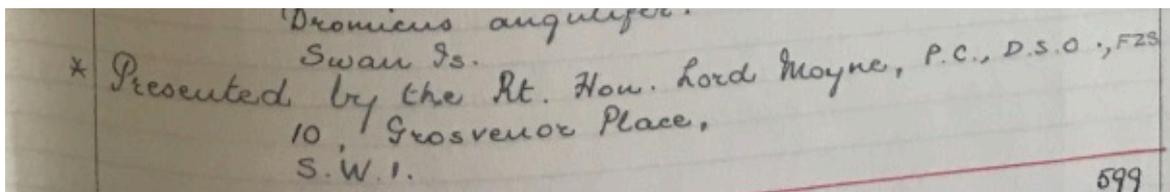


Fig. 20. Arrivals, Daily Occurrences, 13 February 1939.

The 'P.C.' initials show Moyne is a member of the Privy Council – so he holds a political advisory role to the crown which is the seat of empire. Moyne has been awarded a military decoration — the Distinguished Service Order (D.S.O.) — given to officers for service in conflict or combat situations. The final acronym in his name designates his role as a 'Fellow of the Zoological Society' – an elected position bestowed on prominent supporters and experts. Moyne was key figure in the empire whose career embodies themes of biopower identified by Foucault. The second depositor of the collection, recorded in Fig. 21. below, is the ornithologist Jean Delacour, who has also been bestowed with the post-nominal initials as a fellow.

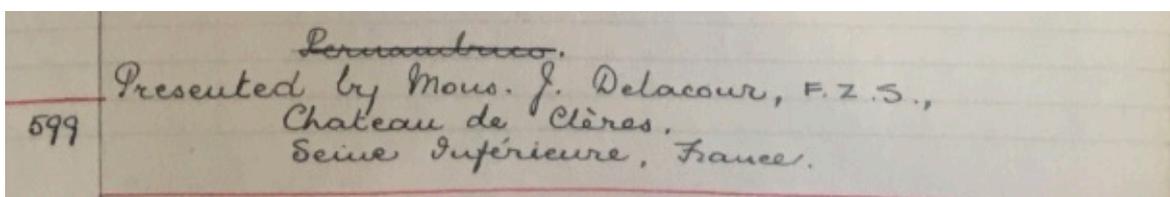


Fig. 21. Arrivals, Daily Occurrences, 13 February 1939.

The record for this deposit shows the unity of two actors in the power networks of the British imperial system where the paths of agent and specialist coincide. These two men of authority — one political, one scientific — connect the classificatory practices of empire to the zoo.

In 1938, the British government sent a Royal Commission headed by Lord Moyne to investigate and report upon the situation in British held colonies in the Caribbean following a series of strikes and protests. It seems important then that a large collection of animals entered into the zoo from across the Caribbean and South America, deposited by Moyne, was concurrent with the investigation of the Commission. A news item in the *British Medical Journal* carries a report about the Royal Commission which has been set up to ‘investigate social and economic conditions in Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, British Honduras, Barbados, and the Leeward and Windward Islands’, and many of these countries are the places of origin of the deposited animals.⁸⁴ The news item reports the appointment of Dr. Mary Blacklock — the curator of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine — to the commission highlighting the interdisciplinary nature of the investigative team.⁸⁵ The commission was cut short due to the start of the Second World War and the final report was not published until after the conflict – the final document touches upon many themes identified by Foucault as biopolitics. Moyne’s deposit indicates that the activities of the zoo were porous across structures of authority: institutional, medical, and imperial.

Moyne, and the *Moyne Report*, are archetypes of biopolitics as understood by Foucault. The key sections of the report capture the essence of biopower in its classificatory exposition of the areas under imperial surveillance, analysis, and control. In Foucault’s account there is a transformation where, ‘an analysis of idleness — and its conditions and effects — tends to replace the somewhat global charitable sacralization of ‘the poor’.⁸⁶ The family unit is at the centre of the birth of this new discourse of power where the body of individuals are a component in the wider health of society.

Biopolitics is characterised by a process where there is an,

emergence of the health and physical well-being of the population in general as one of the essential objectives of political power. Here it is not a matter of offering support to a particularly fragile, troubled and troublesome margin of population, but of how to raise the level of health of the social body as a whole.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ ‘Medical News’ in *British Medical Journal*, 6 August 1938, p. 330.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

⁸⁶ Foucault, ‘The Politics of Health’ in *The Foucault Reader*, p. 276

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

The new power is not a humanitarian endeavour but rather a mode of utilizing the social body through the control of the individual's body. The *Moyne Report* — particularly in the sections of the survey that delineate the 'apparatuses' for controlling those whom inhabited the 'troublesome margins', such as 'delinquent girls' — announces the interplay of biopower within a macro-history which negotiates many complicated classificatory and discriminatory mechanisms: London Zoo, Willesden Municipal Hospital, and Caribbean penal institution's for women.

As biopower coalesced a 'finer' recognition was sought in relation to role of existing institutions that deployed power. The 'body of individuals and the body of populations' became the 'new variables', and Foucault's insight is that they were:

not merely between the scarce and the numerous, the submissive and the restive, rich and poor, healthy and sick, strong and weak, but also between the more or less utilizable, more or less amendable to profitable investment, those with greater or less prospects of survival, death and illness, and with more or less capacity for being usefully trained.⁸⁸

The *Moyne Report* sociologically dissected the communities under discussion: climate, education, economics, history, housing, prisons, public health, and social evils, with all aspects of life placed under the biopolitical gaze of empire. The sections that discuss 'delinquent girls' speaks to the caprice of the imperial discourse of power, which Foucault expressed in the following terms: the 'health and physical well-being of populations comes to figure as a political objective which the "police" of the social body must ensure along with those of economic regulation and the needs of order'.⁸⁹ Section 58 of the *Moyne Report* highlights the tone of the commission with regards to women who posed a threat to the British conception of a family,

many of these girls are now in institutions belonging to religious orders; they are given some education, but little attention is paid to their needs of recreation. Corporal punishment may be too frequently administered in some of these institutions. In one case a punishment book seen by two of us recorded the whipping of ten girls in one day at a time when there were less than 30 girls in the home. We consider that it should be made the rule that all whippings are to be reported, at frequent intervals, to Colonial Governments'.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 278–79.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁹⁰ *Report of West India Royal Commission: The Moyne Report* (Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2011), p. 234.

This attitude encapsulates the biopolitical approach to power where a concern for the modes of discipline themselves become subject to investigation, reflection, and optimization. As Foucault pointed out, the regulation of the body became the goal of power and in the excerpt the main concern is not the practice of discipline but rather that it was beyond the gaze of the state. The report is concerned with improving the provision of penal mechanisms: education and the health of bodies are checked, the administration of punishment is scrutinised, whippings should be reported to the colonial masters.

Moyne and the agents of empire travelled to the Caribbean to peel back the layers of life which existed under imperial possession for the purpose of redeploying authority. The commission investigated the administrative governance of the colonies and collected information on the relationships between the executive and legislative branches of the Islands. Everything from the role of the civil service, public opinion, questions of prejudice and discrimination were analysed. The *Moyne Report* represents an imperial *science* of government, overlaying a matrix of arenas, where power and its capabilities are identified, mapped, and staked out. It was a linguistic frame for authority to probe every margin of the oppressed periphery: compiling, detailing, and surveying. Under this taxonomic canopy, we discover the biopolitical transactions that aimed to ‘make live’ for the purpose of integrating labour into the economy through an ‘*anatomo-politics*’⁹¹ – information was extracted from the oppressed communities in the same manner as the indigenous animals were sent off by Moyne to London Zoo, or, the *Moyne Report’s* recommendation to ‘send from all the West Indian Colonies’ the women classified as ‘delinquent girls’ to a ‘Central Industrial School’.⁹²

This is yet another example, similar to many others explored throughout this thesis, which detail how the zoo controlled, regulated, and accounted for the bodies of animals and humans. By adding context to what is recorded in the *Daily Occurrences* — animal arrivals and departures, animal births and deaths, sales and exchanges, visitor numbers, zoological work, and finances — hierarchical classifications are found not just within every aspect of the zoo’s enterprise, but also beyond the

⁹¹ Michel Foucault, ‘Right of Death and Power Over Life’, in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. by Paul Rainbow (London, Penguin, 1991), pp. 259–72 (pp. 262–23).

⁹² *Report of West India Royal Commission: The Moyne Report*, p. 234–35.

borders of the modular grids of the pro formas. As the examples drawn out of the records show, classifications generate further hierarchical taxonomies. The circulation and record of ex-situ animals found in the written texts of the institution reflect those of the humans who cross in and out of the regularised configuration of blanks, pro formas, and documents.

Conclusion: A Murder Investigated

The supervisor who completed the day sheets at the zoo was responsible for the compilation of fur and flesh, for the subjugation of animals before the human gaze; scratching into the surface of the page, the Indian ink flowing from the nib of his pen, as it had done for over a hundred years, accumulating occurrences in cursives: arses, bared teeth, beaks, blood, carrion, circulatory tracts, clods, claws, coins, distended limbs, eyes, ears, feathers, flanks, genitalia, paws, penny buns, pick-axe, protuberances, lacerations, legs, necks, sales, scales, shells, shits, sledge hammer, skin, stomachs, tails, toes, trunks, tusks, wings, wounds, and a murdered man. These nodes spectacularised by the central practice of the zoo were implicitly exemplified, pacified, and reduced by the intersecting lines that created a taxonomic scaffolding for structuring a cohesive exposition from which to govern. Harriet Ritvo's argument that imperial power secured order by pacifying the wild finds as much purchase in the metropolis as it does in the colonial annex. It is a mistake to assume that the zoo, and the contents of its displays, are the only narrative to be found because, as I have tried to show, evidence from the archive proves otherwise. The question of what is most relevant in a history of London Zoo, I argue, is to attempt an interdisciplinary approach – which has been the focal point of the research methodology undertaken by this thesis. To focus only on the animals displayed or the 'great men' of zoological hagiography who framed those lives seems to imply that the zoo was an autonomous zone of ideal type or pure speculation where, behind what is presented to us, there is a wider truth, or moral, about human-animal relations to be found in the objects exhibited. I have argued instead, that the example of London Zoo has much to contribute to histories of classification in terms of movement, possession, and ultimately, power, and by turning to the obscure pro formas discovered in the zoological archive, this oversight becomes foregrounded.

The importance of this alternative narrative history addresses a wider theme (classification) within a subject (the zoo), and what is in question is the zoo's relationship to the wider culture and society through the evidence obtainable in its own *recherché* documents of display – mouldy, repetitious, sprawling, collecting dust on the shelves in the long-forgotten corners of an austere, at times unwelcoming, private archive. My overriding conclusion to this interrogation is best illustrated

by returning to an entry from the institutional diaries with which my thesis opened. I argue, that this following example has the quality of summing up the most appropriate noun to associate with the consequences of the zoo's central practice — the classificatory exhibition of living animals — in the nineteenth century: death, and in particular, here, an act of murder that ties in with all of the arguments so far presented by this thesis.

The staff absent section for ancillary workers leads to another series of pro forma documents beyond the scope of the zoological records, and unlocks aspects of the institution's history often effaced within the field. It thereby brings new knowledge and ways of critically appraising the subject in a broader sphere of study. Particularities, which enrich a critical reading of the zoo, absent from the institutional records, are found in abundance across a series of legal papers — accounts, lists, maps, records, statements — that responded to the jolting note written underneath the regularised headings for the staff absences on 25 August 1928. Alongside the reasons for this particular day's staff absences — the same as every other day: days off, holidays, sicknesses — the most comprehensive form of absenteeism is noted: ceasing to exist. The entry records: 'Elephant Mahout [trainer] Said Ali murdered at 12.30. a.m. in the Tapir H.O'. In the early hours of the morning, Detective Inspector Walter Askew placed a junior elephant trainer, San Dwe, on remand with 'a view to the case being taken up by the Director of Public Prosecutions' in order to prosecute him for the violent murder of the senior elephant trainer, Ali.¹

It is at the threshold of the zoological pro forma that we find a series of legal documents concerned with the investigation, prosecution, and subsequent punishment of Dwe — a migrant worker at the zoo — for the murder of Ali (also a migrant worker). Dwe's crime created a paper trail which criss-crossed the paths of distinctive discursive formations, linking together pro formas explicitly concerned with classifying and confining animals to those classifying and confining humans. The legal papers of Ali's murder expand our knowledge of the zoo beyond the scope of the documents found in the zoological archive. The paperwork of the case brought against Dwe includes:

¹ 'Zoo Trainer's Death' *The Times* (London, England), 28 August 1928, 44983, p. 9, Gale Document Number: CS152641308 [accessed 15 November 2016]. The Director of Public Prosecutions who presided over Dwe's case was Archibald Bodkin — who had famously banned *Ulysses* (1920) by James Joyce, and went on to ban *The Well of Loneliness* by Radclyffe Hall in November 1928.

a list of ‘exhibits’ (see Fig. 1), a type of legal contents page that numerically records all the elements of the evidence present in the case (physical items including the murder weapons: exhibit number one (a sledgehammer) and two (a pick axe)) to all of the investigative paper work; a ‘statement of the accused’ given by Dwe; two architectural plans. First, a scale map of the geography of the crime scene (the zoo). Second, a scale plan of the building where the murder occurred (the top floor of a ‘Tapir house’); and, the witness statements, encompassing staff at the zoo, a medical expert, a pathologist, the detectives, and technical staff (including a photographer and map-maker).²

² London, The National Archives (NA). CRIM 1/446: *Defendant: Dwe, San. Charge: Murder. Session: November 1928*, List of Exhibits.

R.
v.
San Dwe
LIST OF EXHIBITS.

Number or other identifying mark on Exhibit.	Short description of Exhibit.	Produced by Prosecution or Defense.	Directions of the Judge of the Court of Trial, with name and address of person retaining Exhibit.
✓ 1	Sledge Hammer	Prosecution	
✓ 2	Pick Axe	"	
✓ 3	Plan	"	
✓ 4	Pair Pants	"	
✓ 5	Pyjama Coat	"	
✓ 6	Pillow Case	"	
✓ 7	Sheet	"	
✓ 8	pieces of Green Bot.	"	
✓ 9	Piece of doorway (hentic)	"	
✓ 10	A Door	"	
✓ 11	Light Shade	"	
✓ 12	Finger Prints	"	
✓ 13	Photograph of Fingerprints	"	
✓ 14	Book of Photographs	"	
✓ 15	Bunch of Keys	"	
✓ 16	Dk brown Blanket	"	
✓ 17	Scarf	"	
✓ 18	Blanket	"	
✓ 19	Keys	"	
✓ 20	Statement	"	
✓ 21	2 Bank Books	"	
✓ 22	Broken electric light Bulb.	"	
✓ 23	Electric Light Bulb.	"	

All in possession of Police except 12, 13, 14, 20.

Sci. II - No. 30.
LIST OF EXHIBITS.
M. P. 27 104933M W117

Signed
Spagshaw
Clerk,
Marybone Police Court.

Fig. 1. List of Exhibits.

Chapters One and Two explored the ways that the *Daily Occurrences* recorded animals as circuits of value which contributed to the commercial enterprise of empire, and similarly, from the content of the evidence recorded in the investigation at the zoo, we now see how the institution also benefited from marginalised and migrant labour.

The polyvocal institutional voice introduced in Chapter One is shown to have a limit, and it is one that effaces the essential, gruelling, and often disgusting work, carried out by the marginalised

workers who inhabited an almost subterranean stratum beyond the gaze of the *Daily Occurrences* and wider literature of the zoo. These are: the workers shovelling mountainous piles of excrement, the stokers of furnaces fuelling the heating system servicing the offices of the superintendents and cages of the animals, the watchmen patrolling all night through, and the migrant workers sleeping above the animals in the enclosures. Traces of the world that these workers inhabited is observable across the soiled pages explored in Chapter Four, where the marginal matter — blotch, dirt, filth, smudge, spillage — was transferred onto the pro forma sheets from this fecund working environment of animal incarceration and human marginalisation. Small clues pertaining to the lived experiences of those beyond the horizon of the taxonomy of labour found in the work section, mirrored in the hierarchy of visitors, are present in the zoological pro formas as muck, mistake, and the record of worker absence (days-off, overtime enhancement, half-day's leave, and death by murder). Compressed between these pages of the past we find the residue of human experience from below. Herbert Moss, a labourer employed by the zoo, discloses in his statement his connection to the murder weapons — a sledgehammer and pick axe (exhibits one and two in the 'List of Exhibits') — which were stolen from the place where he stored his tools. This exposes the less glamorous aspects of life at the zoo: the continual need to process the excrement generated by the animals. We learn from his statement that Moss worked exclusively to remove animal waste on a daily basis (seen marked on one of the maps made by the police investigation as the 'dung pound' and located a short distance from the murder scene, Fig. 2.). The overall wellbeing and health of the animals were predicated on such labour, yet this specific task is occluded by the institutional voice of the pro formas and in the zoo's own archive.³

Ali and Dwe lived a short distance from the dung pound in the Tapir House enclosure in two small rooms, accessible only by ladder, above where the tapirs were locked in at night (Figs. 2. and 3.).

³ NA, HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: *DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)*, Witness Statements, 19 October 1928, Moss.

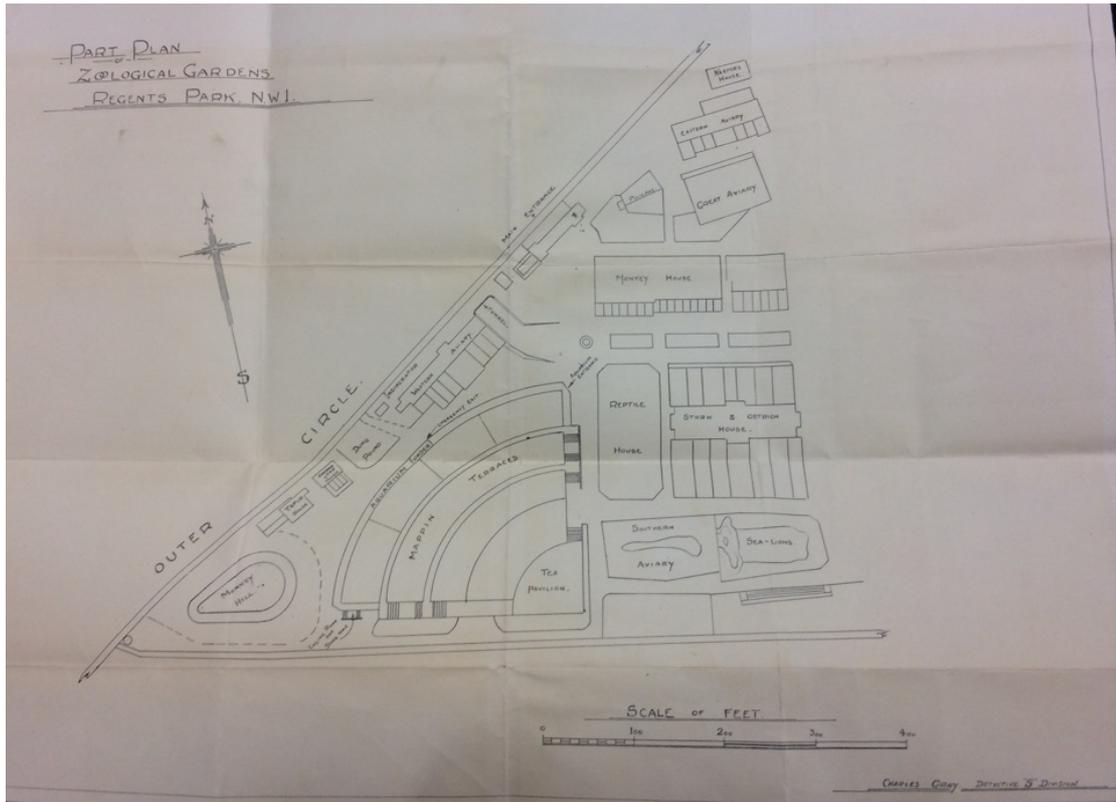


Fig. 2. Plan of the Zoological Gardens.

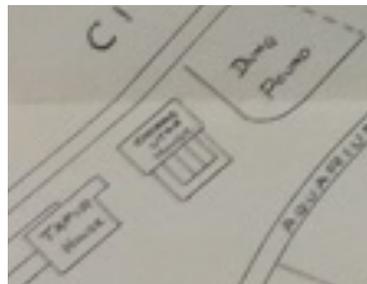


Fig. 3. Map detail.

Top right: the 'dung pound' where Dwe obtained the murder weapon.

Bottom left: the murder scene, above the 'Tapir House', where Dwe and Ali were quartered.

Ali, a Muslim from Bombay (now Mumbai), India, was murdered in the cramped two-bed sleeping quarters that he shared with Dwe, a Burmese Christian, seen in Fig. 3. Behind the entry for the murdered man there emerges a narrative which speaks to the work of Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star's concept of 'embedded narratives'.⁴ Here, informal and formal stories are generated by the combination of two classificatory systems clashing, converging, and diverging. These maps found

⁴ Geoffrey. C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and its consequences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2000), p.10.

in the legal papers illustrate the spatio-temporal segmentation through which the *Daily Occurrences* governed, and we learn many things about the zoo as it is placed under the gaze of another regulatory power, namely, the law.

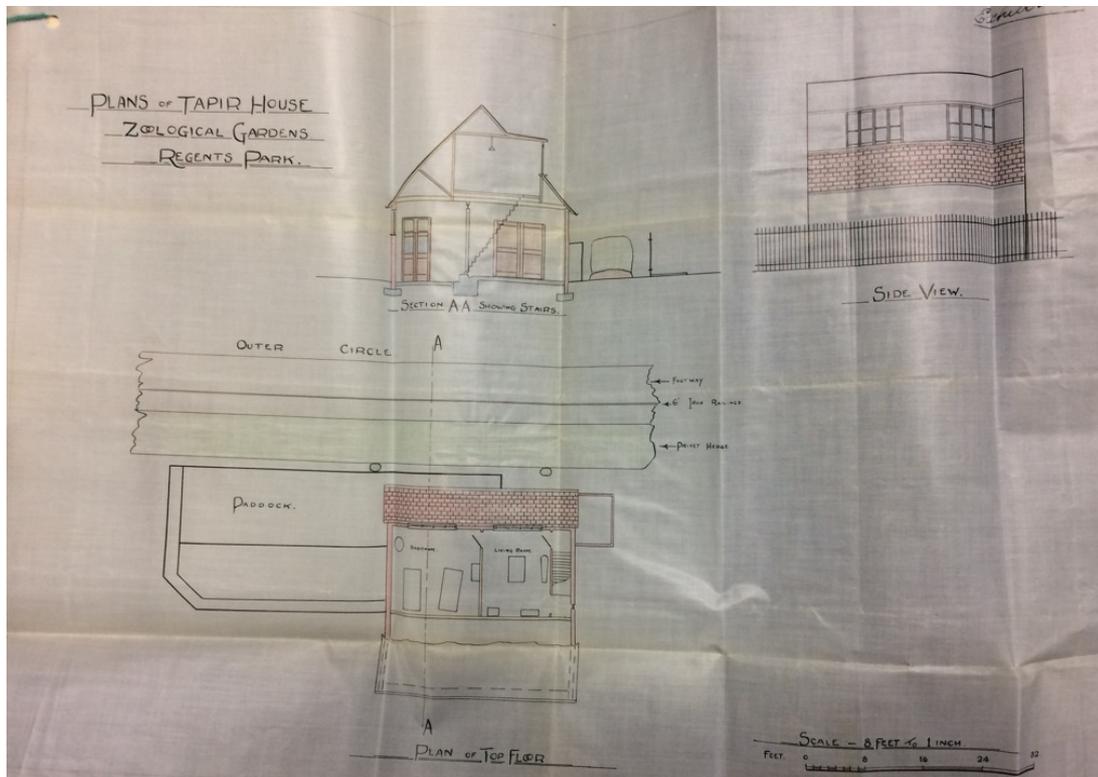


Fig. 4. Plan of the Tapir House.

Work spaces such as the ‘dung pound’ and the ‘incinerator’ are indicated on the police’s map of the crime scene (Fig. 2.), while they do not appear on the maps made available to zoo visitors. These maps capture a different view of the lives of the zoo animals and workers, just as in Chapter Two the ‘particular visitors’ and list of workers ordered by trade offered additional taxa for the zoo’s taxonomy. Here, staff members are found beyond the incomplete representation of workers in the *Daily Occurrences*. The lives of the migrant workers when reduced to a spatial representation show us a space that was cramped, and we find humans and animals literally living on top of one another. Fig. 4. illustrates the layout of the building where staff lived above animals; it shows a section view of the back of the building (where the suspect was apprehended), a side view of the building, and a bird’s-

eye view that provides a cross section of the layout of the staff living quarters, depicting the proximity of the staff accommodation to the tapir paddock.⁵

These migrant workers precariously housed on the top floor of this building located in an enclosure seems to confirm a number of assumptions identified in the pro formas; in short, as John Berger argued, the zoo reduces humans to the same status as the animals.⁶ Bowker and Star's argument that 'the more invisible the contingent and historical circumstances' of the origins of a classificatory practice 'the more it sinks into the community's routinely forgotten memory' is also illustrated by the way in which less-savoury aspects of the zoo's history linger where the institution's voice falls silent.⁷ It is where classificatory systems overlap and quotidian practices collide that invisible and historical contingencies reveal common areas of interest and conflict. The collision of two ubiquitous formats at the zoo — institutional diaries and legal paperwork — extend our historical understanding of the zoo, and also problematises other approaches to the subject of animals, humans, and place. This case of murder, and the legal maps of the crime scene, draw attention to the complex terrain of the zoo narrated on a daily basis by the reductive institutional voice.

The question this raises has consequences for Tim Ingold's anthropological insights explored in Chapter Two. It is important to ask: how do we engage with constructed modern landscapes, such as the zoo or enclosures, which have been built to constrain bodies, and whose existence has been directed by an arch-disembodied voice? This is because the voice found in the zoological pro formas was collectively developed over generations by supervisors who completed the regularised forms on a daily basis. This point is further elaborated by turning to the work of Holtorf, whose analysis of his own memories and experiences of the zoo, while fruitful, like the public presentation of the institution by itself and its exhibits, overlooks hidden narratives that speak to the ethnography of the imperial project. While the animal exhibits at the zoo can be conceived of as nodes in an entangled web of human experience and memory, Holtorf does not look beyond the embodied experience of the spectator who consumes the spectacle and for whom the space is addressed. Holtorf's investigation is

⁵ NA, CRIM 1/446: *Defendant: Dwe, San. Charge: Murder. Session: November 1928*, Architectural Plans.

⁶ John Berger, *About Looking* (New York: First Vintage, 1991), p. 28.

⁷ Geoffrey. C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and its consequences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2000), pp. 298–99.

useful because it recognises the importance of: the biographic memory of the individual who experiences the zoo through past visits and tokens, the zoo as a repository for cultural memory and social communities, and as a site of genetic animal heritage. But, by only focusing on the experience of a space we fail to access, or to hold to account, the networks of authority, economics, and power that governed the terrain. For example, at the zoo the living quarters of the imperial subjects — Ali and Dwe — were located above a zoological exhibition that the embodied spectators visually consumed, experienced, perhaps gained memory from; yet they missed an essential, hidden, counter narrative in the history of the zoo. Berger described how the enclosures of zoological exhibits double as a spectacle and living space for the animals, and from this murder investigation we learn that the enclosure, here, had a third function as the living quarters for migrant workers.

As the example of Edward Thomas Booth's collection of animal dioramas illustrates in Chapter Two, the accoutrements of process and methodology that cling to classificatory practices and exhibits are undermined by engaging with the intentions of the collector. Booth's diaries contrast with the zoo's, highlighting the range of approaches to representing animals. Booth's collection is found to be a testament to his skill as a hunter rather than an amassed field guide — presented in dioramas — of every class of 'British bird'. What the collector is presenting are not only the taxons of a broader taxonomy, but interstices in his life-long career as the self-appointed, top haute-bourgeois, bird-shooter in the country. By interrogating the cache of written texts found in the archive — a catalogue explaining the dioramas, hunting diaries, notebooks, hunting lists, scores, and tallies — what is found is the biographical and subjective nature of his collection. Booth was concerned with presenting his collection in a particular frame that had coherence only in terms of his own persistent, near-obsessed, mind: where, when, and how. His collection is, in short, a reproduction of the hunting scene itself prior to the collection of each new addition. The comparison drawn between the *Daily Occurrences* and the Booth cache offers an opportunity to consider how two distinct written voices operated in two institutions equally concerned with the display of animals.

Booth utilised his power to found and organise his own collection, and to display it according to his own radically subjective position. The diorama displays and their explanation in the museum catalogue are built upon base-texts of personal anecdote and embodied experiences that present

deranged insights as universal truths. The forms and style of the institutional paperwork that tell the story of how his institution functioned are imbued with his own highly problematic personality. In approaching such repetitious sets of institutional documents, unwelcoming to a non-specialist reader, the question becomes: how do we read them? I argue that it is the voice of a classificatory system conversing with itself, and the subject at the heart of the institutional tête-à-tête is how to maintain its central practice: the display of live animals. We should read them as institutional diaries with their own unique tones of voice. This analysis holds great significance because it offers a way to conceptualise documents and objects such as the *Daily Occurrences*, or Booth's cache, by investigating the subjectivity found in the institutional record for the purpose of unpicking the bonds of unquestioned interpellation at the centre of pro formas and blanks.

The approach I have taken is one that has sought to address the difficulty of engaging productively with texts like the pro formas, and it has been beneficial to critically understand them as a form of institutional diary, replete with its own unique voice – reflecting as it does, the taxonomies and hierarchies associated with the empire. I have argued that by turning to the Bloomsbury Group's encounter and participation with the theme of biography, and their problematisation of its disparate modes and interventions in diaries, essays, life-writing, memoirs, novels, papers, a unique way of reconsidering and appraising the *recherché* texts left lingering and unread in the zoological archive is found. This has been particularly productive in relation to the writings of David 'Bunny' Garnett and Leonard Woolf, who made the zoo a subject of imaginative space with which to explore questions of selfhood, society, and the distinctions between animals and humans. To reformulate Virginia Woolf's axiom on biography, and the importance of having access to all of the dark secrets of powerful men, I have asked in this thesis: if the lives of the 'great' are open to scrutiny, do we not also then have to scrutinize their institutions? I believe that just under one hundred years on from Woolf's questioning of accepted truths, and her desire to gain access to all of the hidden scandals of such lives, that the answer can only be: yes. These institutional records provide narrative traces that while problematising such official hagiographies, memoirs, and fictions are also enriching for our understanding of one of the major themes of literature: what does it mean to be human? The context of the development of scientific knowledge at the zoo, in particular, comparative anatomy — extrapolated out of the pro

formas through the visits of T.H. Huxley, the construction of the dissection house recorded in the work-to-do section, and the links to the *Register of Deaths* — contributed to a specific conception of how animals, and by proxy, humans, are constituted. These are the themes grappled with by Garnett and Woolf, and their works on the zoo ask of us: if we are animals, how do we live? Should we, as Garnett suggests, classify and add ourselves to the zoological collection? or should we, as Woolf imagines, concern ourselves with the subject position of the animals that we classify and put on display?

It therefore seems important that the zoo was used by members of the Bloomsbury Group, and other groups of writers later, as an imaginative space in which to develop questions about the human in relation to the meaning of the living displays. The *Daily Occurrences*, while so rigidly focused on the movement of animals, communicate what it might have meant to be human at a particular time. I am most interested in the questions raised by the Bloomsbury set in relation to biography which I interpret as: whose lives are worthy of telling? At the zoo, we find that human lives were reduced implicitly and explicitly to the level of the displayed animals, because, they too were regulated, placed in taxonomies, and subject to hierarchies by the polyvocal institutional voice of the zoological pro forma. The concern with particular visitors, where royalty and the emerging scientists are placed in pride of place, contrasts with the classes of anonymous school children scrawled on the back of the page. The heroic benefactor of exotic animals from the far reaches of the empire, including barbaric imperial leaders like Edward John Eyre with his prized kiwi, could secure a place and therefore status in the official catalogue. But, as Virginia Woolf pointed out, it is the hidden, troublesome, shameful, narratives in the biography that we, as writers, should pursue.

In the witness statements of the Ali murder case we hear from men such as John Maycock, a stoker and night watchman, who recalls his movements on the night of the murder from the start of his shift to his discovery of the accused – and it is here that the biography of the effaced men behind one entry in the pro formas are established. The routines described by Maycock show that the work required to sustain the zoo was a twenty-four-hour-a-day job. Maycock was in-between stoking the fires for the enclosures when he encountered an injured Dwe, who had jumped from the second-floor window of the Tapir House in a bid to escape from the crime scene. Maycock reveals in his testimony

that he had previously seen Dwe sleeping in different places around the zoo – capturing the pressures placed upon these humans in their difficult working conditions and cramped accommodation. This testimony denotes among other things that there was a fractious relationship between Dwe and Ali relating to their living arrangements.⁸ It also paints a more complex picture of the relationship between the keepers and their charges, rather than the ‘productive relationships’ put forward by animal scholars such as Nigel Rothfel, who promotes a romantic view of the lives of keepers and their animal charges.⁹

Conversely, we also hear a different tone of voice from one of the men who completed the day sheets for many years: superintendent Vevers, whose statement to the investigation denotes the rigidity between the social classes of the period. It is clear from his witness statement that Vevers has a paternalist role because he is present at the arrest and interview of Dwe. His descriptions of the work environment at the zoo also fills in details that are not present in the pro formas.¹⁰ There is a ‘blank’ document (Fig. 5.) from the prison in Dwe’s case file that mirrors the paternalistic and hierarchical embodiment of power symbolised by Vevers, whose name is given in answer to the pro forma question that asks for the name and address of a ‘respectable person who can give trustworthy information’:

⁸ NA, HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: *DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)*, Witness Statements, 19 October 1928 Maycock.

⁹ Nigel Rothfel, ‘Why Look at Elephants’ in *Worldviews: Global Religions, Culture & Ecology*, 9 (2005), 166–83 (p. 172).

¹⁰ NA, HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: *DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)*, Witness Statements: 4 September 1928 Vevers.

4. Class of life *Working class*

5. Mode and habits of life *not known.*

6. Character of friends and associates *not known.*

7. Names and addresses of any other *respectable* persons who can give *trustworthy* information on the foregoing points. *Doctor Vevers, Zoological Gardens, Regents Park, N.W.1.*

8. Date of birth, if known *States he is 22 years of age.*

9. * Was he solely concerned in the crime, or with any other person ?

10. * Was there any special brutality about the case ?

J. Hambrook
DIV'L DET. INSPECTOR.

* In case of Rape.

Signature *A. [unclear]*
Superintendent
20/12/21.

Fig. 5. Criminal Case File: San Dwe.

In the example above, we can see that Vevers is the ‘respectable person’ who can give ‘trustworthy information’ on behalf of the accused; those lower down the hierarchy are to be vouched for. The other questions on the form continue in a similar manner: what is Dwe’s ‘date of birth’ (‘states he is twenty-two years of age’), his ‘Class of Life?’ (‘Working Class’), and ‘Mode and habit of life?’

(‘unknown’).¹¹ The questions reveal a series of assumptions behind this legal pro forma. This page is part of a further series of documents that were activated for Dwe upon his conviction for murder, and these are now accessible in the National Archives. These pages tell the institutional story of Dwe’s incarceration because they record: the time served by the prisoner, his health while under detention, the books he was given clearance to read (including A. D. Bartlett’s guide to zoo keeping), visitors, and the letters he sent and received (see Appendix one). This series of legal pro formas — similar to the *Daily Occurrences* — is concerned with the examination, supervision, and placement of bodies. The deployment of disciplinary power over animals is discursively similar to the tropes used on humans. Dwe was eventually released on appeal and it was on the basis of the close proximity that existed between Dwe and Ali. The consequence of which was alluded to in the witness statements such as Maycock’s.

Dwe’s initial defence found in the ‘Statement of the Accused’ was recorded by the investigating team on 25 October – the same day as the murder is recorded in the *Daily Occurrences*. In his statement, Dwe tries to defer the blame for the murder onto another group of people – a gang that had learnt of the money that Ali kept in his room.¹² Historian Jonathan Saha argues that this is an interesting part of the case because it overturned certain stereotypes. When pushed into a corner Dwe tries to destabilise the investigation by claiming that Ali was murdered by a gang. Saha is mindful of how this tragedy was quickly taken up by the press, who:

shaped into a sensational tale that incorporated madness, intrigue, and Orientalism. It came complete with foaming mouths, clandestine meetings with unknown men in trilbies, and exotic characters from the East.¹³

The evidence and witness statements methodically accrued and relationally compiled evidence that demolished Dwe’s attempt to shift responsibility. He eventually confessed his guilt during the trial and was convicted for the murder. In a further twist, Dwe’s conviction for murder was later

¹¹ NA, PCOM 8/419: SAN Dwe at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 13 Nov 1928 (commuted), Case File.

¹² NA, CRIM 1/446: *Defendant: Dwe, San. Charge: Murder. Session: November 1928*, Witness Statement, San Dwe.

¹³ Jonathan Saha, ‘Murder at London: Late Colonial Sympathy in Interwar Britain’, *American Historical Review* (2016), 1468–491 (p. 1469).

overturned to manslaughter and it was on the basis of an appeal from the defence that rested upon new evidence about a sexual relationship between Dwe and Ali.

Angela Carter observed an idea of classification at the zoo, the roots of which could be found in the renaissance garden where, because the objects on display are animals, what blossoms are not flowers, but the eruption of genitalia. Carter's suspicion was that this new Eden, promised by the zoological enclosure, becomes an inescapable patriarchal ever-present where unbridled sexual domination has the potential to become the only structure of life for the captive animals. The case of Dwe found in the pro formas shows the importance of sex and the body in the deployment of punishment for transgression of the law. The proximity of the act of sodomy in relation to sexual violation and race is central to the discussion on how Dwe was finally judged for Ali's murder. A report by the Brixton prison's medical officer, Francis Herbert Brisby, states of his examination of the new detainee in Brixton prison as follows:

I am aware that sodomy is a common practice amongst the Burmese and with this in mind I asked San Dwe if he would object to my making an examination of his back passage. San Dwe said he had no objection and I thereupon examined him and found the condition of the anus compatible with the act of sodomy having taken place. I then asked San Dwe if he had ever been buggered. I think I explained my meaning by asking him if any man had ever done anything to him there – pointing to his anus – he replied 'yes, once' I then said 'who?' he said 'Sayid Ali'. I then then said 'when?' and he said a 'a week before this happened'.¹⁴

This seems important when we contrast this with 'Note 27' in the defence's petition against Dwe's initial murder conviction. Here, Dwe's lawyer, Freke Palmer (who was known for concluding difficult divorce cases), argued that:

It should be borne in mind that the deceased [Said Ali] was a Mohammedan, that Mohammedan's are addicted to the practice of sodomy and that the examination of the prison doctors revealed that the said San Dwe's condition was compatible with the act of sodomy having taken place.¹⁵

¹⁴ NA, CRIM 1/446: *Defendant: Dwe, San. Charge: Murder. Session: November 1928*

¹⁵ NA, HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)).

Bodily examination and the ethnicity of the migrant workers feature in the decision-making processes of disciplinary institutions, and in this case, we see how two characterisations of the imperial subject are associated collectively with anal penetration. This illustrates the ubiquity of classificatory formats across the borders of institutions and their basis in arbitrary assumptions.

The association of anal penetration being an act that primarily ‘Mohammedian’s are addicted to’ is used to clear Dwe of the murder charge (and thereby for him to escape execution even though he was only inspected because of the medical officer’s similar belief ‘that sodomy is a common practice amongst the Burmese’). Within this cache of legal documents there is also a series of prison pro formas which tell the story of Dwe’s incarceration and subsequent release from Brixton prison (see Appendix One).¹⁶ The terms of his imprisonment speak to many of Foucault’s insights on surveillance (Dwe’s letters are vetted and censored by the warden) and biopower (the prisoner’s sentence is meticulously calculated and recorded, as is the status of his health – which speaks to the complexity of how punishment moves from sovereign to disciplinary power). The unravelling of the pro formas in the Dwe trial echo the biopolitical themes of health and punishment that spiral out of the series of texts generated as a result of Lord Moyne’s infected animals, where zoo workers became medical cases and the punishment of ‘delinquent girls’ fell under the disciplinary control of the colonial gaze.

Dwe’s appeal was won on the basis that his relationship with Ali was a sexually abusive one and a pro forma, found in the final set of Dwe’s legal papers at the National Archive, records the legal precedents on which his successful appeal against the death penalty for murder was fought (see Fig. 6.). The title of the form is ‘Comparison of some recent cases of murder, by men of good character, of worthless persons or persons persistently provoking or persecuting them’,

¹⁶ These include: a ‘Time served’ pro forma for San Dwe, NA. HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: *DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)*; a ‘Medical Record’ pro forma for San Dwe, NA. HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: *DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)*; and ‘Letters sent and received by San Dwe in prison’ pro forma, NA. HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: *DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)*.

Year.	Case.	Prisoner.	Victim.	Result.
1924.	Bell, Howard	Belt-maker. Character 'good.	Landlord, who lived in same house, associated with Bell's wife, and threatened him.	C.S.A. reduced verdict to manslaughter. 7 years P.W.
1925.	Glewe, Arthur.	Platelagera labourer. Good character.	Wife who, he alleged, went out drinking with his mother-in-law against his will.	Reprieved.
1926.	Gould, Wilfred H.	Carter.	Girl who was probably blackmailing him.	Reprieved.
1927.	Gutherland, Geo. Wm.	Fruit Porter. Good character.	Wife of bad character, with whom his life had been miserable.	Reprieved.
1928.	Deboon, William.	Fisherman. Good character.	Woman who, when in drink, constantly harassed him and accused him of causing nephew's death at sea.	Reprieved.
1928	San Dwe Nazi	Elephant-keeper. Muslim Christian. Good character	(a powerful man) Mohammedan keeper who constantly harassed him, made him worship him + submit to unnatural intercourse.	Reprieved.

Fig. 6. Pro forma listing 'murders by men of good character'.¹⁷

Ali was alleged to have abused Dwe and therefore the murderer fell into a sub-category of criminal: 'murders by men of good character'.¹⁸ The information on this form records that out of the fifteen cases listed, twelve of the victims were women (and ten of whom were murdered by their husbands). Thirteen of the cases were related to disputes between spouses that involved a threat to the domestic sphere: accusations of loose morals or adultery, drinking, or financial misconduct. We get an impression of the ways that the victims were characterised on this legal form by the way that they are described under the category that records them. The entries include examples such as the following: 'wife who taunted him that she "could have another man whenever she wanted", and he believed her unfaithful'; 'Sister in law who he alleged incited him to misconduct'; 'wife who went off with another man'; 'wife leading an immoral life; he also killed her foster mother'. Here, the question — whose lives are worthy of written record? — is found to be inadequate because many lives were recorded

¹⁷ NA. PCOM 8/419: *SAN Dwe at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 13 Nov 1928 (commuted)*, Appeal Documents.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

and their biographies were used to reinforce the established institutional order. In the case of Dwe's entry on the form, the information recorded about his victim Ali is: 'Muslim keeper, a powerful man, who constantly persecuted him, made him 'worship him' and submit to unnatural intercourse'. In all of these cases we see the policing and enforcement of a narrow homophobia and pervasive misogyny that is willing to excuse the crime of murder if the 'character' of the victim did not correspond to the dominant biopolitical ideology.

The appeal documents and the testimonies in the legal file undermine the character of the victim, but appraise the moral certitude of the accused. Ali's religion, his loose morals, his attitude to money, alcohol, and women, were all raised as evidence to diminish the full application of the law against Dwe. The murdered man's character is reduced to that of a 'worthless person', defined in opposition to Dwe's 'good character'. Saha argues that the success of Dwe's pardon was the result of an alleged rape which was read as a 'crime against masculinity'. The success was compounded by a play upon racial stereotypes where the:

portrayals of Ali's seeming lack of control over his sexual desire played into a wider belief that unrestrained sexuality was an attribute of racial inferiority. It was also part of an emerging narrative of threat that construed sex between men as a practice instigated by persons of a predatory character.¹⁹

Dwe was acquitted and returned home to Burma where he lived in poverty, being unable to return to his previous career working with elephants. This detail adds a new dimension to Berger's argument that the living monuments at the zoo signal the final marginalisation of the human.²⁰ The sentence in the *Daily Occurrences* that recorded Ali's absence demonstrates an array of inter-connected and overlapping classificatory practices associated with regulative power. This speaks to Donna Haraway's insight that it is important to never assume that personalities and documents from the past have a final say, and I argue that by turning to the margins in the archives of key institutions, surprising information can be found on its own terms without defaulting to anthropomorphism,

¹⁹ Saha, 'Murder at London Zoo', *American Historical Review*, p. 1484.

²⁰ NA, PCOM 8/419: *SAN Dwe at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 13 Nov 1928 (commuted)*, Letter from Dwe.

fiction, or autobiography. My analysis of these practices speaks to the biopolitical and shows the importance of looking for absences, gaps, and margins in the material found from the archive.

This particular case of murder at the zoo draws together the accumulating argument that the *Daily Occurrences*, like all classificatory systems, extend their taxonomies and illustrate what is included and excluded by systems of power and knowledge. From the margins of the work section of the zoological pro formas, we arrive at a pro forma for police officers to request annual leave. As well as the findings of the murder investigation that are locatable beyond the *Daily Occurrences*, another network of blanks was generated by the conviction and imprisonment of Dwe. This file of pro formas includes an appendix that contains all the newspaper clippings that related to the case. Saha's identification of an 'Orientalism' in the reportage of the case is apparent when we consider reports such as the one published by the *Daily Mail* on 28 August 1928. Their headline 'Buddhists and Zoo Tragedy' is accompanied by a report that links the murder of Ali to the death of an elephant in India:

a charge of murder against a Burmese Elephant Trainer, focuses interest on a sequence of mysterious events. One of the strangest is the sudden death at Calcutta of a famous sacred white elephant that was two years ago sent to London Zoo, despite the protests of Buddhist Monks who saw in its exhibition portents of evil.²¹

The granular element of this story is reminiscent of the later BBC story, explored in Chapter Four, that reported how the death of 'Polyanna' the reindeer occurred at the same time as the submarine on which it had sailed on was decommissioned. We can see in the example how news stories follow the facts of a case closely and then dramatise the events. In the Dwe case, there was a slow drip of intrigue with daily cliff hangers to draw the reader back each day to find out more about the investigation.

The reports clipped from the press for insertion into Dwe's legal papers are pasted onto the verso of scrap paper recycled from other blanks. By chance, another formation of institutionally specific self-referential blanks is uncovered on the backs of these news clippings (Fig. 7. and Fig. 8.),

²¹ NA, HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: *DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted), Buddhists and Zoo Tragedy, Daily Mail, 28 August 1928.*

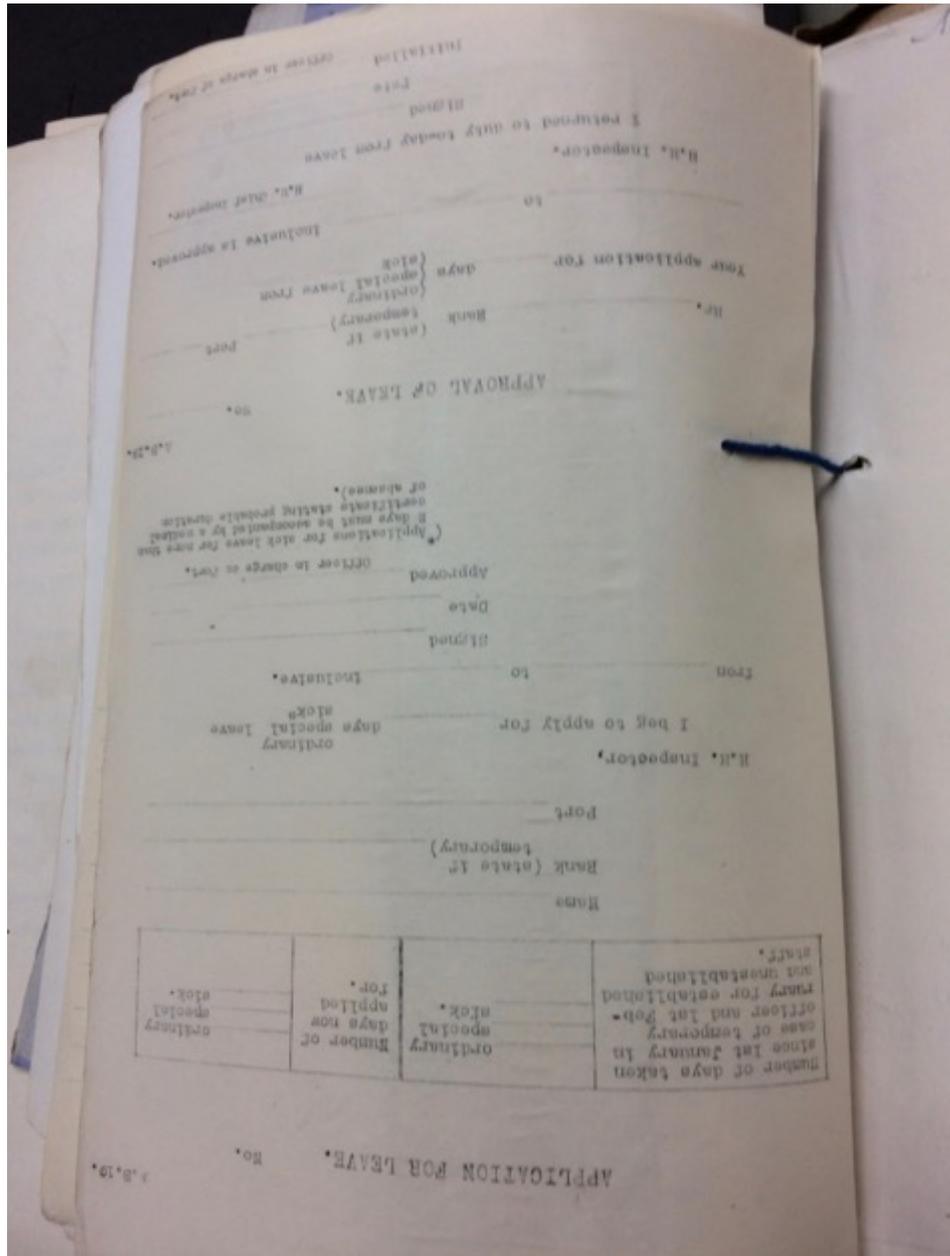


Fig. 8. Back of page in news clipping: 'Application for Leave'.

In Fig. 8. we can see the back of the page onto which a newspaper clipping from Dwe's legal files has been pasted (Fig. 7). Its content maybe easily overlooked because is upside down, but what is found is a pro forma for police officers to request leave. The 'Staff Absent' box of a pro forma in one institution leads us indirectly to the pro forma used to request time-off at another institution. These quotidian administrative examples speak to the way that bureaucratic societies regulate and discipline workers — from an elephant trainer murdered at the zoo to the police officers investigating the case — through modes of surveillance and account based on paper. The backs of the other *scraps* that

contain the news clippings about the case include other examples of administrative forms that relate to power. These include: a list of the rules for entering the ‘gold medal essay competition’ for police officers, a page that has notes on Clause 25 of the Town Planning Act 1909–1923, a pro forma licence for the importation of explosives under the ‘Explosives Act 1875’, and a list of the V.I.P.s attending the Armistice Day procession of 1926.²²

I would, therefore, argue that when working with such archival material, we should pay close attention to not just the content or facts, but also to the physicality and interface of the technology: in this case paper and its form (e.g. the *Daily Occurrences* – paper sheets bound into volumes to form a codex; the murder case of Ali – a series of files including recycled pro formas which are used as backing for pasting news reports) to enable a more nuanced understanding of classificatory practices. This approach engages with the design, production, and distribution of paper as a method to understand the languages of classificatory practice – rooted, as they are, in the quotidian transference of information. Matthew P. Brown’s argument that literature is not necessarily the most prevalent discursive form found in repositories reminds us that the mass-produced and ephemeral documents which have accumulated in the archives are often pushed into the margins. For example, texts such as the *Daily Occurrences*, whose apparent lack of literary value or artistic merit makes their place as peritexts in the zoological history unstable, are the product of a collective authorial anonymity, which moves them beyond the networks that prop up the author function.

I have sought to show that material from the zoological archive links to a network of institutions beyond the cages, *Daily Occurrences*, and library of London Zoo which are traceable, in subtle, marginal, and nuanced ways – unlocking and problematising the representation of animals propagated by the zoological institution. Many of the examples investigated in the thesis — including: material links and watermarks between domestic and imperial pro formas, Edward’s elephants, Eyre’s kiwi, the outbreak of psittacosis from animals deposited by Moyne, and Ali’s absence — are used as evidence to support this argument through a critical, interdisciplinary reading. There is an issue with

²² NA, HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: *DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)*, Newspaper clippings maintained by Home Office.

claiming an interdisciplinary approach and being able to fully provide one because, for example, an economist may find important information in a different section of the pro formas where an expert in mammalogy may find what they consider the most useful data. However, part of the aim of this thesis is to bring new material and ideas to the field and signal the reasons for revisiting and critically situating such documents that populate the archives. This investigation, which involved the collection, assembly, and analysis of unattractive material that has been overlooked or forgotten in the archive deepens our understanding of the way the zoo was materially and discursively a key part of empire. The concept of the biopolitical is a basis from which we might start to question institutional narratives today as part of the wider story of the alienating processes of commodification. This is because, as developed in a coherent and methodical argument throughout each chapter of my thesis, the disciplinary gaze of the nineteenth-century zoo — located in the classificatory grids of the pro formas — reduced both animals and humans. After all, it is at the margins, where boundaries are crossed and classifications fail, that powerful counter narratives emerge, restoring the absence left by the initial exclusion imposed on subjects by the headings and grids of the institutional diaries that correspond to how power was deployed over the collection, workforce, and spectators at the zoo.

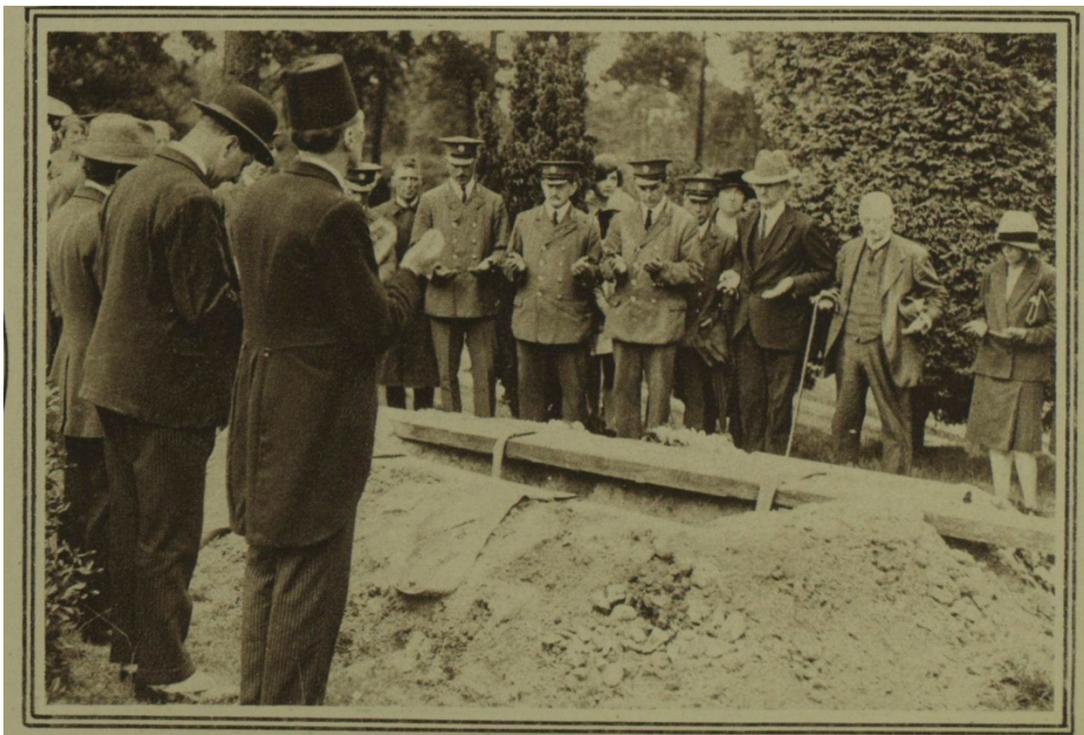


Fig. 9. Said Ali's funeral, Brookwood Cemetery, Woking, 8 September 1928.²³

In Fig. 9. we can see part of the funeral service held for the murdered elephant keeper, Said Ali, near Woking Mosque, which was the first purpose-built mosque in Britain, founded 1889. 'Here begins the prayers for the dead', exclaimed the Imam. In silence, the coffin containing the body of Ali was 'committed to the ground'. The attendees at Ali's funeral recited the following sacred words: 'assalamu alaikum wa ramallullah'.²⁴ It seems reasonable to suppose that superintendent Vevers is one of the assembled mourners captured by the photograph. How strange, then, that I have become so accustomed to Vevers and the other superintendents' handwriting and unique scripts throughout the course of the research for my thesis, but their physical image, existence and presence are as effaced to me as the animals and humans that they once observed, classified, and placed on display. An accompanying caption printed alongside the photograph of Ali's funeral, from the *Illustrated London News*, records that a 'number of animal-trainers and attendants' from London Zoo were present, and draws attention to how all the mourners turned their 'palms upwards' during the service.²⁵ We can read the traces of these hands that elsewhere gripped pens, examined samples with scalpels, and secured cages, in the ink which long ago flowed into the institutional diaries as the two halves of the nib point pushed apart in a capillary action to record Ali's murder.

Brown defines 'blanks' as paper composed of a mixture of manuscript and print that constructs spaces for completion by encouraging marks that perform a role for social agents invested in a specific subject under discussion. This is a useful perspective with which to approach zoological pro formas because it emphasises the centrality of institutional documents towards historical study and recognises their 'ubiquity and utility'.²⁶ These written forms provided empirical evidence of the activities of the zoo but they are also the home of an accumulation of dirt, mistakes, corrections, and

²³ 'The Camera as Recorder: News by Photography' *Illustrated London News*, 8 September 1928, <<http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/HN3100278054/GDCS?u=birkb&sid=GDCS&xid=7fe64683>> [accessed 29 May 2019].

²⁴ NA, HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: *DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted)*, Newspaper clippings maintained by Home Office.

²⁵ 'The Camera as Recorder: News by Photography' *Illustrated London News*, 8 September 1928, <<http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/HN3100278054/GDCS?u=birkb&sid=GDCS&xid=7fe64683>> [accessed 29 May 2019].

²⁶ Matthew P. Brown, 'Blanks: Data, Method, and the British American Print Shop', *American Literary History*, 29 (2017), 228–47, (p. 228).

perhaps the most pertinent moments of classificatory breakdown (animal escapes, deaths, and varieties of staff behaviour). The zoological territory under surveillance in the blanks is part of a busy imperial city that physically complicates the notion of a stable border and traces of life, and the passage of time at the institution is literally wrought upon the pages of the pro formas. Crud accumulates and spreads in from the margins. Working with the *Daily Occurrences* and the *Register of Deaths* was sometimes a filthy experience – unidentified stains were smudged across pages, muck encrusted onto the paper surfaces long ago transferred by the hands of the supervisors recording the situation on the ground: animals arriving, bleeding, breeding, departing, dying, feeding, shitting, sleeping. Many of the bindings of these pro formas have now disintegrated and they deposit bits of grot, dirt particles, and a fine-fibrous brown pulp across the pages in the volumes which when read scatter out onto the desk and clothes of the researcher. In the pro formas, traces of long dried stains are impressed upon the surfaces of the sheets like fossils moulded in a substrate, or a body lowered into the ground.

Appendix One: San Dwe's prison records.

GEN. REG. NO. C. 317 NAME San Dwe

Sentence Life yrs. Remanet — yrs. — days. Total period Life yrs. — days.

Date of commencement 13. 11. 28 Date of expiration Life

* (treated as an appeal)

Earliest possible date for release ~~12-11-48~~ 14-1-32

Number of marks to be earned for release on licence Life
* 241 instructions 11-1-72

CALCULATION OF—

ABOVE SENTENCE, REMANET OR TOTAL PERIOD.			REMANET ON DISCHARGE.		
CAL. YEARS	DAYS		CAL. YEARS	DAYS	
From <u>13-11-28</u>		<u>Life</u>	Date of Discharge <u>14-1-32</u>		
To <u>Life</u>			From <u>Life</u>		
Days in remaining months, viz.—			Days in remaining months, viz.—		
January		January	....
February		February	....
March		March	....
April		April	....
May		May	....
June		June	....
July		July	....
August		August	....
September		September	....
October		October	....
November		November	....
December		December	....
Total Period				
Total Period in days		<u>Life</u>	Remanet	....	<u>Life</u>

Examined Robt Date 12-1-32

Examined J.S.W. Date 2/4/29

No. 164 (15916—7-12-23)

Fig. 9. Pro forma for San Dwe's time served.

'Time served' pro forma for San Dwe, London, The National Archives. HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted).

MEDICAL HISTORY OF CONVICT.
(To accompany the convict on removal.)

REG. NO. *C.317* NAME *San Dwe*
 Date of Birth *1907.11.28* Age on Conviction *23* yrs. *6* months.
 Cause of Conviction *Murder*
 Sentence *Death (Respited 14.12.28.)*
 Nature of previous convictions, viz., Penal Servitude, *Nil* Other, *Nil*
 General Health previous to present imprisonment, and special maladies from which the prisoner states he has suffered. *Good. Malaria.*

MARKS ON PERSON:—CICATRICES AFTER—

Small Pox	Vaccination	Syphilis	Scrofula	Ulcers	Wounds and other Injuries
-	<i>Scar +</i>	-	-	-	-

CONDITION ON FIRST RECEPTION INTO PRISON.

Lungs	Heart	Other Organs	Of Mind	General Health
<i>Normal.</i>	<i>Normal</i>	<i>Normal</i>	<i>Normal</i>	<i>Good.</i>

Signature of Medical Officer, *E. A. Howard.*
PENTONVILLE Prison.

PARTICULARS AT EACH PRISON.

NAME OF PRISON	ON RECEPTION				DATES OF		On Reception	On Discharge
	Physical Condition *	Mental Conditions present	Class of Labour	Height (without Boots) Ft. In.	Reception Day Mth. Year	Removal or Discharge Day Mth. Year		
<i>Patricole</i>	<i>Light Pink</i>	-	<i>Not</i>	<i>5-6 1/2</i>	<i>27 11 28</i>			<i>134</i>
<i>STONE</i>			<i>L.H. 6.</i>	<i>5 7/8</i>	<i>23 1 29 14</i>	<i>31 11 28</i>		<i>140</i>

Fig. 10. 'Medical Record': San Dwe.

'Medical Record' pro forma for San Dwe, London, The National Archives. HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted).

5

CORD of LETTERS written and received by S San Dwe. C. 314

NAMES AND ADDRESSES	Whether "First reception," "Transfer," "Stage," "In advance," "In line of work," "In line of approval," "Special," etc., etc.	OUTWARD		INWARD		
		Date when written	Initial of Office	Received	Issued	Initial of Office
<i>Wales</i> Mr. Ayebor Talpa Naren High Schd. Joungoo, Burma India.	Rec.	12/29		25/11/29	27/11/29	
Rev. Kushlaok.				13/29	13/29	
Rev. E. G. Thomas M.A. B.D. D.P.L. A.B.M. Talpa Naren High Schd. School Teung o Burma.		25/29		30/12/29	30/12/29	
Mrs A Bassell 37 Downland Cottages N.W.5	Enclosure			29/6/29	29/6/29	
As. 1. 2. 29	1.	13/3				
Fathulac II	1.	11/6				
As III				27/10/29	27/10/29	
As.				31/10/29	31/10/29	
Author as translation Army, Burma. Answers to 11. 25. 29.				17/12/29	12/2/30	
Mr. T. Ashley Boundary Rd. Myogyi Joungoo. Burma		9/9		30/12/29	20/12/29	
As 3.	1.			6/1/30	24/3/30	
As 6.1.30	1.			24/3/30	24/3/30	
As name c/o Mr. Hoos Ashley Salvation Army Boundary Road Myogyi Joungoo Burma India				23/5/30	23/5/30	
As 6.1.30.	V	8.12.17		23/5/30	23/5/30	
Mr. Ashley as 8.12.30	may 1930	8.12.17		7/4/30	7/4/30	
as 29.6.29	June 1930	8.12.17		21/7/30	21/7/30	
As 3	T.O.			16/4/30	21/2/31	
as 2.11.30	July 1930			8/5/30	22/7/31	
Do	Aug 1930			2/6/30	22/7/31	
Mr. E. H. Lewis Riffield Millery, Bucks.	T.O.			6.6.30	14/7/30	
				1/9/30	24/11/30	
				1/11/30	11/30/30	
				4/2/31	11/30/30	

Fig. 11. Letters sent and received by San Dwe in prison.

Pro forma, London, The National Archives. HO 144/16132: CRIMINAL CASES: DWE, San Convicted at Central Criminal Court (CCC) on 27 November 1928 for murder and sentenced to death (commuted).

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