

Traces and Representations: Animal Pasts in London's Present

HILDA KEAN

Ruskin College, Oxford, UK

Although non-human animals have long been recognized as inhabitants of the metropolis, there have been few academic studies of their historical existence. However, visible glimpses of the past lives of animals and their relationships with humans in the landscape still exist across London today. Their presence led to the formation of the metropolis itself, both in the creation of distinctive environments for particular trades or sites of spectacle, and later in their representation in various ways in the public and heritage landscape. From the late nineteenth century, there were public sites in which dead animals could be mourned, and in which they could be commemorated in a positive light as individual beings. During the twentieth century, an animal past was more likely to be seen within the construct of heritage rather than as recognition of a former animal presence. Different forms of representation were developed: for example, generic animals represented people who had campaigned for animal welfare. After World War I, the role of animals in warfare was recognized in the landscape. More recently, named individual animals have created interest in dead national or local figures. This important part of London's past needs to be acknowledged and analysed.

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Introduction

Non-human animals have long been recognized as inhabitants of the metropolis. The expansive approach of Richard Fitter's World War II classic that embraced the non-human presence, including head-lice, rats, cats, deer and birds, in his account of London's 'natural history' has been continued in Iain Green's *Wild London. The Nature of a Capital*.¹ However, there have been few academic studies of the historical presence of animals in London.² Similarly, with the exception of discussion of the destroyed statue of the Brown Dog in Battersea, now recast as a heritage piece adjacent to the old English garden in Battersea Park,³ scant attention has been given to a

specific exploration of public sculptures of non-human animals, even though they have been cited within general works.⁴ Certainly, the presence of animals within the metropolis was a focus for a range of artists, including William Hogarth, Richard Andsell, Robert Bevan, and John Charles Dollman.⁵ However, notwithstanding the work of Diana Donald, there have yet to be written works on the artistic representation of animals in London to compare with those, for example, on animals in Impressionism.⁶

These omissions need to be remedied. The presence of animals in London led to the formation of the metropolis itself, both in the creation of distinctive environments for particular trades or sites of spectacle, and later in their representation in various ways in the public and heritage landscape.⁷ As Diana Donald has suggested, human–animal interaction was both an essential part of London’s system of labour and trade, and part of the emotional experience of city dwellers.⁸ The existence of certain types of animals within the capital’s streets resulted in an impetus for change in the way in which they were seen and treated. Humans looking at certain animals as fellow living beings and then treating them in ways defined as benign became a feature of modernity, a mark of civilization. The very act of seeing became crucial in forming the modern person — who you were as a human being was determined by where you were and what you saw, as well as how you interpreted it.⁹ Animals were also placed in this visual moral compass. The act of seeing was key, as Jonathan Burt has argued, in forming the modern animal.¹⁰ It was not that campaigns around animal welfare were developed once people no longer saw animals on a daily basis, as Keith Thomas has suggested,¹¹ but rather that animals were being seen by more people than ever as they — animals and humans alike — moved within the city. Chris Wilbert has argued that while modernist spatial ordering processes have been viewed anthropocentrically as purely the result of human intentional actions, we should see our environments as more dynamic and embracing non-human animals.¹² In complementary vein, Steve Hinchliffe et al. have challenged us to think about whether there are ever spaces that might be designed as non-human space.¹³ Such work encourages us to consider whether we should think of London as simply a human space.

Traces of the past

There still exist visible glimpses of the past lives of animals and their relationships with humans in the landscape across London today. Mews still survive, albeit performing different functions from their former role of stabling horses; and cobbles, where they still exist, are seen as part of a heritage past rather than a surface on which horses might walk safely. The (former) stables of London breweries still remain, for example, in Spitalfields and alongside the Barbican; and so does the Horse Hospital at the back of the Russell Hotel, the interior of which still contains the moulded ramps and cobbled floor that enabled horses to walk from the ground to be treated on the first floor.¹⁴ Thirteen of the distinctively green cabmen’s shelters providing food and temperance beverages, established by the Cabdrivers Benevolent Association in 1870 to promote temperance in cab drivers and better horse management, remain. Although they are still used by taxi drivers for refreshments, the original animal connection has passed, and these are now grade II listed features of a heritage landscape.

Similarly, cattle or horse troughs and drinking fountains, instituted by Quaker families in 1859 with the Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association, are reminders of the time when animals were driven into London for sale at Smithfield Market. Often located at places in which the road was wider, thus allowing for animals to be gathered, they benefited oxen, horses, and sheep, although the aim of the Association also encompassed people, namely the 'wayfaring and working classes' working in the 'dry and dusty streets' of London.¹⁵ Extant fountains such as the one in Regent's Park with its water buffalo design, or the first fountain to be created, in the wall on St Sepulchre's church near Smithfield, are potential reminders of the attempts to create an understanding of animal welfare by drawing together animals and humans in their need for fresh water.¹⁶

A living — or dead — animal presence was responsible for the distinctive character of different parts of the city; as the Animal Studies Group collection *Killing Animals* has recently suggested, 'The killing of animals is a structural feature of all human–animal relations.'¹⁷ Dead animal bodies defined much of Bermondsey.¹⁸ Their skins and carcasses were 'processed' in the warehouses, tanneries, glue and size works, and Neckinger leather works. Even, as Mayhew described, dogs were involved in the trade, with their excrement, or 'pure', being collected for use in the tanneries.¹⁹ Unsurprisingly, these noxious trades were conducted away from the City.²⁰

Animals' bodies were also consumed, with much of the meat being eaten by Londoners deriving from animals led to Smithfield cattle market, sited next to the City of London. Its location on the City outskirts became a particular factor in campaigns for its abolition during the nineteenth century. As I have argued, much of the campaign for abolition stemmed from an interpretation of such acts as being inconsistent with a modern city-based society. Although campaigners were critical of the treatment of animals, seeing Smithfield as a place of 'fiend like depravity' where animals were deprived of water, food, and rest, and suffered beating, they were also aware of their own reactions.²¹ As Frances Maria Thompson, a patron of the Animal Friends' Society, explained: 'The increasing instances of cruelty in our streets have now risen to such a height that it is impossible to go any distance from home without encountering something to wound our feelings.'²² By 1855, a new live cattle market had been established in north Islington (and, by 1871, a market in Deptford exclusively for foreign live cattle). The Newgate shambles closed, and Smithfield market remained simply for dead animals. Significantly, the trade in live animals had not disappeared but was relocated to areas outside the centre of the metropolis that were less subject to widespread active human sight.²³

However, other parts of London became distinctive in promoting certain animals as objects of the gaze, most obviously with Regent's Park zoo in 1830. This complemented the first Diorama in London, opened in the corner of the park a few years before, and the Colosseum, another nearby panorama. Here, animals were incorporated into an existing space that privileged sight. Far from it being the case that zoos emerged when animals were disappearing from daily life, as John Berger has argued, many types of animal were omnipresent in the metropolis.²⁴ However, distinctions were made between animals who became a focus of the human gaze in a zoo or domestic setting and those who were 'working animals'. By the later nineteenth century, there were also public sites in which dead animals could be mourned, and in which they could be commemorated in a positive light as individual beings, rather

than as metaphors. The Hyde Park graveyard, the first public pet graveyard in the modern Western world, was set up in 1881, and was followed by Hartsdale in the state of New York in 1896, and Asnieres sur Seine outside Paris in 1899.²⁵

Here, human forms of memorial — gravestones or little tombs — were used to commemorate an animal's passing. The space for such public remembrance was not in consecrated ground; however, in its form, it suggested a similar approach of acknowledging the value of a life before (and after) death as used for humans. The discourse of the human gravestone, with dates of birth and death, affectionate terms regarding the dead, and occasional comments on the nature of the death, were also replicated. This included, for example, 'Balü, son of Fritz, poisoned by a cruel Swiss, Berne, 1899' in Hyde Park (Figure 1). The very genre of a memorial, of making a mark in a public landscape, suggests an emotional response. Noting that many inscriptions hoped for a reuniting after the human's death, Philip Howell has also suggested that dog cemeteries such as that in Hyde Park were infused with spiritual associations.²⁶



FIGURE 1 Hyde Park Pet Cemetery, opened 1881. Photograph taken by the author.

Heritage and representation

Features of London's landscape that were originally utilitarian or philanthropic in conception are now incorporated within modern London as traces of the past. This past, however, is more likely to be seen within the construct of heritage rather than as recognition of a former animal presence.²⁷ As Brian Graham and Peter Howard have recently reminded us, heritage is less about tangible material artefacts or other intangible forms of the past than about the meanings placed upon them and the representations that are created from them.²⁸ That is, “‘heritage’ reflects the “‘presentism’” of a more recent age’ while ‘the average city street nowadays belongs in several different “regimes of historicity” all at once’, as Patrick Wright has explored.²⁹ Certain animals started to be recognized within the heritage landscape of London, while still existing as living beings in its streets. In *Animal*, Erica Fudge has controversially stated that ‘Humans represent animals only in order to represent human power over animals.’³⁰ However, at least in terms of intentionality, this is questionable. Perhaps more tellingly in this context, Lorraine Daston and Gregg Mitman have noted that ‘Before either animal individuality or subjectivity can be imagined, an animal must be singled out as a promising prospect for anthropomorphism. We do not choose to think with any and all animals.’³¹

Diana Donald has argued that, in the nineteenth century, the merits of dogs stood in ‘symbolic antithesis to the hard-headed competitiveness and materialism that characterised the early Victorian era’. Dogs took on, she suggests, ‘an aura of history — a mythic history opposed to the values of the modern world’.³² The fashion developed of commissioning sculptures of favourite pet dogs, and also of erecting statues of famous owners with their dogs in public places.³³ Statues of dogs were invariably in the form of one sculptural piece presenting a loyal animal accompanying its owner.³⁴ However, such depictions explicitly emphasized the human–animal relationship, drawing on the metaphorical concept of loyalty in dogs: these were not defined as animals with a distinctive identity.³⁵ The animal became important not because of its own actions, but because of its relationship with a human being, who had some status that transferred to the animal. The sculpture of Lord Byron and his Newfoundland dog, Boatswain, unveiled in 1880 and now located near Hyde Park in Park Lane, was typical of this genre. This statue by Richard Belt, erected through public subscription in 1881, and placed on rosso antic marble donated by the Greek government, worked on the assumption that Boatswain was ‘known’; however, the inscription on the base refers only to the poet.³⁶

Different forms of animal representation in London

During the first decades of the twentieth century, different forms of animal representation developed. One trend was the use of generic animals to represent people who had campaigned for animal welfare. Thus, a memorial bird bath by Charles James Pibworth, unveiled in the public gardens on Cheyne Walk in 1933, remembered the work of Margaret Damer Dawson, the founder of the first women’s police service and an enthusiastic anti-vivisectionist, who lived nearby.³⁷ In 1937, Alice Drakoules, the treasurer of the Humanitarian League and an early supporter of the League for the Prohibition of Cruel Sports, was commemorated near her Regent’s Park home in St John’s Wood churchyard by a birdbath sitting on top of friezes of various animals,



FIGURE 2 Bird bath and memorial to Alice Drakoules, St John's Wood churchyard, 1937. Photograph taken by the author.

including a fox, a stag, a squirrel, a horse, a cat, a dog, and a heron (Figure 2), coming within the purview of the organizations' work.³⁸

In similar vein, the 'Protecting the Defenceless' bronze statue of a shepherdess and lamb by Charles Leonard Hartwell in the gardens of St John's Lodge in Regent's Park recalled the work of novelist Gertrude Colmore and her husband Harold Baillie-Weaver, founders of the National Council for Animals' Welfare and activists in the Animal Defence and Anti-Vivisection Society, National Canine Defence League, and the Our Dumb Friends League.³⁹ More controversially Jacob Epstein's Rima frieze and birdbath in memory of William Henry Hudson in Hyde Park was commissioned by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, of which Hudson had been a former chair. Denounced by the *Daily Mail* as 'hideous, unnatural, un-English and essentially unhealthy', it was described in Parliament as an example of Bolshevick art and daubed with swastikas in the 1930s.⁴⁰ In such instances, animals were being employed representationally to praise the acts of human beings, albeit of people who did intervene positively within the public domain on their behalf. However, animals were employed generically, and in their representational function their 'animality' became obliterated.

After World War I, a second theme, of representation of animals in warfare, developed.⁴¹ Memorials such as the Cavalry Memorial in Hyde Park or the Camel Corps Memorial in the Embankment Gardens privileged humans in the visual motifs.

In Adrian Jones' Hyde Park work, the metaphorical St George and dragon are visually more important than the actual horses used in battle depicted in the frieze below. Similarly, in the small Embankment Gardens memorial, it is the men who are noted in the lists of campaigns, rather than the camels that transported them.⁴² In different vein was the frieze on the façade of the Kilburn Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA) building by F. Brook Hitch (Figure 3), whose work included statues of Charles Wesley in Bristol, Matthew Flinders in Adelaide, and Nelson in Portsmouth.⁴³

Elephants, horses, dogs and even trench mice are represented: animals are to the fore. The accompanying plaques record 484,143 horses, mules, camels and bullocks and hundreds of dogs, carrier pigeons and other creatures who died, and the role of the RSPCA in tending for 725,216 sick and wounded animals. While anthropomorphic sentiments are expressed in the judgement that animals possessing 'love, faith and loyalty [...] died for us', nevertheless the plaques argued that animal suffering and death should be commemorated in practical ways by people 'showing kindness and consideration to living animals'. As a journalist commented with regard to this memorial on Remembrance Day 1934, 'there was a war memorial in London yesterday beside which no vast armistice crowds gathered, which few passers-by saluted, but which brought a pang of pity and remembrance to those who chanced to pause beside it'.⁴⁴ This memorial, standing as an 'alternative to imposed orthodoxy or officially sanctioned versions of historical reality',⁴⁵ was not erected in a site of political or national war remembrance. Its location was on a building that (still) functions as a place for animal health; rather than acting as a site of memory, the frieze and plaques act as descriptors of the role of the organization running the clinic.⁴⁶ Although animals are incorporated into forms of public commemoration in the post-World War I period, they are simultaneously ignored in sites of national remembrance. In Parliament Square, Whitehall, or Victoria Embankment Gardens,



FIGURE 3 Frieze on Kilburn RSPCA building, F. Brook Hitch, 1934. Photograph taken by the author.

there are no images of specific animals as participants in warfare to complement those of military or political figures.

A third development in the late twentieth (and early twenty-first) century has been the representation of named individual animals, to create interest in dead national figures. In such ventures, the ‘animality’ of the animal has been both emphasized to create a difference from the human and simultaneously used to create interest and empathy towards the human being represented.

Thus Hodge, a cat who lived with Samuel Johnson, was sculpted outside Johnson’s house in Gough Square, off Fleet Street, where Johnson lived between 1749 and 1759 while compiling his dictionary (Figure 4). Johnson was known to oppose cruelty to animals, including vivisection, which he defined as perpetrated ‘by a race of men that have practised tortures without pity’.⁴⁷ Hodge did exist, although there are no contemporary images of the cat.⁴⁸ Although Johnson had owned other cats who he had liked better, Hodge was, he declared, ‘a very fine cat, a very fine cat indeed’. Johnson also personally purchased oysters for the cat, since he did not wish the servants



FIGURE 4 Hodge, Gough Square, Jon Bickley, 1997. Photograph taken by the author.

to have that ‘trouble’ and thus ‘take a dislike to the poor creature’.⁴⁹ Hodge was sculpted sitting upon a dictionary next to an oyster shell by Jon Bickley in 1997. There is an attempt at ‘authenticity’ and individuality through the inclusion of the oyster shell; however, Bickley used Thomas Henry, his own feline companion, as a model.⁵⁰

This public sculpture of an individual cat sitting on his own values an individual cat as a named being possessing a distinctive identity. But the public sculpture of a cat during the period that it is intended to capture was anachronistic. Traditionally, cats had been used representationally, for example in Renaissance art, as a symbol of laziness and lust, or seen as a witch’s peculiar.⁵¹ Even well into the nineteenth century they tended to get at best a description as ‘useful’ in deterring rats and mice, and at worst a characterization, as in an RSPCA pamphlet of 1857, of not being reliable.⁵² There are particular reasons for Hodge sitting alone on the plinth, as Jon Bickley has discussed: ‘I made Hodge about shoulder height for the average adult, which is just about right for putting an arm around.’⁵³ This potential for human engagement is key to understanding the rationale for ‘Hodge’, which met the City of London’s goal of having a statue with which visitors could connect and engage. This had not been deemed possible through a depiction of Johnson. The Dr Johnson’s House Trust had considered putting up a monument in Gough Square for some time, and had toyed with the idea of a pillar with Johnson’s sayings.⁵⁴ However, ‘Hodge’ resulted from the initiative of Ann Pembroke, Deputy to the Corporation of London, and the City’s representative on the Trust. She declared at the opening ceremony that ‘Hodge’ would ‘encourage interest in the story of Dr Johnson, and will act as a focal point for his life and works, especially among the young’.⁵⁵ Simultaneously, Hodge is being acknowledged as an individual with a particular feline identity and his individuality is being denied. While there is no adjacent visual depiction of Johnson, although on the base of the statue the relationship with Johnson is explained, ‘Hodge’ cannot exist without Johnson, and certainly the rationale for his depiction is to add value — and interest — to Johnson for a new generation, not to give value to cats. Although Johnson’s attitude towards animals was known, in an earlier postwar guidebook of the property there is no mention of the cat Hodge.⁵⁶ The sculpture can be seen as an attempt to re-read the value of the presence of a cat in the past; it might also be read in the context of a late twentieth-century obsession with both commemoration and pets.⁵⁷

Another eighteenth-century human figure to be reinvented for modern Londoners has been the painter William Hogarth. A realist portrayal of the painter and his pug dog Trump by the sculptor Jim Mathieson⁵⁸ was unveiled in Chiswick High Road by Ian Hislop and David Hockney, patron of the Hogarth Millennium Fund, in 2001, nearly 240 years after the painter’s death in 1764 (Figure 5). Hogarth’s concern for animals and their welfare was depicted in various works, most famously ‘The Four Stages of Cruelty’ of 1751.⁵⁹ In creating this series of engravings, his intention was to correct ‘the barbarous treatment of animals’. Hogarth stated that if the engravings succeeded in producing such an effect, ‘I am more proud of having been the author, than I should be for having painted Raphael’s cartoons.’⁶⁰ Hogarth was known to have lived with at least three different pugs, and Trump had been portrayed both by the sculptor Roubiliac in a work commissioned by Hogarth, and in a self-portrait by the painter in 1745.⁶¹



FIGURE 5 Hogarth and Trump, Chiswick High Road, Jim Mathieson, 2001. Photograph taken by the author.

This new work could be said to portray an individual dog with some apparent authenticity. The statue, commissioned by the Chiswick Traders' Association, was paid for by public subscription, but Trump was not included within the original design. Subsequently, additional funds were raised to include the dog, on the grounds that Trump would 'serve to symbolise [Hogarth's] humanity'.⁶² The dog is not an abstract symbol of fidelity and, unlike Boatswain's depiction in Park Lane, is apparently lifelike. It is important that the dog is a dog: 'dogginess' is juxtaposed to positive qualities of being human. The contrast enhances the 'humanness' of the painter. While we are shown a sculpture of an individual dog — thereby giving the dog some public 'status' — simultaneously he is being represented because of his subordinate status to a human being. His visibility is both present and absent in the very construction of the piece.⁶³ As Ian Leith has commented with regard to postwar sculpture in London, the works tell us more about contemporary taste than 'purely aesthetic merit'.⁶⁴

A fourth trend in animal representation in London in recent times can be illustrated by two statues of named cats. These are not animals connected with well-known national or London-wide figures. They form neither part of official heritage, as was the case with 'Hodge', nor ways of reworking a past to engage Londoners

in the present. These act as memorials. Statues of Humphrey and Sam were both sited in Queen Square in Bloomsbury, a distinctive location surrounded by various institutions, including the Art Workers' Guild, the National Hospital for Neurology, the Royal London Homeopathic Hospital, the former Italian hospital, and the Mary Ward adult education centre.

Humphrey the cat (1973–1992) had lived at the Mary Ward adult education centre (hence his name Humphrey, as in Mrs Humphrey Ward, the *nom de plume* of Mary Ward). He was depicted sitting upright, and his statue was erected in the centre of the square (Figure 6). The sculptor was Marcia Solway, who attended sculpture classes at the Mary Ward centre; this was her first and only complete sculpture. Solway, a lifetime sufferer from epilepsy, had also attended the National Hospital regularly. She died aged 34 years in 1992. The work was donated by Carole Solway, the sculptor's mother; building work was undertaken by Camden council. Erected with the approval of the Trustees of the Square, it was unveiled in 1997 by the mayor of Camden.⁶⁵ The Trustees, however, soon changed their minds about their decision to locate the cat opposite the statue of Queen Charlotte.⁶⁶ They required 'Humphrey' to be removed, since this central location was the favoured site, in April



FIGURE 6 Humphrey, Old Gloucester Street (formerly in Queen Square), Carole Solway, 1997. Photograph taken by the author.

2001, of a sculpture donated by Great Ormond Street hospital of ‘Mother and Child’ by Patricia Finch. ‘Humphrey’ was then relocated to the then derelict Alf Barrett playground in nearby Old Gloucester Street. Once playground restoration works had taken place, the site, now incorporating ‘Humphrey’, was reopened in 2003 by the former mayor, who had previously unveiled Humphrey during his mayoral year.⁶⁷ ‘Humphrey’, like ‘Hodge’, is a statue of a real, named, cat, and of a cat who had recently died. However, although the cat was apparently well liked at the Mary Ward centre, he is not there in his own right, but as the object of the sculptor’s hands, and it is a memorial to *her*. At the very moment when he is publicly ‘recognized’, his identity is subsumed into that of a human. The process of the making of the statue (and its association with different features of the Square) is key to the intended reading. Moreover, while the local council was apparently happy for the sculpture to be included on its land, the local trustees were not and changed their minds, saying that the location was inappropriate for the cat. The very presence of this statue in the centre of the square was deemed to be inappropriate — a corner site being offered and rejected.

Less contentious has been the bronze figure of Sam, also a real cat, who lived with Patricia Penn, descending a brick wall (Figure 7). It is hidden in the south-west corner of Queen Square within the shrub beds. Sculpted by John Fuller, who worked from photographs of Sam, it was unveiled in February 2002. Patricia Penn, known as Penny, was active in the residents’ association and had campaigned to save buildings in the area. Again, the place is important, since she — and the cat — lived nearby. Sam is an individual cat, but one depicted to stand in for a human. Apparently, when Penny wanted to reveal something or spread an idea, she would say ‘Sam has heard’ or ‘Sam has had an idea’. However, this information is not on the accompanying plaque; there is simply the epithet ‘Sam donated by the local community in affectionate memory of Patricia Penn (Penny) champion of local causes and cat lover’.⁶⁸ We cannot read the particulars of this animal–human relationship from the iconography itself. Instead, Sam becomes a metonym for Penny. Although a real cat is privileged in the design, in this process he also becomes a representation of a human.

Grand narrative and animal commemoration

The ‘Animals in war’ memorial, at the cost of £1.4 million, is the biggest and most ambitious to date of memorials attempting to represent the animal–human relationship (Figure 8). Graeme Davison has argued that ‘while a statue may seem mute compared with a movie or a website it is also more fixed and durable. By its very solidity and permanence it is a quiet protest against all those other powerful, omnipresent but ephemeral forms of remembering’.⁶⁹ This observation is apposite here, since it also begs the question of what (certain) humans are choosing to remember about animals — and themselves. Given widespread support from animal-focused organizations, including the Battersea Dogs’ Home, RSPCA, People’s Dispensary for Sick Animals, American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, International Fund for Animal Welfare, World Society for the Protection of Animals, Blue Cross, Irish Terrier Association, Kennel Club, and Amalgamation of Racing Pigeons, and individuals such as Jilly Cooper and Andrew Parker Bowles, the memorial was unveiled in Park Lane in November 2004. Bronze animal figures sculpted by David Backhouse are set against a Portland stone slab with inscriptions and a frieze,



FIGURE 7 Sam, Queen Square, John Fuller, 2002. Photograph taken by the author.

redolent of earlier designs such as that on the Kilburn RSPCA building, that includes images of birds, elephants, camels, and dogs. The bronze figures are of two laden, weary-looking donkeys and a larger-than-life horse and dog.⁷⁰ The design is thus reminiscent of forms of war memorialization from some 70 years previously; the recent use of dogs, for example, in Afghanistan to find mines is not emphasized. As Christopher Tilley has commented, ‘A symbolic return to the past often acts as a retreat from the uncertainties of the present.’⁷¹

The memorial is located neither in a conventional place of war memory, say in Whitehall or parts of Hyde Park, nor in a square or gardens. The Public Art Advisory Panel of Westminster Council originally had ‘significant reservations upon the quality of the proposed sculpture’, which was considered to be of insufficiently ‘high quality for this prestigious location’: it is on a traffic island in the middle of a busy thoroughfare with the junction of Upper Brook Street.⁷² It is in a very ‘public’ place, but not in a place of spectacle, or in a place for ‘looking’. Unlike on recent war memorials, most notably the Armed Forces Memorial at the National Memorial Arboretum in Alrewas, no names of the recent dead are inscribed, and nor are figures

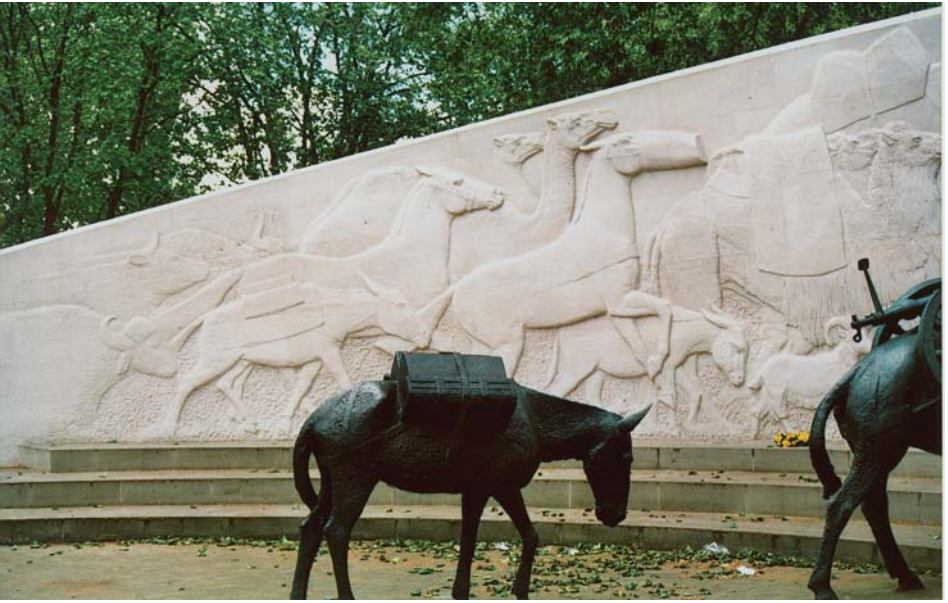


FIGURE 8 Animals in War Memorial, Park Lane, David Backhouse, 2004. Photograph taken by the author.

given.⁷³ While possessing the permanence that Davison has lauded, this is not an obvious site of memory. The memorial is intended to cross time in remembering animals directly engaged in warfare — on the allies' side.⁷⁴ The epithets on the memorial are written in the past tense:

Many and various animals were employed to support British and allied forces in wars and campaigns over the centuries and as a result millions died. From the pigeon to the elephant they all played a vital role in every region of the world in the cause of human freedom. Their contribution must not be forgotten.

Also noted is the role of animals who 'served and died' alongside 'British and allied forces'. No human is depicted on the memorial, but there is the explicit statement that animals played their part in obtaining 'human freedom' (although not, of course, animal freedom). The sentiment is also expressed that 'They had no choice'. The effect of anthropomorphism here, while acknowledging an animal presence, detracts from questioning the role of humans in bringing animals into war. In discussing the memorial, Jonathan Burt has argued that the words 'They had no choice' are 'wholly inappropriate'. 'Choice', he has argued, 'with its all-too-human connotations of individualism and consumption is not a word one would use for animals even when they act freely, and it raises disconcerting questions about whether some beings are more deserving of sympathy than others.'⁷⁵ Even more critically, George Monbiot has criticized war memorials to animals, writing that 'the emphasis given to animals' suffering in war highlights a failure to acknowledge the suffering of human beings'. Focusing on the motto on the Park Lane memorial 'They had no choice', he has stated, 'Nor did the civilians killed in Iraq [...] You would scour this country in vain for a monument to any of them.' This line of argument leads Monbiot to

conclude that commemoration of animals in war has led to a ‘Disneyfication’ of warfare.⁷⁶ The memorial does not challenge assumptions about humans or animals. If ‘the mark of a more civilised society is the way in which a society displays its humanity’, and ‘the appearance and treatment of the animal body becomes a barometer for the moral health of the nation’,⁷⁷ then this memorial suggests a lack of sustained thought about the reality of the animal–human relationship.

Conclusion

There is still a public living animal presence in the city, visibly dominated by birds, foxes, squirrels, domestic pets, and rats.⁷⁸ There is also the ‘hidden’ presence of animals killed in laboratories and slaughterhouses, whose bodies are routinely sold for food and clothing. In some ways, this makes representation more, rather than less, important. An acknowledgement of the existence of animal representation does not tell us about animals, but how (certain) humans see themselves in relation to (certain) animals. As Diana Donald has commented, ‘Like our ancestors, we are capable of viewing animals both as fellow-beings who share our self-awareness and capacity for suffering and as objects to be used as meat, experimental material, or sources of products required by the human race.’ This does not mean rejecting an analysis, however, of animal representation. Instead, Donald argues that only by the ‘interrogation of history, bringing together the “worlds of imagination and action” can we comprehend our treatment of animals “as a whole”’.⁷⁹ As Steve Baker has suggested, representation of animals should not be ditched; rather, there should be an ‘ongoing project of modifying cultural representations’ of animals.⁸⁰ We also need to acknowledge and analyse the representations that *do* exist.

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Notes

¹ R. S. R. Fitter, *London’s Natural History* (1945, 1990); I. Green, *Wild London. The Nature of a Capital* (Crowborough, 2005).

² Exceptions include: M. Jenner, ‘The Great Dog Massacre’, in W. G. Naphy and P. Roberts (eds), *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester, 1997); J. Blaisdell, ‘The Rise of Man’s Best Friend. The Popularity of Dogs as Companion Animals in Late C18th London as Reflected in the Dog Tax of 1796’, *Anthrozoos*, 12:2 (1999), 76–87; M. B. McMullan, ‘The Day the Dogs Died in London’, *London Journal*, 23:1 (1998), 32–40; E. Griffith, ‘Inside and Outside. Animal Activity and the Red Bull Playhouse, St

John Street’, in M. Senior (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Enlightenment* (Oxford, 2007); and P. Howell, ‘Flush and the Banditti. Dog-stealing in Victorian London’, in C. Philo and C. Wilbert (eds), *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places. New Geographies of Human–Animal Relations* (2000), 35–55.

³ See discussion of the old — and new — statue in H. Kean, ‘An Exploration of the Sculptures of Greyfriars Bobby, Edinburgh, Scotland and the Old Brown Dog in Battersea, South London, England’, *Society and Animals: Journal of Human–Animal Studies*, 11:4 (2003), 353–73. Also see: P. Mason, *The Brown*

- Dog Affair. The Story of a Monument that Divided the Nation* (1997); and C. Lansbury, *The Old Brown Dog. Women, Workers and Vivisection in Edwardian England* (1985).
- ⁴ P. Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture of the City of London* (Liverpool, 2003); J. Blackwood, *London's Immortals. The Complete Outdoor Commemorative Statues* (1989).
- ⁵ Blue Cross, *Animals in Art. A Celebration of Animals through the Eyes of Artists from Stubbs to Hockney*, exhibition catalogue (1995); R. Upstone (ed.), *Modern Painters. The Camden Town Group* (2008); M. Galinou and J. Hayes, *London in Paint. Oil Paintings in the Collection at the Museum of London* (1996); J. Uglow, *Hogarth: A Life and a World* (1997).
- ⁶ D. Donald, "Beastly Sights": The Treatment of Animals as a Moral Theme in Representations of London c.1820–1850', *Art History*, 22:4 (1999), 514–44; J. H. Rubin, *Impressionist Cats and Dogs. Pets in the Painting of Modern Life* (2003).
- ⁷ See, for example: J. Barber, "A Field Near the Town": Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens 1630–1945, as seen in Contemporary Accounts', *Westminster History Review*, 3 (1999), 39–48; and D. Hayes, 'Mission and Suspicion at King's Cross: The London Cabmen's Mission, 1871–c. 1910', *Camden History Review*, 21 (1997), 25–9. See also popular works such as: H. Clunn, *The Face of London*, 5th edn (1934); H. V. Morton's *London* (1940); *Edwardian London*, vols 3 and 4 (1990).
- ⁸ Donald, 'Beastly Sights', 513.
- ⁹ H. Kean, *Animal Rights. Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (2000), 39–69.
- ¹⁰ J. Burt, *Animals in Film* (2002), 35.
- ¹¹ K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (1983), 301.
- ¹² C. Wilbert, 'What is Doing the Killing? Animal Attacks, Man-Eaters, and Shifting Boundaries and Flows of Human–Animal Relations', in Animal Studies Group, *Killing Animals* (Chicago, Ill., 2006), 35.
- ¹³ S. Hinchliffe, M. Kearnes, M. Degen and S. Whatmore, 'Urban Wild Things: A Cosmopolitical Experiment', *Environment and Planning D. Society and Space*, 23 (2005), 643.
- ¹⁴ It is situated at the junction of Herbrand Street and Colonnade. Architect James Burton, who also built the Veterinary College in St Pancras, built it in 1797. The Horse Hospital was redeveloped after 1860, and is now a grade II listed arts centre [R. K. Burton, *The Horse Hospital* (2002)].
- ¹⁵ Eighth Annual Report, Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association, 1866–7, London Metropolitan Archives (ACC/3168/018). The association was promoting temperance among people and a clean water supply through practical means as much as alleviating the particular distress of animals (Kean, *Animal Rights*, 54–8).
- ¹⁶ The fountain in Regent's Park was presented by Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, a wealthy Parsee from Bombay, and was opened by Princess Mary, Duchess of Teck.
- ¹⁷ 'Introduction', in Animal Studies Group, *Killing Animals*, 4.
- ¹⁸ A trace of former trade can be seen in the seal relief of c. 1869 on the gateway of the former Alaska factory in Grange Road, now converted into flats.
- ¹⁹ P. Quennell (ed.), *Mayhew's London. Selections from London Labour and the London Poor* (1969, first published 1851), 306–14.
- ²⁰ Clunn, *The Face of London*, 273–6.
- ²¹ E. Coltman, *Cursory Remarks on the Evil Tendency of Unrestrained Cruelty, Particularly on that Practised in Smithfield Market* (1823), 11–14, 23; Kean, *Animal Rights*, 58–64.
- ²² Letter from Frances Maria Thompson, *Voice of Humanity*, 1 (1830–1833), 37.
- ²³ See J. Burt, 'Conflicts around Slaughter in Modernity', in Animal Studies Group, *Killing Animals*, 131.
- ²⁴ J. Berger, 'Why Look at Animals?', in *About Looking* (1980), 1, 19–20.
- ²⁵ H. Kean, 'Balto, the Alaskan Dog and His Statue in New York's Central Park: Animal Representation and National Heritage', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 15:5 (2009), 416–19; H. Kean, 'The Moment of Greyfriars Bobby. The Changing Cultural Position of Animals, 1800–1920', in K. Kete (ed.), *A Cultural History of Animals*, vol. 5: *In the Age of Empire* (Oxford, 2007), 31–3.
- ²⁶ P. Howell, 'A Place for the Animal Dead. Pets, Pet Cemeteries and Animal Ethics in Late Victorian Britain', *Ethics, Place and Environment*, 5:1 (2002), 5–22.
- ²⁷ As noted above, the new statue of the Old Brown Dog, on a path adjacent to the old English garden in Battersea Park, is a commemoration of neither an actually existing vivisected dog, such as a beagle, nor of a political moment. The dog and its stance have changed from a defiant vivisected dog to a pet dog of the sculptor cocking its ear to the absent human. It has become a heritage piece. See Kean, 'An Exploration of the Sculptures', 366–8.
- ²⁸ B. Graham and P. Howard, 'Introduction', in B. Graham and P. Howard (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (Aldershot, 2008), 2.
- ²⁹ P. Wright, Preface, *On Living in an Old Country. The National Past in Contemporary Britain*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2009), xviii–xix.
- ³⁰ E. Fudge, *Animal* (2002), 152.
- ³¹ L. Daston and G. Mitman, 'Introduction', in L. Daston and G. Mitman (eds), *Thinking with Animals. New Perspectives on Anthropomorphism* (New York, 2005), 11.
- ³² D. Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain 1750–1850* (2007), 139.

- ³³ M. Craske, 'Representations of Domestic Animals in Britain 1730–1840', in J. Wood and S. Feeke (eds), *Hounds in Leash: The Dog in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Sculpture* (Leeds, 2000), 41–2; Blackwood, *London's Immortals*, 124–5.
- ³⁴ Craske, 'Representations of Domestic Animals in Britain 1730–1840'.
- ³⁵ This form was challenged by the erection of a statue of Greyfriars Bobby in Edinburgh in 1873. This was the first public monument, in Britain at least, to portray a 'real' animal on his own (Kean, 'The Moment of Greyfriars Bobby', 41).
- ³⁶ Boatswain had died of rabies in 1808 — some 18 years before Byron, who died of fever while campaigning with the Greek forces for independence from Turkey. Byron had intended to be buried in Newstead Abbey, his ancestral home, alongside the dog. See C. Kenyon-Jones, *Kindred Brutes: Animals in Romantic-period Writing* (Aldershot, 2001), 11ff.
- ³⁷ Kean, *Animal Rights*, 159; Public Monument and Sculpture Association National Recording Project, <http://pmsa.ech.kcl.ac.uk/CL/CLKC006.htm> (accessed 18 Feb 2010); A. Byron, *London Statues* (1981), 335.
- ³⁸ A. M. Drakoules, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50748> (accessed 18 Feb 2010).
- ³⁹ G. Baillie-Weaver, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55694> (accessed 18 Feb 2010).
- ⁴⁰ J. Rose, *Daemons and Angels. A Life of Jacob Epstein* (2002), 137–9; W. H. Hudson, *Birds in London* (1898); W. H. Hudson, *Green Mansions. A Romance of the Tropical Forest* (1967, first published 1904).
- ⁴¹ The genre of troughs commemorating the deaths of horses and mules in the Boer War was found outside London, for example in Burstow, Surrey and Mar-tock, Somerset, as well as in Port Elizabeth in South Africa. During the nineteenth century, there were various representations of Wellington, often with his horse Copenhagen, although the one outside the Royal Exchange, by Francis Chantrey and completed by Henry Weekes, erected in 1844, was modelled on a horse used in a statue of George IV (Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture*, 330–4).
- ⁴² There were problems finding a site for the Camel Corps Memorial, since it was small in size and could be dwarfed by other statues (TNA, PRO 20/134), Earle to Winterton 18 Dec 1919, as discussed in S. Heathorn, 'The Civil Servant and Public Remembrance: Sir Lionel Erle and the Shaping of London's Commemorative Landscape, 1918–33', *Twentieth Century British History*, 19:3 (2008), 278.
- ⁴³ Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture*, 465.
- ⁴⁴ A reference in the *People* as quoted in J. Burt, 'Reviews: The Animals' War Exhibition', *History Today* (October 2006), 71.
- ⁴⁵ M. Frisch, *A Shared Authority. Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral History* (Albany, N.Y., 1990), xxiii.
- ⁴⁶ It also functions, of course, as a site of animal death. The RSPCA provided services on the battlefields of France alongside the Blue Cross, Purple Cross, and Animal Defence and Anti-Vivisection Society. Its description of its role in the war was thus also a comment on its own status as compared with other organizations.
- ⁴⁷ S. Johnson, 'From a Note on Cymbeline iv', as printed in G. B. Hill (ed.) (revised), L. F. Powell, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1864), vol. 4, Appendix J, 516.
- ⁴⁸ The word Hodge dates back to Chaucer as a name for an English agricultural labourer, suggesting that, at least in appearance, this was a rather ordinary cat.
- ⁴⁹ Hill, *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, vol. 4, 197.
- ⁵⁰ Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture*, 151.
- ⁵¹ G. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York, 1966), 14; Rubin, *Impressionist Cats and Dogs*, 18–19.
- ⁵² 'Even in her best mood she is not always to be depended on': RSPCA, *Domestic Animals and their Treatment* (1857), 64. The most famous London cat was arguably the companion of Dick Whittington. Although the stories date back to the turn of the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries, Whittington's cat in stone was not added to the Highgate Hill stone until 1964 (Byron, *London Statues*, 344).
- ⁵³ http://www.levenger.com/press/lpfeatures_hodge.asp (accessed 20 Mar 2009).
- ⁵⁴ Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture*, 151.
- ⁵⁵ Ward-Jackson, *Public Sculpture*, 151.
- ⁵⁶ Dr Johnson's House Trust, *Johnson's House. Gough Square* (n.d.).
- ⁵⁷ E. Fudge, *Pets* (2008), 108–9.
- ⁵⁸ Although this is a realist portrayal, according to his obituary the artist's focus and love was his abstract work. 'I am basically a naturalist', he said, 'who reduces human, animal and plant forms to arrive at an essence of an idea that transcends realism.' V. Bott, 'Obituary Jim Mathieson: Sculptor Searching for the Essence of People, Animals and Plants', *Guardian* (24 Apr 2003).
- ⁵⁹ E. S. Turner, *All Heaven in a Rage*, revised edition (Fontwell, 1992), 51–3; L. Kalof, *Looking at Animals in Human History* (2007), 128–36.
- ⁶⁰ J. Bowyer Nichols, *Anecdotes of William Hogarth* (1833), 64–5, as quoted in Donald, 'Beastly Sights', 526.
- ⁶¹ M. Pinault Sorensen, 'Portraits of Animals, 600–1800', in Senior, *A Cultural History*, 181; Uglow, *Hogarth*, 344. According to Gibson, in this painting Trump became 'in a sense Hogarth's alter ego': R. Gibson, *The Face in the Corner, Animals in Portraits from the Collections of the National Portrait Gallery* (1998), 16–17. (The painting is now in Tate Britain.)

- ⁶² Chiswick Traders' Association. <http://www.chiswickw4.com/default.asp?section=info&page=chogarth7.htm> (accessed 16 Feb 2009).
- ⁶³ The addition of a cat in the sculpture 'Dr Salter's Daydream' also gives a different reading of the human subject. Commissioned by the LDDC in 1990–1991 and located since 2003 near the Angel public house alongside Cherry Garden pier, this sculpture by Diane Gorvin consists of three figures designed to be read together: Dr Salter, the local doctor and then Labour MP for Bermondsey in the 1920s, sitting on a bench; a child, his daughter Joyce, standing by the wall overlooking the Thames; and a cat sitting on the wall. Salter had lived locally, having married Ada, and their only child Joyce was born in 1902. Despite their relative wealth, they deliberately sent their daughter to the local school: she twice caught scarlet fever and recovered, and on the third occasion, in 1910, did not. The idea was to show Dr Salter in old age remembering his young daughter Joyce when she was still alive. It was seen as important to celebrate someone who had been so significant to the local community. Although the daughter is mentioned in various books and articles about Salter, the cat is not. It is not just that Salter becomes more engaging because of the cat, but that the cat's inclusion detracts from modern fears of men looking at children. He is not a paedophile. The child, because of her dress, may look like a child of another era; however, the cat is used as an image 'across time', bringing the past into the present, suggesting some sense of domesticity (and safety). We are encouraged to relate positively to the 'set of representations' because we believe that we can read the cat.
- ⁶⁴ I. Leith, 'Post-war Sculpture in London', in A. Guest and R. McKenzie (eds), *Dangerous Ground. Sculpture in the City* (Edinburgh, 1999), 53.
- ⁶⁵ Correspondence from Carole Solway to the author, 8 Mar 2002.
- ⁶⁶ There is some debate about whether the statue is of Queen Charlotte or Queen Anne. See F. Draper, 'Queen Anne or Queen Charlotte?', *Home Counties Magazine*, 13 (1911), 142–5, in Ephemera file 53.5, Holborn Local Studies Library.
- ⁶⁷ 'Playground Opening a Tribute to Alf's Vision', *Camden New Journal* (16 Oct 2003). News cutting file 27.8, Alf Barrett Playground, Holborn Local Studies Library.
- ⁶⁸ Letter from M. Pountney, chair of Rugby and Harpur Residents' Association, to R. Knight, 26 Jan 2002, in Ephemera File 53.5, Holborn Local Studies Library.
- ⁶⁹ G. Davison, *The Use and Abuse of Australian History* (St Leonards, New South Wales, 2000), 55.
- ⁷⁰ The council minutes imply that the size of the figures is to deter acts of vandalism. Planning Applications Sub-committee, Westminster City Council, 14 Sep 2000 and 21 Dec 2000.
- ⁷¹ C. Tilley, 'Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage', *Journal of Material Culture*, 11:1/2 (2006), 14.
- ⁷² Planning Applications Sub-committee, Westminster City Council, 14 Sep 2000 and 21 Dec 2000.
- ⁷³ The Armed Forces Memorial at the National Memorial Arboretum inscribes the names of all human British service men and women to have died in warfare since World War II. They are grouped by dates and places (and thus conflicts) rather than by letters of the alphabet. There are many blank walls waiting to receive further names. 'Remember. Their names will live for evermore. *The National Memorial Arboretum. Your guide*' (Alrewas, n.d.), 20–5. Many regiments give names to mascots, and recent accounts, for example of dogs working with soldiers in Afghanistan, also define them by name.
- ⁷⁴ There are no references to animals recently used, such as pigs killed in experiments at Porton Down, although this issue is routinely raised at the annual Remembrance Day services held at the memorial.
- ⁷⁵ Burt, 'Reviews', 71.
- ⁷⁶ G. Monbiot, 'The Disneyfication of War Allows us to Ignore its Real Savagery', *Guardian* (24 Oct 2006), 31.
- ⁷⁷ Burt, *Animals in Film*, 36.
- ⁷⁸ See, for example: J. Burt, *Rat* (2006); and G. Bhat-tacharya, 'Rats with Wings: London's Battle with Animals', in J. Kerr and A. Gibson (eds), *London from Punk to Blair* (2003), 213–20.
- ⁷⁹ Donald, *Picturing Animals*, 305. See also R. Broglio, *Technologies of the Picturesque. British Art, Poetry, and Instruments, 1750–1830* (Lewisburg, 2008), 19–27.
- ⁸⁰ S. Baker, *Picturing the Beast. Animals, Identity and Representation* (Manchester, 1993), 232.

Notes on Contributor

Hilda Kean is a tutor in history, director of an innovative MA in Public History, and Dean of Ruskin College, Oxford. She has published widely on public history and the history of London — and animals. Her books include: *London stories. Personal Lives, Public Histories* (2004); *Animal Rights: Social and Political Change in Britain since 1800* (2000); *People and their Pasts. Public History Today* (2009), edited with Paul Ashton. She (still) lives in Hackney.