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**In the Canine Archives of Sex:  
Radclyffe Hall, Una Troubridge and their Dogs**

How does attention to dogs open up understanding of the queer, and more specifically the Sapphic, past? This article examines the forgotten enmeshments of lesbian and pedigree dog subcultures in 1920s England. It takes as its case study one of the best-known couples of Sapphic modernity, Radclyffe Hall and Una Troubridge, and two of their dogs, the dachshunds Wotan and Thorgils. Bringing into dialogue scholarship on queer, trans and animal history, it traces the historical footprint of these dogs and considers how what I call the 'canine archive of sex' – a wide range of documents including show catalogues, newspaper reports, fiction and scientific writing – adds to understanding of the complexities of modern Sapphic history. Sapphic here is used to denote relationships between people assigned female at birth, some of whom may have transed gender norms and expectations. I argue that the records of Hall's and Troubridge's involvement in the world of dog breeding expand understanding both of Sapphic modernity specifically and the intersections between histories of sexuality and gender and animal history more broadly. They reveal how gender norms, class privilege and racialized practices converged in modern pedigree culture, shaping canine-human relationships as well as the queer subcultures that formed around them.

**A Queer Fancy**

Radclyffe Hall and Una Troubridge have long played an important role in modern histories of both gender and sexuality, especially English lesbian history and trans history.<sup>1</sup> Individually and together they left an extensive historical record, partly due to their privileged social

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position, partly because of their artistic outputs, and, arguably most of all, because of the furore around Hall's 1928 novel *The Well of Loneliness*. The novel's reception constitutes a foundational moment in modern lesbian history: its trial for obscenity marks the moment when the term 'lesbianism' first entered wider public discourse in England. At the same time, Hall's own sexual relationships, most famously with Troubridge, have made Hall a central figure in 'Sapphic modernism', a term coined to describe the distinct literary and artistic culture of the early twentieth century that centred on sexual relationships between people historically situated as women.<sup>2</sup> Many of the Sapphic modernists transgressed the gender binary including Hall whose own gender presentation, alongside that of the masculine protagonist of *The Well of Loneliness*, has come to play an important role in modern trans as well as lesbian histories. In an influential reading Jay Prosser has argued that *The Well of Loneliness* is foundational to modern English trans history because of the 'legibly transgendered body' of its masculine protagonist.<sup>3</sup> The fictional Stephen Gordon's 'female inversion', a concept derived from nineteenth-century sexual science<sup>4</sup>, and Hall's own masculine style and adoption of the name John<sup>5</sup> problematize the stability of woman as an unambiguous gender signifier. They serve as a reminder that whilst woman has meaning as a social and political category in which people assigned female at birth are placed – and which in patriarchal societies such as England has historically signified forms of marginalization, exclusion and even erasure – it does not tell us about a person's gender or their sexual relationships nor does it speak for other parts of their lives such as their positioning in terms of class or race.

Jen Manion has pointed out that 'it can be impossible to make accurate generalizations about the border between gender and sexuality or the border between genders' or about

what exactly these categories may have meant to people in the past.<sup>6</sup> Hall's own historical record illustrates this point. In addition to Una Troubridge, Hall had significant intimate relationships with Mabel Batten and Evgenia Souline, amongst others. Despite privately adopting the name John and not conforming to femininity in many respects, Hall retained the feminine pronoun in her fiction and throughout her own life, unlike, for example, her contemporary Gertrude Stein. I follow Hall's own pronoun use here for historical accuracy, not to essentialize or make assumptions about Hall's gender but to let stand alongside each other the possibilities of lesbian and trans identifications centred on Hall and her work. Pronoun use in this context should not be read as a stable marker of gender identification. For whilst Hall may have retained the feminine pronoun for herself and her fictional invert, her own take on 'inversion' was both conventional, based on a binary model of 'sex', and queerly expansive in its articulation of the possibilities of transing conventional sex/gender norms. Rather than putting lesbian and trans readings in opposition, therefore, I argue that Hall's life and work are better understood in terms of what Matt Richardson calls the 'good and messy' overlaps between lesbian and trans histories that can be difficult to separate in analyses of the past.<sup>7</sup>

What is gained, then, by historicizing this queer history in relation to canine history? The growing body of work on non-human animals has shown that although categories such as gender and sexuality remain crucial categories in historical analysis, they do not necessarily adequately define the full complexities of human existence now and in the past. Amidst the manifold critiques of the human/animal binary, including those exploring the imbrication of non-human animals in the production of race and gender norms<sup>8</sup>, the relationship between humans and dogs has received particular attention because, as Donna Haraway points out

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in her influential work on ‘companion species’, the co-evolution of dogs and humans together means that their lives are profoundly connected at the most intimate levels.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to philosophers such as Jacques Derrida, whose cat famously prompted him to pose a series of questions about the human ‘I’, Haraway insists that canines cannot be treated merely as discursive stand-ins for exploring human concerns’.<sup>10</sup> ‘Dogs’, she observes, ‘are not surrogates for theory [but] here to live with’; they are beings whose ‘historically specific’ lives are conjoined those of humans.<sup>11</sup> The specifics of dog history and its interconnectedness with human life have been insightfully examined by animal historians such as Susan McHugh, Michael Worboys, Julie-Marie Strange and Neil Pemberton who have shown that the formation of modern breeds is part of the discursive, disciplinary and material transformations of bodies that is a corollary of Enlightenment endeavours to order the world into defined racial, classed and sexual categories.<sup>12</sup> Other scholars in turn have examined the emotional bond between dogs and humans and its representations to show that ‘dog love’ is no neutral category but historically contingent and governed by all kinds of norms and social taboos.<sup>13</sup> Gabeba Baderoon, for example, has importantly exposed the colonial construction of the special bond between English settlers and (their) dogs as a form of white privilege.<sup>14</sup> In a provocative recent study, historian Joanna Bourke in turn has explored the possibilities of interspecies sex, focusing not only on abusive behaviours towards animals but also on the erotics of what she calls ‘post-human love’, a conception that seeks to capture the sexual pleasures of intimate interspecies touch.<sup>15</sup> For Bourke, ‘post-human love is the most disruptive of the “queers”’ because it ‘takes seriously the argument that animals are not simply objects in nature but historical actors in their own right’.<sup>16</sup> Bourke treats ‘love’ and ‘sex’ in broadly interchangeable terms to make a case for the possibilities of non-abusive cross-species sexual relations. My own focus in this article is

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on a more specific notion of canine love: the so-called 'dog fancy' associated with the formation of modern dog breeds, a practice that was initially associated specifically with working-class dog cultures but which, with the rise of the Kennel Club in the 1870s, increasingly came to be seen as a middle- and upper-class pursuit.<sup>17</sup> Whilst dog fancy and dog love are not the same – the former describes an investment in breeding whilst the latter indexes the emotional bond between humans and canines – their histories coalesce around modern pedigree culture in numerous queer ways.

In what follows I will consider dog love as a queer phenomenon that challenges the primacy of the human as love-object and in so doing troubles conventionally human-centric categories such as family, friendship, sexual relationships or coupledness, categories which have traditionally structured debates about love and intimacy. I draw on the work of transgender scholar Harlan Weaver who has articulated the specifics of close canine-human relationships in a way that refuses to relegate the animal to a mere prop for human concerns. Weaver explores the 'enmeshment of ... identities' with his pit bull Haley, or what he calls their 'becoming in kind' as a transman and a dog bound by breed respectively.<sup>18</sup> Weaver is less concerned with how he and Haley relate to each other than with how society relates to them differently depending on whether they are together or alone – Haley gives Weaver safety when he feels 'most vulnerable as a visibly transgender person' whilst Weaver's 'whiteness, queer identity and middle-class status' make Haley seem less threatening to humans fearful of her breed.<sup>19</sup> I take my prompt from Weaver to examine more closely the historical enmeshments between Hall, Troubridge and two of their dachshunds: their shared life and how it evolved and was received in the early twentieth-century. This focus places the dogs, in Josh Doble's words, 'at the centre of the politics of

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the everyday'<sup>20</sup>, an approach that understands canine existence as deeply interconnected with human life yet with a historical record of its own that brings into relief the cultures and ideologies gathered around canines. Whilst dogs themselves do not produce material records beyond the incidental, such as pawprints left on wet concrete, their historical lives survive in human-made sources that range from breed registers to taxidermic specimens, and from newspaper reports to fictional representations. These materials in turn offer insights into intimate human histories that have remained largely hidden from view. I argue that attention to Hall, Troubridge and their dogs not only reveals at times surprising intersections between queer and pedigree subcultures in the interwar period. It also offers an opportunity to think through issues of queer love and reproduction, bringing to light nonnormative relationships that have not left a deep historical footprint while exposing how their championing of canine breeds was circumscribed by class and racial thinking.

### **The Canine Archive of Sex**

What, then, can we know about the canines who shared their lives with Hall and Troubridge? Pedigree dogs such as Wotan and Thorgils typically leave a more extensive historical record than their non-pedigree contemporaries. Their existence, and lineage, are recorded formally in breed and show-related documents such as Kennel Club breed registers and show programs. Furthermore, dogs who are successful in championship competitions are listed in the annual *The Kennel Club Stud Book* and it is not uncommon to find notices and articles about their achievements in specialist and more mainstream magazines and newspapers.

Pedigrees started to emerge in the West from the eighteenth-century onwards, a development that gained momentum over the course of the nineteenth century and was entangled in the exigencies of colonial expansion, the rise of new commodity cultures, urbanization and changing agrarian practices.<sup>21</sup> In an important study of what they call ‘the invention of the modern dog’ Worboys, Strange and Pemberton have examined how breed ‘has become the principal way of thinking about and producing [modern] dogs’ partly by tracking the rapid increase in new breeds.<sup>22</sup> They note that between 1874, the year the first Kennel Club Stud Book was published, and 1900 thirty-four new breeds were registered, close to the doubling the forty recorded in the first register, an increase that indicates the widespread and sustained interest in the production of pedigree dogs in England and beyond.<sup>23</sup>

This codification of dog breeds took place at a time of intensified colonial expansion efforts when a host of new sciences produced ever expanding taxonomies of, and ways of thinking about, the human. It was circumscribed by scientific discourses about race and nature that frequently brought into proximity ‘human’ and ‘animal’ concerns including in relation to questions of ‘sex’<sup>24</sup>. When the Kennel Club was founded in 1873, many debates about the dangers and possibilities of ‘nature’ concentrated on animal and human sexual reproduction, informed by the rise in evolutionary thinking that had first gained momentum in the 1850s and 1860s. Darwin himself discussed dogs at some length in *The Descent of Man* (1871) both in relation to questions of evolutionary development and in terms of canine devotion to humans.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, a separate science dedicated to human sexual practices started to form. It was concerned specifically with human sexual acts and behaviours that defied the reproductive norm. The sexual science sought to establish



whether deviant sexual behaviours such as 'homosexuality', a category that took shape at the time, were natural phenomena, that is part of nature rather than socially acquired aberrations, and it also considered what the existence of such sexual behaviours might reveal about the state of civilization and the existence of racial hierarchies.<sup>26</sup> In studies of human sexuality it was animals broadly, rather than dogs specifically, that figured, for example in debates about sex with animals as Bourke has shown. Yet animals were not just discursive figures but living beings who were sometimes experimented upon in the search for a better understanding of the human sexual body. Most famous, perhaps, are Eugen Steinach's experiments on rats and guinea-pigs which were an essential part of the endocrinological research that has informed a modern understanding of hormones and how to utilise them.<sup>27</sup> Research into the naturalness of homosexuality in turn extended as far as experiments on butterflies, as Ina Linge has revealed.<sup>28</sup> If pedigree formation can be understood as part of these wider scientific efforts to manipulate bodies, it also speaks more specifically to nineteenth-century debates about racial difference.<sup>29</sup> In her groundbreaking work on modern pet culture Harriet Ritvo has pointed out that the specific aim of dog breeding was to produce 'a subspecies of race with definable physical characteristics that would reliably reproduce itself if its members were only crossed with each other', an aim that effectively sought to naturalize carefully cultivated differences.<sup>30</sup> Worboys, Strange and Pemberton in turn have shown how pedigree efforts were implicated in the formation of modern norms about human differences. They argue that the new focus on 'breed naturalize[d] differences in canines, concealing the labour that ha[d] gone into their creation and maintenance, and offer[ing] models of natural variation that can be mapped on human racial, ethnic, and class differences'.<sup>31</sup>

The rhetoric of 'naturalness' that runs through both modern breed formations and sexual classifications underpins the racialized conception of human-dog co-existence itself. As companion animals, dogs played an important role in the production of modern whiteness, especially in the colonies. Josh Doble, Lance van Sittert and Sandra Swarts, amongst others, have shown that the formation of certain guard and hunting breeds such as the Boerbol and the Rhodesian Ridgeback was directly linked to colonial settlement.<sup>32</sup> Non-pedigree native dogs in turn, as Gabeba Baderoon has demonstrated, were treated as dangers to both the colonial dog and white settler existence.<sup>33</sup> But the racialized production of breed was not confined to the colonies. Within England the controlled world of canine reproduction held great appeal for members of the emerging eugenics movement such as Francis Galton who admired how dog breeders manipulated what he called 'special aptitudes'.<sup>34</sup> Galton regularly attended shows and collected stud book information and photographs of many breed winners.<sup>35</sup> For him the successes of selective dog breeding reinforced the idea that it would be equally 'practicable to produce a highly-gifted race of men by judicious marriages through several consecutive generations'.<sup>36</sup> The stud books, dog show programs and Kennel Club breed registers that so fascinated Galton are part of what I call the canine archive of sex: a repository of lineages that documents the ideological as well as practical underpinnings of dog breeding.

### **Dachshund Love**

What, then, are we to make of the investment in the normative world of pedigree breeding of queer couples such as Hall and Troubridge who were themselves in nonreproductive sexual relationships? As dog breeders the couple unquestionably pursued reproductive goals but they also resisted heteronormative expectations by devoting themselves to

canines who cannot reproduce human lineages and who in most cases do not outlive their owners. Their dachshunds' full Kennel Club names – Fitz-John Wotan and Fitz-John Thorgils of Tredholt – forge an intimate connection between Hall, the dogs and their offspring. The Kennel Club prefix Fitz-John (sometimes also spelled Fitzjohn) formally marks their pedigree, designating Hall and Troubridge as breeders. It is made-up of the prefix 'Fitz', a patronym with connotations of illegitimacy, and Hall's chosen name, John, which she used amongst her friends and lovers.<sup>37</sup> Whilst the Kennel Club name positions the dogs as a kind of queer canine offspring of Hall, records suggest that Hall and Troubridge do not seem to have thought of their dogs as child-substitutes: they do not refer to them as children or themselves as (dog) parents. Before Troubridge met Hall she had a daughter, Andrea. When Andrea was nine, Troubridge left the child with the father to be with Hall. It seems clear that the dogs were not positioned as stand-ins for a human child. Instead the bestowal of Hall's chosen name onto the canine offspring marks a queerer form of kinship.<sup>38</sup> It decentres the emphasis on human reproduction as a dominant organizing principle of modern coupled life even if the focus on canine lineages is itself part of the normative, racialized production of breed.

Dachshunds were amongst the earliest breeds to make it into the show ring. Originally bred in Germany to hunt small prey – 'dachshund' literally translates as 'badger dog', although these dogs were used to track all kinds of animals including larger ones such as boar and deer – they soon gained popularity as pets. In nineteenth-century England it was Queen Victoria who raised the profile of the breed, importing a dog from Germany in 1840 and subsequently owning several dachshunds during her lifetime. Many other prominent Victorians shared their lives with dachshunds. The influential poet and critic Matthew

Arnold, for example, famously mourned the premature death aged four of his beloved pet in the poem 'Geist's Grave', which was written in 1881, the year the English Dachshund Club was founded. As the oldest Dachshund breed club in the world, it is one of the first of all of the breed clubs to have come into existence. Dachshunds retained their popularity after World War I and became a favourite of Hall and Troubridge.

Wotan and Thorgils joined the couple at different points in time. According to Troubridge, they bought Thorgils, a red dachshund, at a Brighton dog show whilst the liver-and-tan Wotan was 'seen from the car by John in a side street in Shepherd's Bush and bought for me from an old woman who had bred him'.<sup>39</sup> Thorgils, bred by a Mrs. Mackey, was the offspring of a breed winner, Champion Honeystone, and a female dog called Jill. Wotan in contrast, bred by a Mrs. Putts, was the offspring of the non-prize winners Bogy and Betty. Despite his, in pedigree terms, less illustrious beginnings, Wotan became the more successful of the two dogs, making what Troubridge calls 'dachshund history' by winning many prizes and 'sir[ing] seventy-three puppies during his first year at stud'.<sup>40</sup> At the 1923 Crufts show alone Wotan won class 613, 'graduate dogs and bitches', ahead of Thorgils, was placed second in class 614, 'limit dogs', again ahead of Thorgils, and came third in class 615, 'dachshunds open dogs'.<sup>41</sup> Together the two dogs came reserve in class 620, 'dachshunds brace'. At the time Wotan, who was born on 4 June 1917, was nearly six years old; Thorgils who was born on 2 June 1920, was nearly three. In show terms, they were at their peak.

The two dachshunds entered the show ring at a point when such competitions had become well established. The consensus is that the first modern English dog show took place in Newcastle in 1859 as part of a cattle show (pedigree livestock had long been an indicator of

social esteem). Popular interest in dog shows rose rapidly, enticing huge numbers of breeders and audiences from all social spheres. In 1886 Charles Cruft, a travelling salesman and terrier fancier, organized the first 'Great Terrier Show' in north London and ran it annually until 1891 when it became subsumed into what he called the first 'Cruft's Dogs Show'.<sup>42</sup> Held at the Royal Agricultural Hall in Islington, it put on display more than three dozen breeds including the dachshund.<sup>43</sup> By the time of Crufts 1923 there were over fifty breeds competing in the ring against each other and for the title of the overall best in show.

The Crufts Catalogues, and specifically the Kennel names of competitors, provide further evidence of the racialized framework of breed culture. Amongst the dachshunds competing in 1923, for instance, were dogs from the 'Piccaninny' kennel, joined the following year by a 'Nigger of Nateley'. These naming practices situate pedigree breeding within the long history of what Zakiyyah Jackson calls the 'animalization of blackness' that is characteristic of Western Enlightenment thought and its upholding of an animal/human binary.<sup>44</sup> Whilst Hall's and Troubridge's kennel name did not follow suit, there is other evidence to suggest that the couple was steeped in the racialized production of breed. Troubridge writes that when the young Hall travelled around the United States with her American cousin Jane Randolph, she took with her 'a revolver handy for obstreperous negroes' as well as an 'aggressive bull-terrier, Charlie, as auxiliary protection'.<sup>45</sup> Jana Funke has noted the 'racist fantasies of racial otherness and racialized aggression' at play here.<sup>46</sup> Hall's dog-as-weapon furthermore mirrors the use of dogs as a 'biopower of bondage' in American slavery where they were deployed to guard, terrorize, hunt down and kill Black people.<sup>47</sup> The bull-terrier's name creates an intimacy between Hall and Charlie that sets them apart, together, from the imagined racial threat and aligns them with a long and on-going history of racist human-

canine violence. The way in which they are situated in proximity to each other but against Black people is furthermore typical of the colonial construction of a special bond between whites and their canines. White dog love was typically figured in terms of an intensity of mutual care and feeling that was denied to Black and indigenous peoples and dogs by their colonizers.<sup>48</sup> Carla Freccero has argued that dog breeding is part of what she calls the 'haunted and haunting ontologies' of modernity that are 'forged in a crucible of colonial encounters'.<sup>49</sup> Troubridge's account of the young Hall's deployment of a 'protection dog' illustrates how such racialized fears and racist fantasies played out in quotidian accounts of white people's relationship with canines.

White English dog show culture was further marked by class and gender tensions. As one of the areas that quickly opened to women, its aesthetics blurred subcultural boundaries based on gender and sexual identification alone. Laura Doan has shown that some of Hall's and Troubridge's outfits, which have been read as evidence of their masculinity, were in fact typical 'dog show gear': practical big coats and fedoras worn by wealthy dog breeders to keep them warm and comfortable during long show days.<sup>50</sup> There is, however, evidence of a queer kind of interspecies self-fashioning at work as Hall was fond of wearing a chain link bracelet on her left wrist that matched the so-called benching chains of her dachshunds, leads used at dog shows to clip a dog to its show bench.<sup>51</sup>

While dog shows attracted breeders and visitors from across the social spectrum, many of the more structural roles remained the preserve of the upper-classes and the wealthy. In 1894, for example, the so-called Ladies Kennel Association (LKA) was founded by wealthy aristocratic women who sought to open dog shows to women. Its class make-up is indicative

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of the socially conservative trend in modern dog shows. For although organizations such as The English Dachshund Club brought together breeders from different social spheres, their governing bodies were dominated by middle- and upper-class members of the white establishment such as Hall and Troubridge who in 1923 joined the club's committee and acted as its Crufts guarantors. Troubridge wrote that through their dachshunds the couple made 'many good friends in the world of dog shows' even though some traditional breeders thought them 'cranks' because, as Troubridge put it, 'they resented our championship of the exhibits as sentient creatures and our unrestrained denunciation of ... those exhibitors who, provided a dog could win for them, thought it quite permissible to leave the shivering beast deserted and lying on a bed of scanty straw through the long winter nights of a "three day" Crufts or Kennel Club show'.<sup>52</sup> Yet if Hall and Troubridge saw themselves as progressive in their care and treatment of dogs, even by the standards of their own time their views were relatively sedate and traditional. They did not engage, for example, with the growing campaigns for animal welfare reforms which were critical of dog shows nor did they reflect on the brutality of breeding itself as a practice that puts stress on the animals involved.<sup>53</sup> In the mid-1950s the homosexual British writer and editor J.K. Ackerley chronicled in disturbing detail his efforts to mate his German Shepherd bitch with a suitable stud dog. More recently, queer poet and writer Eileen Myles has reflected on what she calls 'The Rape of Rosie', an unflinching account of the process of mating her pit bull bitch.<sup>54</sup> Hall and Troubridge, in contrast, appear to have been unperturbed by the practicalities of breeding, perhaps because as owners of male dogs whom they put out to stud they did not have to deal with the dangers of mating and canine pregnancy.

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Wotan's and Thorgils's show successes, which made the dogs famous in their own right, expose the commercial side of dog breeding. In May 1923, a couple of months after their Crufts triumph, Wotan and Thorgils were the subjects of the popular 'Ladies Kennel Association Notes', a regular column dealing with dog show and related news published in the popular society magazine *The Tatler*. The columnist was Carlo F. Clarke who, together with his wife, was a well-known bulldog breeder and regular at sporting events around the country. His discussion of Wotan's and Thorgils's successes at various shows indicates the value accorded to show success. He notes that Wotan 'secured his title of champion, besides taking forty-three firsts and specials too numerous to mention' whilst Thorgils 'has been in the money whenever shown' including at Birmingham 'where he took four firsts, challenge certificate [sic], and many cups and specials'.<sup>55</sup> Clarke's account of these achievements serves as a form of advertising that also reveals the tight-knit world of dog breeding. He concludes with the news that Troubridge 'has some first-class puppies by Ch. Wotan and Thorgils to dispose of' and that potential buyers should contact him at his Guernsey address for details. Dachshund pregnancies last for around 60 days, meaning that Wotan and Thorgils were put up for stud not long after the Crufts show. There is some evidence that their offspring were coveted. On February 26, 1924, for example, a seller from Cheshire advertised in *The Times*, one of England's major newspapers, 'lovely dachshund pedigree puppies' aged three months and sired by Fitzjohn Thorgils of Tredholt. The puppies' starting price was 5 guineas each.<sup>56</sup> On January 13, 1927, a seller from Oxford advertised three puppies in the same paper whose grandsire was Fitzjohn Thorgils of Tredholt.<sup>57</sup> The price of these puppies was 3 guineas each, a price that reflects the loss in value of a second-generation bloodline. Yet at a time when workers such as railway porters



earned between 46-50 shillings per week even the second-generation offspring of Thorgils would have been a luxury unaffordable for many.<sup>58</sup>

### **Sapphic Breeders**

The dog-focused show catalogues contain limited information about breeders and owners.

The scant details nevertheless open a window to queer relationships that may otherwise

remain hidden from view. According to the Crufts catalogues some of Wotan's and

Thorgils's offspring entered the show world albeit to less acclaim. In 1925 Wotan's offspring

Kardax (born 23 April 1923; mother Karl-Dina), was entered at Crufts. He did not place that

year but in 1927 came second in the category 1044, 'graduate dogs', and third in 1045 'limit

dogs'. Thorgils's offspring Toffee (born 26 Feb 1923; mother Bruff) in turn was entered to

Crufts 1924 in a total of four categories but did not place in any of them.<sup>59</sup> The catalogues

reveal that these dogs were owned by unmarried women: Wotan's Kardax belonged to a

Miss F.E. Dixon, and Thorgils's Toffee was owned and bred by the Misses Dendy and R.R.C.

Fynes-Clinton.

The meagre catalogue information offers but a glimpse at the lives of these dog owners, yet

it is enough to reveal some intimate connections. Fynes-Clinton's relatively unusual

surname and the designation 'R.R.C.', which stands for 'Royal Red Cross', a distinguished

medal for nursing during World War I, makes it possible to identify one of Toffee's owners

as Mary Gordon Fynes-Clinton. Originally from Dorset, Fynes-Clinton joined the war effort as

a member of the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD), a group of primarily middle - and upper-

class volunteers, most of them women, who assisted with the nursing care of soldiers in the

UK and abroad. Fynes-Clinton, VAD nurse number 41601, was awarded the Royal Red Cross

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(Second Class) on September 25, 1918 for her services 'with the Armies in the Field' in France from 1915 to 1919.<sup>60</sup> She was also awarded the 1914-15 Star, the British War Medal and the Victory Medal for her war service during which she suffered a knee injury.<sup>61</sup> Until World War I Fynes-Clinton seems to have lived with her parents, the Reverend Charles Henry Fynes-Clinton and his wife Thomasina in Blandford near Poole. The 1911 census lists her, aged 36 and single, at their address, sharing the family home with two female servants. By the 1921 census Charles had died and Mary shared her home with her mother, a cousin and two servants. Her death was registered at Poole in 1953, aged 79, meaning that she would have been around 50 years old at Crufts 1924. The show catalogue makes clear that at that time she jointly owned a dog with a Miss Dendy.<sup>62</sup> Miss Dendy is, therefore, unlikely to have been a servant. The catalogue lists both Dendy and Fynes-Clinton as 'breeder, owner' of Toffee, which emphasizes their shared relationship to each other and the dog.<sup>63</sup> If a dog's breeder is different from the owner this would usually have been mentioned in the Crufts program. For instance, in 1923 Hall and Troubridge were listed as owners of Toffee's father Thorgils whilst the breeder was named as Mrs. Mackey. Each Crufts catalogue furthermore includes an 'Index to Exhibitors' with their home addresses. In 1923, 'Troubridge, Lady, and Hall-Radcliffe [sic], Miss' are correctly listed as living at 10 Sterling Street in Knightsbridge. The 1924 catalogue in turn reveals that the Misses Dendy and Fynes-Clinton shared a home together in Dorset at Park Corner in Parkstone, an area of Poole. There can be little doubt, then, that the two lived together with Toffee at that point in time.

Queer and lesbian histories are full of people whose existence is largely forgotten and unknowable today because they were not caught up in any of the exceptional circumstances

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– familial wealth and influence, scandals, trials, artistic fame and so forth – that usually deepen a person’s historical imprint. The Crufts catalogues, despite and because of their focus on dogs, offer glimpses of such otherwise difficult-to-trace relationships, bringing into view couples such as Fynes-Clinton and Dendy who jointly owned dogs and shared a home together. They also serve as reminders that queer history is not located outside of histories that give prominence to those who received distinction in the service of the nation. In contrast to the decorated Fynes-Clinton, Dendy’s identity is difficult to establish with certainty due to the fact that no such distinctions are recorded and little more than her surname is mentioned. There are grounds to speculate that she might have been Lillian Price Dendy from Penarth in Wales who had joined the VAD aged 18 at the start of World War I, remaining in Penarth as a hospital librarian before at some stage moving to London where she lived in Sloane Square. Dendy died in her forties in Tilford, Surrey, on August 17, 1944, although her main address at that stage still seems to have been in Sloane Square. Her will specified that her effects – £2803 14s 5d – are to be divided between a Frederic John Latimer Gribble, solicitor, and a certain Edith Hawkes Bridges, spinster. If Lillian Price Dendy is the Miss Dendy who owned Toffee with Mary Fynes-Clinton then it seems that the two women, twenty-two years apart in age, went their separate ways at some point after the mid-1920s. If Lillian Price Dendy is not connected to Fynes-Clinton, then the search for Toffee’s second owner nevertheless revealed another significant relationship, that of the unmarried Lillian Price Dendy and the ‘spinster’ Edith Hawkes Bridges who inherited half of her estate. What is certain is that in 1924 a Miss Dendy owned a dachshund named Toffee together with Mary Fynes-Clinton.

It is plausible that Fynes-Clinton and Dendy met through the VAD. During World War I many women participated actively in the war effort, following pursuits that had been traditionally closed to them and, in some cases, receiving medals and distinctions for their work. After the war, many of them were forced back into more traditional lives that are historically less visible. Hall, who had spent the war years at home in Worcestershire with her then lover Mabel Batten, addressed this problematic in her fiction, most notably the 1926 novel *Miss Ogilvy Finds Herself* in which the protagonist struggles to return to the gendered straightjacket of the interwar period after serving during the war as head of an ambulance unit in France. Laura Doan and Rebecca Jennings approach the intimate aspects of this history during and after World War I from opposing perspectives, with Jennings conceptualizing such relationships specifically in terms of lesbian identity history while Doan problematizes what she calls ‘the very modern urge to define sexuality as fundamental and knowable through categories of identity – naming, name-calling and self-naming’ and focuses instead on how people in the past have seen themselves and were seen by others.<sup>64</sup> Dogs expand the framework by bringing into view human-animal relationships that have not otherwise left a historical record, suggesting that pedigree dog ownership formed a subculture of its own that accommodated all kinds of intimate relations.

### **Literary Evidence**

Given the elusive nature of the historical object, literature provides an important source of evidence of the overlaps between Sapphic and pedigree subcultures in the early twentieth century. Wotan, Thorgils and their offspring are of course not the only dogs to make history and the lives of many early twentieth century dogs are fairly well documented. In addition to breed histories, dog companions and private papers, it is literary texts including poetry

This is the accepted but pre-copyedited version of the article for publication in *Gender and History* and fiction as well as semi-fictional and entirely fictional 'dog biographies' that provide a significant source of information for anyone interested in dog history. One of the best-known literary examples is Virginia Woolf's *Flush: A Biography* (1933), an imaginative account of the life of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's cocker spaniel which was inspired by Woolf's own love of dogs, specifically her cocker spaniel Pinka who was a present from her lover Vita Sackville-West.<sup>65</sup> Karalyn Kendall-Morwick, in her exploration of the canine entanglements between Woolf, Barratt Browning and literary history, argues that dogs played a prominent role in modernist fiction generally because they have an 'intimate and vital role' in human existence with which they are interdependent.<sup>66</sup> Literary texts such as *Flush*, which, in recounting the cocker spaniel's life, addresses issues such as the entwined rise of pedigrees and dog-napping incidents, moreover extend understanding of the historical development of breed culture and human-dog relationships.

In Hall's writings, dogs, and specifically pedigrees, feature most prominently in relation to issues of queer love and gender nonconformity. *The Well of Loneliness*, for example, frequently turns to dogs to depict queer lives and desires.<sup>67</sup> The novel's protagonist Stephen Gordon first meets Mary Llewellyn, who will become her long-term partner, when they both work for the British ambulance service in France during World War I. Their relationship is completed when after the war they set up home in Paris together with a stray dog they name David.<sup>68</sup> It is significant that David is not a mutt of undefined background but a recognized breed: once washed and cleaned up, he is revealed to be an Irish Water Spaniel, a breed that emerged around the 1830s in Ireland and gained popularity in the English showring during the later Victorian period. The arrival of David cements Stephen's and Mary's domestic coupledness. Earlier in the novel dogs appear at key moments in the

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narrative's exploration of gender and sexuality. When observing his daughter at play with the family's dogs, for instance, Stephen's father is struck by 'the curious suggestion of strength in her movements' (p.22), an observation that prompts him to search out in his library the work of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, the early theorist of 'sexual inversion'.<sup>69</sup> Stephen's first sexual relationship with the American Angela Crossby in turn starts when Stephen intervenes in a bloody fight between Tony, Angela's 'very small white West Highland Terrier' (p.127), and an unnamed 'old rip of an Airedale' (p.127) belonging to the local butcher.

The canine details not only reveal Hall's own knowledge of dog breeds but also the wider rise of Sapphic pedigree culture. During Stephen's and Mary's time in Paris their queer friend Valerie, a melancholic artist, muses about the important role dog breeding plays in the lives of many 'female inverts' after World War I:

She had heard that in England many such women [who had worked in the war] had taken to breeding dogs in the country. Well, why not? Dogs were very nice people to breed (p.413).

*The Well of Loneliness* thus carries mimetic traces of both Hall's own knowledge of dogs and the dog breeding subcultures Hall and Troubridge were part of during the 1920s. Real-life figures such as Mary Fynes-Clinton, who was connected to Hall and Troubridge as the owner of one of Thorgils's puppies, seem to have provided inspiration for Hall's fiction. The historical evidence of real-life dogs such as Toffee in turn suggests that the world of dog breeding accommodated what Judith Bennett has called "lesbian-like" relationships: relationships that resisted the heteronormative imperative yet that in this case were not part of the today famous artistic subcultures of Sapphic modernism.<sup>70</sup>

## Partners in Public

The elevation of the couple in evaluations of intimacy has long been a point of attack for those concerned with the socio-economic and psychic structures of norms. Yet, as Annamarie Jagose has recently pointed out, such critical distancing does not necessarily reflect everyday life.<sup>71</sup> Jagose analyses her 'own coupled raising of a dog ... in order to secure a differently queer critical purchase on couple formation'.<sup>72</sup> The historical evidence gathered around Hall, Troubridge and their dogs, in contrast, suggests that Hall and Troubridge may have been positioned as a couple in dog show circles. In January 1925 dog columnist Carlo Clarke wrote a favourable review of Hall's recently published novel *The Unlit Lamp* (1924) for his *Tatler* feature.<sup>73</sup> *The Unlit Lamp*, arguably Hall's most overtly feminist book, tells the story of Joan Ogden whose love and ambitions are thwarted by convention. There are no dogs in the narrative, which makes it an unlikely choice for Clarke's canine column, although he introduces Hall as the author of *The Forge* (1924), a novel that prominently features a dachshund, Sieglinde, and was loosely inspired by the beginnings of Hall's and Troubridge's domestic life together. Clarke, who describes *The Unlit Lamp* as 'essentially a "woman's book"', praises Hall's 'uncanny gift for characterization', concluding with the words: 'My only regret is that [*The Unlit Lamp*] has no "doggy" character like the dear dachshund in *The Forge*'.<sup>74</sup> Modern queer history often emphasizes historical exclusions, persecution and social ostracization and it is important to account for this difficult past. Clarke's review, however, offers a different picture. Clearly written from the perspective of a reader who is primarily interested in dogs, it suggests that Sapphic life could be embedded in more mainstream cultures. It prominently places Hall within the early twentieth-century dog world, suggesting that she was part of that culture as much as she was part of the Sapphic and literary subcultures of the time.

Whilst Hall's and Troubridge's canine entanglements thus expand understanding of the situatedness of their lives, it is nevertheless difficult to ascertain for certain how exactly their relationship was understood in the dog world. What seems clear, however, is that they and their dogs were considered a unit. An article published on 23 November 1922 in *The Times*, for example, openly discussed the couple's joint contribution to dachshund breeding. Reviewing a recent Ladies' Kennel Association Show and meditating on women's involvement in dog shows and the fashionable status of certain breeds such as dachshunds, it declared that 'amongst the successful [dachshund] exhibitors were Una, Lady Troubridge and her *partner* Miss Radclyffe Hall' (emphasis added).<sup>75</sup> The designation of Hall as Troubridge's partner, easily missed by a twenty-first century reader used to this now common turn of phrase, is unusual in this context. Although according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, in England the use of the term 'partner' for an intimate companion goes back at least to the second part of the sixteenth-century, it was mostly used to describe business relations until well into the later part of the twentieth-century. In the economy of the early-twentieth-century dog world, however, partner was not a common designation. Instead more specific terminology such as 'breeder(s)' and 'owner(s)' was typically used. *The Times's* reference to Hall's and Troubridge's partnership therefore stands out. Alison Oram has shown that newspapers and the popular press played an important role in the way many people accessed representations of sex between women even if 'the semantics of sexuality were far from transparent in their page'.<sup>76</sup> Often such reports were sensationalized accounts of sex crimes or marital misdemeanours. *The Times* article in contrast, which was published some eight years before the trial of *The Well of Loneliness* and the debates about



'lesbianism' it ignited, might be read as a less spectacular allusion to Hall's and Troubridge's coupledness: a recognition of the joint life they shared together with their dogs

### **The (Im)Possibilities of Dog Love**

Attention to historical dogs such as Wotan and Thorgils expands, then, understanding of the complexities of the Sapphic past including in terms of famous couples such as Hall and Troubridge and those on the margins of queer history. But the canine archive of sex also speaks to broader questions about dog love and the conditions that enable or deny it. I want to conclude with a consideration of Hall's own take on dog love and what it offers to understanding the racialized conception of the human-dog bond in the English imagination.

Hall examined the (im)possibilities of loving canines in an unpublished and still little-known short story titled 'Bonaparte', which is the only one of her works to have a dog as its main character. Unlike Hall's other fictional canines, the dog here is not a pedigree.<sup>77</sup> The story furthermore stands out as one of Hall's few texts featuring a male narrator. Funke, who has retrieved the story from Hall's estate, dates it to 1914-15 when Hall was living with Mabel Batten.<sup>78</sup> 'Bonaparte' is a Gothic realist exploration of the male English narrator's relationship with a stray male dog on the heavily exoticized island of Corsica. The narrator first encounters the dog shortly after his arrival on the island. He calls him Bonaparte after the famous Corsican who was defeated at Waterloo in 1815, a patriotic act of naming that foreshadows the narrator's attempts to tame and domesticate the stray dog who will ultimately refuse to submit to him. Despite clearly suffering from starvation, it is Bonaparte who dictates the terms of their relationship from the outset, gradually allowing the narrator to treat him akin to a pet by providing food, a collar, and a warm place to sleep. As their

closeness grows Bonaparte retains a high level of independence, displaying uncanny behaviours that alienate and frustrate his human companion, such as when he apparently engages with a being invisible to the narrator or when he disappears for walks on his own. When one day the narrator is set upon by an armed man in an isolated spot Bonaparte kills the attacker, an act that to the narrator feels like the dog 'was paying a debt' (p.81) for having been saved from starvation. Bonaparte's devotion appears to grow after the incident and the narrator in turn exclaims 'I have owned many dogs in my time...[but] never have I loved a dog as I love Bonaparte' (p.81). Yet there is a limit to this love. The story comes to an end with the narrator's departure from Corsica, an event that is preceded by great unrest in Bonaparte, which at the time is inexplicable to the narrator. They both board the ship set to leave the island, but just as it departs Bonaparte jumps ashore, refusing exile from his home. The heartbroken narrator returns to England alone, left with nothing but the memory of Bonaparte's love, which is 'imbued with all the spirit of mystery of the most mysterious island in the world' (p.82).

According to Funke who reads the story in terms of the narrator's failed attempt at domestication, 'the figure of the dog serves to test the limits of the knowable and rational male self, which is restored at the end of the story, but at a cost: the narrator has to separate from Bonaparte and leave behind the mysteries of Corsica'.<sup>79</sup> Read in the context of Hall's passion for dog breeding, however, and focusing on Bonaparte himself, the story can be understood more specifically as an exploration of the limits of English dog love. Critics such as Alice Kuzniar have examined the element of the unknowable that is a defining characteristic of human-canine relationships; the fact that their communication – through sound, movement, proximity – always operates on a mediated level, an affective tie that can

only be expressed as a kind of translation between species conditioned to communicate differently.<sup>80</sup> 'Bonaparte' not only captures some of the emotional depths of cross-species relations but exposes the racialized frameworks that deny or enable such love. A dog of unspecified lineage, Bonaparte, unlike, for example, the faithful Irish Water Spaniel David in *The Well of Loneliness*, is explicitly figured as a 'native' and, therefore, untameable dog. This fictional mutt who refuses to submit to the English dog lover adds an important affective layer to understanding the role of breed in the complex history of modern English dog fancy. It shows how racialized pedigree ideals informed the conception of the special bond between the English and their dogs, problematizing the reach and persistence of such norms even in queer explorations of cross-species love.

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Dog love and cross-species interaction are, then, not neutral categories but historical formations emerging from distinct conditions of possibility that enable them and which they in turn shape and sustain to various effects. Dogs such as Wotan and Thorgils have a historical imprint that is deeper than many of their human contemporaries precisely because their very existence is part of the tightly documented business of breeding. The historical records gathered around these two dachshunds reveal some of the gendered, classed and racialized contours of modern dog fancy and its intersections with Sapphic cultures in the 1920s. This material expands understanding of queer history beyond questions of human sexuality and gender. In this case, it reveals that Hall and Troubridge were part of the early twentieth-century dog world as much as they belonged to the literary and queer subcultures of the time, and that they were positioned as a couple in this context. This canine archive of sex furthermore brings into view the existence of other,

historically overlooked, couples who shared a home and dog with each other, suggesting that whilst white modern pedigree culture was socially conservative, it did accommodate non-normative sexual relationships.

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to the landmark collection edited by Laura Doan and Jay Prosser, *Palatable Poison: Critical Perspectives on The Well of Loneliness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), see e.g. Heike Bauer, *English Literary Sexology: Translations of Inversion 1864-1939* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 112-142; Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1998), pp.75-110; Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Jodie Medd, *Lesbian Scandal and the Culture of Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Esther Newton, 'The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall and the New Woman.' *Signs* 9.4 (1984), pp. 557-575; Jay Prosser, *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Hannah Roche, *The Outside Thing: Modernist Lesbian Romance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019);

<sup>2</sup> For an indication of shifting debates see Shari Benstock, 'Sapphic Modernism: Entering Literary History', in Karla Jay and Joanne Glasgow (eds), *Lesbian Texts and Contexts* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), pp.183-203; Laura Doan and Jane Garrity (eds), *Sapphic Modernities: Sexuality, Women, and National Culture* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Susan S. Landser, *The Sexuality of History: Modernity and the Sapphic, 1565-1830* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> Prosser, *Second Skins*, p.77. For an indication of the breadth of debates about Stephen Gordon's gender see also Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, pp.75-110; and Laura Doan.

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*Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern English Lesbian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 95-126.

<sup>4</sup> Bauer, *English Literary Sexology*, pp. 21-51 for sexology and inversion and pp. 112-142 for Stephen Gordon's 'inversion'.

<sup>5</sup> Joanne Glasgow (ed.), *Your John: The Love Letters of Radclyffe Hall* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Jen Manion, *Female Husbands: A Trans History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Matt Richardson, 'Good and Messy: Lesbian and Transgender Identities', *Feminist Studies* 39.2 (2013), pp. 371-374.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Bénédicte Boisseron, *Afro-Dog: Blackness and the Animal Question* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018); Maneesha Decka, 'Towards a Postcolonial, Posthumanist Feminist Theory: Centralizing Race and Culture in Feminist Works on Non-Human Animals', *Hypatia* 27.3 (2012), pp. 527-545; Zakiyyah Iman Jackson, *Becoming Human: Matter and Meaning in an Antiracist World* (New York: New York University Press, 2020); Greta LaFleur, *The Natural History of Sexuality in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020); Julie Livingston and Jasbir Puar, 'Interspecies', *Social Text* 29.1 (2011), pp. 3-14; Dana Luciano and Mel Y Chen, 'Has the Queer Ever Been Human?' *GLQ* 21.2-3 (2015), pp. 183-207.

<sup>9</sup> Donna Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Jacques Derrida and David Wills, 'The Animal That Therefore I Am (More To Follow)', *Critical Inquiry* 28.2 (2002), pp. 369-418.

<sup>11</sup> Haraway, *The Companion Species Manifesto*, p.5.

<sup>12</sup> Susan McHugh, *Dog* (London: Reaktion, 2004); Michael Worboys, Julie-Marie Strange and Neil Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog: Breed and Blood in Victorian Britain* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018).

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. Marjorie Garber, *Dog Love* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996); Karalyn Kendall-Morwick, *Canis Modernis: Human/Dog Coevolution in Modernist Literature* (Penn State University Press, 2020); Colleen Glennys Boggs, 'Love Triangle with Dog: *Whym Chow*, the "Michael Fields", and the Poetic Potential of Human Animal Bonds', in Michael Lundblad (ed.), *Animalities: Literary and Cultural Studies Beyond the Human* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp.190-210; Cynthia Huff, 'Framing Canine Memoirs'. *a/b: Auto/Biography Studies* 29.1 (2014), pp. 127-148; Aaron Skabelund, 'A Dog's Life: The Challenges and Possibilities of Animal Biography', in André Krebber and Mieke Roscher (eds), *Animal Biographies: Reframing Animal Lives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 83-102.

<sup>14</sup> Gabeba Baderoon, 'Animal Likeness: Dogs and the Boundary of the Human in South Africa', *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 29.3 (2017), pp. 345-361. See also Josh Doble, 'Can Dogs be Racist? The Colonial Legacies of Racialized Dogs in Kenya and Zambia', *History Workshop Journal* 89 (2020), pp. 68-89.

<sup>15</sup> Joanna Bourke, *Loving Animals: On Bestiality, Zoophilia and Post-Human Love* (London: Reaktion, 2020).

<sup>16</sup> Bourke, *Loving Animals*, pp. 121 and 145.

<sup>17</sup> Worboys, Strange and Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog*, pp. 45-48 and 116.

<sup>18</sup> Harlan Weaver, "'Becoming in Kind": Race, Class, Gender, and Nation in Cultures of Dog Rescue and Dogfighting', *American Quarterly* 65.3 (2013), pp. 689-709, see esp. p. 689.

<sup>19</sup> Weaver, 'Becoming in Kind', p. 689.

<sup>20</sup> Doble, 'Can Dogs be Racist?', p. 69.

<sup>21</sup> Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); McHugh, *Dog*; Michael Worboys, and Neil Pemberton, *Rabies in Britain: Dogs, Disease and Culture, 1830-2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Worboys, Strange & Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog*; Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987).

<sup>22</sup> Worboys, Strange & Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog*, p.2.

<sup>23</sup> Worboys, Strange & Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog*, p.142.

<sup>24</sup> See Jack Halberstam's recent critique of this history in *Wild Things: The Disorder of Desire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020), pp.6-29.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man* (London: John Murray, 1871), esp. pp.35-70.

<sup>26</sup> See e.g. Valerie Rohy, *Anachronism and its Others: Sexuality, Race, Temporality* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009); Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> Chandak Sengoopta, *The Most Secret Quintessence of Life: Sex, Glands, and Hormones, 1850-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); See also Jules Gill-Peterson's discussion of Steinach in *Histories of the Transgender Child* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2018).

<sup>28</sup> Ina Linge, 'The Potency of the Butterfly: The Reception of Richard B. Goldschmidt's Animal Experiments in German Sexology around 1920', *History of the Human Sciences* 20.10 (2020), pp. 1-31.

<sup>29</sup> Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>30</sup> Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, p. 93.

<sup>31</sup> Worboys, Strange & Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog*, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> Doble, 'Can Dogs be Racist?'; Lance van Sittert and Sandra Swart (eds), *Canis Africanis: A Dog History of Southern Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

<sup>33</sup> Baderoon, 'Animal Likeness.'

<sup>34</sup> Francis Galton, 'Hereditary Talent and Character', *Macmillan's Magazine* 12.68 (1865), pp. 157-166 and 318-322, see esp. p. 158.

<sup>35</sup> Galton Laboratory Collection, United Kingdom. UCL Special Collections: Galton Box 76, Galton/2/5/9/1/4 to Galton/2/5/9/126; Cynthia Huff, 'Victorian Exhibitionism and Eugenics: The Case of Francis Galton and the 1899 Crystal Palace Dog Show', *Victorian Review* 28.2 (2002), pp. 1-20.

<sup>36</sup> Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences* (London: Macmillan, 1869), p.1.

<sup>37</sup> Glasgow (ed.), *Your John*.

<sup>38</sup> Monica Flegel, *Pets and Domesticity in Victorian Literature and Culture: Animality, Queer Relations, and the Victorian Family* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

<sup>39</sup> Una Troubridge, *The Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall* (London: Hammond and Hammond, 1961), p.66.

<sup>40</sup> Troubridge, *The Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall*, p.66.

<sup>41</sup> Cruft's Catalogue 1923. London: no publisher. All Cruft's Catalogues lack publication details.

<sup>42</sup> The apostrophe is part of the original name, but the accepted name and spelling today, which I follow unless citing historical material, is 'Crufts'.

<sup>43</sup> Cruft's Catalogue 1891.



<sup>44</sup> Jackson, *Becoming Human*, p.4.

<sup>45</sup> Troubridge, *The Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall*, p.19.

<sup>46</sup> Jane Funke, 'Introduction' to her (ed.), *'The World' and Other Unpublished Works by Radclyffe Hall* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp.5-6.

<sup>47</sup> Tylor D. Parry and Charlton W. Yingling, 'Slave Hounds and Abolition in the Americas', *Past and Present* 246 (2020), pp. 69-108, see esp. p. 107.

<sup>48</sup> See Baderoon, 'Animal Likeness'; Boisseron, *Afro-Dog*; Jesse S. Palsetia. 'Mad Dogs and Parsis: The Bombay Dog Riots of 1832', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 11.1 (2001), pp. 13-30.

<sup>49</sup> Carla Freccero, 'Figural Historiography: Dogs, Humans, and Cynanthropic Becomings'. Jarrod Hayes, Margaret R. Higonnet and William J. Spurlin (eds), *Comparatively Queer: Interrogating Identities Across Time and Cultures* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.54.

<sup>50</sup> Doan, *Fashioning Sapphism*, p.190.

<sup>51</sup> See Heike Bauer, 'Queer Dogs', in Chris Brickell and Judith Collard (eds), *Queer Objects: LGBT Material Culture* (Otago University Press/Rutgers University Press, 2019), pp. 207-211.

Thanks to Alison Skipper for telling me about benching chains.

<sup>52</sup> Troubridge, *The Life and Death of Radclyffe Hall*, p.50.

<sup>53</sup> For the complexities of these debates Diana Donald, *Women Against Cruelty: Protection of Animals in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019); Worboys, Strange and Pemberton, *The Invention of the Modern Dog*, pp.204-213.

<sup>54</sup> J.K. Ackerley, *My Dog Tulip* [1956] (New York: New York Review Book, 1999); Eileen Myles, *Afterglow: A Dog Memoir* (London: Atlantic Books, 2018).

<sup>55</sup> Carlo F. C. Clarke, 'Ladies Kennel Association Notes', *The Tatler*, 30 May, 1923, p. 54.

<sup>56</sup> *The Times*, no title, 26 February 1924, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> *The Times*, no title, 13 January 1927, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> United Kingdom. *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 5<sup>th</sup> ser., vol. 175, c.2485. HC Unskilled Laborers (Wages), 10 July 1925.

<sup>59</sup> Cruft's Catalogues 1924, 1925 and 1927.

<sup>60</sup> *The Hospital*, 'Round the Hospital', 5 October 1918, pp. 16-18; *The London Gazette*, no title, 28 December 1917, pp. 55.

<sup>61</sup> Mary Gordon Fynes-Clinton [n.d.]. Medal Card of Mary Fynes-Clinton. United Kingdom. National Archives, Kew. WO 372/23/7943; Mary Gordon Fynes-Clinton [n.d.]. Ministry of Pensions and successors, Nurse Mary Fynes- Clinton. United Kingdom. National Archives, Kew. PIN 26/20073.

<sup>62</sup> Fynes-Clinton is marked as 's.c.s.' which stands for 'Subscriber Cruft's Specials' and means that she paid a subscription to support the show. It made her eligible to compete for an extra set of trophies. Thanks to Alison Skipper for providing me with this information.

<sup>63</sup> Cruft's Catalogues 1924.

<sup>64</sup> Rebecca Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain: Love and Sex Between Women Since 1500* (Oxford: Greenwood, 2007); Doan, *Disturbing Practices*, p.21.

<sup>65</sup> See e.g. Garber's discussion in *Dog Love*, pp.45-50.

<sup>66</sup> Kendall-Morwick, *Canis Modernis*, p.524.

<sup>67</sup> Mary A. Armstrong in turn has explored the significance of horses in the novel in 'Stable Identity: Horses, Inversion Theory and *The Well of Loneliness*', *Literature Interpretation Theory* 19 (2008), pp. 47-78.

<sup>68</sup> Hall, Radclyffe, *The Well of Loneliness* [1928] (London: Virago 1991), p.161.

<sup>69</sup> Bauer, *English Literary Sexology*, pp.112-142.

<sup>70</sup> Judith Bennett, "'Lesbian-like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9.1-2 (2000), pp. 1-24.

<sup>71</sup> Annamaria Jagose, 'Anthromorphism, Normativity, and the Couple: A Queer Studies/Human-Animal Studies Mash-Up', *GLQ* 25.2 (2019), pp. 315-335, see esp. p. 315.

<sup>72</sup> Jagose, 'Anthromorphism', p. p.331.

<sup>73</sup> Carlo F. Clarke, 'Ladies' Kennel Association Notes', *The Tatler*, 21 January 1925, p. 68.

<sup>74</sup> Clarke 'Ladies' Kennel Association Notes', p. 68.

<sup>75</sup> *The Times*, 'Women's Dogs: Ladies Kennel Association Show', 23 November 1922, p. 7.

<sup>76</sup> Alison Oram, "'A Sudden Orgy of Decadence: Writing about Sex Between Women in the Interwar Popular Press', in Laura Doan and Jane Garrity (eds), *Sapphic Modernities: Sexuality, Women and National Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p.167.

<sup>77</sup> Radclyffe Hall, 'Bonaparte' [1914-15], Jana Funke (ed.), 'The World' and Other *Unpublished Works by Radclyffe Hall* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp.75-83.

<sup>78</sup> Funke, 'Introduction', p.12.

<sup>79</sup> Funke, 'Introduction', p.13.

<sup>80</sup> Alice Kuzniar, *Melancholia's Dog: Reflections on Animal Kinship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).