Introduction: Modernity for Animals?

Abstract: *This chapter first defines Keith Thomas' concept of the human dilemma of modern life wherein people benefited materially from but were conflicted about the mass killing and exploitation of animals. It then critiques the historical literature on modernity for excluding consideration of how modern phenomena have shaped animal life, then reviews Animal Studies work on human-animal relationships in modernity, and historical literature documenting particular elements of nineteenth-century human-animal relations. Next, animal modernity is defined as a theoretical advance that addresses a broad human population to explain how people coped with Thomas' human dilemma. Thereafter, the 1880s life and material history of Jumbo the elephant provides the book's case study of animal celebrity – the apex of animal modernity – which linked modern animals to global consumerism.*

Keywords: animal history; human-animal relationships; Jumbo; Keith Thomas; modernity

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Over 30 years ago Keith Thomas wrote about the early modern advent of "human ascendancy" in England and the psychic crisis it would eventually produce. It began with the dominionist belief that God had created the landscape, plants and animals for the enjoyment and utility of man, and that they were thus responsive to mankind. Soon challenged by scientific thinkers who countered with depictions of the natural world as uncaring and independent of man's will, human exploitation of the planet only accelerated. By the pre-Victorian era, English attitudes exhibited both celebrations of human ascendancy as well as reactionary nostalgia for rural life, moves to conserve wild spaces, plants and animals, and an interest in preventing animal suffering. Thus many people find themselves in a "confused state of mind" as they struggle to reconcile protective desires with humankind's accelerating and clearly self-enriching manipulation and consumption of the natural world. This, Thomas explains, is the "human dilemma" of modern life.[1]

As a discipline, we have not yet fully explained the persistence of this dilemma since 1800, nor its central role in modernity, nor what Thomas called the "mixture of compromise and concealment [that] has so far prevented this conflict from having to be fully resolved."[2] Overwhelmingly, historians thinking about broad periodizations continue to produce scholarship securely moored in its anthropocentric-humanist traditions, placing our agency and experience at the center of analysis.[3] For instance, a recent roundtable issue of *American Historical Review* interrogating "Historians and the Question of 'Modernity' " offers excellent essays on the modern, modernity, modernization and modernism interrogated from a range of political and methodological positions.[4] Yet, none of these authors critique the historiographic uses of "modernity" and its related concepts for failing to consider our interactions with other animal species on the planet. This is no minor omission. The many phenomena we ascribe to modernity, including urbanization, industrialization, imperialism, globalization, political liberalism, consumer capitalism, the cult of the individual, the ideal of scientific impartiality, and cultural simulacra, were facilitated by the great shift in animal-human and human-animal relationships Thomas identified.[5]

To be sure, historians of environment and science have documented elements of Thomas' dilemma, for instance, the rise of conservation movements and ethical debates over human manipulation of the natural world within the elite and middle classes in the West. Similarly, historians of human ideas about and uses of animals, also drawing on Thomas,

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point out a "loss of ecological humility" over the last few centuries.[6] They certainly note the resulting rise of contradictory phenomena: scientific efforts to understand as well as exterminate animals, or development of technologies for animal experimentation, confinement, pure breeding and mass slaughter alongside burgeoning pet-keeping and animal protection movements.[7] These are all critical but isolated ingredients in the story that tell us little about why most people tolerated these paradoxes by way of the "compromise and concealment" Thomas notes. We need to think about a broader global population – one that explicitly includes nonhumans as historicized beings – and ask how the human dilemma became an almost universal component within the range of subjectivities we find in modernity.

Or, think of it this way: what has modernity meant in the lives of animals? Consider that there has been a radical transformation in global history since 1800 by which more and more people have come to relate to animals *solely in the role of consumer*. Especially in Western urban spaces, the animals people increasingly found at hand were present only for therapeutic purposes and often perceived as knowing, willing participants in human cultures (eg. racehorses, zoo and aquarium captives, and "managed" national park fauna, pet-keeping stock). As cities replaced equine labor with automobiles, rounded up feral animals and pushed food production out, the living animals upon which people relied materially became hidden from them (eg. food animals and mass-harvested sea life, laboratory animals, fur and leather-bearing stock). Two centuries of debate over the place in "our world" of species that defy the therapeutic and material categories (eg. biting insects, rats, backyard chickens, feral cats, wild hogs, urban coyotes) are the exceptions that prove how basic the consumer's interpretive paradigm has become to modern human-animal relations.

One might expect that historians of consumption and the culture industries would be well-positioned to weigh in on how animals became modern since they have documented the ways advertising, newspapers, consumer credit, department stores and commercialized leisure helped people become modern by finding meaning in an evolving consumer ethic. They have documented how citizens embraced an economy of action and belief linking personal and state progress with consumption (as much as production), and associating spectatorship and spending with self-expression and democracy.[8] However, here as well, material and figurative consumption of nonhumans goes untheorized, its

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connections to other sign posts of modernity and questions of periodization go unexamined. This inattention to the nonhuman is especially glaring within the otherwise rich historical literature analyzing crucial figures and institutions in the rise of global culture industries – premised in large part on animal display – including European zoological gardens and the venerable P. T. Barnum (a personality called "one of modernity's defining features" by James Cook). Historians in these genres have much to say about the racial, political, social, scientific and business influence of, say, the London Zoological Society or the Feejee Mermaid, but little about how it all shaped actual animal life.[9] Eric Baratay and Elisabeth Hardouin-Fugier's volume, *Zoo: A History of Zoological Gardens in the West*, is an exception here since they endeavor to document how modernity shaped animal life by, for instance, calculating the dismal longevities and death rates of zoo monkeys in Paris.[10]

At the same time, some scholars have been thinking about how modernity and the nonhuman intersect, generally with respect to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Richard Bulliet has perhaps gotten closest to theorizing animal modernity by proposing a state of "post-domesticity" for animals. Since industrialization people have rejected the physicality of many species, he explains, while seeking out entertaining simulations or spectacles of animals that functioned to help modern people come to terms with a new, creeping sense of guilt about the accelerating killing of animals and the loss of holistic contact with nonhumans.[11] Historian Harriet Ritvo, cultural critics John Berger, Akira Lippitt, Carey Wolfe, Una Chaudhuri and Jacques Derrida, and social scientists Barbara Noske and Adrian Franklin have described how modernism presents a paradox. Namely, modern subjectivities require that citizens have the ability to tolerate a ponderous and apparently uncomfortable alienation from the livingness of most species while they materially benefit from efforts to destroy nonhuman animals' autonomy through confinement and other management practices that reshape animals into expressions of human culture and capital.[12] Hence, as an example, two centuries ago pigs and ducks roamed at will in cities, towns and rural areas, and functioned simultaneously as quasi-companions connecting people to the natural world, as community cleaners/scavengers, and as meat. So, this alienation-benefit theorization explains why people today might simultaneously confine pigs and ducks in an urban petting zoo *and* in highly secure and secretive CAFO operations in rural locations, both of which serve mass consumer markets. Most recently

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Ian Miller, writing about zoos in post-1850s Japan, brings us closer to the idea of animal modernity when he argues that public display of captive animals "suggests that our notions of 'modernity' must be far more attendant to ecological factors if they hope to capture the complexity of a global transformation that is at once social and environmental."[13]

My theory of animal modernity connects the social/cultural and the environmental aspects by examining public engagement with the link between cultural/therapeutic and material uses of animals over the last two centuries through the case study of Jumbo the elephant. One way to see the origins of our current contradictory relationship with animals, and even particular species or individual animals, is to examine perhaps the most extreme manifestation of animal modernity, namely, the late nineteenth-century birth of globalized animal celebrity. Theorized fully in Chapter 1, and briefly here, I explain the modern animal celebrity as a mass-mediated wild being who papered over the human dilemma for an international audience, providing the concealment of the compromises that consumer economies required. The phenomenon of the famous and loved public animal served (and continues to serve) to normalize contradictory instances of cultural and material consumption of animals, which plague consumer societies. Modern subjectivities seem to have required many people to learn to project their desires and beliefs onto animals and animal figures as a way of overlooking the contradictions many animals actually represented. Such figurative consumption of celebrity animals as sentient individuals helped consumers find what Steve Baker, presupposing Bulliet's and Miller's thoughts on post-domesticity and ecological loss, calls "conceptual closure" or an ideological normalization of the scale and nature of human consumption of animals and the experiences of those animals.[14]

As I see it, animal modernity emerged in different places at different times, but essentially began with urbanization and industrialization, accelerating with the rise of for-profit mass media, a more egalitarian and accessible public sphere, and consumerism premised on mass harvesting and trading of animals and their parts. For many nonhuman animals, modernity was not just about changing proximity to humans, nor just about a loss of habitat or new environmental conditions caused by humans, but also unknowingly coping with life conditions shaped by global industrial capitalism.

This book visits animal modernity at a key historical moment by examining its early apex: the final few years (1882–85) of the African elephant

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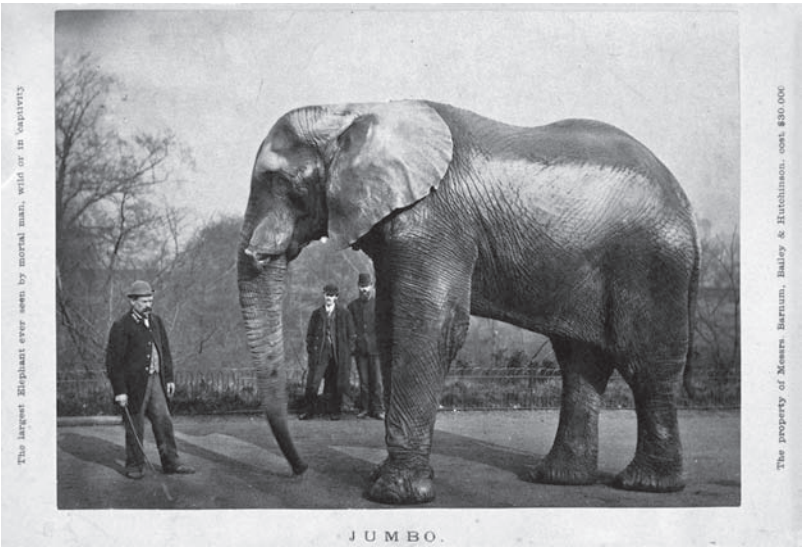

ILLUSTRATION I.1 *Jumbo with Matthew Scott in London, 1882*

known as Jumbo, and the immediate aftermath of his death. In order to piece together what the public knew about Jumbo and what they did not, I employ public records from newspapers, advertising and circus marketing materials from Canada, Britain and the US, as well as private correspondence and records produced by Jumbo's various owners and managers. The African elephant was the first international nonhuman celebrity in world history and a profoundly modern creature, whose livingness and perceived engagement with a broad consumer audience made him more relevant than the merely famous animals who had come before. He also served as a kind of nature pet, that is, a (once)-wild animal whose apparent ability to thrive in captivity offered the comforting idea that humans were honorable custodians of nature. Jumbo as nature pet also reconciled for some observers the paradox of animal modernity, in that he distracted people from the unbridled destruction of wild animals and their habitat in those years feeding the global trade in animals and their parts.[15]

At the same time, for many others, Jumbo's story only highlighted how unsettling contemporary contradictions in human-animal relations were, as the elephant literally traveled the spectrum of interconnected statuses constituting animal modernity: from autonomous wild creature

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to globalized captive and commodity, then celebrity individual whose behavior, experiences and mass reproduced image held great emotional meaning to thousands, then to raw material for taxidermists and renderers, to public relic and scientific specimen, and finally, marketing icon of innocent abundance and children's toy.

The work to include animal modernity in our periodization of global history through the life of Jumbo reveals a vivid moment in a more than two-century-long conversation, which started before the elephant was born and continues today, about the ethics of animals in entertainment and consumers' responsibility toward conservation and nature. In the early 1880s, it was a conversation that ultimately persuaded millions to hold a naively custodial attitude toward wild and exotic animals while the destruction of them and their spaces only accelerated.

Notes

1 Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 17–50, 242–303.
2 Ibid., 243, 303.
3 More than one historian has proposed that we need to question the anthropocentrism of academic history, even those ostensibly "about animals," which mostly document only human ideas about and the uses of animals. Most recently, in reference to similar thinking by Erica fudge, Hilda Kean has proposed: "Thinking in this way might lead animal–human historians not just to 'write in' animals but to re-work given frameworks. Certainly, particular historical periodization – terms such as the long nineteenth century, for instance – do not necessarily make sense in relation to animals." Kean, "Challenges for Historians Writing Animal-Human History," s65; see also Erica Fudge's various articles, especially, "What Was It Like to Be a Cow?" in Kalof, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Animal Studies*.
4 "AHR Roundtable: Historians and the Question of 'Modernity'," *American Historical Review* 115, no. 3 (June 2011).
5 See for instance, Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities," in Eisenstadt, ed., *Multiple Modernities*, 7–12. Here I additionally define modernity as a varied and uneven process according to Gluck's formulation as "a condition, historically produced over three centuries around the globe in processes of change that have note ended yet." Gluck, "The End of Elsewhere," 676.
6 Shepard, *The Others*, 194.
7 This literature is extensive and growing; for some particularly foundational/comprehensive accounts see, for instance, Bulliet, *Hunters, Herders, and Hamburgers*; Cartmill, *A View to a Death in the Morning*; Grier, *Pets in America*;

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Kalof, *Looking at Animals*; Kean, *Animal Rights*; Kete, ed., *A Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*; Loo, *States of Nature*; MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*; Ritvo, *Platypus and the Mermaid*; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*; Serpell, *In the Company of Animals*; Swart, *Riding High*.

8 Grier's work on pet-keeping could be seen as an exception to this generalization, although she does not discuss consumer interest in pets as a component of broader processes of modernization, see Grier, *Pets in America*. On consumption and advertising see, for instance, Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 7–8; Leach, *Land of Desire*; Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 3–5; McGovern, *Sold American*, 2–9; Miller, *The Bon Marche*, 4–6; Ownby, *American Dreams in Mississippi*, 2–3; Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany*, 11–18; Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*, 2–7; Williams, *Dream Worlds*.

9 On the culture industry see, Cook, "Architect of the Modern Culture Industry," in Cook, ed., *Colossal P. T. Barnum Reader*, 8. See also, for instance, Betts, "P. T. Barnum and the Popularization of Natural History," 353–68; Adams, *E Pluribus Barnum*; Cook, *Arts of Deception*; Davis, *The Circus Age*; Harris, *Humbug*; McClellan, "P. T. Barnum, Jumbo the Elephant"; Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts*; Saxon, *P. T. Barnum*.

10 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 78–79, 104–05, 122–24. Similarly, see Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, chapter 5 on animal welfare in industrial (modern) circuses; and on early death for captive lions, see Ritvo, "The Order of Nature," in Hoage and Deiss, ed., *New Worlds, New Animals*, 47.

11 Bulliet, *Hunters*, 3.

12 Armstrong, *What Animals Mean*, 1–5; Berger, *About Looking*, 11–13; Chaudhuri, "(De)Facing the Animals," 10; Franklin, *Animals and Modern Cultures*, 37–39; Lippit, *Electric Animal*, 2–3; Noske, *Beyond Boundaries*; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 2; Shukin, *Animal Capital*; Wolfe, *Before the* Law, 11–12.

13 Miller, *Nature of the Beasts*, 9.

14 Baker, *Picturing the Beast*, xvii, 43; see also, Shukin, *Animal Capital*, 5, 7, 12.

15 On ideas related to and presupposing my concept of a "nature pet," see Davis, *Spectacular Nature*, 195–96; Mullen and Marvin, *Zoo Culture*, xviii–xiv, 1–2.

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1

Jumbo: Sentient Animal Celebrity

Abstract: *Chapter 1 examines how British consumers in the early 1880s made Jumbo an international celebrity by expressing interest in him as a sentient individual whose experience was a matter of public concern. By a letter-writing campaign and visits to the elephant, women and children, Londoners in particular, defined the London Zoological Society's sale of the elephant to P. T. Barnum as "cruel" because it denied the elephant's presumed wishes and needs. News coverage of Jumbo's behavior and its assumed meaning additionally facilitated consumer generation of animal celebrity, that is, a comforting anthropocentric parasocial relationship of Jumbo with the public. The "Jumbo affair" also generated criticism about how Jumbo's fans labored over his fate while overlooking slaughter of elephants in Africa to supply ivory for consumer products.*

Keywords: Abraham D. Bartlett; celebrity; consumer behavior; ivory; journalism; Jumbo; London Zoological Society; Phineas T. Barnum; zoos

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The tale of Jumbo is generally very well known, and its staying power attests to the enormous media footprint Jumbo has had since the 1880s. The story of the elephant is a popular legend that tells the tale of the rise and fall of the most famous animal in world history. As a juvenile of less than two years of age, he was captured in the French Sudan in 1861 when hunters killed his mother and kin. Thereafter, the little elephant was shipped to France where he lived for two years in Paris' Jardin des Plantes zoological park. Burdened with too many animals, zoo officials there sold the elephant to the London Zoological Society (LZS). In London the elephant grew into adulthood and earned his keeper, William Scott, a handsome living by carrying child and adult riders through the park with an improvised howdah strapped to his back. Although he was popular with zoo patrons during the day, after hours Jumbo was becoming exceedingly dangerous and constantly damaged his enclosure by battering its walls. Seeking to be rid of him, and on the hunt for a younger African elephant bull to display, early in 1882 LZS director Abraham Bartlett sold the elephant to the Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson circus, originally founded by American impresario Phineas T. Barnum.

A cynical British press was ready to exploit the situation and through sensational coverage of the "Jumbo affair," including the complicated transport preparations for the elephant, the newspapers persuaded Londoners that the sale was a national insult. Protesting loudly, they argued that the LZS was selling off a cherished city pet and sending the elephant to an uncertain future with Phineas T. Barnum, a wily huckster who seemed to encapsulate everything crude and dishonest about capitalism, American style. Children and various other concerned citizens, including Queen Victoria, it was said, were devastated at the thought of Jumbo leaving for America and begged Barnum to reconsider. The showman publicly refused and even a law suit by citizens seeking an injunction against the Council of the LZS could not stop the sale. News of the controversy spread across Europe and North America, from which Barnum gained great publicity. That April, Jumbo sailed for New York with his faithful keeper, William Scott, at his side. After a triumphant arrival in the US, Jumbo toured with the circus for three and a half years. Then, one terrible night, he was hit and killed by a train in St Thomas, Ontario. With Scott weeping at the elephant's side, Jumbo died. Meanwhile, Barnum was already making plans to have the elephant stuffed and his skeleton assembled for display. Sure enough, a year later

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the showman toured Jumbo's remains with the circus to the delight of audiences everywhere. Thereafter, consumer culture retained the name "Jumbo" as a marketing term indicating whimsy and generous size.

By this telling, there are two morals to the story of Jumbo, neither of which helps us understand why consumers accepted Jumbo as a celebrity or how animal modernity shaped his life and its human meaning vis-à-vis human-elephant relationships writ large that decade. First, the popular accounts in magazines, newspapers and trade books seem primarily to offer the story as a nostalgic novelty grounded in a clichéd interpretation of the nineteenth century in which there was "a sucker born every minute," to quote the classic but apocryphal Barnumism. Hence the story of Jumbo is amusing but so antique that we may consider it mere trivia, since, *surely* now-a-days the public is not so silly.[1]

Second, the scholarly literature that addresses Jumbo – mostly in passing in the context of a broader history of Phineas T. Barnum, circuses or animal symbolism – is that the controversy over Jumbo and his fame is instructive primarily for what it reveals about Barnum as a media personality, and about late nineteenth-century nationalisms.[2] To be sure, patriotic rhetoric was prominent in the newspaper debates over Jumbo's sale and North American marketing for the elephant as a circus feature. It made sense to people in the 1880s because extraordinary animals had long served as emblems of imperial, monarchical or national power.[3] On both sides of the Atlantic, drawings of elephants served as both serious and satirical emblem of British royal power, pomp and pretension, with cartoon and press chatter on the royal family more than once depicting them surrounded by exotic animals in order to express public ambivalence about their power and wealth. Jumbo and other elephants were the preeminent creatures in this symbolic economy as "a figure for large and unwieldy wholes" – like the British empire.[4]

Additionally, American circus companies employed elephants and other wild animals as indicators of the expense and spectacle of their productions, which distinguished their entertainment from all others. An elephant arms race between American circuses had emerged in the second half of the century, with companies competing to display (and feed, house and transport) the largest "herds" of elephants possible, believing that public knowledge of the expense drove ticket sales. Jumbo himself had 34 fellow elephants when at the Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson winter quarters in the off-season. Many circus men boasted that American circuses thus made European circuses look shabby by

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comparison, and indeed, American outfits like Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson's, and its comparable competitors, were the largest entertainment companies the world had every seen.[5]

So, to some degree, the scandal over Jumbo's sale and export from Britain was an "allegory of Anglo-American relations" and symbolic of "a westward shift in the balance of global power," as Britons gave up a prized, highly symbolic creature to a former colony.[6] Certainly Barnum's publicity and media work at the time encouraged this kind of thinking on the part of the public. At one point, Barnum told London's *Daily Telegraph* that American citizens (read: North American circus audiences; the circuses always treated Canada as a domestic market) had to have Jumbo because he had privileged them above all others with "my forty years invariable practice of exhibiting the best that money could procure, [which] makes Jumbo's presence here imperative."[7]

Nonetheless, neither an ostensibly credulous nineteenth-century public nor a combination of nationalistic fervor and clever publicity is sufficient to explain not only why Britons were sad to lose Jumbo to Barnum and how North Americans saw the elephant as a trophy thereafter, but the precise ways consumers and journalists acted on those sentiments with this particular elephant. Patriotism and Jumbo's livingness were, in fact, interconnected, but at a grass-root level. Jumbo's life offered citizens mediated opportunities for expressions of empathy for a famous animal, who was representative of national identities defined by particular relationships with and uses of animals – for Britons as animal lovers, for Americans as globally preeminent consumers.[8]

Moreover, Jumbo became an international celebrity in the 1880s because modern Britons and North Americans were ready to see and spend money on a zoo elephant they acknowledged as a unique being capable of suffering, a complex character who changed over time and whose experience was of public concern. The interest in and infrastructure for celebrity were highly developed in many western nations. The British culture of celebrity had arguably been founded by late eighteenth-century London theatre actors, sports figures and noted authors, like Lord Byron, whose engagement with the public came to supported hundreds and later thousands of media-related jobs. For a century before the Jumbo affair, the consumption of celebrity images, personalities and "news" were becoming basic to collective social development (including nationalism) and individuation as people took sides over public controversies and personalities and developed an ability to project emotional

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meanings onto famous people they would never meet or only knew through mediated sources.[9] Britons articulated Jumbo's status as the first, globally relevant animal celebrity through three arguments against his removal to New York: 1. it is "cruel" to the British public to deny them access to a beloved zoo pet; 2. it is "cruel" to Jumbo to force him leave "home" since he does not want to go; 3. it is dishonorable to relinquish Jumbo since he will be abused in America. These arguments would virtually drown out discussion of other African elephants and their place in the global consumer economy in those years, except among those observers who found Jumbo's celebrity status unsettling for the contradictions it raised.

Jumbo had already become modern by the 1860s, having been scooped up in the global trade in animals and animal parts, and imported into Europe where buyers had paid handsomely for captive Asian and African elephants for display or study. Jumbo was a commoditized by-product of the global ivory trade and wild animal trade, and the object of the parallel universe of the scientific and entertainment industry dealing in live, imported animals, which most Britons knew only through the final consumer product: the zoological garden. As a juvenile, still suckling and in all ways entirely dependent upon his mother and extended family group, the elephant will have witnessed the killing of his mother. Accounts of the period noted "sorrowful cries" and the desperate behavior of baby elephants who stayed with their mother's or siblings bodies, futilely attempting to pull them to their feet and thrusting their ears outward in self-defense when humans approached. Paul Chambers has reconstructed what occurred next: the little elephant was then marched through the desert and shipped, learning by trial and error how to interact with humans, how to make sense of their behaviors and resources.[10] Living at the London Zoo thereafter, Jumbo was daily exposed to hands-on contact with British consumers and the socially and nutritionally deprived (to an elephant) zoo housing and animal management of the period. Jumbo's herds in East Africa would be hunted to extinction by the 1940s.[11]

The way citizens and media interest thereafter transformed Jumbo's sentience into a public debate and related consumer products, which were crucial ingredients in his unknowing rise as animal celebrity and modern nonhuman individual, was unprecedented. Of course, there had been famous animals before: named individuals who functioned as "public pet," "novelty species," or "zoo mascot," as Harriet Ritvo has explained of the

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proto-famous captive animals who toured Europe or lived in menageries and private zoos for several centuries previous. They included Hansken (Asian elephant, 1620s–1630s) and Clara (Indian rhino, 1740s–1750s), Chunee (Asian elephant, 1800s–1820s), Jack (Asian elephant at the London Zoological Society in the 1830s–1840s) and Obaysch (hippopotamus, 1850s). Even before the industrial revolution, during which London grew into the world's largest city and urban consumer base, Britons' and Europeans' interest in famous animals inspired consumer fads for engravings, pamphlets, clothing and other products featuring these noted animals' silhouettes.[12] In North America, as well, nineteenth-century citizens began to celebrate and admire animals they did not know personally as soon as inexpensive media began carrying information about them and made long-distance interest possible. The continent had no network of royal or public zoos, nor rodeos or film industry featuring extraordinary animals, so people followed the lives of winning racehorses and heavily promoted circus elephants. The handlers of both groups of animals named these creatures in the press, handbills and other advertising, special calendars, and other ephemera that extolled a given animal's performances and often featured graphic portraits (of varying accuracy).[13]

Back in Europe, beyond news of their eating habits and ostensibly gentle engagement with keepers, by and large, it appeared most people did not advocate for early captive elephants, rhinos or other famed animals' release, nor to have intervened in their management. Which is not to say that citizens did not empathize with captive animals, simply that it was not deemed appropriate for broad public discussion, yet. Notably, some Londoners did worry about one elephant, Chunee, kept at the for-profit menagerie in the bottom of the Exeter Exchange building, who was killed by his exasperated keepers when they became unable to cope with his increasingly destructive behavior. Chunee had injured or killed a number of keepers, and many feared he would break loose and be unstoppable.[14] One citizen complained to the *Times of London* newspaper about the insufficient housing at the menagerie wherein Chunee lived "in a box bearing no greater proportion to his bulk than a coffin does to a corpse ... there can be no doubt that confinement and the want of a mate caused the frenzy which rendered it necessary to destroy the late stupendous and interesting animal [Chunee] at Exeter 'Change.'"[15] The menageries continued to be controversial as visitors saw animals languishing in tiny, confining, soiled cages, in which they had no protection from the stares, noise or prodding of visitors.[16]

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Thus, public outrage over Jumbo's transfer into the care of an American circus was a sign resurgent, or sudden public thinking, by consumers who empathized with Jumbo and imagined what his experience might be. These citizens claimed to have a stake in shaping the lives of public animals, a claim that invested a normally routine LZS business decision with rich meaning that zoo managers seem not to have seen coming. This thinking was possible in the 1880s because the ability to project emotional meaning onto animal bodies, movements and behavior in order to transform a public animal into a celebrity was becoming a central tool in consumers' cultural practice. It reconciled the contradictions of animal modernity, and the public worked it out as an element of what Carol Gluck has called "improvisational modernity," whereby people used "trial and error" to respond to and drive the changes brought about in the modern age, some of which they could influence, some of which not.[17]

In January of 1882, the *Times of London* published the news that the London Zoological Society had sold Jumbo for £2000, and at first there was public silence.[18] However, within several weeks a robust public response suddenly broke out that demonstrated people were angry and confused about why the sale was taking place. Londoners had enjoyed Jumbo for 17 years and assumed the zoo found the elephant a lucrative draw, as well. "The public have a right to some say in the matter," an editorialist in the *London Standard* insisted.[19] A mass of Londoners expressed the same opinion, in the ways available to them, by traveling to the zoo to see, speak to, feed and ride Jumbo. The *Daily Telegraph* described the scene:

> Parents and guardians who asked their children, on entering the grounds, "Where shall we go first?" received but one prompt and emphatic answer – "Jumbo." ... The lions might have got loose and nobody would have noticed them, ... and even the monkey house was deserted. ... The road which passes the main entrance, and bisects the property, was full of carriages private and public. Cabmen stood on their driving seats to gain a sight of the towering attraction, and sedate, white-whigged coachmen, whose masters and mistresses were worshipping Jumbo, essayed to snatch a transient look by rising furtively on their footboards. Meanwhile the little boys and girls, who had no parents or guardians in particular, no nursery governesses, and no sixpences for entrance at half-price, clambered the railings and looked into Eden from outside. Irregular children these, no doubt, and yet eager to participate in the glorious touch of nature that makes the whole world kin.[20]

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How many Londoners indeed believed Jumbo to be their "kin" is impossible to know, but there was a "Jumbo boom" and attendance at the zoo that February jumped up to summer volumes as people ventured to the London Zoological Society gardens to interact with Jumbo personally.[21]

Consider also that timothy hay was ubiquitous in the city, which was powered by equine labor. Yet, that February, zoo visitors did not bring hay for Jumbo (captive elephants subsisted on hay in this era). Londoners fed Jumbo buns and other snacks that sometimes they carried hidden in their pockets for his sniffing trunk to find. That is, they fed him people food. "That Jumbo was severely overfed, during the afternoon, cannot, we fear, be doubted," the *Telegraph* continued. "The smiling attendants at Mr. and Mrs. Trotman's restaurant, dispensed without ceasing buns, buns, buns. ... Jumbo, in short, had a fine time of it, doing an extraordinary amount of the work in which he always seems to take a slow kind of joy, and receiving in payment for what was already a labour of love the most bountiful offerings of dainty food."[22]

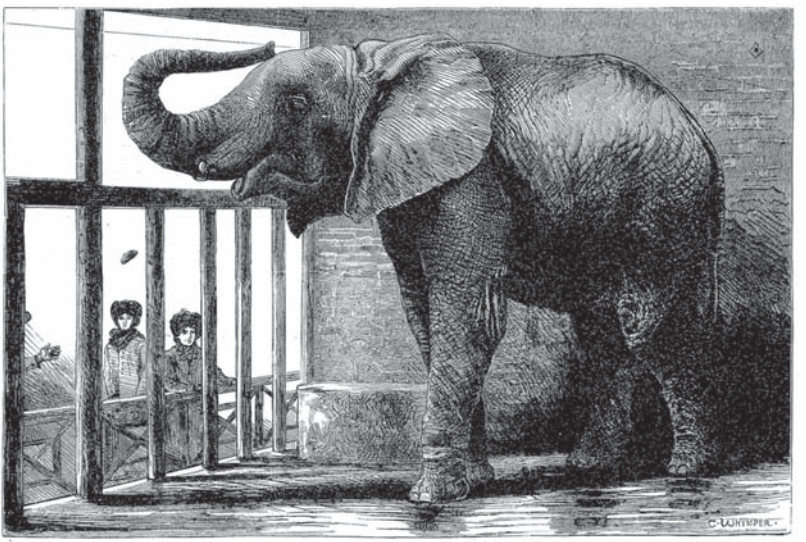

ILLUSTRATION 1.1 *Jumbo with female visitors and bun, London.* The Graphic, *1882*

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Citizens' interactions with the bull elephant created the impression that he was "a creature so vast, gentle, and sensible," an impression that traveled to people who had never personally seen Jumbo.[23] Indeed, the British press and Royal Mail facilitated long-distance interaction with Jumbo as anthropomorphized parasocial personality. Such attitudes were grounded in deep emotional currents among modern people, alienated from nature in many ways, yet craving contact with the nonhuman. Perhaps even common Britons held nurturing attitudes toward captive wild animals, or at least this one, known, as he was, to enjoy being fed by humans while carrying them on his back. "Children by the hundred sent buns to 'Jumbo' by post," an editorialist noted of the Jumbo "craze." "And it is a positive, though nearly incredible, fact that heaps of letters were received by his guardians directly addressed to the animal, many of them, it appeared, written under a definite impression that he would somehow become aware of their contents."[24] One possibly apocryphal report reported that a well-meaning woman brought Jumbo a basket of fruit and baked goods decorated with ribbons. Hoping to show her desire to care for the elephant, she was instead disappointed to see the elephant eat the whole assembly. Even when a nearby R.S.P.C.A. official, who happened to be on hand, explained that elephants often eat twigs, so to Jumbo the basket was as much a treat as its contents, the woman seemed disappointed to be confronted with the fact that she did not share a common understanding with Jumbo of human gifting traditions.[25] Many people indeed seemed to assume a shared culture and intimacy with Jumbo that reflected the growing interest in keeping animals as household companions. Pet keeping in Europe was an elite and middling practice of domestic captivity or hosting of animals – including imported exotics, like parrots and monkeys.[26] As a cultural practice, it increasingly required emotional identification with animals and control over them, producing "an image of sensibility [that is] a means to deflect us from awareness of the violence between ourselves and others," Kathleen Kete argues.[27]

Jumbo's sudden nation-wide celebrity status was also possible because European zoos had begun opening their gates to the public that century, including Sundays that allowed for working-class visitors.[28] They operated according to evolving middle-class and elite cultures that rejected the pre-eighteenth century animal combat displays of, say, a bear and a bull squaring off (these events would carry on, but would be relegated to informal venues).[29] Instead, zoological garden administrators and

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patrons imagined their parks, featuring especially ungulates and birds, as embellishments to vignettes featuring beautiful architecture and plant life. Animals were to be displayed as representatives of their kind and place of origin, and of British access to those places.[30] Meant as a force for education and civilization that exposed spectators to some of the profusion of new plants and animals encountered by Europeans abroad that century, these displays hid evidence of the violence of nature, or humankind, or, certainly, between humans and animals. Ideally the nineteenth-century zoological park fostered "the cultivation of morals, the control of self and of passions and impulses, a retreat from physical and verbal brutality, and a taste for more refined entertainments."[31]

Although the new zoological gardens carried scientific and educational pretenses, many visitors still appear to have wanted the menagerie experience, where one found feeding shows, a chance to pet strange animals, and the whimsy of discovering all nature of creatures presented with no discernable organization by genus, species or region of origin.[32] The menagerie experience flattered consumer gratification based in novelty, expressions of otherness or sentimentality, with visitors throwing rocks at some captives and cooing over the cuteness of others. Menageries and circuses had long obliged these public desires and named their animals in catalogs and advertising. The Tower of London menagerie (initially a royal collection, then a business, which closed in 1832 after a number of animal escapes and visitor injuries) at one point offered big cats named Jenny, Marco and Phillis. There, and later at the London Zoo where Jumbo would reside, staff indulged visitors' desires to pet and feed its captives by allowing buns to be sold on site for the purpose and permitting Jumbo's handler, Matthew Scott, to accept payment for rides in the howdah strapped to Jumbo's back.[33]

Visitors came from all walks of life and appropriated this new more accessible zoo, in some ways endorsing the new ethos and in others defying it. Indeed, the idea that members of the public claimed they would suffer if denied access to Jumbo showed that they were becoming a modern audience, which expected access to wild and exotic animal pets as part of city living, with captive animals ironically central to a society free of political absolutism.[34] Perhaps these citizens had begun to internalize, in their own way, a national identity that was defined, in part, by participation in and appreciation for imperial acquisition. By this logic, for a wealthy global power like Britain, zoo animals were just part of the booty for the middle and working classes.[35]

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For visitors to see Jumbo as a rare specimen of the African elephant in Britain made him valuable. To see him as a friend and "kin" was to tell zoo managers that Jumbo was an emotionally relevant being defined by his relationships with consumers. And, in truth, zoological gardens always functioned as sites of leisure with their restaurants, promenades and space for lounging with a book, where citizens came to picnic, meet friends and family, and have some fun.[36] Administrators at the LZS and elsewhere noted a series of bankruptcies and near bankruptcies of zoos across Europe that century, and knew that they alienated the broad, ticket-buying public at their own peril. In the context of democratic access to newspapers and other inexpensive media that reported on zoos, animal life, and competing city entertainments, menageries and zoos grudgingly "wrestled with ... dual symbolic roles of science and showmanship."[37] Often, zoo directors and animal managers were privately dismissive of popular reframing of animal displays in favor of consumer desires for pets and spectacle, which Sanford Raffles had pooh-poohed as "vulgar admiration" of animals by visitors, while lobbying for what would become the Regent's Park zoo some years earlier.[38]

Concerned citizens, especially women and kids, also participated in Jumbo's emerging celebrity status by reading and writing letters to newspapers, P. T. Barnum, and zoo director Abraham Bartlett. "Do be kind and generous to our English boys and girls. We do so love him!" one young author explained to Barnum in a letter reprinted in the newspapers and at least one book. "I am sure if you have children or little friends of your own, you will be able to understand how their hearts would ache, and their tears be shed, should they lose the friend who has given them such delight, and who is one of their few pleasures in this great and sorrowful city."[39] Many of the letters reprinted in the newspapers framed the Jumbo sale as a family matter. Parents and children discussed how "the parting of Jumbo will be a terrible grief"[40] and how they might donate a few shillings toward a subscription to buy the elephant back from Barnum.[41] For many children, this must have been their first engagement with the public discourse on any topic.

At the root of the public outcry over why the London Zoological Society would sell "the late national darling"[42] was some confusion over what or whom people imagined Jumbo to be versus what he really was. Many people took Jumbo as representative of "the popular ideal" of elephants, as one magazine put it at the time.[43] Or, rather, Jumbo seemed to be the ideal elephant, who had prospered through his captivity to and care by

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Britons, since among captive elephants he was so large and a member of a public community of sentiment.[44] Americans would make a similar argument after Jumbo arrived in North America. As such, Jumbo's celebrity status facilitated a consumers' equivalent of "shifting baseline syndrome" wherein people take captive animals who have adapted to awkward and deprived living conditions as normative for the species, completely unaware of their abilities or behaviors at large in the wild.[45]

Under the careful management of Matthew Scott, Jumbo did indeed interact predictably with people in the zoo in the gardens, coming across to visitors as "a creature so gentle, vast and sensible," as the *London Telegraph* conveyed of the public's experience of the elephant.[46] Life on the LZS grounds, which was a consumer-friendly one, appeared to many people as a kind of human charity to animals but could be very taxing on animals and staff. LZS director Abraham Bartlett understood but was irritated by public confusion about the nature of wild animals, including Jumbo. In 1865 he had traded various of his animals with Paris' Jardin des Plantes in exchange for Jumbo, who had arrived "in filthy and miserable condition," with diseased feet and terrible skin. In Matthew Scott's care, Jumbo's health improved as he had cleaner housing, more exercise, and better feed. Yet, a healthy bull elephant is also the most dangerous, Bartlett would later explain in an 1899 memoir. A maturing Jumbo became too assertive, "so much so that we found it necessary to put a stop to his gambols, and this we accomplished in a very speedy and effectual manner. Scott and myself, holding him by each ear, administered to him a good thrashing. He quickly recognized that he was mastered by lying down and uttering a cry of submission."[47]

Thereafter for many years Jumbo was manageable, but by 1881 was, "like all male elephants at this age … troublesome and dangerous."[48] Bartlett would later reveal that after hours at the zoo,

> [Jumbo] commenced to destroy the doors and other parts of his house, driving his tusks through the iron plates, splintering the timber in all directions, rendering it necessary to have the house propped up, as it still remains, with massive timber beams. When in this condition and in his house, none of the keepers except Scott dare go near him; but, strange to say, he was perfectly quiet as soon as he was allowed to be free in the Gardens.[49]

This was the mystery of Jumbo. LZS day books record episode after episode of Jumbo attacking his enclosure overnight, only to emerge peacefully the next morning before crowds of London Zoo visitors.[50] This dual nature also marked Jumbo as a subject of animal modernity – still a wild animal,

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biologically wired for particular behaviors, instincts and needs but coping with life in consumer-oriented captivity. Paul Chambers reasons that the horrendous conditions at Paris' Jardin des Plantes zoo had traumatized Jumbo. The institution was chronically underfunded and understaffed, and struggled to keep pace and manage its stock while animals died in their care at an alarming rate from improper feeding, housing and the related mental and physiological strains. As a baby at the Jardin, Jumbo had been kept in a tiny, generally filthy, cage with insufficient feed, such that he was thereafter intensely unwilling to tolerate small spaces, a behavior we can historicize as a product of Jumbo's particular experience in 1860s Paris.[51] As an individual with a particular life experience and a behavior repertoire shaped by life in urban Europe, Jumbo straddled the link between the global trade in wild animals and their parts, and the growing consumer economy for consumer-friendly animals.

Abraham Bartlett was an experienced animal manager with a very nuanced understanding of wildness in various species that, to this day still, is difficult to communicate effectively to a broad public. He distinguished between domesticated and wild animals, arguing that even if captive bred and reared, many wild species were driven by particular instincts. Especially with big cats and other carnivores, there always lurked "the danger of their savage nature being developed at any moment," no matter how tame they appeared. Elephants he singled out as a species hovering between domestication and wildness, arguing that each individual elephant needed to be evaluated over time to guarantee the safety of those who worked with him or her.[52] In short, to Bartlett and many at the LZS, Jumbo was a quickly maturing bull elephant somehow able to control himself during the day but resisting his living conditions at night. Like many celebrities back then, Jumbo had a idealized public persona and a more complex private side, wherein his handlers spent much of their energy in keeping the two from colliding.

Once the public learned of Jumbo's sale, Bartlett had publicly admitted that his staff could no longer guarantee the safety of Londoners if they kept Jumbo since, as he would later explain, he knew the public would not stand for zoo staff doing what they knew was necessary to force Jumbo to conform to the "pet" aspect of his persona. "I was perfectly aware that [Jumbo's] restless and frantic condition could be subdued by reducing the quantity of his food, fastening his limbs by chains, and an occasional flogging; but this treatment would have called forth a multitude of protests from kind-hearted and sensitive people." Bartlett also

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worried his elephant keepers would be charged with cruelty to animals and find themselves in legal difficulties.[53]

Some took LZS admissions that they had sold Jumbo because he was becoming too dangerous – predictably for now, but perhaps unpredictably in future – as mere "rumors."[54] And the question of Jumbo's true state of mind would pop up regularly in the press as people struggled to reconcile the Jumbo they thought they knew with the creature Zoo officials described. One disbelieving editorialist wrote sarcastically,

> All interest yesterday at the Zoo centred on Jumbo. It was a lovely day, and this methodically "mad" elephant, crowded with children, and followed everywhere by an admiring throng of young, old, and middle-aged, paced slowly about the grounds, with well-feigned sanity. If it be true that he has lost his wits, or is likely to lose them, then must it be allowed that he is a consummate actor.[55]

That is, animals were deemed incapable of dissimulation and, in part, this idea had won over many of Jumbo's fans, even before his sale to Barnum.

The transformation of Jumbo from orphan of the wild animal trade into janus-faced zoo pet seems to have happened quite organically, although, since Scott and Bartlett were known to disagree about Jumbo's future, there had always been tension at the zoo about who had the right to shape Jumbo's behavior and to what end. Jumbo's improvised saddle for carrying riders, the occasions of being broken (beaten) behind the scenes, his understanding that if he stayed calm people would feed him, and LZS officials' work to hide his rages from the public created the idea of Jumbo as a zoo pet. Scott and the zoo allowed the public access only to the side of Jumbo that justified the elephant's captivity and portrayed him as a clichéd sagacious elephant, powerful but judicious.[56]

Jumbo's status as living animal celebrity really becomes apparent to us when we consider the moment-by-moment interest people showed in the process of actually moving the elephant aboard a ship to the United States. Eventually, Scott and others would resort to building a special wheeled transfer crate, very low to the ground, with heavy-duty support, and slowly training the elephant over a period of weeks to walk into the crate so that it could be hauled to a waiting steamer. Scott and Jumbo practiced walking through the crate – open on two sides – many times since, as with his night quarters, since the elephant sincerely disliked small spaces due to his early experiences in Paris. As a historicized individual who was a product of his biology and his personal experience, Jumbo unknowingly set the stage for his rise as a celebrity.

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In the meantime, Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson sent their agents to London with orders to immediately move Jumbo through London to the docks to a waiting steamer.[57] Jumbo had not left the Zoological Society grounds in almost two decades and, like many captive animals, was nervous in new situations and reliant upon routines.[58] In fear that Scott would lose control of Jumbo outside the zoo grounds, Barnum's elephant manager, Bill Newman, at first insisted on hobbling Jumbo with heavy chains and carrying him through the streets using conventional rolling stock. The elephant was unaccustomed to hobbling, and reportedly pulled franticly at the chains and vocalized loudly before finally being prodded by Scott toward a waiting container. Unfamiliar with this context as well, and apparently unwilling to trust Scott, Jumbo simply refused to enter the structure, at one point lying down on the road. For many hours his handlers attempted to motivate him to move, but eventually gave up and took him back to his enclosure in the zoo. An attempt the next day to simply march Jumbo, once again hobbled with heavy chains, directly to the docks failed similarly as the elephant refused to move once outside the zoo grounds.

The public read great meaning into Jumbo's refusals. Many believed the elephant was orchestrating these events in order to communicate publicly, providing the second reason why many argued Jumbo should stay in London: "The poor brute" did not want to go. "Having lived so long in his present abode, he naturally objects to going further, with the possibility of faring worse," *Reynold's Newspaper* said, reflecting common interpretation of Jumbo's behavior.[59] The elephant was not simply reticent of the immediate situation, the argument went, but somehow knew of the human plans to take him from the zoo and never bring him back. "What Jumbo thinks of his change of prospects is only too pathetically certain. He won't go, ... Jumbo is evidently as unwilling to part with his London friends as they, if they have any sense or feeling, will be desolate at the thought of losing him," said the *Pall Mall Gazette*, accusing those indifferent to Jumbo's resistance of hard heartedness: "Is this the way we recompense our oldest friends, ... is he to be turned out at last to tramp the world homeless and unbefriended, the mere chattel of a wandering showman?"[60] Here, people defined the "cruelty" to Jumbo in terms of his status as commodity to the LZS. Prominent critic and artist John Ruskin famously wrote in protest of the sale, "I am not in the habit of selling my own pets or parting with my old servants," reasserting the master-servant relationship many people imagined they had with animals, whether housecat or zoo elephant.[61]

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Zoos in those years were caught between two mandates: necessarily "alienating portions of its stock,"[62] because they were dealers in and voracious consumers of animals, versus cultivating "public sentiment" to keep visitors paying and the doors open.[63] Zoos and menageries had staggering mortality rates that century, with enormous numbers of animals collected to display a small number for short periods of time.[64] Even when directors and animal keepers made a concerted effort to consider animals' needs (such as they could identify them) and accommodate within existing space and funding, restocking contributed mightily to their costs and financial troubles.[65] The zoo business was not so much about long-term presentation of pets, but really about cycling through animals, so Jumbo's longevity at the LZS gardens indeed made him unique. The *London Standard*, seemingly in denial about all this, complained in typical form that the London Zoological Society should not be "trafficking in wild beasts," by selling Jumbo when he became inconvenient to the institution.[66]

Jumbo, was not simply any wild animal or line on a stock list, but an anthropomorphized parasocial personality, who, when combined with daily news reports of his activities, essentially made him an animal celebrity. Nonhumans do not know they are famous, they can have no comprehension of the network of media, fans, and their own managers who create the abstract human context in which celebrity functions. So, animal celebrities always need human mediators with the press and public, and who apply to a given animal's behavior a story about the animal's awareness of his or her surroundings and motivations.[67] That February in 1882, the moment when Jumbo refused entry into the first transfer crate, and the next day when he refused to walk to the port, may have been the first international animal celebrity pseudo-event in world history, and functioned by way of a collective misinterpretation of the elephant's actions.

Many took Jumbo to be apparently interested in communicating directly with the public, "by dint of offering a passive resistance [that] completely tired out the keepers."[68] Every celebrity needs a compelling personal story, of course, and Jumbo's became one of his solidarity with the public in refusing to leave London and resisting "more in sorrow than in anger, ... in protest," as one paper put it.[69] One young letter writer, Gertrude Cox from Liverpool, told Barnum, "He begs so hard not to be taken, ... I do not think that the people in America can be so cruel as to wish to have him when it makes him so unhappy to leave England."[70] Others similarly made the case that Jumbo was "so attached ... to his home, that it would be really cruel to move him."[71] And here was what some believed was at stake

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for the elephant, why ignoring his wishes was "cruel": "I am nearly sure if Jumbo does go," wrote A Young English Girl, "he will die when he reaches you, for he has clearly shown his great reluctance *to leave us*; ... the grief at leaving his old friends, and such new experiences, [will] turn him mad."[72] (emphasis added) Here we find evidence of the modern "central paradox" in animal display and entertainment that Nigel Rothfels tells us "largely emerged in the nineteenth century, of wanting to both see animals captive and believe that they are somehow happy."[73]

Jumbo's initial resistance did not constitute a pseudo-event precisely, more so a happy opportunity that presented itself to Barnum and Matthew Scott who could see how Londoners read great emotional meaning into what was essentially an animal management problem. Barnum later explained in plainer terms the way the elephant's behavior spurred "the tug of war" over Jumbo's presumed emotional state and wishes.

> The unfamiliar street waked in Jumbo's breast the timidity which is so marked a feature of elephant character. He trumpeted with alarm, turned to re-enter the Gardens, and, finding the gate closed, laid down on the pavement. His cries of fright sounded to the uninitiated like cries of grief, and quickly attracted a crowd of sympathizers. British hearts were touched, British tears flowed for the poor beast who was so unwilling to leave his old home.[74]

Barnum was delighted by the entire affair, famously telling his agent in London, "Let him lie there a week if he wants to. It is the best advertisement in the world."[75] Barnum was an old hand, of course, in "turning every possible circumstance to my account," as he had written in an early autobiography.[76] He instantly realized that Jumbo's behavior was generating enormous publicity that would drive audience interest in the elephant as a celebrity. Once landed in North America, Jumbo would serve as a living souvenir of what Barnum called "the sentimental Jumbo craze which had seized upon Great Britain."[77] Either way, he seemed to understand that Britons were projecting emotional meaning onto Jumbo and his behavior, that they had come to have sympathy for the elephant as a sentient individual whose experience was a public issue. Barnum would never have put it this way, but we can see that many Britons were participating in an anthropocentric parasocial relationship with Jumbo. They believed they knew the elephant's mind and that, somehow, he would appreciate their sympathy and advocacy on his behalf.

Citizens and the press put their opposition to the sale in similarly emotional terms; children were "distressed," "public feeling being so strong

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in Jumbo's favour," that letter writers admitted "with tears" to having been personally affected by Jumbo's apparent suffering, and wrote under pseudonyms like "A Lover of Home."[78] People appear to have also empathized with the other African elephant at the zoo, Alice, and imagined the elephants' intensely emotional response to being separated. One parent explained to one newspaper, "My little boy asks me to write to you about poor Jumbo. He shed tears over your touching account of the affectionate creature, and says, 'I do hope the naughty men will not be able to force him away from his happy house.'"[79] This was a family matter, to many, grounded in domestic values, now pushing their way into civic politics. Some observers found the public's framing of Jumbo's sale as a domestic-political issue, and one which justified public displays of emotion, deeply unsettling since children, women and other sentimental people were taking authority over the story of Jumbo. With the cooperation of the press, concerned citizens produced "a perfect explosion of sympathy for 'Jumbo', partly grotesque and partly pathetic," as one wag called it.[80] In reply, that spring, a creature emerged in the sentimental and satirical press that was central to the perpetuation of Jumbo's living celebrity: the emoting Jumbo. Cartoons lampooning the Jumbo affair actually enhanced the idea that the elephant had an emotional life, even if they anthropomorphized those emotions into serving human politics, by allowing the elephant those emotions and motivations which bolstered his celebrity status.

Various cartoons, poems, and stories in magazines, newspapers, souvenir booklets, and couriers showed a visibly miserable Jumbo with his emotions anthropomorphically visible on his face. The emoting Jumbo wept large tears, and grimaced in fear or disapproval; he wrote poems in the first person, speaking of his "grief" and his motivation to stay in London with his "little dears" (children visitors to the zoo).[81] Iconic cartoonist, Thomas Nast drew a now-famous piece entitled "Mutual Admiration," that depicted a smiling Jumbo and Barnum having a self-satisfied laugh together over how the elephant's behavior upon leaving London exacerbated the public scandal over the sale.[82] The redrawing of Jumbo as an emoting being took place long before the advent of cinema and other media we associate with the mass internalization of the consumer ethic and the need for personality, which developed for animals in animated films and wildlife documentaries wherein "animals [appear] personalities or characters ... living out their own stories."[83]

Much of this content focused on the interconnected issues of Jumbo's companionship with Alice, and the fact that the public believed that the

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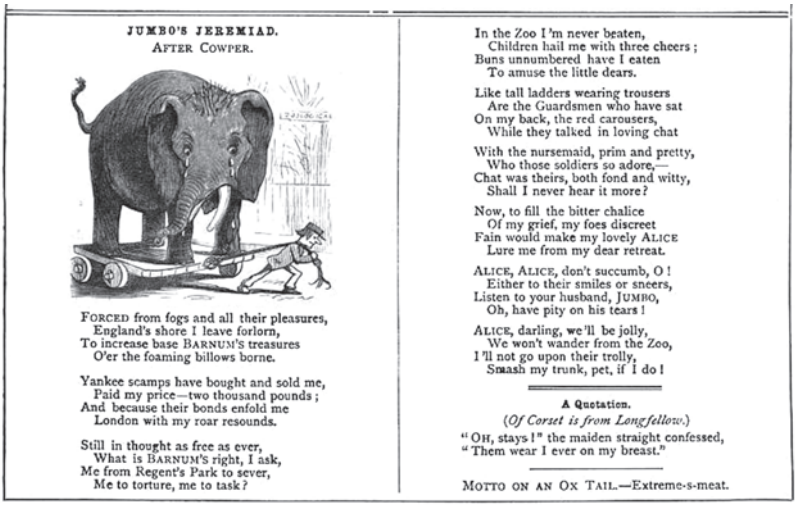

JUMBO'S JEREMIAD.
AFTER COWPER.

FORCED from fogs and all their pleasures,
England's shore I leave forlorn,
To increase base BARNUM'S treasures
O'er the foaming billows borne.

Yankee scamps have bought and sold me,
Paid my price—two thousand pounds;
And because their bonds enfold me
London with my roar resounds.

Still in thought as free as ever,
What is BARNUM'S right, I ask,
Me from Regent's Park to sever,
Me to torture, me to task?

In the Zoo I'm never beaten,
Children hail me with three cheers;
Buns unnumbered have I eaten
To amuse the little dears.

Like tall ladders wearing trousers
Are the Guardsmen who have sat
On my back, the red carousers,
While they talked in loving chat

With the nursemaid, prim and pretty,
Who those soldiers so adore,—
Chat was theirs, both fond and witty,
Shall I never hear it more?

Now, to fill the bitter chalice
Of my grief, my foes discreet
Fain would make my lovely ALICE
Lure me from my dear retreat.

ALICE, ALICE, don't succumb, O!
Either to their smiles or sneers,
Listen to your husband, JUMBO,
Oh, have pity on his tears!

ALICE, darling, we'll be jolly,
We won't wander from the Zoo,
I'll not go upon their trolly,
Smash my trunk, pet, if I do!

A Quotation.
(*Of Corset is from Longfellow.*)

"OH, stays!" the maiden straight confessed,
"Them wear I ever on my breast."

MOTTO ON AN OX TAIL.—Extreme-s-meat.

ILLUSTRATION 1.2 *Satirical cartoon and poem on the Jumbo scandal.* Judy, *1882*

zoo was a safe place for animals. Again, in part citizens were uninformed, in part they practiced some willful amnesia. Purchased by the LZS from a local menagerie in 1865, Alice lived with Jumbo but the two were often "indifferent" to one another, although Abraham Bartlett often referred to Alice as Jumbo's "wife."[84] Some years before the Jumbo sale, news had leaked to London's *Daily Telegraph* – and was reprinted in a *New York Times* story, "London Elephants. How they are Treated at the Zoological Gardens – Lack of Care and Frequent Change of Keepers" – explaining that Bartlett had fired some experienced handlers and replaced them with some untried elephant managers, for whom he did not provide sufficient training or supervision. These men were first put in charge of the long-time resident Asian elephant, Chunee, who died not long after, some said of sorrow, officially of "consumption." Bartlett then removed Alice from Matthew Scott's care and handed her over to two new men, who "set to work to break her in after their own fashion. ... tied her up with ropes and left her," the story explained. "Soon a terrible screaming and trumpeting was heard and it was discovered that – some how or other – Alice's trunk was torn off. The unhappy creature is maimed for life and, even if she lives, must for the rest of her days have her food put for her into her mouth and her water poured down her throat."[85] Alice lost a foot from the length of her trunk which Bartlett claimed was an "accident."[86] However, a whistleblower at the zoo accused the new caretakers of the

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elephant of having intentionally mutilated her since, "When an elephant dislikes its keeper it is apt to use its trunk as a weapon of defense."[87] Briton's accusations in the spring of 1882 that Barnum's elephant handlers would be "cruel" to Jumbo acknowledged Matthew Scott's personal relationship with the elephant, but also whitewashed over the larger animal welfare problems at London's beloved zoo.

This brings us to the third reason many objected to Jumbo's sale to a circus, namely that it was dishonorable because the elephant would be abused in America. The claim of American abuse rested not only upon a combined sense of national honor and Britons' public self-identification as people concerned for the experience of nonhuman animals, but also on a relatively well-informed understanding of one aspect of the elephant's welfare. "This animal has not been trained for public performances, and before he could be made fit for a show such as, we may fairly take it, Mr. Barnum has in prospect for him, he would have to go through a discipline scarcely is at all short of positive torture," one editorial explained of Jumbo's lack of conditioning for the kind of adaptability and mobile living an American circus required. "No more quiet garden-strolls, no shady trees, green lawns, and flowery thickets, people with tropical beasts, bright birds, and snakes, making it all quite homely (sic.)."[88] The newspapers and individual Londoners imagined the city's zoo as a gentle retirement home for formerly wild animals, now "tamed – dare we say civilized," through their contact with the public.[89] Recall the concept of a "nature pet," a creature whose apparent ability to survive in captivity endorses the custodianship of the zoo and the public for whole species. The idea of the grateful zoo animal predates and was a consumer's equivalent to the nascent zoo-ark concept among naturalists. Zoo administrators, zoologists, taxidermists, and animal traders developed this still-prevalent concept in order to argue that the wild was perhaps too dangerous for some wild animals, and that captivity was a creature's "highest calling" since it served human needs to study, manage, and preserve species.[90]

Public comment from concerned citizens seemed to show they understood some of the welfare implications at hand, one letter writer agreeing, "the wandering and unsettled life he will lead cannot but be productive of misery, and perhaps early death." A veterinarian explained the implications more systematically for Britons, accustomed to managing troubled horses and other creatures, some of whom fared badly in new contexts depending upon their life experience and training.

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"The removal of Jumbo, ... would amount to the deliberate murder of the majestic and sagacious animal," he instructed. "Firstly, on account of his separation from Alice and the other elephants, and his old home; secondly, from being harassed by the journey to the docs; and lastly, by reason of his confinement on board ship and the voyage."[91] Loneliness, strange surroundings, stress, and inability to move would indeed strain Jumbo, so here the concept of "cruelty" was grounded in a more insightful public understanding of Jumbo as a sensitive being ill-equipped for what lay ahead. Indeed, Jumbo would trade his barren cage-enclosure and walks through the garden at the London Zoo for a circus life of continuous containment on an elephant picket line or in the ring, and time spent confined to a rail car for transport.[92]

Although for centuries people had recognized suffering in animals, to be seen to be aware of and concerned for the experiences of animals as part of one's public or political persona was a newly important aspect of modern identity in western nations.[93] Since the publication of Charles Darwin's 1859 *On the Origin of Species* (and perhaps also his 1872 work *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*), many people had been thinking about what it meant to acknowledge nonhumans as sentient beings. And they struggled with what Diana Donald, drawing on Keith Thomas' concept of the human dilemma, describes as the "strains generated by the co-existence of two conflicting intentions: to maintain belief in the alterity and inferiority of other species, and to make them stand for known types and values."[94]

Jumbo stood for Briton's self-perception as a nation of exemplary "animal lovers," a concept that served as "a barometer for the moral health of the nation," as Jonathan Burt puts it, by insisting on the "humanity" or humaneness of the community precisely because modern life is premised on extraordinary material manipulation, confinement, processing and consumption of billions of animal bodies.[95] Jumbo's celebrity status linked him to organized advocacy for work animals in the country, and the broader global west.[96] Members of the British elite and their middling emulators used the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to attack "working-class cruelties" (to workhorses, food animals, cart dogs or fighting cocks) with public information campaigns and lobbying for restrictive legislation or criminalization, while exempting aristocratic leisure habits (like fox hunting or horse racing) from their efforts. These trends intersected with the publication of Anna Sewell's *Black Beauty* (1877), a fictionalized and compelling account in the imagined voice of

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a horse of the suffering of work animals. The popular novel moved the idea of animal suffering into public and the newspapers just as column inches and cheap illustrations were expanding, and just a short time before Jumbo's sale to Barnum.[97] Suffering and "cruelty" was constructed here in particular ways that flattered the British public as eager to refine public life, and continually reassert human supremacy and the consumer perspective on valuing animals.

Concern for Jumbo's apparent wishes and experience was, further, a way for women to take part in a political issue in a nonthreatening way that nonetheless saw them marking out territory in the public sphere, wherein they could serve as moral arbiters and caregivers.[98] Plenty of the ephemera from the period noted that many, many women engaged in the debate, some of them imagining that they had a personal relationship with the elephant. Their visits, gifts and letters constituted a kind of fandom (although not referred to as such at the time) that often manifested in satirical representations of women weeping as Jumbo sailed away, or clinging to his leg, or fainting from emotional overwork. Nervousness about women's role in the public sphere produced some conflation of women animal advocates and the women who more casually brought Jumbo buns at the zoo.[99]

Additionally, people compared the captivity and suffering of animals and African American slaves earlier in the century in order to talk about exploitation under capitalism, to bestialize blacks, conversely to defend blacks, or even to earn sympathy for animals by likening their miseries to well-known horrors of human slavery.[100] And, in Britain and North America, the communities of activists lobbying for anti-animal cruelty measures had long overlapped with those who had worked to abolish slavery in the United States. Soon enough, people were describing Jumbo as a chained slave of the Americans. This rhetorical tactic turned the logic somewhat backwards because many anti-slavery advocates had disparaged slavery by arguing that slaves were treated "like animals" by their owners and the institution.[101] Many referred to *Black Beauty* as the "Uncle Tom's Cabin of the anti-cruelty movement," and some indeed likened Jumbo to Harriet Beecher Stowe's long-suffering but morally admirable character, "Uncle Tom," echoing Ruskin's and others understanding of Jumbo as a pet and servant.[102]

English humorist George Rose, well-known as Arthur Sketchley, would in time expose how race, class and animality helped Britons make sense of this unprecedented situation. Employing his much-loved Mrs. Brown, the

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rambling, working-class, Cockney-accented storyteller and lampooner of current events, Sketchley had her explain to fellow citizens that Jumbo could not possibly be the monster behind the scenes that Bartlett claimed, praising the Londoners who "'as 'ad many a good cry over Jumbo, poor thing! To think of 'im bein' sold like a negro black slave." Bartlett "didn't ort to 'ave sold Jumbo like that," the satire continued, "without a-findin' out whether he'd like to go or not."[103] Poking fun at public sentimentality over the elephant's sale to the "Merrykins," it replicated British attitudes of the US as a crude but cavalier nation that had "sprung up like a mushroom in a night, and will go down like a rocket stick, all of a-suddin one fine day," warning, "we shouldn't go to war over Jumbo, unless it was a civil one, as is wot they're used to over there," in reference to the American Civil War which was fought over the issue of states rights and the morality of slavery.[104] Britons had fondness for minstrelsy and growing sense (among the middle-classes especially) of themselves as a nation of animal lovers, with various meanings that functioned to simultaneously claim power over the United States, people of African descent, and animals.

To many observers, the public and media outcry over Jumbo was absurd, a certain sign of the sentimental irrationality of a low-brow public, but especially all those women and children, whether poor, middling or aristocratic, who imagined the elephant as a domesticated pet.[105] "Maudlin sentiment wasted on this monster is most ridiculous," chided one Londoner. "When an affectionate public goes to the length of calling the huge animal at the Zoo poor 'little' Jumbo, ... the term 'little' Jumbo is not, I think, a 'little' ridiculous."[106] For others, the main lesson was about consumption. "It is for elephants' general good that they should be greatly sought after and fetch high prices and draw great crowds, and so justify careful feeding, good treatment, and generous keep," advised *The Spectator*. "Otherwise their only destiny would be knife-handles."[107]

The Spectator was one of a number of voices that pointed out how Jumbo was an orphan of the enormous global ivory trade. Booming urbanization concentrated consumers in cities and swiftly developing industrial processes made processing and distribution of animal products quicker and cheaper in the decades Jumbo was on display in London. Both trends drove demand for animals and their derivative products in, particular here, elephant ivory. Often described by historians as the "plastic of its age,"[108] African elephant ivory directly connected British consumers to the ongoing slaughter in Jumbo's homeland. In the few decades before elite Europeans would monopolize access to big game hunting in many

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parts of the continent, African hunters had adapted to the opportunities presented by foreign access to the region in order to facilitate harvesting animals and their parts, a trade that was at once a commerce in raw materials and in proto-touristic entertainment. Grounded in small-scale hunting for ivory, meat and ceremonial purposes, elephant killings escalated after 1860 and drew ivory off the continent toward global markets. This foreign demand meant that ivory trading "did a great deal ... to prepare the way for subsequent imperial advance" on the continent, John MacKenzie explains, since the revenue ivory harvesting generated funded all nature of missionary, settlement, travel, business and political activities by whites in Africa.[109] For animals living in regions effected by this access, the escalation in human violence saw animals create a "retreating game frontier" as they became fewer in number and adapted to the human threat.[110] African elephants in the latter half of the nineteenth century differed from earlier generations, although of course, like many humans who lived through these changes, they had no consciousness of being "modern" or colonial, per se. Still, in Eastern Africa wild elephant populations began collapsing and those elephant communities that persisted contained individuals who adapted to the new reality by retreating to areas in which they knew hunters did not venture or, alternately, by becoming increasingly aggressive to humans they encountered.[111]

Jumbo was not one of those elephants, but was equally modern since he existed in a live state in close contact with British consumers by learning to accept food from them and mind Matthew Scott when in public. It would be his image and ostensible personality that would become the commodity, especially since his early, traumatic experiences of captivity had driven him to destroy his own ivory. Britons would in return lobby for Jumbo's health and happiness (such as they imagined those to be for him). Here was the now common consumption conundrum by which individual shoppers reflected an attitude toward individual elephants like Jumbo as precious and rare, but elephants in the abstract as inevitably expendable.

Dominant public concern over declining African elephant numbers would not fully mount until the 1890s, but in the meantime *The Spectator* was not the only voice to point out the connection between Jumbo and the ivory trade. Already many people saw elephant extinction in Africa as a foregone conclusion. One report commenting on Jumbo's celebrity warned,

> The beast breeds slowly in the jungle, and not at all in confinement, ... and it is nearly certain that in another century ... the animal will, with the exception

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> of the few in confinement, have totally ceased to exist. There are not, and will not be, 10,000,000 elephants to supply the century's demand, while every rise in the price of ivory and every improvement in communication will increase the severity of the hunt.[112]

Contemporary estimates suggested that between 75,000 and 100,000 elephants in Africa were dying annually to supply at least 800 tons of tusks to the global ivory trade, one-third of which went to Britain.[113] "Ladies who possess ivory ornaments, fans, card cases, &c., will do wisely to take care of them, for it is rumoured ivory is becoming scarce, and will soon be so dear that piano keys, knife handles, &c. will in a general way be made of some other substance," another editorial advised.[114] The year Jumbo left London, those citizens who sensed the trouble coming did so because of rising ivory prices, which they often discussed with direct reference to Jumbo. Reports surfaced of one prominent ivory trader in Sheffield able to "dispose of 552 tusks to one ivory cutter in a fortnight."[115] Papers around the country also noted rising demand, several reprinting the caution, "remember that this quantity represents 276 elephants, [and] one begins to realise that the race of Jumbo may ere long become as extinct as the mastodon."[116]

To some, the Jumbo controversy highlighted the challenge facing African elephants, like so many other species, who were unknowingly confronting a modernity in which humans refused them intrinsic value and categorized them either as pet or raw material – or barring those, as pest. The *Pall Mall Gazette* was especially harsh about Jumbo's fans, ridiculing "the weeping and gnashing of teeth" over Jumbo's sale, predicting "It will be as nothing compared to the lamentation in the infantile mind over the extinction of the elephant."[117] Another agreed, "Indeed, if the recent national grief for the loss of one elephant ... furnishes any index of human sentiment ... we may look for great sorrow and lamentation in the future, when the last Jumbo shall have fallen. Which will society elect to keep – its elephants, or its ivory knife handles?" Accusing consumers of terrible selfishness, the piece conceded "But Fashion will not be denied, and so long as society requires ivory paper-knives, pen-knives, billiard-balls, and Christmas cards, so long will the slaughter of the largest quadruped for the smallest result continue. The elephant, in fact, is doomed."[118] Collectively, commentators who noted the contradictory consumer attitudes toward African elephants expressed a sense of regret, but stopped short of an ivory boycott, essentially asking readers to be more aware, but indicating no practical course of action.

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Here was an admission that, either way, Jumbo's fate was in the hands of humans and the issue was simply which humans were most deserving of the responsibility. Jumbo was a figure who reconciled the human dilemma and modern sense of unease about animals by providing a venue for speech and spending that acted out concern for animal life without threatening other consumer activities dependent upon animals and their parts. These were global patterns no single person could change, and although there is no indication that the public at large was worried or particularly aware of the dangers to elephants in Africa, yet for average citizens – especially less politically powerful people: women, children, working people – patriotically sentimental attachment to an animal celebrity was a viable outlet for expressions of modern attitudes toward nonhumans. The public took Jumbo as sentient, emotional individual who changed over time, which is indeed what elephants are, even if people did interpret this nature in self-serving ways. Jumbo's celebrity status introduced modern Europeans and North Americans to the phenomenon of anthropocentric parasocial relationships with public animals, which constituted the most abstract element of animal modernity as process.

Notes

1 Excluding the many, many children's books written about Jumbo, there exists many popular retellings of the elephant's story, for instance: "The Life of Jumbo the Elephant," St. Thomas Public Library, http://www.st-thomas.library.on.ca/?q=content/life-jumbo-elephant, accessed May 1, 2015; Bondeson, *The Cat Orchestra*, 93–140; Carpenter, "P. T. Barnum's Jumbo"; Haley, "Jumbo: The Colossus of His Kind"; Harding, *Elephant Story*; James, Jr., "World Went Mad When Jumbo Came to Town"; Kelly, "P. T. Barnum's Biggest Star"; Mathieson, *True Story of Jumbo*; Rachlin, *Jumbo's Hide, Elvis' Ride and the Tooth of Buddha*, 223–26; Russell, "Jumbo"; Unwin, "Freak Show"; Walk, Lemmer and Murray, "Colorful Circus Paper Traces the Spread of 'Jumbomania.'"

2 Although less concerned with historical periodization and the concept of modernity, there are two carefully researched and critical accounts of the life of Jumbo derived from detailed research in archives at the London Zoological Society, Tufts University archives, and elsewhere: Chambers, *Jumbo*; Jolly, *Jumbo*.

3 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 22; Veltre, "Menageries, Metaphors and Meanings," in Hoage and Deiss, ed., *New Worlds, New Animals*, 21.

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4 Koenigsberger, *Novel and the Menagerie*, 3–4, 86. For centuries gifts of wild or exotic animals have functioned "as tokens of political submission" when surrendered to a more powerful empire or nation, Harriet Ritvo tells us. Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 206. Certainly British, French, German and other European zoos were stocked with creatures drawn from those nations' imperial possessions and intended to educate the public on how they and their civilization were benefiting from imperial activity. Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 79; Lachapelle and Mistry, "From the Waters of the Empire to the Tanks of Paris"; Rothfels, "How the Caged Bird Sings," in Kete, ed., *Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, 96–97.
5 Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 146–48, 212.
6 Lustig, "'Seeing the Elephant,'" 113. See also Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 232–33.
7 Barnum used this phrasing with some regularity, including in his autobiography and a letter he wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* of London to explain why he would not retract his offer to sell Jumbo. The letter was widely reprinted in the press. P. T. Barnum to Lesarge, *Daily Telegraph*, February 21, 1882 reprinted in, for instance, "'Jumbo' and Barnum," *Reynold's Newspaper*, February 26, 1882. See also, Barnum, *Struggles and Triumphs*, 362–63.
8 Most studies of media and entertainment history date this event to the early twentieth century. See for instance, King, "Audience in the Wilderness," 61; Gordon, *Comic Strips and Consumer Culture*; Wells, *Animated Bestiary*; Malamud, "Famous Animals," in Malamud, ed., *A Cultural History of Animals in the Modern Age*; Malamud, *An Introduction to Animals and Visual Culture*, 22–49; Molloy, *Popular Media and Animals*, 40–63.
9 The literature on fame and celebrity is enormous. So, for instance, on the early history of celebrity in Britain and its function in identity formation and communication, see Marshall, "Editor's Introduction," in Marshall, ed., *Celebrity Culture Reader*; Mole, *Byron's Romantic Celebrity*; and the fine chapters in Mole, ed. *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture.*
10 Ibid., 10–34.
11 Chambers, *Jumbo*, 28.
12 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 57; Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant*; Chambers, *Jumbo*, 24–25; Ridley, *Clara's Grand Tour*; Hahn, *Tower Menagerie*, 23–24; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 217, 226–30.
13 Johnson, "Northern Horse"; Nance, "Game Stallions"; Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 45.
14 Bondeson, *Cat Orchestra*, 73–77; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 226–28.
15 Anon., March 10, 1826 letter to *The Times of London*, quoted in Hahn, *Tower Menagerie*, 205; see also, Altick, *Shows of London*, 310–16.
16 Altick, *Shows of London*, 318.
17 Gluck, "The End of Elsewhere," 683.

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18 "The Great African Elephant," *Times of London*, January 25, 1882.
19 Editorial, *London Standard*, February 21, 1882.
20 "Jumbo and His Friends," *Daily Telegraph* (London), February 23, 1882.
21 Cornish, *Wild Animals in Captivity*, 158.
22 Ibid.
23 "Jumbo and His Friends," *Daily Telegraph* (London), February 22, 1882.
24 "Crazes," *The Spectator*, March 25, 1882.
25 "Waifs and Strays," *Harper's Weekly*, April 5, 1884.
26 Dorothee Brantz, "Domestication of Empire," in Kete, ed., *Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, 76–82; Robbins, *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots*.
27 Kete, "Introduction: Animals and Human Empire," in Kete, ed., *Cultural History of Animals in the Age of Empire*, 15. See also, Tuan, *Dominance and Affection*.
28 Blunt, *Ark in the Park*, 32, 111–12; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 206–17.
29 Hahn, *Tower Menagerie*, 85–103.
30 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 28, 78–96; Berger, *About Looking*, 19; Hahn, *Tower Menagerie*, 208–14; Veltre, "Menageries," 19; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 214–17.
31 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 28. See also, Miller, *Nature of the Beasts*, 4–8; Veltre, "Menageries," 21, 27–28.
32 Altick, *Shows of London*, 308–09, 319.
33 Hahn, *Tower Menagerie*, 176, 220, 228–29; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 220.
34 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 78–79.
35 Ito, *London Zoo and the Victorians*, 4–6; Kete, "Introduction: Animals and Human Empire," 15–18.
36 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 99–101.
37 Veltre, "Menageries," 27. See also, Ritvo, Animal Estate, 209–13.
38 Hahn, *Tower Menagerie*, 226.
39 A Young English Girl to P. T. Barnum, quoted in Holden, *Ivory King*, 70.
40 Ibid.
41 See for instance, "Jumbo and His Friends," *London Telegraph*, February 22, 1882.
42 "Mammoth Remains," *Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald*, March 3, 1883.
43 "Jumbo," *The Spectator*, February 25, 1882.
44 Cornish, *Wild Animals in Captivity*, 157; Jolly, *Jumbo*, 28; "Jumbo," *The Spectator*, February 25, 1882; "Jumbo," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 26, no. 1317 (March 18, 1882): 174.
45 Pauly, "Anecdotes and Shifting Baseline Syndrome."
46 "Jumbo and His Friends," *London Telegraph*, February 22, 1882.
47 Bartlett, *Wild Animals in Captivity*, 45.
48 Ibid.

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49 Ibid., 46.
50 Chambers, *Jumbo*, 75–81.
51 Ibid., 69. See also, Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 78–79, 83.
52 Bartlett, *Wild Animals in Captivity*, 24–25.
53 Ibid., 45–46.
54 Holder, *Ivory King*, 65. Regarding Bartlett's public discussion of Jumbo as a future hazard, see for instance, "Jumbo," *Times of London*, March 9, 1882.
55 "Jumbo and His Friends," *London Telegraph*, February 23, 1882.
56 Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 58.
57 Jolly, *Jumbo*, 74–75.
58 Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 172–73, 182.
59 " 'Jumbo' and Barnum," *Reynold's Newspaper*, February 26, 1882.
60 "Occasional Notes," *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 21, 1882.
61 Jolly, *Jumbo*, 70.
62 "Our Law Report of To-Day," *Times of London*, March 9, 1882.
63 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 104–05, 112.
64 Ibid., 118; Harriet Ritvo, "The Order of Nature: Constructing the Collections of Victorian Zoos," in Hoage and Deiss, eds., *New Worlds*, 47.
65 Baratay and Hardouin-Fugier, *Zoo*, 104–05, 122–24; Hahn, *Tower Menagerie*, 194–98.
66 Editorial, *London Standard*, February 21, 1882.
67 Nance, "A Star Is Born to Buck," in Gillett and Gilbert, ed., *Sport, Animals, and Society*, 174–77; Courtney White, "Tony the Wonder Horse: A Star Study," in Nance, ed., *Historical Animal*, 289–306. For other formulations on animals as celebrities, although not taking animal behavior and cognition into account, see Blewett, "What's New Pussycat?"; Giles, "Animal Celebrities"; Molloy, *Popular Media and Animals*, 44–46.
68 " 'Jumbo' and Barnum," *Reynold's Newspaper*, February 26, 1882.
69 Ibid.
70 Gertrude Cox to P. T. Barnum, quoted in Holder, *Ivory King*, 69.
71 One of Jumbo's Sincere Friends to P. T. Barnum, quoted in Holder, *Ivory King*, 69.
72 A Young English Girl to P. T. Barnum, quoted in Holder, *Ivory King*, 70.
73 Rothfels, "How the Caged Bird Sings: Animals and Entertainment," 95.
74 Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum*, 332.
75 Ibid.
76 Barnum, *Struggles and Triumphs*, 121.
77 Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum*, 331.
78 Lesarge to P. T. Barnum, February 22, 1882 quoted in Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum*, 331; see, for instance, various letter reprinted in "Jumbo and His Friends," *Daily Telegraph* (London), February 23, 2015. See also, "The Cry of the Children," *Punch, or the London Charivari* 82 (March 4, 1882): 98.

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79 "Jumbo and His Friends," *Daily Telegraph* (London), February 23, 1882.
80 Editorial, *The Spectator* (London), February 25, 1882.
81 There are many, many examples, but see "Jumbo's Jeremiad," *Judy: The London Serio-Comic* 30 (1882), 100; "Jumbo's Voyage across the Atlantic," *Judy's Comical Pennorth* 12 (March 27, 1882), 1; "Jumbo's Lament," *Punch, or the London Charivari* 82 (March 18, 1882), 125; "Jumbo's Journal," *Punch, or the London Charivari* 82 (March 4, 1882): 97.
82 "Mutual Admiration," *Harper's Weekly*, April 15, 1882, 239. The cartoon is often reprinted, but can be viewed at "On This Day," *New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/harp/0415.html, accessed May 15, 2014.
83 King, "Audience in the Wilderness," 61. See also, Gordon, *Comic Strips and Consumer Culture*, 75–79; Mitman, "Pachyderm Personalities."
84 Chambers, *Jumbo*, 72–73.
85 "London Elephants," *New York Times*, August 16, 1875.
86 Bartlett, *Wild Animals in Captivity*, 52–53.
87 "London Elephants," *New York Times*, August 16, 1875.
88 "Jumbo and His Friends," *Daily Telegraph* (London), February 23, 1882.
89 Editorial, *London Standard*, February 21, 1882.
90 Noah Cincinnati, "Too Sullen for Survival," in Nance, ed., *Historical Animal*, 171. See also, "Jumbo's Successors," *St. Paul Daily Globe*, December 26, 1885; Haraway, *When Species Meet*, 146–48; Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 150; Schwalm, " 'No Circus without Animals?' " 85–86.
91 "Jumbo and His Friends," *Daily Telegraph* (London), February 23, 1882.
92 On systems of continuous elephant containment in late nineteenth century American circuses, see Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 171–72.
93 Kean, *Animal Rights*, 27, 31. On the notion of a "linkage between vision and ethics" that, I would argue, came about several generations before the birth of cinema but accelerated with film see, Burt, *Animals in Film,* 35–36. See also, Lippit, "The Death of an Animal," Lippit, *Electric Animal*, 17–18.
94 Donald, *Picturing Animals in Britain*, vii.
95 Burt, *Animals in Film*, 35–36; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 232.
96 Cornish, *Wild Animals in Captivity*, 278
97 Starr, *Creation of the Media*, 252; Stoneley "Sentimental Emasculations," 53–72.
98 Murdock, *Domesticating Drink*, 114–32.
99 Kete, "Introduction: Animals and Empire," 5–7. See for instance, "Jumbo's Very Affecting Embarkation," souvenir booklet, Newspaper Clippings: Jumbo, HAWP.
100 Mason, *Civilized Creatures*, 122–25; Spiegel, *Dreaded Comparison*, 33–38.
101 Bay, *White Image in the Black Mind*, 127–33.
102 Angell quoted in Nash, *Rights of Nature*, 47; Jolly, *Jumbo*, 57; Stoneley "Sentimental Emasculations," 53–72.

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103 Sketchley, *Mrs. Brown on Jumbo*, 34.
104 Ibid., 3–5, 34.
105 See for instance, "Crazes," *The Spectator*, March 25, 1882; Editorial, *The Spectator*, September 19, 1885.
106 "Feminine Foibles, Fancies, and Fashions," *Nottingham Evening Post*, March 25, 1882.
107 "Jumbo," *The Spectator* (London), February 25, 1882.
108 Walker, *Ivory's Ghosts*, 208.
109 MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 125; see also, 120–27; Beachey, "East African Ivory Trade."
110 MacKenzie, *Empire of Nature*, 127.
111 Gissibl, "The Nature of Colonialism." On the concept of historicized "colonial animals," see Stephanie Zehnle, "Of Leopards and Lesser Animals: Trials and Tribulations of the 'Human-Leopard Murders' in Colonial Africa," in Nance, ed., *Historical Animal*, 221–39.
112 "Jumbo," *The Spectator*, February 25, 1882. See also, "Jumbo," *Harper's Weekly*, April 1, 1882, 195.
113 "Elephants," *The Spectator*, July 16, 1887; Holder, *Ivory King*, vii.
114 Editorial, *Derby Daily Telegraph*, June 1, 1882.
115 Ibid.; "London Ivory Sales," *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, April 29, 1882; "Ivory," *Liverpool Mercury*, January 30, 1883.
116 Editorial, *Derby Daily Telegraph*, June 1, 1882. See also, "Is the Elephant Doomed to Extinction?" *Burnley Gazette*, June 9, 1883; Editorial, *Morning Post* (London), October 24, 1884.
117 Editorial, *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 6, 1886.
118 This article was reprinted in various papers, see for instance: "Exit Elephant," *Portsmouth Evening News*, December 2, 1882; "Exit Elephant," *Leamington Spa Courier*, December 2, 1882; "Exit Elephant," *Leeds Mercury*, December 9, 1882.

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2
Jumbo: Tourist and Consumer

Abstract: *Chapter 2 documents how media-driven interest in Jumbo in North America flattered citizens as preeminent global consumers. After Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson imported the elephant to New York, circus publicity and advertising positioned Jumbo as natural wonder, trophy of Barnum's victory over British public opinion, and also the gentle pet of handler Matthew Scott. The chapter then compares the elephant's publicity to the behind-the-scenes reality of working with the elephant. Public understandings of Jumbo as a celebrity are further examined through analysis of how trade card printers appropriated Jumbo's image for advertising aimed at women. Hence, Jumbo, and all pet animals, became domesticated as knowing and equal participants in consumerism, which facilitated the elephant's later transformation into an icon of innocent whimsy and abundance.*

Keywords: advertising; circuses; consumer behavior; journalism; Jumbo; Phineas T. Barnum; trade cards

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During the London controversy, Jumbo began to transform into an icon of innocent abundance, which, in the long term, would be the elephant's permanent legacy. It began in London during the debate over his exportation, although people far afield from Britain experienced it at the same time by way of the global circulation of information that was so crucial to modern life. For instance, a correspondent to the *New York Times* made a walking tour of London on March 2, and recorded his observations in an article, "Stray London Town Talk," which appeared on page one. Starting at the zoo, he found a crowd gathered at Jumbo's enclosure where the elephant was restrained with heavy chains. Members of the crowd were peppering Jumbo's keeper with questions about Jumbo's impending sale, asking how Barnum would care for the elephant. "I observe in the crowd an American lady who is telling a group of doubters that Jumbo will be just as well cared for in the United States and England," he relates.

Crossing Regent Park, the correspondent made his way through the city's media arteries, past bookstores and many yelling newsboys, until he arrived at the Crystal Palace Bazaar. "Here I found photographs of Jumbo and the American, Jumbo in private, Jumbo in public, Jumbo with his howdah, Jumbo without his howdah, Jumbo in chains, Jumbo in freedom," he explained of entrepreneurial Britons' efforts to tell Jumbo's story with images depicting the elephant in various contexts and poses. "At another stall I am invited to buy Jumbo brooches, Jumbo pins, and Jumbo canes," the writer noted with some exasperation of the opportunistic merchandizing of the elephant to the shopping public. "I believe the noisy tune which a certain modest professor is playing upon a piano in the gallery is the 'Jumbo March.'" He continues, "I seek relief from Jumbo in a metropolitan omnibus but in an evening newspaper I read about him," before being irritated further by nearby passengers talking loudly about the elephant's possible death on the voyage across the Atlantic. Then, at Piccadilly Circus, Covent Garden, and Fleet Street, chapbook sellers accost him with "the elephantine literature of the moment": "Jumbo and the history of his sale to America, one penny!" – "'Jumbo and the Prince of Humbugs,' only a penny, Sir; gives all the true account of the great helephant [*sic.*] in the Zoo and Barnum, the showman of [*sic.*] Amerikee!"[1]

This was "Jumbomania," a combination of spectatorship, opinion, and spending that to many observers seemed to represent a form of collective insanity. "London went crazy. Everybody talked elephant for a fortnight, elephants appeared on note-paper, on wall-paper, on anti-macassars, in

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ivory, in metal, in cakes, in butter, everywhere that they could possibly be placed, and especially in inappropriate situations," another paper said of consumer products linked to the elephant.[2] In fact, the novelty and literature sellers were offering passers-by an invitation to explore Jumbo's famous life events in their role as consumers (not as students, voters, workers, church-goers, or what-have-you). Citizens were offered a different way to consume an elephant, not as knife handles but as a celebrity whose daily experience at "this critical period of his history," as the *Daily Telegraph* phrased it, marked out a particular moment in British history as well.[3]

New York Times readers would have found the account of the "London correspondent" comprehensible and interesting because it reflected their own powerfully prolific market for celebrity news. *Times* readers would have looked just to the left of the "Stray London Town Talk" piece to see that famous robber Billy the Kid had been apprehended in Minneapolis. William Burke, a.k.a. "Billy" (described in quotation marks by the papers to indicate how his persona was a product of public attention) had apparently "resisted vigorously, distorted his features, and finally kicked over and smashed the camera," when the police accused him of being a "notorious character."[4] Hence, many observers must have seen that Jumbo, like human celebrities, was unique and one "whose fame extended to all civilized nations ... and it is safe to say that no animal ever rose to quite such a lofty pinnacle of popularity," as one contemporary account would later describe what followed when Jumbo arrived in New York.[5]

Talk of the "craze" and "mania" for Jumbo had begun to appear in the North American press, and drew upon the language of insanity that would be familiar in the early twentieth century when critics noted the "fan"-aticism around film celebrities.[6] In Britain, citizens' active interest in and empathy for the elephant had irritated many observers. London's *Spectator* magazine chastened such critics, "It is amusing to observe the contempt with which the 'craze' about Jumbo is still spoken of. What was there contemptible about it? If one person had been interested in the huge beast nobody would have been annoyed; but because a million ones were interested, the interest was pronounced insane."[7] In North America, however, women and children's interest in Jumbo seemed to produce less condemnation from social critics. In a nation with democratic pretensions, many Americans spent on news about and momentos of the famous, some of whom became notable public

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figures by consciously living their lives with an eye to how the public would interpret their acts: George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, Dan Rice, Frederick Douglass, and Jesse James, among many others. P. T. Barnum, himself, had become a celebrity in part by promoting audience interest in his business ventures, including notable entertainers like Tom Thumb and singer Jenny Lind. As he would with Jumbo, Barnum framed Thumb and Lind for audiences as allegories for the value of a personal work ethic, home, and family.[8] Jenny Lind became the subject of her own "Lindomania," which generated songsheets, mass produced portraits, clothing, furniture and other consumer products branded with her image, as well as hundreds of thousands of dollars in concert earnings, and a journalistic industry of reporting on her day-to-day activities and the activities of fans who interacted with her.[9]

Keep in mind that Jumbo had no knowledge of any of the media interest around him, nor the many thousands of people everywhere who thought about him and wrote him letters, although some members of the public, especially children, may have convinced themselves otherwise.[10] Still, for North Americans, why pay any heed to this particular elephant? In London it had been his almost two decades of patient demeanor and hands-on contact with a broad public, especially children, that made him unique; in North America it was Jumbo's size and life history that distinguished him. There was only a nascent network of zoos on the continent while the circuses tended to carry Asian elephants, which were smaller than Jumbo. Few had seen an adult male African elephant in person to realize how large they routinely become. "He is larger than any in the large herds owned by Barnum or Forepaugh," the *New York Times* said of Jumbo. "And larger and heavier than Bolivar, that veteran elephant, whose escapades and ferocity have formed the basis for many a Winter's yarn."[11] Such newspaper pieces, which often were planted press notices authored by circus publicists, appeared by the hundreds in North American newspapers and drew on collective memory of noted circus elephants who became destructive as they neared adulthood, most being destroyed by their owners in time. Such reminiscences constituted a crucial node in mass distribution of information about circus elephants, who were portrayed as celebrated, unique individuals in order to endorse that kind of consumer knowledge as valid in the public sphere.

Animal celebrity always has a backstage component, and the logistics of making Jumbo a mobile entertainer might have horrified Londoners who worried about the well-being of the elephant in the hands of Bill

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Newman's or George Arstingstall's (Barnum's elephant managers) crews, even with Matthew Scott on hand. The contrast between the apparent romance of working for an adored circus coupled with frequent misery endured behind the scenes was captured by the 1882 route book (employees yearbook of a season) for the P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth and the Great London Circus. That season, the unit took on Jumbo while already saddled with a large herd of elephants, who raced in the ring as a feature of the show. The ship carrying Jumbo, Matthew Scott and other circus staff unloaded in bad weather after dark with great difficulty – Jumbo sedated with alcohol, locked in his transfer crate, which slowly wheeled up Broadway to Madison Square Gardens until 1:00 am, in the pouring rain.[12] The company's difficulties were just beginning:

Sunday, April 9th. New York, N.Y.

> On Sunday morning, April 9th, the long expected, best advertised, new sensation, the Mastodon Elephant Jumbo, arrived from London on the steamship Assyrian Monarch. It was early in the morning when the steamer was moved to Pier 1, North River, but it took until twelve o'clock at night to get Jumbo on terra firma. Eight horses were on hand and hitched to the cage on wheels; commence their march up Broadway. The rain was pouring in torrents and the management as well as the large delegation of employees who on foot escorted the new visitor will not soon forget the drenching they received.

Monday, April 10th. New York, N.Y.

> Jumbo was first introduced to the American public and became a part of the Great Show, the talk of all New York and the sensation of the day.

Monday, April 24th. Philadelphia, Pa.

> Arrived 10 o'clock Sunday morning. The special car built for Jumbo could not stand the strain of his enormous weight and the running gear gave way on arrival. This was repaired during the week.

Monday, May 22nd. Brooklyn, N.Y.

> Scott, Jumbo's keeper, returned to the show cured of the injuries inflicted on him by Jumbo accidentally pressing him against the side of his car.

Saturday, June 17th. Boston, Ma.

> Saturday being Bunker Hill day, ... The herd of elephants gave a free swimming exhibition at 8 a.m. in the pond at Boston common.

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Wednesday, August 2nd. Troy, N.Y.

> In the evening as the small elephants were being conveyed to their cars, they were attacked and stampeded by a gang of Trojan roughs. They ran in all directions, two of them rushing into an iron foundry which they soon cleared by indiscriminately slinging around all the red hot irons they could find. Another two ran into a corn field, after upsetting half a dozen people.

Friday, August 25th. Binghamton, N.Y.

> Henry Morgan's elephant ran close to the poles, throwing him in the way of the other racing elephant, who, stepping on him broke his leg. William Hicks, jockey, was thrown from his horse and broke his breast bone. Both left back under medical aid.[13]

Life and labor in a traveling circus was exhausting and dangerous, for people and animals. The danger to Matthew Scott, who spent the most time with Jumbo, was serious and constant.[14] Hands-on management of elephants, especially in small spaces like rail cars, was and still is much more likely to result in injury to animal managers than "hands-off" management, in which humans and elephants are never in an enclosed space together. Hands-off management is prominent in zoos and sanctuaries today, but was utterly unthinkable for a traveling circus company in the 1880s.[15]

At the same time, the circuses knew what zoos had not yet mastered: how to promote an animal as a star. For 50 years, various circus impresarios had been advertising particular elephants as gregarious performers with names, portraits, biographies and show patter that told audiences of those elephants' supposed love for show business.[16] Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson management took this work to a new level by employing for Jumbo all the classic modes of "fabricating well-knownness" we can see in the history of human celebrity, such as the staging of "counterfeit happenings," critiqued by Daniel Boorstin.[17] Today, zoos throw birthday parties for their baby animals or offer streaming "cam" footage online exposing named zoo animals going through their daily activities. In Jumbo's day, it was circus-engineered media availabilities, press notices, and manufactured pseudo-events that constituted the "news" about Jumbo's life. In them, Jumbo was no static figure or icon; his handlers and the press portrayed him as a living, changing being, motivated by human-style desires for comfort and family, and to be progressing toward an anthropocentric goal (for example, either to somehow return

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to Briton or to travel the US as an elephantine showman and tourist).[18] The press had been invited to witness Jumbo's disembarkation at the docks in Manhattan, and follow Barnum on board the ship to see Jumbo wherein Barnum "liken[ed] the event to Jenny Lind's arrival in America ... [and] again held forth on 'Jumbomania' and the trouble he had experienced in wresting Jumbo from the English."[19] Accordingly, Barnum thereafter circulated fictional "secret life of the royal pet" stories about Jumbo, for instance, that were loaded with questionable detail describing how the elephant had visited Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle Park and Buckingham Palace, where the two were intimate playmates and companions.[20]

Barnum, James Hutchinson, and their famed press agent Tody Hamilton, argued behind the scenes about costs, logistics and marketing tactics, while presenting a (usually) united front to the press and public in the person of Barnum.[21] In North America, the circus advertised Jumbo as a natural wonder and trophy of Barnum's coup in London. Unlike most of the company's elephants, Jumbo did no tricks in the show, and his "performance" so to speak was merely to provide his physical presence in parades and in the ring. Jumbo was literally larger than life, almost tailor-made for circus promotions of the period. Many of the company's heralds promoting Jumbo displayed him as "The Giant African Elephant" and Barnum's trophy, but one in particular replayed the events of the London scandal for viewers. Displaying Jumbo as an emotional participant in his journey to New York, various vignettes portrayed him straining against body chains, "forced into his box," (the shipping crate he had refused to enter at the LZS), on shipboard, and finally participating in the publicity event wherein he was "Drawn Up Broadway" for the viewing convenience of a triumphant American public that now held him captive.[22] And, as natural wonder, Jumbo certainly constituted a spectacle of "radical bodily difference" and animal otherness (like most animal displays) that invited viewers to think about constructs like nature versus culture, and nonhuman versus human.[23] If the administrators at the LZS had been taken aback by the public debate over Jumbo, Barnum and his team were not. Barnum had long supplied the American public with exhibitions and shows designed to be controversial and to endorse a democratic concept of individual right to an opinion, and what Eric Fretz has summed up as "the individual's ability to stylize a public persona and assert these artificially constructed identities into the public sphere."[24]

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As much as seeing difference in Jumbo, North Americans also appeared to identify with the elephant since Barnum and his partners also applied to him the same framing ideals Barnum had found to be so persuasive with the public through his work with Jenny Lind and Tom Thumb. The circus produced an array of promotional toys, balloons, games, souvenir booklets, magazine and newspaper stories, some ostensibly authored by Matthew Scott, as well as press notices and media availabilities that offered Jumbo as trophy and souvenir of Barnum's victory in London, certainly, but also as Scott's pet.[25] Stories of Scott and Jumbo as pals, or master and pet, defied the dangers that Scott and other elephant handlers on the circus unit confronted everyday in their work, but many people ate it up. One piece in *Harper's Young People*, "Personal Reminiscences of Jumbo by his Keeper, Matthew Scott" published just after the elephant's death, blended Scott's and Jumbo's biographies and positioned Scott as an advocate for the elephant. "Jumbo and myself were fast friends the first time we met, and he would be governed by none of the other keepers," Scott (apparently) wrote. "He was like a great good-natured boy, and he took a special fancy to children and ladies," the story continued before explaining how Jumbo grew overtime and was known to carefully avoid injuring children who fell down near his feet at the London Zoo. "He minded me because he loved me," the story explained of Scott's relationship with the elephant, contrasting it to George Arstingstall, head elephant man at the circus who, "holds sway over nearly fifty great animals ... solely because they fear him."[26]

Indeed, children's magazines were an especially relevant venue for stories about Jumbo and catered to the era's parental interest in persuading children to be kind to animals as part of their moral development and in recognition of sincere belief in the ability of other species to feel pain and emotions.[27] Numerous items appeared in *Harper's Young People* (published in the US) that discussed Jumbo both as an educational specimen representing his species and as "friend" to children – "his little admirers" – and global celebrity. "Jumbo, as I am perfectly sure you all know as well as I do, is an elephant, the biggest elephant in captivity, as gentle as he is big, and the English people, young and old, are very fond of him," one feature explained. "Even the Queen, who was shot at a few weeks ago by a poor crazy man, but not hurt; even the Czar, who is shut up in one of his Russian palaces for fear of being shot at, are having less said about them," the story instructed young readers of Jumbo's deserved celebrity status. This story also included an account of the author's

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personal impressions of Jumbo's manner when she had visited him in London.[28]

Jumbo certainly increased revenue for the Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson and London Shows Circus, as thousands of Americans ventured out to see Jumbo and what all the fuss had been about in London. As in Europe, Americans and Canadians were just coming around to the idea of animals as public, for-profit individuals, although the idea had been developing in parallel with the growing reach of print and graphic media. If wealthy enough or in the right place at the right time they might know "Horses of most celebrity" like "Lexington [who] enjoys world-wide fame" or Grey Eagle, "the idol of Kentuckians," associated with the speculative breeding, racing and wagering around race horses. Some of these steeds were indeed celebrated, although only within a small circle of aficionados who read turf journals and sporting papers, attended races, or worked at one of the tracks. These were not anthropomorphic parasocial relationships on the scale of that expressed toward Jumbo, but showed that modern consumer subjectivities would include the ability to project emotions onto mediated animals of various species.[29]

Jumbo's fame was different due to the breadth of public participation and the degree of audience buy-in with respect to Jumbo's public persona and imagined experience. None of the previously famous race horses or circus elephants had actually functioned *as a celebrity* as fully as Jumbo, whose daily movements and experiences were recorded, reported, repeated, and raked over the coals for meaning by the press and average citizens.[30] In this case, Barnum and Tody Hamilton had much of their work done for them since the British public had already made it clear what kind of celebrity they wanted Jumbo to be; namely, a knowing participant in his own life story and a friend.

Circus broadsides, booklets, and other ephemera were sometimes the only source of fantasy and color in small towns and, even in the cities, represented the industry's foundational contribution to graphic arts, advertising and promotion.[31] Predominantly, they represented the marketing and self-promotion desires of their authors, although also reflecting consumers' interest in seeing animals as active, responsive, and sentient individuals. Hence, it would be the satirists and advertisers of other consumer products who would exercise greater freedom in critiquing or appropriating Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson's messages about their animals. While some poked fun, most suggested other

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consumer interpretations of Jumbo that spoke to an apparent consumer desire to participate in Jumbo's celebrity status, and whose individuality and sentience made him relevant. For instance, Barnum collected in one of his many scrapbooks the front cover of the British magazine *Funny Folks*, which showed Barnum as publicity monarch, of a sort, but also depicted a clearly emoting Jumbo the elephant, looking disgruntled even while he faced his public admirers.[32] Would Americans be open to an emoting Jumbo as well?

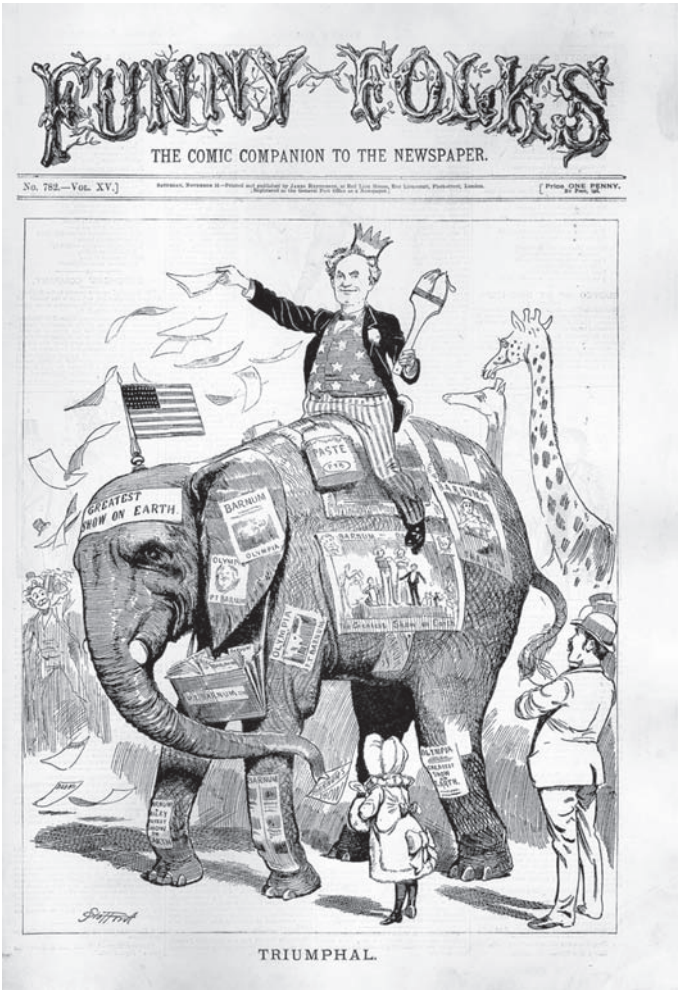

ILLUSTRATION 2.1 *Sullen Jumbo as marketing vehicle.* Funny Folks, *1882*

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Beyond the circus and the press, various printers appropriated Jumbo in their work to supply promotional materials to manufacturers of household products aimed predominantly at women. Again the elephant underwent a transformation, now away from the wild animal trophy persona Barnum's graphics allowed for him and into a form that was more fantastic but more truthful in its expression of predominantly women's identification with Jumbo as nature pet. Although a few ivory product manufacturers and sellers appropriated the elephant (Jumbo Billiard and Pool Balls advertisements employed an (Asian) elephant logo bearing the word "JUMBO" on the creature's hide promoting various ivory consumer products including brushes and combs), the vast majority depicted the elephant extracted from the ivory trade.[33] Trade card printers who particularly served thread manufacturers, soap and washing powder companies, as well as medicine makers, prospered by creating a variety of designs and offering them to companies in order to see which ones the public preferred.[34] Half advertising and half souvenir, the cards featured humorously absurd or sentimental images of animals by industry wisdom that consumers were sometimes more easily persuaded with useful, decorative, or entertaining objects like calendars, games or household items, like dishes or match holders, than product information in print.[35] In fact, nineteenth-century advertising strove not just to sell a given product but to cultivate citizens as consumers by telling them emotionally compelling stories.[36]

Trial and error sales testing served as market research of a kind, so the cards that proliferated gave an indication of which kinds of depictions of Jumbo were most popular with citizens. Some of the cards merely depicted a vignette from the London controversy as a novelty, which gave people a reason to hang onto a card featuring the company logo.[37] Others integrated their products into the famous Jumbo saga. A particularly ubiquitous card published by Forbes Company depicted a roaring and monstrous looking Jumbo with beady eyes and wrinkled skin on a London road, straining to resist being pulled toward the docks. Jumbo was a wild animal still, the card quipped, but "MUST GO, BECAUSE DRAWN BY WILLIMANTIC THREAD!" Here the elephant was dragged metaphorically toward the US by an American product functioning almost as a metaphor for the pull of consumer demand.[38] Others similarly showed the elephant tied to the ground by J & P Coats thread, or depicted children using Willimantic threat to snare wild elephants in India, simultaneously indicating the strength of the product

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ILLUSTRATION 2.2 *Clark's O.N.T. Spool Cotton trade card, ca. 1882*

while characterizing Jumbo's captivity as an innocent lark driven by childish fun.[39] "What is Jumbo's mission to the United States?" asked a Kerre & Company printers card employed by Dollar Brand Sewing Cottons (thread): "To introduce Kerr's Dollar brand of SIX CORD, which he found so strong," ventriloquizing an unaware Jumbo such that he endorsed a product that shoppers knew he could never possibly comprehend.[40]

Then there was the famous Buek & Lindner series, shared by R. W. Bell soaps, Clark's ONT Spool Cotton, and perhaps other companies.[41] It moved the metaphor along to portray Jumbo in a persona linking his celebrity to the quintessential modern mass identity: consumer. In the 12-card series, Jumbo walks upright on his hind legs, carries a suitcase, and wears a hat, bowtie and jacket. He goes to the opera, plays cards, eats lunch while seated at a table, and in the last card indulges in a "vacation" after performing in the circus show.

Number six in the series, "Jumbo at Coney Island," appears to have been one of the more popular in the series. It pictures the elephant in swimming trunks, standing in the surf at the beach at one of the preeminent cites of mass commercial leisure in the US. Here the elephant was almost entirely divorced from his status as wild animal or even nature pet. By this interpretation, Jumbo was an individual seeking satisfaction, and an anthropomorphized animal tourist. The

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card mobilized his celebrity status for a fantasy wherein he shared human goals and needs while varnishing work-a-day household products with emotional resonance grounded in common experience with the viewer of an entitled "consumerist appraisal of the world," which Kirsten Hoganson notes in the 1890s, but was afoot a decade earlier.[42] Jumbo was certainly no supplier of raw material to global manufacturing, but to the media, and additionally a happily equal participant in consumer practices that endorsed viewers' subjective emotions – humor, sentimentality for the "cute," self-indulgence – from a seemingly trusted and honest position of nature.[43] The Coney Island Buek & Lindner piece, Castoria laxative card, Centaur Liniment advert and various other appropriations of the elephant similarly domesticated him for female consumers by depicting him as primary caregiver and disciplinarian to the circus's "baby" elephant, in reference to the elephant named America, born in Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson's winter quarters in 1882.[44]

The embellished or entirely imagined moments in Jumbo's life portrayed in trade cards were no more absurd than the pseudo events that Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson manufactured to perpetuate Jumbo's celebrity by asking North Americans to care where the elephant was on any given day or what he did. These cards were good-humored and functioned as a send up of current events, with viewers not insulted by the cards for their interest in Jumbo since in on the joke. For instance, one of the Buek & Lindner series trade cards was entitled "Jumbo Aesthetic" and showed Jumbo wearing a large flower in his lapel and posed jauntily beside a figure that looked just like Oscar Wilde. Creative people have long employed the awkward animal mimicking human behavior to at once lampoon human ways and reinforce the subordination of animals, who just never quite do human things as well as humans do. Yet, by endorsing the viewer's sentimentalism, although cloaking it in satire, the cards endorsed subversive readings grounded in fandom, which probably abounded for women or kids (or men) who had followed Jumbo's story and felt some admiration or affection for him. In London, Jumbo had been the children's pet; in North America he was that and also a modern tourist.

Animal icons already appeared in graphic advertising as metaphors for purity or innocence, or as eye-catching mascots that sometimes were sentimental but not incredible, as these animals were drawn *as animals* displaying animal behavior. Most of the thread and soap

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trade cards featuring Jumbo, however, were in the tradition of circus advertising, which showed elephants in incredible denatured poses and costumes to indicate events in their performance and to anthropomorphize elephants as professional entertainers. In the advertising world beyond the circus, "bizarre imagery could also serve as a veneer for rational appeals to health, efficiency, and economy," through smart household purchases, as Jackson Lears has noted of animal-themed advertising of the period.[45]

Still, Jumbo was not anonymous, but a nascent brand that divorced him from other elephants to some degree and thus mobilized him for citizens and a broader consumer ethic linking material abundance with whimsical reimagining of animals as comforting, humorous characters participating equally in modern life. Together, these cards established "familiar pictorial codes [that] have the effect of 'taming' these animals according to dominant cultural expectations," Keri Cronin explains. "And they tend to be represented in ways that are both aesthetically-pleasing and non-threatening to human consumers of these objects. These popular images decontextualize the subject of the photograph from the lived actualities of the individual animal's day-to-day existence."[46] That is, Jumbo at Coney Island or the opera was effectively a template for future graphic artists and advertisers on how to make animal figures modern, emoting characters, whose body language could be read by viewers for messages that endorsed particular products and the consumer ethic more generally. By seeming to endorse and authenticate participation in the market by ostensibly speaking from an honest position of nature, not artifice and culture, Jumbo became an easily transferable icon of abundance, innocent of race (in North America, at least), gender, class, or other politics that a human figure might introduce to a product.[47]

Between Jumbo's arrival on the continent and the moment before his sudden death three years later, there was no talk of knife handles or the horrors of the ivory trade in the ongoing conversation about consumerism, North Americans, advertisers and the press. There was no crisis of loss – either of sale and exportation, nor elephantine medical – yet, so people appear to have become complacent. The record of these years shows that citizens viewed Jumbo almost entirely through the consumer paradigm that celebrated the elephant as a celebrity individual seeking satisfaction as fellow traveler in the market, not a member of a species at risk.

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Notes

1 "Stray London Town Talk," *New York Times*, March 20, 1882.
2 "Crazes," *The Spectator*, March 25, 1882. On the array of products available, see also, Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum*, 331.
3 "Jumbo and His Friends," *Daily Telegraph* (London), February 23, 1882.
4 "Stray London Town Talk," *New York Times*, March 20, 1882.
5 Holder, *Ivory King*, 64.
6 Samantha Barbas, *Movie Crazy*, 157–84.
7 Editorial, *The Spectator*, September 19, 1885.
8 Adams, *E Pluribus Barnum*, 41–47; Harris, *Humbug*, 113–41.
9 Harris, *Humbug*, 131; Ware and Lockerd, Jr., *P. T. Barnum Presents Jenny Lind*, 9; Wallace, *Fabulous Showman*, 167.
10 Nance, "A Star Is Born to Buck," in Gillett and Gilbert, ed., *Sport, Animals, and Society*, 173.
11 "An Elephant for the City," *New York Times*, March 20, 1882.
12 Saxon, *P. T. Barnum*, 295.
13 Alvaro Betancourt [Stewart], comp., *My Diary or Route Book of the P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth and the Great London Circus for the Season 1882* (1882); Box 47, "Miscellaneous Materials: Route Books," McCaddon Collection, Special Collections and Rare Books, Princeton Library, Princeton, NJ. On the incident in Troy, New York, and the national newspaper coverage about it, see: "Elephants Cause Trouble in Troy," *New York Times*, August 3, 1882; "Four Elephants at Large," *Washington Post*, August 3, 1882; "An Elephant in a Rolling Mill," *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1882; "Elephantine Pranks," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 6, 1882.
14 The May 22 injuries to Matthew Scott and how Jumbo "almost mashed his keeper into a jelly" are described in "Jumbo's Jam," *New York Times*, May 25, 1882.
15 Schmid, "Hands Off, Hands On."
16 Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 39–69.
17 Boorstin, *The Image*, 40–47.
18 Ibid., 26–27, 30; Nance, "A Star Is Born to Buck," 184.
19 Saxon, *P. T. Barnum*, 294.
20 Ibid., 295–96. See for instance, "Jumbo," *New York Times*, April 11, 1882.
21 Wallace, *Fabulous Showman*, 283–87.
22 "Barnum & London: The Great African Elephant Jumbo," by Strobridge Lithographing Company, 1882, object number: ht2004513, TDC, http://emuseum.ringling.org/emuseum/ objects/viewcollections/, accessed May 1, 2014.
23 Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, 144.
24 Fretz, "P. T. Barnum's Theatrical Selfhood," in Thomson, ed., *Freakery*, 98.

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25 Kelly, "P. T. Barnum's Biggest Star."
26 "Personal Reminiscences of Jumbo," *Harper's Young People*.
27 Grier, *Pets in America*, 18–19, 160–233.
28 Gustafson, "Jumbo." See also, Alden, "How Jumbo Crossed the Ocean."
29 Nance, "Game Stallions"; Johnson, "Northern Horse." On famous horses within the racing world, see, for instance, "Recent Importations of English Stallions," *American Turf Register*; Busbey, "The Running Turf in America," 245–46.
30 Indeed, a hand-written log of Jumbo's trip across the Atlantic on the Assyrian Monarch still resides at Princeton University Library, and served as a source for numerous published stories on Jumbo's behavior, feelings, eating habits and probable discomfort on the trip as he was shackled and locked in a shipping crate. "Jumbo's Voyage Across the Atlantic," MS draft, box 41, folder 8, Joseph T. McCaddon Collection, Princeton University Rare Books and Special Collections Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ. See also, Jolly, *Jumbo*, 96.
31 Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 44–45.
32 Funny Folks, from Barnum's London Scrapbook, Phineas Taylor Barnum Papers, Tufts University Digital Library, Tufts image MS002.001.011.00001.00001, Tufts University, Medford, MA, http://hdl.handle.net/10427/35360, accessed May 1, 2014.
33 See for instance, "Jumbo Billiard and Pool Balls," *Puck*, June 27, 1883.
34 Laird, *Advertising Progress*, 88–92.
35 Ibid., 88.
36 Ibid., 7–8.
37 Many examples of Jumbo and other circus-themed trade cards are available and searchable in the Tibbals Digital Archive of the John & Mable Ringling Museum of Art. See for instance the various companies that employed this card, "Jumbo Leaving England," object numbers: ht50000231, ht50000227, ht50000228, ht50000229, and ht50000230, TDC, http://emuseum.ringling.org/emuseum/ objects/viewcollections/, accessed May 1, 2014. See also, Landauer, "Jumbo's Influence on Advertising."
38 "Jumbo Must Go Because Drawn by Willimantic Thread," object number: ht50000347, TDC, http://emuseum.ringling.org/emuseum/ objects/viewcollections/, accessed May 1, 2014.
39 "See What Can Be Done with Willimantic Six Cord Spool Cotton," object number: ht50000363, TDC, http://emuseum.ringling.org/emuseum/ objects/viewcollections/, accessed May 1, 2014.
40 "Dollar Brand Sewing Cottons" trade card, reproduced in Landauer, "Jumbo's Influence on Advertising," 44–45.
41 Individual cards from the Buek & Lindner series can be found for sale on eBay and in various archives, but for a snapshot of the entire series, see:

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Ben Crane, "Trade Cards by Buek & Lindner," http://www.tradecards.com/articles/jumboBL/index.html, accessed May 1, 2014, or the Tibbals Digital Archive mentioned above. The www.tradecards.com site indicates that the most popular cards in the series, based on their availability to collectors today, were those depicting Jumbo as a traveler or leisured consumer.

42 Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*, 155.

43 Shukin, *Animal Capital*, 5; Davis, *Spectacular Nature*, 8–10.

44 Landauer, "Jumbo's Influence on Advertising," 50–51; Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 214.

45 Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, 107.

46 Cronin, "'The Bears Are Plentiful and Frequently Good Camera Subjects,'" 81.

47 Shukin, *Animal Capital*, 5; Wells, *Animated Bestiary*, 5–6.

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3
Jumbo: Carcass, Relic, Toy

Abstract: *This chapter follows Jumbo's post-mortem transformation from celebrity circus captive to raw material for naturalists. Correspondence between Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson circus and Henry Ward's Natural History Establishment shows how circuses and zoologists resisted with public perceptions of animals while treating them, not as sentient individuals, but as raw material. Both interpretations of animals, as pets and raw material, were necessary functions of modernity. Jumbo made an uneasy transition to taxidermic specimen because the high points of circus history and educational taxidermy in North America intersected in the 1880s. Still, many found the "2 Jumbos" – his preserved skeleton and skin – awkward since taxidermy was usually employed with anonymous creatures. Therefore, people again transformed Jumbo into toy and household companion in order to obscure human complicity in his species' near-extermination that century.*

Keywords: Carl Akeley; children's literature; Henry A. Ward ivory; Jumbo museums natural history taxidermy toys

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On September 15, 1885, the consumerist fantasy of Jumbo on-his-travels in America came to an abrupt end in St Thomas, Ontario when Jumbo died after being struck by a train. At that moment he began a transition from living celebrity to raw material and relic that many would find unsettling at the time because it exposed how imperfect the machinery of concealment masking Jumbo's links to unsentimental international markets for animal components was. While that evening's performance was winding down, elephant men for P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth were herding their charges to the waiting circus train. In a hasty attempt to cut corners, the elephant men directed the animals along a shorter section of yard from which rail officials had expressly warned them away.[1] With no escape route, Jumbo and the juvenile elephant Tom Thumb were struck by an oncoming locomotive, which was derailed by the impact. Local papers described the elephantine injuries, for Tom Thumb a broken leg and for Jumbo, "deep gashes in his flank, his feet were torn and the blood ran out of his mouth." Some bystanders reportedly wept as the famous elephant cried out in pain and died of apparent exsanguination.[2] Reporters converged on the scene, one claiming Jumbo's longtime keeper Matthew Scott had said of Jumbo, simply: "I loved him."[3] A journalist from Toronto admitted, "It was a sad sight to see the pet of England and America lying ingloriously jammed in between a locomotive and two freight cars."[4]

The industrial setting of the elephant's death was actually telling since it forced the backstage elements of his life out into public view where it would complicate, for some observers, the celebrity status the circus, the press, and audiences in Canada, the US and Britain had constructed for the elephant. As people confronted the process of removing the physical Jumbo from his legend, his body became even more contentious than when he had been alive. "Who is to blame?" one paper asked of Jumbo's demise, implying that the public had suffered a collective loss.[5]

To take control of the story, the circus famously released an account of the accident claiming Jumbo had been killed while valiantly rushing to save the company's juvenile elephant, Tom Thumb, from being crushed by the locomotive. Although many cynical observers rolled their eyes, the story persisted in the work of journalists and popular writers for decades since it provided a posthumously heroic element to the elephant's public persona that might absolve the circus of responsibility.[6] Even the normally high-minded editors at *Harper's Weekly* indulged their readers with a sentimental account of Jumbo's ostensible personality, praising his

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"noble" character and "most meritorious and praiseworthy manner" as "great pet of the American people." Agreeing that "poor Jumbo's death was tragic and affecting," the magazine spoke for the millions with a personal investment in the animal whose demise had "occasioned such a degree of genuine regret on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean as was never before called forth by the demise of any fourfooted [sic.] creature that ever grew up in this world of sorrow and suffering to love and to be loved."[7] Despite the spin, the circus soon admitted that the killing was a product of human negligence, although whether on the part of circus or rail staff, they did not explain publicly.[8]

Back in the spring of 1882, London's *Daily Telegraph* newspaper had protested the exportation of Jumbo in a long editorial that asked of the "... Philistines who have led him into captivity," whether he would end up "dying amid some scene of terrible wrath and ruin."[9] Hearing of the accident, many Britons must have believed that that was exactly what had happened. As the elephant lay on the embankment onto which a crew of dozens of people had rolled his massive, seven-tonne body to free up the track upon which he had collapsed, news of his demise shot down the telegraph lines in all directions as typesetters in dozens of smoky newsrooms got to work spelling out the terrible news: "Jumbo is dead." Almost uniformly referring to the elephant as a distinct and sentient individual with the pronoun "he," their accounts included "his history" and other "biographical[s]" describing Jumbo's life story. Thereafter followed news that the elephant's carcass was being sought for preservation by a number of parties, including the Smithsonian Institution.

Naturalists were not the only ones thinking in such terms. Accordingly, Jumbo as an individual would exist for a time as a physical manifestation of broader cultural processes that Nicole Shukin notes made animals modern since they are "simultaneously sign and substance of market life." That is, Jumbo and many others would inhabit the contradiction inherent in an age characterized by mediated, public love for some individual animals and an accelerating industry requiring growing volumes of anonymous animal bodies.[10] Jumbo was now a dead celebrity *and* a valuable but fragile repository of skin, bones, fat, and a little bit of ivory. Embodying this duality, his famous corpse immediately became its own sensation as locals congregated at the St Thomas railyard. In the hours before an armed guard appeared, many in the crowd exhibited blended urges for mourning, voyeurism and acquisitiveness by souveniring from

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the body, taking away long tail hairs, cuttings of skin, and chards of his stumpy tusks, which had partly regrown.[11]

Soon a crew working for Ward's Natural Science Establishment in Rochester, New York arrived to begin the formal dismantling of Jumbo's body, "preliminary butcher work" as proprietor Henry Ward called it, as Jumbo's remains were absorbed into the infrastructure of "industrial animal dismantling" reserved for anonymous creatures.[12] "I reached St. Thomas on Thursday forenoon," Ward reported to Barnum a while later, "and found the carcass in very bad position for work, and smelling very 'loud.'"[13] Ward's men removed the elephant's 1500-pound skin by "slitting it along the belly and then making circular incisions around the body and taking it off in strips." They then transferred the hide pieces to vats lent by a local pork processing facility. The hide, once processed, yielded 4000 pounds of fat, which locals in Rochester sold "as a salve for skin complaints." The bones were packed up, too, and along with the hide and many of the internal organs were shipped by train to Rochester. Much of the rest of the body was burned over two days, although rumor had it that the skinned and de-boned corpse had also produced four thousand pounds of fat and that, perhaps spuriously, "for years men hawked small boxes of it as a salve for skin complaints."[14]

Six days later, as men in Ward's shop in Rochester were loading the strips of Jumbo's skin into huge vats of arsenic "soak" to prepare it for eventual mounting, a loud if short-lived scandal erupted when the *Hartford Globe* accused the circus of having intentionally killed the most famous animal in the world. Their "startling and shocking rumors" garnered from unnamed informants at the accident site charged that company managers had ordered a possibly unwitting Scott to drive Jumbo alone down the main track in St Thomas where the elephant would be trapped when a train came along. Jumbo had thus "died an awful death," his tusks "jambed into his head"(sic.) by the skull-crushing impact of the locomotive.[15] The paper described "How the Plan Was Laid" after "An Unsuccessful Attempt at Montreal," because the elephant had been suffering from an undisclosed illness, which was possibly an infection contracted over the winter, and daily pain that made him dangerous to company staff.[16] W.P. Jolly's investigation suggests the elephant suffered pain due to "abnormality in the teeth," which is apparent in the post-mortem plaster cast taken of Jumbo's molars, and which likely required staff to sedate Jumbo when he was in public to prevent the rough behavior he exhibited after hours.[17]

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Indeed, already in August 1885, Ward had written to naturalist John Marshall at Tufts University that Matthew Scott had confided to Ward's cousin "(quietly) that he does not think that [Jumbo] will live long, that it is nearly a year now since he has been able to lie down, etc."[18] Behind the scenes Barnum and his managers may have understood that they were on borrowed time with the elephant. Nonetheless, as in London before, the press sensed that the public was concerned for Jumbo as a sentient individual capable of suffering pain and injustice at human hands. His unfeeling owners might have just as easily forced the "admired pet of 200,000,000 people" to suffer being "exhibited publicly while dying on his feet," the *Hartford Globe* accused, but had decided to kill him directly from a business point of view.[19] The story speculated that Barnum and fellow owners James Bailey and John Hutchinson knew that although Jumbo was ill the public would not tolerate seeing the circus intentionally kill the elephant, as they had other bull elephants, including the controversial Pilot. Only Henry Bergh of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals had defended Pilot, a bull elephant who, like most teen and adult bulls held by the circuses, became too dangerous to staff and the public to keep on a traveling show. So, on orders from James Bailey, head elephant manager George Arstingstall had shot the bound elephant in April 1883. Thereafter his body was disassembled and "distributed to the four corners of [New York] City" – his tusks became billiard balls while much of his body was rendered for "glue, buttons and other substances."[20]

Moreover, the *Hartford Globe* speculated, Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson knew that to allow Jumbo to die a slow, wasting death would in turn supply a degraded body to the naturalists who waited anxiously to get their hands on his remains, as well as audiences who might pay to see them. "There is a quarter million dollars profit in his drawing qualities yet," the *Globe* insisted of Jumbo's body.[21] Barnum filed a libel suit against the paper, which immediately quashed the story.[22]

A murder conspiracy story was evidence that Jumbo was a celebrity in the truest sense as people minutely analyzed the details of his death in order to find some comforting meaning in such a seemingly tragic event. *The Globe*'s accusations offered a media-generated alternative to the company story celebrating Jumbo's ostensible heroism by assuring the public that circus audiences were in no way complicit in the elephant's nasty death. For, would they not have continued to love and be amazed by Jumbo if it were not for greedy and cruel businessmen, especially that scoundrel Barnum?

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In fact, although it may have had some of the specific details wrong, the *Hartford Globe*'s conspiracy theory traced out the truth of Jumbo's function in the circus. It appears Barnum had no particular affection for Jumbo personally, just as a publicity and ticket-sales tool. And certainly circus people would have known that the elephant, like most circus animals, would probably not last more than a few years with the company, for one reason or another. The circus made plans for this eventuality two years before Jumbo died when Barnum promised Henry Ward the contract for preserving Jumbo's skin and skeleton. Of course Barnum did so with the stipulation that the deal be kept secret since, Barnum had warned Ward in October 1883, a year and a half before the St Thomas event, "Bailey & Hutchinson ... would not want you to publish any hint that Jumbo can ever die" (emphasis in original).[23] Indeed, the circus's desire to hide their plans for the eventual transformation of Jumbo from animal celebrity to taxidermic feature would bump up against the growing power of audiences and the press to lend the elephant modern personhood as a sentient, named individual.

All animal celebrities have a backstage life that the public never sees if the consumer-friendly fantasy of nonhuman personality is to stay afloat.[24] Behind the stage curtain of Jumbo's identity as notional celebrity consumer on his travels in America was the reality that elephantine adulthood and his specific physical deterioration daily strengthened his connection to the parallel animal commodity worlds of educational taxidermy, commercial rendering, and – by extension – ivory.

Indeed, Barnum had a long term and very productive relationship with the Rochester workshop of geologist and taxidermist Henry Augustus Ward. The highpoint of circus history and the boom in educational taxidermy intersected nicely in the 1880s, and The Greatest Show On Earth would supply Ward's establishment with plenty of work preparing "all sorts of animals that die," Barnum promised, for donation or sale to educational institutions, especially the collection being amassed for the forthcoming Barnum Museum at Tufts College (now University) in Medford, Massachusetts.[25] By 1887 there would be sufficient numbers of "carcass[es] from the show" that Ward would have a standing order to simply accept whatever bodies or parts turned up at his workshop, then directly contact natural history professor John Marshall at Tufts College about how to prepare them for that collection.[26] And, only two weeks before Jumbo's death, Marshall had confirmed with Ward that the elephant's skin was to come to the Museum to serve as "the greatest

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ornament that we could put in the Vestibule, near Mr. Barnum's bust."[27] Barnum was a generous benefactor to the college and Jumbo's stuffed skin would eventually reside there for many decades, before being destroyed by fire in 1975.[28]

In the meantime, taxidermists in those years were immersed in a well-meaning but naively anthropocentric view of the world that suited the imperially acquisitive spirit of the era. Wealthy nations were busy discovering, measuring and cataloging new land, animals, plants, and peoples, and deciding how everything could be exploited for the financial and political gain of those in power or, later, a mass consumer economy. Scientific and public knowledge of the phenomenon of extinction was germinal but quickly growing. Classic examples like the dodo or passenger pigeon came to mind, but in the US just then people talked most about the status of American bison. A once abundant creature across the continent, by the spring of 1883 (a year after Jumbo arrived in New York) bison were suddenly "commercially, and almost biologically, extinct," despite public and legislative attempts at controlling the wholesale bison slaughter out west that was feeding the continental leather-hide industry.[29]

Just then, bison – and African elephants hunted for ivory – faced a "tragedy of the commons" wherein individual hunters, animal part dealers, and buyers acted in their own self-interest knowing others were, too, with no individual or government authority willing or able to manage the collective situation. Many naturalists argued that killing some individuals within such dwindling populations in order to produce taxidermy specimens or, especially in the twentieth century, to capture juveniles for zoo display was acceptable, even if the killing reduced stocks further since those wild animals would soon all be gone and lost to science. Thus, as the logic went, it was necessary to kill endangered animals in order to save them, since in-situ conservation seemed unlikely.[30]

Within the larger context of the professionalization of naturalists and zoologists, Henry Ward disliked being termed a "taxidermist." Even in the late nineteenth century, many people viewed the preservation, stuffing and display of animal skins as at once awkward, gruesome, and funny, especially since there was a broad range of people at work in the trade.[31] On one end of the spectrum were countless amateurs who skinned and stuffed birds they found in the yard, or captured small animals in the countryside for the purpose. Other commercial "taxidermists" similarly engaged in a kind of three-dimensional preservation of animals

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in which they simply sewed skins over basic, non-species specific wire forms, often without ever having personally seen a given species alive. Much of what these men produced was animal "upholstery" that posed awkwardly in shop displays and on middling household mantle pieces. There were also the many young men who, especially in the 1870s, had labored in sweatshops arranging preserved bird parts – wings, heads, tails – on ladies' hats.[32] Either way, the aesthetic of the hobby and professional trade emphasized human visual interest and took limited or no account of bones or musculature, any ethological knowledge of animals' behavior or cultures, their habits, sounds or smells when living.[33]

Henry Ward, however, considered himself a scientist and artist, as did many naturalists involved in taxidermy. Hoping to manage public perceptions of his association with the circus (known for freak shows, oddities, and catering to audience whim while making modest educational claims only to appease social critics), he asked reporters and Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson marketing staff to refer to him simply as the "Proprietor" of his workshop, Ward's Natural Science Establishment. The business was indeed the preeminent supplier of high quality mineral and taxidermic specimens, glass display cabinets, and related educational materials on the continent.[34] That decade of preservationists like Ward sought to remain solvent while moving their art into the educational mainstream by conveying information about the overwhelming number of new species people of European descent encountered that century.[35]

To this end, perhaps Ward's most gifted staff member was the taxidermist and naturalist Carl Akeley, who would later become well known for his work on gorilla conservation in Africa.[36] In the meantime, Akeley would be in charge of the Jumbo job. With a team of men, Akeley oversaw the production of what Ward would casually refer to as "the double Jumbo" or "the 2 Jumbos," namely "Jumbo-the stuffed" (the taxidermied skin) and "Jumbo-the skeleton."[37] For the skin, Akeley applied his innovative but time-consuming technique of wrapping animal skins on precisely crafted models of species-appropriate animal musculature – manikins, essentially – so that the final product looked as anatomically accurate as was probably possible. Ward's workers on the project also operated from a photograph of Jumbo while alive in an effort to produce a preserved skeleton and skin that looked like Jumbo, "Natural as Life" Barnum would advertise, whom many people had seen in photographs or in person as a distinct individual.[38]

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The dilemma men like Ward and Akeley confronted was that their work straddled a commodity network linking the scientific and educational institutions to global animal dealers, zoos and circuses, as well as the rendering plants and manufactureres using animal parts that defied public sentimenalization of famous nonhumans. Ward triangulated between consumers and scientific audiences in order to position himself as a public authority on natural phenomena so as to drive museum and educational sales of his fossils and preserved animals. He promoted his services and products through an endless stream of appeals and catalogs for his Establishment, which sometimes indulged in "romantic advertising" in order to publicize Ward's journeys abroad to collect exotic specimens.[39]

Still, in the struggle for solvency at Ward's Establishment, sometimes there were compromises to be made that showed that the scientific educational universe had commercial and social links to show business. For instance, just a few months after the "2 Jumbos" would make their debut, Ward agreed to prepare for Barnum's circus the skins of several monkeys. Posed as riding jockeys, his staff dressed them in coats and hats, then mounted the revitalized monkeys to saddles (supplied by the circus's prop department) for use in staged pony races.[40] The resulting creations were not exactly the Feejee Mermaid – the taxidermied monkey torso sewn to a fish tail that Barnum had displayed to much controversy in the 1840s – but hardly an educational model. It also showed that to naturalists like Ward and his men both the monkey and the cattle-leather saddle inhabited essentially the same moral space, as just so much skin. Ward's shop trafficked in everything from human skeletons, whole and in parts, to exotic birds skins, the feathers from which he sold to fly fishermen. Or, sometimes, it might be an upholsterer from Iowa who wrote with a hide wish list, for instance, "Have you now on hand skin of Capra ibex? Please answer soon."[41]

The matter-of-fact attitude toward living animals among those who worked in the show trade mirrored the culture at Ward's shop, where dead animals were "specimens," "jobs," contracts, and artistic opportunities. This meeting of minds produced frank correspondence between the Ward and Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson managers – at times even while a struggling animal was still alive – that might have made many circus goers wince. "Our double horned Rhinoceros will probably die within two or three weeks, as his lungs are seriously affected," Barnum promised in one note to Ward as the circus toured the continent. "[It] may die in New Jersey or Conn."[42]

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Like zoo captives, animals held by circuses routinely died due to inept or ill-informed care, visitor mischief and other chronic workplace hazards to which circus people seemed resigned but publicly referred to as "accidents."[43] For instance, correspondence between the Ward and Barnum documented one ostrich "[that] will surely die within a few days & you shall surely have it, if you desire it for skeletonizing. It is sick & has no plumage to speak of,"[44] and another in which, "in its throat was found a pc. Of wood 7 in. long 2 in. wide & 1 in. thick. No wonder its throat was inflamed."[45] Another telegram from the company secretary asked, "We have a camel to dispose of, shall we ship it to you dead or alive?" Responded Ward, "Kill it, be careful to break no bones, ship to me as fast freight."[46]

As Jumbo's behavior indicated that he was struggling with ill health, P. T. Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth now sought a solution to the same problem the London Zoo had encountered a few years earlier: How do we dispose of the steady stream of animals – especially this famous elephant – that die in our care? While behind the scenes they would engage in the same frank talk about the issue as London Zoological Society managers had, Barnum and his publicists were far better at understanding that whenever possible they should shape and limit what the public knew of the cycling of animals through their business.

At Ward's shop, work had began immediately on Jumbo's skin, bones and the structures for transporting them, as a rush order for The Greatest Show on Earth. What Ward's men discovered about the elephant when they unpacked his carcass in the workshop reflected Jumbo's relationship with his admirers, who had engaged with him as consumers in a market economy. "Jumbo was a bank all by himself," Ward explained. "I found in his stomach a great many coins – English shillings, sixpences, and coppers, and one Canadian piece."[47] Such multinational currency attested both to Jumbo's compromised welfare in being exposed to people who offered his sniffing trunk undigestable objects, and to his modern status as a globalized creature. "His head was fearfully smashed,"[48] Ward also wrote, and on the body he found "a couple of big gashes in the hide," as well as a long abrasion in the skin from the locomotive, and six vertebra "broken clear off." Most worrying, Ward and his crew found that "the skull is the bad part of the whole ... broken into three main pieces and more than fifty little ones."[49] Hence, the "artistic part" of the job was in reconstructing a living Jumbo that erased – "mended," Ward said – all evidence of how Jumbo had died by hiding the damage to the body. This

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was especially tricky with the skull in its various broken pieces, although Ward believed his osteologist could get the work done so as to be convincing "to the general observer," if not naturalists.[50]

At the same time, Ward would admonish one of his men for telling journalists about the texture, color and volume of the "marrow" – "the something like 25 gallons of oil, grease, fat, lard, gravy (what will you call it?)," said Ward – extracted from Jumbo's leg bones. Ward apparently promised Barnum that he would allow circus company agents to vet and supply all public information about the preparation of the elephant to guarantee that it did not conflict with company marketing program.[51] Circus owner J. L. Hutchinson later supervised the production of *The Life and Death of Jumbo*, an illustrated booklet that included an approved description of the preparation and educational and scientific value of Jumbo's skin and bones written by Henry Ward. In commissioning Ward's text, Hutchinson encouraged Ward to emphasize Jumbo's physical uniqueness in a larger-than-life way, especially "any striking and peculiar resemblances to the mastodon."[52] The booklet also included newspaper coverage generated by a February 1886 press junket, discussed in detail below.

Ward's new tactic of coordinating messaging with the circus represented a change of procedure since, in the past, Ward had publicly debunked Barnum's marketing to reporters as he determined how his and his business's reputation would mesh with that of the world's most famous circus and its impresario. For instance, a camel on the show had died and the circus publicity team had instructed a friendly reporter to write that the camel was "a peculiar favorite of [Barnum's] (gift of an Arabian Prince, and all that) and when it sickened and died, Mr. Barnum shed tears, and first vowed to erect a monument over its grave ... but finally he concluded that the preferable plan was to have [Ward's workshop] restore it to a life-like resemblance." Yet Ward "killed off considerable romance," the *Rochester Post-Expressed* revealed to readers, by telling the same journalist "the true story of the camel," specifically: "The fact is, Mr. Barnum has for years been in the habit of throwing away such animals as sickened and died in his menagerie. He would bury them, just as the owner of a horse would bury the animal if it died. An idea has struck him of late, however, to the effect that scientific use might be made of rare animals after their decease."[53] This was decidedly backstage information and was emblematic of how circus animals resided at the pivotal crossroads of modernity as celebrity body, scientific specimen,

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and circus garbage all at once. The dispute over how to talk publicly about dead animals to consumers showed Ward and the circus each working to position themselves publicly to the best advantage, Ward catering more to the scientific and educational community, Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth to members of the public who bought tickets to circus shows and expected the incredible.

Meanwhile, in Rochester work began on the transformation of Jumbo's carcass into the "2 Jumbos." The job was a technically difficult, expensive, and exasperating one in which Ward and Akeley were beset on all sides by numerous people who claimed a stake in what Jumbo would become and to whose advantage: "relic" of a dead celebrity, educational tool, cheap attraction.[54] Members of the scientific and taxidermy community gossiped with other naturalists about the project to "stuff the brute," prodding Ward with demands to "please send me the elephant's eye,"[55] or "fat please ... for experiments" and "candles."[56] Jumbo's fame seemed to be lending caché to his parts, even among serious and rational members of the scientific community. Ward did, in fact, sell fat from Jumbo's body in order to defray the unexpectedly high cost of the job, and made at least one unsuccessful attempt to sell the heart to the Royal College of Surgeons of England.[57] Ultimately, Ward still lost money on the project as costs escalated on the truly unprecedented project. Barnum explained that his partners James Bailey and John Hutchinson refused more money, such that Ward would have to be satisfied that his business would be rewarded with great "celebrity" and "advertisement" for having done the job.[58]

Beyond Professor Marshall at Tufts College, who believed Jumbo's remains rightly were promised Tufts' natural history museum, irritated officials at the Smithsonian equally felt they had an interest in Jumbo's corpse. They groused about waiting to receive Jumbo's skeleton for their collection when they learned that Barnum claimed citizens had deluged him with letters asking to see the remains.[59] They also worried that the circus's plan to display Jumbo-the skeleton for a year or two was short-sighted since the bones already required mending and would be further damaged by constant travel before the assembly could be put to proper educational and scientific use.[60]

The processing of Jumbo's parts was not secret, in fact, but existed in a media universe that craved celebrity news. Even what Barnum & Bailey's team agreed to have made public showed that in Ward's Establishment Jumbo was a carcass now, not a pet or a celebrity:

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> [The skin] was then soaked for two months in arsenic and other ingredients until thoroughly tanned. During this period of time the bones were steamed and exposed to the sun to bleach, a treatment that not only caused all the flesh and ligaments to drop off, but cause much of the oil of the bones to exude and evaporate, until they are not white as snow. The skin, when first taken off, weighted 1,533 pounds and varied from half an inch to an inch and a half in thickness. After it was tanned it was scraped and cleaned until it had a uniform thickness of half an inch. The stuffed skin, platform and all, weighs about three tons. The skin is nailed to the wooden framework with 74,480 nails and actually retains the folds and the grooves as natural as in life.[61]

It was not actually atypical for Barnum & Bailey to release this kind of detail as the circuses had strictly controlled marketing programs, to be sure. They also tried to appeal to different parts of the market – say, women and girls on the one hand, young boys on the other – by offering apparently competing information in their advertising versus those in their interviews with friendly journalists.[62] Carefully edited information from inside Ward's workshop carried educational pretenses (even if morbid) by conveying biographical and anatomical information regarding elephants, which coexisted with sentimental understandings of the "lamented Jumbo" in the circus's broadsides, souvenir booklets, and advertising.

Around the workshop at Ward's Establishment, the men referred to Jumbo and the other Barnum & Bailey elephant in process by their chosen names, and with personal pronouns: "Have you already ... taken Albert out of soak, and will he 'be mounted, and on exhibition this winter'?"[63] A more pre-modern – or was it a modern scientific? – matter-of-fact culture existed among men who were not squeamish or sentimental about the transformation of living animals into material objects, but able to cope mentally with the simultaneous individuality and commoditized nature of these animals. They understood Albert and Jumbo as named individuals *and* raw material.

"Let him show like a mountain!" Barnum had famously ordered upon learning Jumbo's skin could be stretched to increase his post-mortem size. James Hutchinson talked Barnum out of that request, insisting that the preserved elephant should look "natural."[64] Barnum and Hutchinson also shied away from paying for a set of ivory tusks be added to Jumbo-the stuffed, insisting that wood ones painted white would be sufficient "fac-similes."[65] Jumbo's tusks had been growing longer since his days of stereotypically rubbing them on the walls of his enclosure in London, but

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he had never become a full tusker. Ward's men salvaged Jumbo's stumpy tusks from his body, sliced and sent as souvenirs to Mrs. Barnum, one to the British Museum as a publicity stunt. But, not to Queen Victoria, Barnum explained, since "her Majesty will be offended, because she was opposed to my having Jumbo."[66] Something seemed inappropriate about treating Jumbo like other ivory-bearing elephants, and Barnum understood that, to some people, Jumbo's tusks were not *ivory*, per se, because of his individual story and meaning.

In death, Jumbo would be separated from the short tusks he had managed to grow since leaving London. In those days, public knowledge and discussion of the crisis African elephants were enduring was slowly building. It is hard to know how many of the people who fed Jumbo buns in London or shook their heads at news of the upcoming tour of his skin and skeleton as "the 2 Jumbos" considered what was happening in Africa, but many must have. And, as in that earlier moment of loss and crisis when he was shipped from Britain, after his death the press again raised the issue of collapsing elephant populations. For example, in a syndicated article that circulated that September, the *New York Sun* asked "Are Elephants Dying Out of the World?" and recalled discussion in London's *Spectator* several years earlier advocating for the preciousness of Jumbo as potentially the last of his kind because of the market for ivory.[67] Another popular account once again connected Jumbo's fate to that of the whole, asserting that, "the question of extinction rests with the rising generation. ... Every ivory tusk that is brought to the African coast from the interior is said to cost a human life; and that we may have ivory fans, billiard-balls, chessmen, knife-handles, inlaid furniture, grotesque Japanese statuary, etc., the elephant, who has been man's helpmate from 1200 B.C., and perhaps earlier, to the present day, is threatened with extermination."[68] Reading between the lines one could see that the author asserted that it was largely women to blame – the same women (even Queen Victoria) who might have fawned over Jumbo alive while decorating their homes with the body parts of his kin.

At the same time, when completed Jumbo-the stuffed was a masterpiece of taxidermic art. Perhaps representing some of the most ambitious and famous examples of animal carcass preservation in the world, the skin rested on Carl Akeley's plaster rendering of Jumbo's musculature and Jumbo-the skeleton was masterfully repaired to hide evidence of how the elephant died.[69] Yet, to many observers, something was not quite right about the spectacle of the "2 Jumbos." In the universe of

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natural history museums and taxidermy, ideal specimens were anonymous animals whose preserved and posed remains told a story about ideal types unsullied by myth or subjective interpretation, wherein individuals were interchangeable members of an ostensibly timeless and uniform species.[70] Such collections produced an inanimate zoological world consisting of ostensibly representative ideal "specimens" that the public accepted but seem to have found limiting since they allowed for little sentimentality or humor.

Jumbo, however, had been a sentient individual, a celebrated personality and public pet, and viewers viewed his preserved remains through the lens of their knowledge of his life story and emotional nature. As a result, the Jumbos appeared to many as awkward and unsympathetic – tacky, we might say today – a moment of crude opportunism that made his remains neither an educational specimen devoid of identity nor an innocent circus display of elephantine anatomy.

Audiences and the press appear to have seen the "2 Jumbos" as, variously, relics of the tragic St Thomas incident, a spectacle speaking of the exploitation of Jumbo's celebrity, evidence of the crude and morbid interests of circus audiences, and/or a tongue-in-cheek send up of Barnum's reputation for bald provocation. For instance, a reporter for the *New York Daily Tribune* attended a February 1886 Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson press junket held at Ward's Establishment in Rochester previewing the Jumbos' rollout. At the event, company publicist Tody Hamilton had

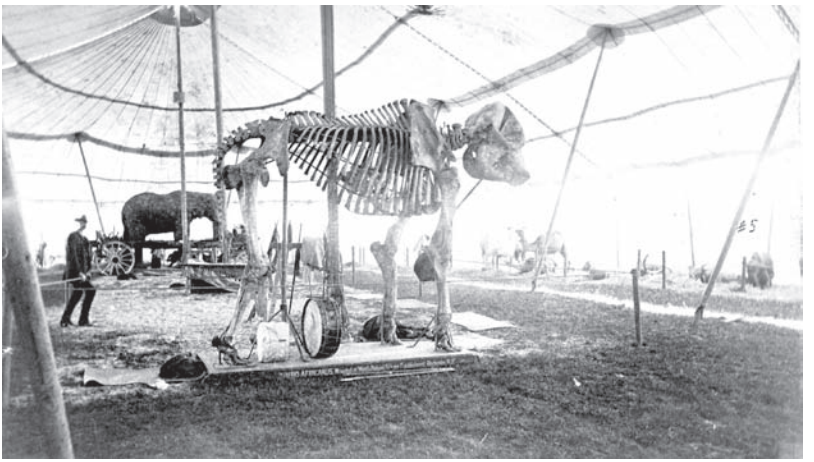

ILLUSTRATION 3.1 *"The 2 Jumbos," ca. 1888*

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hoped the newsmen there would be predisposed to enthusiastic evaluations of the new Jumbos since "bathed in grape juice, corn elixir, &c." the night before and hopefully drunkenly agreeable.[71]

Refusing to swallow the Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson marketing program whole, the *New York Daily Tribune* instead drolly explained: "Jumbo Double in Death – His Stuffed Skin Gazes At His Bones ... Ready For The Circus Ring Again." Conveying distaste for the display of the Jumbos dead when people had just seen the individual Jumbo alive the previous year, the paper lampooned audience sentimentality, the circus's opportunism, and the patriotic controversy over Jumbo four years earlier. The story explained the scene in Rochester where, "the children's pet" was "dragged forth into the light of publicity": "In the laboratory of Professor Henry A. Ward, the Rochester taxidermist [!] ... his huge bulk now stands, an effigy of departed greatness, and squints sardonically at his well scraped skeleton which has been skillfully put together and set up in another corner of the room." There would be no inconvenience for fans wishing to see Jumbo once again since the Jumbos would be mobile in special rail cars outfitted for them, and "all is prepared for his post-mortem triumphal progress."[72]

The *Tribune* also discussed Jumbo's simulated but apparently convincing stumpy tusks: "which were worn off short by perpetual rubbing against the walls of his English prison cell." Of the Rochester press dinner on the previous Friday, the paper quipped: "In order that the party might have a fellow feeling for the departed elephant, they were fed on ivory jelly made from the inner part of his tusks. Thus do the great live over again in their friends!"[73] Indeed, this reporter seems to have been struck by the weirdness – or awkwardness – of journalists eating parts of the famed creature. Clearly he felt some unease over how Jumbo had become a modern individual (although he may have not thought specifically in terms of "modernity") by being celebrated by the public as pet but materially threatened by that interest, and materially consumed by humans at the first opportunity. It is unclear if the reporters at the junket knew that there had been great debate between Ward's men over how large the displays could be made while keeping them small enough to fit in rail cars the circus company was building for them. At one point there had been a suggestion that Jumbo's skin be prepared with the trunk detachable for shipping.[74]

Jumbo's carcass would additionally inhabit the period's robust media-driven culture of dead celebrity veneration, which contextualized its

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reception and defied any serious educational pretenses. That decade Americans engaged in spontaneous acts of mourning or celebration incorporating sometimes tens of thousands of participants hoping to merge their own personal history with that of a public figure. There were countless citizens who turned out for the funerals of Presidents Lincoln, Grant and Garfield, entertainer Tom Thumb, and preacher Henry Ward Beecher; or the curious people who viewed the corpse of Jesse James in 1882, and the strange theater shows reenacting his murder by Robert Ford thereafter; or members of the public who sought as relics sections of the rope that hanged President Garfield's assassin, Charles Guiteau, or visited Guiteau's preserved brain, exhibited by an entrepreneur in Manhattan.[75]

But, how would this celebrity culture by which Americans linked their personal emotional experience to famous public figures adapt to the case of a famous dead nonhuman? Barnum's presentation certainly suggested an interpretation. For the crowds who turned out Barnum had acquired the African elephant known as Alice from the London Zoological Society. Noting that in Britain people referred to her as "Jumbo's widow" and depicted her weeping and mourning for "the lamented" Jumbo, Barnum imagined a way to make Jumbo's remains additionally a relic of this ostensible tragic love affair. "Alice joined the Greatest Show on Earth in the early days of her widowhood, and was exhibited side by side with the skeleton and stuffed hide of Jumbo," Barnum wrote in yet another of his several autobiographies. "This pathetic juxtaposition did not apparently affect her spirits. The dead Jumbo and the living Alice were among the most interesting features of the show season of 1886," he explained of the attempt to evoke sadness and nostalgia from visitors.[76]

To some observers, however, the "2 Jumbos" were a satire on educational taxidermy and the more morbid aspects of celebrity culture in the late nineteenth century. After the attraction's debut, other newspapers also tapped into what appears to have been a more widespread sense that this was an uneasy situation, that famed individual animals were not to straddle the various realms of pet, decaying carcass, and educational object. They also implied that the Jumbo spectacle harkened back to Barnum's storied but tacky "What is it?" (an African American man in furry suit who played a half-ape, half-man: "the missing link") and Feejee Mermaid days. The *New York Sun*, for one, announced the new season of the circus by sardonically telling New Yorkers that "all the wonders of Barnum's big show, alive as well as dead, ha[ve] arrived."[77]

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The macabre humor with which people addressed Jumbo's remains was perhaps also a product of modern uncertainties over the simultaneous and self-interested veneration, exploitation and destruction of animals, or a need to ridicule those who tried to capitalize upon well-meaning or credulous people who valued Jumbo as a friend and individual.

Unlike the living Jumbo, Jumbo-the stuffed and Jumbo-the skeleton no longer reconciled the paradox of animal modernity by flattering consumers with the idea that by keeping Jumbo captive, and feeding or riding him, that they were animal lovers. The Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson skin and skeleton presented Jumbo as both (formerly sentient) celebrity individual and manufactured object. Jumbo as artifact perhaps reminded people of those "doubts and hesitations" Keith Thomas noted, or something akin to the "embarrassment about meat-eating," by which he explained why modern people present cooked animals at the table with the head removed so as to divorce the object-food from the individual animal it once was.[78]

* * *

In the longer term, the public would make use of Jumbo through various colloquial and commercial forms that concealed the interrelations between the material and figurative consumption of the elephant by referring to only one of his many forms at a time. Of course, Jumbo survived as a famous tall tale. His story popped up in North American common culture in dozens of newspaper nostalgia pieces and children's books. Advertisers also continued to use the story to connect with audiences, as trade card printers had. One turn-of-the-century patent medicine almanac graphically depicted Jumbo being thrown from tracks by a locomotive and falling off a cliff that the artist had imaginatively added to the historical scenario.[79]

Still, predominantly, the tragic or upsetting aspects of Jumbo's life are not what people chose to remember. A Folklorist in 1920s Kentucky, for instance, recorded a popular song originating in the 1890s in which people sung of Jumbo, "As large as all creation. He sailed across the ocean to join the Yankee nation … . Bound to see old Jumbo … He weighed three hundred and seventeen tons … Ladies feed him on sugar-plums." Here people remembered Jumbo as a unique individual, loved by women and children, and as a famous traveler and consumer: "He swallows peanuts by the ton … 'Lasses, cake and gingerbread."[80] In the twentieth century,

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the term "Jumbo" consequently survived as a marketing term indicating innocent abundance. Prefixed onto any product name – hot dog, paper towel, hair curler, navel orange, etc. – the word Jumbo encouraged consumers to think only of the immediate moment of satisfaction and their right as citizens to "more."[81] Certainly, the generic marketing term "Jumbo" distanced consumers from any implication in or even knowledge of the elephant's relationship to ivory, taxidermy, or captivity.

ILLUSTRATION 3.2 *Jumbo, dog, and children at tea party. Cyr,* A Children's Primer, *1892*

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People more commonly gravitated to ways of commemorating the elephant that papered over the paradox highlighted by the tasteless spectacle of the dual Jumbos and his "ivory jelly," "gravy," and so on. Most obvious here were the many Jumbo-styled toys that began to circulate in the 1880s. They included plush toys, rolling coin banks, paper dolls, tinker toys, and more in the shape of an elephant bearing the name "Jumbo" on his side.[82] Parents expressed their own custodial attitudes toward children through gifts of stuffed toys featuring "sign stimuli most appropriate for releasing nurturing behavior in adults," as psychologists would explain it, that is, by projecting onto animal-model toys their own feelings toward the children they knew.[83] Still, whether parents, children, or even toy designers drove the remaking of Jumbo and other wild animals into plush and neotenous miniatures is not entirely clear. Yet their ubiquity is indicative of a dramatic shift in attitudes toward wild animals that took place in the last decades of the nineteenth century. As Donna Varga explains, earlier in the century wild and exotic animals were represented as dangerous and in need of control (or extermination), but by the later decades of the century – Jumbo's era – toys and children's stories portrayed many wild and exotic animals as admirable due to their similarity to people.[84] Here the cultures of parenting and childhood, the business of toy manufacturing, and consumer ideas about non-domesticated animals converged, bringing animal modernity into countless households and young imaginations.

For instance, Ellen Cyr's ubiquitous and profitable primer, first published in 1891, gives us a sense of how children and parents may have imagined appropriate ways of playing with Jumbo toys and expressing ideas about the utility of wild and exotic animals to humankind. In an era in which the majority of authors for young children's textbooks were women, Cyr was one of many who designed her volume to appeal to children by reflecting an intersection of (white Protestant, middle-class) women's and children's household cultures.[85] Cyr's classic primer presented a toy Jumbo, not imprisoned in a bird cage or tied to a stake in the yard, but seated at the table (with his tusks restored!) along with Rover and the girls.[86] In this portrayal of an imaginitive tea party, sensible and kind children showed their internalization of the "domestic ethic of kindness" toward animals by imagining a stuffed Jumbo (and other animal representations) as morally significant family member and fellow consumer.[87] Here was a creature that was at once wild animal, pet, dead celebrity, relic, and consumer product, with the consumerist

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essence of the original Jumbo distilled into an inexpensive object that could hurt no one, and would never age or die. Here was a way to instill in children custodial and innocent attitudes toward the natural world that celebrated the consumer experience and papered over the animal welfare and environmental costs of the growing consumer economy.

Notes

1 "The Favorite's Fate," *London Advertiser* (Ontario), September 17, 1885. See also, "Jumbo Killed," *St. Thomas* [newspaper title incomplete], unidentified articles, Newspaper Clippings: Jumbo, Henry Augustus Ward Papers, Department of Rare Books, Special Collections and Preservation, University of Rochester (Rochester, NY) – hereafter HAWP; "Jumbo's Death," *The Globe* (Toronto), September 17, 1885; "Jumbo," *The Globe* (Toronto), September 18, 1885.
2 "Favorite's Fate," *London Advertiser* (Ontario), September 17, 1885.
3 Ibid.
4 "Jumbo," *The Globe* (Toronto), September 18, 1885.
5 "Favorite's Fate," *London Advertiser* (Ontario), September 17, 1885.
6 See for instance, "The Latest Jumbo Story," *New Haven Evening Register*, September 23, 1885; "Death of Jumbo," *Harper's Weekly*, 628.
7 "Death of Jumbo," *Harper's Weekly*.
8 "Jumbo Killed," *St. Thomas* [newspaper title incomplete], undated clipping, Newspaper Clippings: Jumbo, HAWP; "Jumbo's Death," *Hartford Globe* (CT), September 25, 1885.
9 "Jumbo's Fate Is Sealed," *Daily Telegraph* [London], February 22, 1882.
10 Shukin, *Animal Capital*, 5, 7, 12.
11 "The Favorite's Fate," *London Advertiser* (Ontario), September 17, 1885. See also, "Jumbo Killed," *St. Thomas* [newspaper title incomplete], unidentified article, Newspaper Clippings: Jumbo, HAWP; "Jumbo's Death," *The Globe* (Toronto), September 17, 1885; "Jumbo," *The Globe* (Toronto), September 18, 1885."
12 Ward to Barnum, September 20, 1885, HAWP; Shukin, *Animal Capital*, 87.
13 Ward to Barnum, September 20, 1885, HAWP.
14 "Mounting Jumbo," unidentified press release/pamphlet copy; and "Mounting Jumbo," ms copy of "The Last of Jumbo," *Rochester University Library Bulletin*, 3, no. 1 (Autumn 1947), both in Newspaper Clippings: Jumbo, HAWP.
15 "Jumbo's Death," *Hartford Globe* (CT), September 25, 1885.
16 Ibid.
17 Jolly, *Jumbo*, 161.

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18 Henry Augustus Ward to P. T. Barnum, August 19, 1885, quoted in Russell L. Carpenter, "P. T. Barnum's Jumbo," *The Tuftonian* 1, no. 2 (January 1941): 7.

19 "Jumbo's Death," *Hartford Globe* (CT), September 25, 1885. A man working on the elephant crew, "Long String Jack," that managed Jumbo, later explained that before the accident at rail yard, the circus had already made plans to destroy Jumbo because "he was bad," meaning destructive and unpredictable. Jack also asserted that a circus employee had immediately shot Jumbo after the accident, but before any onlookers appeared, and that this had been kept out of the news reports on the killing. "Circus Notes of the Past and Present," *Billboard*, March 16, 1907, 35.

20 "Subdued only by Death," *New York Times*, April 6, 1883; "Bergh on Barnum's Dead Elephant," *Atlanta Constitution*, April 8, 1883; "Mr. Bergh Mourning for Pilot," *Washington Post*, April 9, 1883; "Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, 146–47. Bull elephants entering adulthood had their days numbered in the circuses since they almost always became too dangerous to manage, and circus staff routinely dispatched them by poisoning, heavy gunfire or strangling – often in public execution rituals people found simultaneously horrible and fascinating. For instance, just a few months earlier Barnum had confided to Henry Ward that the company elephant Albert "has become so ferocious we must kill or castrate him," since it was an unacceptable liability and a drag on the show's efficient functioning. Ward's inquiries at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris produced no useful advice, and the circus would in time kill Albert and send him to Ward's for processing. P. T. Barnum to H. A. Ward, October 30, 1883; F. A. Ward for H. A. Ward to P. T. Barnum, November 1, 1883, HAWP. See also, Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 162–63, 204.

21 "Jumbo's Death," *Hartford Globe* (CT), September 25, 1885.

22 "Jumbo Libel Suit," and "Sued for $50,000," unidentified article, Newspaper Clippings: Jumbo, HAW; "Pleasantly Settled," *Hartford Globe*, October 4, 1885.

23 P. T. Barnum to Henry A. Ward, October 9, 1883, File Drawer 5, Typescripts of letters from P. T. Barnum to Henry A. Ward, HAWP.

24 Nance, "A Star Is Born to Buck," in Gillett and Gilbert, ed., *Sport, Animals, and Society*, 176.

25 Barnum to Ward, September 20, 1886; Barnum to Ward, July 22, 1883, HAWP. The Tower Menagerie, London Zoological Society and Dublin Zoological Garden had similarly sold off their "cadavers" to anatomists, then laboring to document the thousands of species Europeans would encounter in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Hahn, *Tower Menagerie*, 170–74, 240–41; Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, 10, 211.

26 Barnum to Ward, January 26, 1887, HAWP.

27 John P. Marshall to Ward, September 1, 1885, HAWP.

28 Chambers, *Jumbo*, 205.

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29 Lott, *American Bison*, 179.
30 Barrow, *Nature's Ghosts*, 108–10; Noah Cincinnati, "Too Sullen for Survival: Historicizing Gorilla Extinction, 1900–1930," in Nance, ed., *Historical Animal*, 166–68; Rothfels, "Catching Animals," in Henninger-Voss, ed., *Animals in Human Histories*, 195, 199, 202–03.
31 Poliquin, *Breathless Zoo*, 38–41.
32 On the broader cultural politics of animal skin preparation, see Kirk, *Kingdom Under Glass*, 13, 48–49; Poliquin, *Breathless Zoo*, 60–62; Ward, *Henry Augustus Ward*, 206, 210.
33 Poliquin, *Breathless Zoo*, 31–32, 63, 106–07; Sandra Swart, "Zombie Zoology: History and Reanimating Extinct Animals," in Nance, ed., *Historical Animal*, 54–71.
34 Ward to Barnum, September 20, 1885, HAWP. On the "remarkable position … with virtually no competitors" of Ward's Establishment, see Ward, *Henry Augustus Ward*, 170.
35 Barrow, "Specimen Dealer"; Kohlstedt, "Henry A. Ward"; Landes, "Animal Subjects," in Landes, Lee and Youngquist, ed., *Gorgeous Beasts*, 27; Ritvo, Platypus and the Mermaid, 10.
36 Cincinnati, "Too Sullen for Survival," in Nance, ed., *Historical Animal*; Kirk, *Kingdom Under Glass*, 272–97.
37 P. T. Barnum to H. A. Ward, March 1, 1886; P. T. Barnum to H. A. Ward, March 1, 1886, HAWP.
38 Kirk, *Kingdom Under Glass*, 40–46.
39 Ward, *Henry Augustus Ward*, 203; see also, 162, 170–71, 200–01.
40 Barnum to Ward, May 24, 1886, HAWP. The "ape on horseback" and other displays of primates riding equines, often known as a Jocko act, were a staple of American circuses in all century and, in Britain, dated back at least to the sixteenth century. MacGregor, *Animal Encounters*, 198–201.
41 See for instance, Charles Buettner to Ward, December 17, 1884; W. H. Shuster to Ward, December 26, 1884; E. Hitchcock to Ward, January 10, 1885; all in HAWP.
42 P. T. Barnum marginalia on Burt G. Wilder to P. T. Barnum, December 3, 1883; S. Fish, letter for P. T. Barnum to H. A. Ward, April 16, 1887, HAWP.
43 Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 185–87.
44 Barnum to Ward, January 4, 1883, HAWP.
45 B. Fish, secretary for Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson to Ward, January 15, 1883, HAWP.
46 Barnum, Bailey and Hutchinson, telegram to Henry A. Ward, January 22, 1884, HAWP.
47 "Jumbo's Skin and Skeleton," *Eastern Gazette* [?] (Middlesborough, KY), January 20, 1886; "Mounting Jumbo's Skin and Skeleton," *New York Tribune*, September[?] 24, 1886, Newspaper Clippings: Jumbo, HAWP.

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48 "Jumbo's Skin and Skeleton," *Eastern Gazette* [?] (Middlesborough, KY), January 20, 1886.
49 Ward to Barnum, September 20, 1885, HAWP.
50 Ibid.
51 H. A. Ward to [?], November n.d., 1886, HAWP.
52 J. L. Hutchinson to H. A. Ward, January 11, 1886, HAWP.
53 "P. T. Barnum and Prof. Ward," *Rochester Post-Express*, February 13, 1884.
54 Company marketing and talk among circus and Ward's Establishment workers occasionally described Jumbo's remains as "relic," perhaps meaning it in a dual sense as both corpse and venerated keepsake evoking the power of an extraordinary being. See for instance, H. A. Ward to [?], n.d. November 1886, HAWP.
55 Lucien Howe to Ward, September 26, 1885, HAWP.
56 Elwyn Waller to H. A. Ward, September 19, 1885 and October 12, 1885, HAWP.
57 C. Stewart to Ward, October 29, 1885, HAWP.
58 Barnum to Ward, March 1, 1886; Ward to Barnum, September 20, 1885, HAWP.
59 Carpenter, "P. T. Barnum's Jumbo," 9.
60 See for instance, James L. Hutchinson to Phineas T. Barnum, October 6, 1885; Fred A. Lucas to Henry A. Ward, October 5, 1885 and October 18, 1885, HAWP.
61 "How Jumbo Was Skinned," unidentified article, Newspaper Clippings: Jumbo, HAWP.
62 Nance, *Entertaining Elephants*, 120.
63 H. A. Ward to [?], n.d. November 1886, HAWP.
64 Flint, "Jumbo Recycled."
65 P. T. Barnum to H. A. Ward, September 26, 1885; P. T. Barnum to H. A. Ward, September 24, 1885, both in HAWP.
66 P. T. Barnum to H. A. Ward, March 1, 1886, HAWP.
67 *New York Sun* reprinted in "Jumbo's Successors," *Atlanta Constitution*, September 28, 1885.
68 Holder, *Ivory King*, viii.
69 Ward, *Henry Augustus Ward*, 220.
70 Landes, "Animal Subjects," 24–34.
71 Charles Stow to H. A. Ward, February 25, 1886, HAWP. A *New York World* reporter invited to the viewing and dinner defied the gentlemen's agreement between men like Tody Hamilton, Barnum and the press. Rather than politely waiting to file until he arrived back in the city by train the next day, he scooped the story by telegraphing it back to the paper's offices so that it could appear in the *World* the next morning, a day earlier than the other newspapers. Hamilton explained to Ward that the column inches accounting

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for the Jumbo publicity from the junket had been significantly reduced to half and quarter inch columns with the *Sun* printing nothing at all because of "the disinclination of editors here using anything a day old" (emphasis in original). Hamilton to H. A. Ward, March 3, 1886, HAWP.

72 "Jumbo Double in Death," *New York Daily Tribune*, February 28, 1886.

73 Ibid.

74 See for instance, A. Ward to J. A. Hutchinson, February 16, 1886; P. T. Barnum to H. A. Ward, October 31, 1885; Reuben P. Cooper to H. A. Ward, January 28, 1886, all in HAWP.

75 Brands, *The Man Who Saved the Union*, 630–34; Lehman, *Becoming Tom Thumb*, 195; Millard, *Destiny of the Republic*; Rosenberg, *Trial of the Assassin Guiteau*, 240–53; Stiles, *Jesse James*, 395; Waugh, *U.S. Grant*, chapter 5.

76 Barnum, *Life of P. T. Barnum*, 345.

77 "You Can Hear the Lion Roaring," *New York Sun*, March 23, 1886.

78 Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 243, 254, 300.

79 Barker, Moore and Mein Medicine Company, *Barker's Komic Picture Souvenir, Part 4* (Philadelphia, 1900), 11, Trade Catalogue and Pamphlets Collection, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE, http://cdm16038.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p268001coll12/id/6246, accessed March 30, 2013.

80 Truitt, "Songs from Kentucky," 376.

81 Currarino, "The Politics of 'More,'" 17–18; Nance, "Jumbo: A Capitalist Creation Story."

82 Various examples of these "elephant" toys can be found in the image archives of the Library of Congress, on commercial sites like eBay, through Google image search, and documented in collectibles catalogs and blogs.

83 Morris, Reddy and Bunting, "The Survival of the Cutest"; see also, Baker, *Picturing the Beast*, 186n22; Hinde and Barden, "The Evolution of the Teddy Bear."

84 Varga, "Babes in the Woods," 195–99.

85 Monaghan, "Gender and Textbooks," 28–46.

86 For several decades Cyr's books telling of a party with Jumbo were employed across the US, mandated for use in all California public schools, and exported to US possessions like the Philippines and Puerto Rico. Barry, "Ellen Cyr."

87 Grier, *Pets in America*, 127–29.

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Conclusion: From Jumbo to Knut

Abstract: *Concluding remarks reintroduce animal modernity as demonstrated by Jumbo's journey from captive wild animal, to celebrity and marketing icon, to early death, raw material and toy. Jumbo's case is compared to Berlin Zoo polar bear, Knut, who recently underwent a similar process from circus to zoo and toy icon. Like Jumbo, zoo management had Knut's carcass stuffed, to much public disgust. Similarities between Jumbo and Knut indicate that we are still living in the periodization the book has defined as animal modernity, wherein citizens still primarily employ the consumer paradigm in determining the value and uses of animals in order to ignore how human activity is destroying autonomous animal populations. The conclusion thereafter calls for future research examining what "animal post-modernity" might mean by referring to the current majority-captivity status of tigers.*

Keywords: celebrity; consumer behavior; extinction; Jumbo; Knut (polar bear); human-animal relationships; zoos

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Jumbo was not simply a sign or a site of discourse. To many, he was an individual whose sentience and apparent awareness of his fate was central to his meaning, who had the ability to suffer. As an animal celebrity and living individual, he was a function of broad populations coping with the human dilemma, making those compromises and coping with the concealment of them. And this explains Jumbo's staying power as a historical figure, and the vast transformations in human-animal relationships to which he points.

Within two decades of Jumbo's death, marketers would begin to recognize children as "legitimate individualized, self-contained consumer." What difference would "the agentive child," as Daniel Cook calls these children, "active in their construction of the world," make in the accelerating global consumption of wild and exotic animals and their parts?[1] They did no better than their ivory-dependent parents, and at the time many people understood that it would be that way. In 1897, *Popular Science Monthly* explained the "economic value of animals," in an article that seemed resigned to extinction:

> one hundred thousand of these noble animals [elephants] are being killed [yearly]
>
> so that we may have billiard balls, chessmen, carved figures, and countless other objects for use and ornament. ... The demand for objects of luxury is tending to the extinction of some of our most valuable animals. The buffalo ... lion[s] ... rhinoceros, giraffe, tiger, elephant, and many more will doubtless be known to our descendants a century hence by their pictures in books and their remains in museums of the day. This great question of the economic value of animals is of radical importance to every citizen.[2]

Several generations later still, the patterns of consumption, compromise and concealment in Jumbo's era appear chillingly unchanged.

Today the circuses carry fewer and fewer exotic and wild animals by the decade, but modern zoos understand very well people's urge for engagement with similarly marketed wild and exotic animals. Zoos are for-profit institutions that sell popcorn and stuffed toys as much as education. They offer themselves as a solution to the issue of disappearing habitats for a public that seeks to understand exotic, wild or endangered animals in anthropocentric, neotenous terms,[3] less so as evidence of problems caused by human population growth and consumption – over which individual consumers are really powerless in any event. Animal celebrity is now a basic mode of animal presentation for zoos, which employ

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so-called charismatic megafauna, or "flagship species," to represent whole ecosystems and continents as "fundraising ambassadors."[4]

Speaking broadly about how "nature" has become commoditized as a consumer product by companies who brand and market themselves as purveyors of experiences that educate about the natural world, Susan Davis explains further (with reference to the work of Jennifer Price) that these modes of marketing offer, "a safe way to express environmental concern within the familiar satisfactions of consumerism, even as this activity dampens awareness of the environmentally exploitative aspects to mass consumerism itself."[5] In the nineteenth century, "environmentalism" as we know it certainly did not exist except among a very small minority of elites. So, the function of Jumbo and other animal displays was one of (ostensible) natural history education mixed with a comforting emotional experience and/or spectacle. Still, the essential phenomenon at play was the same: consumers came to believe that they could express their identity as custodians of nature, including animals, and supreme beings on the planet, through spending at the zoo, circus or amusement park, which is an essential aspect of modern western personhood.

Ten years ago animal studies scholars Lorraine Daston and Gregg Mitman said of our contemporary culture that we are "avid for animal stories, but ... the modern preoccupation with the individual has transformed the way they are told."[6] To be sure, the modern animal with which consumers most easily identify is usually an individual whose life story, such as it is constructed by his/her publicists, keepers, the press and consumers themselves, portrays humankind as benevolent toward animals and the environment. It may well be, as Randy Malamud argues, that "when we isolate and celebrate a single rabbit or dog [or elephant] as a famous animal, we relegate the rest to a heightened obscurity."[7]

So it was with Jumbo, who obscured not only other elephants overseas or in the local zoo, but many species struggling to adapt to human modernity and its reliance on animal bodies and labor. Jumbo as pet and circus act appeared to reconcile accelerating material consumption of animal bodies and spaces with a human desire to do good, and be comfortable and individuated. His life, lived in public, and the resulting celebrity status represented the apex of animal modernity wherein various individual animals would become famous, perceived by the public as a nature pet who, although a product of human-driven environmental change and global exchange, actually distracted consumers from the issue of declining wild animal populations. The animal modernity of the 1880s was a product

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of the ideology of human supremacy on the globe intersecting with other crucial elements of modernity: democracy and individualism, faith in human agency, industrialization, urbanization, the birth of the nation state, imperialism, and human exploitation of "nature" and "environment," and – not least – mass communication and mass consumption.

Has anything changed since Jumbo's era? Recall, for instance, Knut the Berlin Zoo polar bear, his initial celebrity as a cub and untimely death as a teenager in 2011. He was a modern animal and a nature pet, like Jumbo. The Berlin Zoo enthusiastically cultivated Knut's celebrity status by circulating cute pictures and news of his daily activities, as well as loading the gift shop with Knuts stuffies and souvenirs. They employed Knut in order to espouse a vague conservationism and the political argument that zoos are protectors of innocent baby animals and vulnerable endangered species, and thus the rightful private owners and "managers" of endangered species and their "gene pools." Unlike Jumbo, Knut existed in a context in which the public was highly aware of climate change and did voice concern for declining wild animal populations, but was simultaneously drawn to emotionally compelling animals, who assuage worries over the injustices and tragedies of animal modernity for consumers who often suspect they have little individual power to change the world.

When Knut died and the Berlin Zoo leaked news of plans to taxidermize the bear, grieving fans of the bear, already horrified that footage of his dying moments was posted on Youtube, became enraged. "When someone dies in your family I think you don't want him stuffed in a museum," said one fan of Knut. Unknowingly echoing the public discourse around Jumbo's trip away from his "kin," "friends" and "home" in 1882, the protester continued, "Knut is not only a polar bear for people, he is a friend, a family member."[8] One critic also pointed out that Knut's owners at the Berlin Zoo had baldly used the bear as a "profit centre," (with enthusiastic public support, of course), but now dismissed the public outcry over Knut-the stuffed as sentimental anthropomorphization of an animal incapable of emotion.[9] Truly, although their deaths were separated by 126 years, Jumbo and Knut had become fellow travelers in throwing into high relief the most extreme elements of animal modernity: captivity, celebrity, early death, bodily desecration/transformation into relic.

Consider the place of elephants and polar bears in the world today: both are species in extreme danger due to climate change, habitat destruction or encroachment, and in the case of elephants, unrestrained hunting for the ivory market. Elephant populations rose in the early

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twentieth century, then began crashing again in the 1970s until changing public attitudes and a ban on the ivory trade helped numbers recover. Yet, as many nations in Asia develop enormous and affluent middle classes – that is, millions of new consumers – they face the same moment of consumer truth as Britons and North Americans did over a century ago. With their penchant for ivory, and with limited knowledge of or, perhaps, concern for the environmental and animal welfare costs of consumer products made from ivory, Asian consumers now impose on elephants the burden of surviving long enough to wait until people decide to alter how their spending shapes the planet. A rising interest in animal welfare and environmental issues, as well as pet keeping, among those middle classes may yet turn the tide before it is too late if consumers can give up shark fins, ivory, rhino horn, and – globally actually – the palm oil that is in most prepared foods but may yet destroy the orangutans and their lifeways, among countless other products.

Or perhaps not, since all these commodities are tied to the daily lives and survival of people in Africa, Asia and the oceans, many thousands of miles from the particular consumers in question, such that animal modernity is also tied to the issue of economic diversification globally, so a puzzle of incredible magnitude. The ivory trade, sharply constrained for many years in the later twentieth century, was opened for the sale of stockpiled ivory, some of it perhaps collected in Jumbo's era. Consumers' inability to tell legal stockpile ivory from recently hunted/poached ivory has nearly destroyed the autonomous African elephant populations in many regions in only 25 years.[10] Recently, noted zoologist and elephant ethologist Ian Douglas-Hamilton said of the once-obscure forest elephant species in central Africa, "to a great extent they are finished."[11] Jumbo's kin, the African bush elephant, as well as Asian elephants, are all threatened and coping with declining numbers, human attacks, and decreasing numbers in spite of a century of zoo advocacy for conservation, and even with most circuses ceasing to employ elephants in their shows. Indeed, modernity has been hard on elephants and many other species who reproduce and mature slowly, who fare badly in captivity, and who produce some consumer product or inhabit some land that people have determined they need.

While the global market for fossil fuels endangers polar bears, and the demand for ivory is destroying African elephants, other species seem to be moving beyond animal modernity to a new periodization that we might date to the beginning of this century. Consider the case of tigers. Over the last century, the three species of tiger have declined

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from around 100,000 individuals at large in Asia to around 3200. At the same time, there are more tigers held in private households in the United States – estimates go up to 10,000 – than living at large in Asia today. They breed easily in captivity and are prolific, like domestic cats, and are now a wild but predominantly captive species – truly a strange situation in world history.[12] Hence, the next puzzle for historians or other scholars may be to theorize animal post-modernity, and to document the way it is and will shape animal life in the future.

Notes

1 Cook, *Commodification of Childhood*, 3.
2 Holder, "Economic Value of Animals," 833–34.
3 Thomas Veltre, "Menageries, Metaphors, and Meanings," in Hoage and Deiss, ed., *New Worlds, New Animals*, 28.
4 Baker, "Animal Ambassadors," in Zimmermann, Hatchwell, Dickie and West, ed., *Zoos in the 21st Century*, 142–47. See also, Braverman, *Zooland*, 96–99; Leader-Williams and Dublin, "Charismatic Megafauna as 'Flagship Species'," in Entwistle and Dunston, ed., *Priorities for the Conservation of Mammalian Diversity*.
5 Davis, *Spectacular Nature*, 11–12.
6 Daston and Mitman, "Introduction: The How and Why of Thinking with Animals," in Daston and Mitman, ed., *Thinking with Animals*, 9.
7 Malamud, "Famous Animals in Modern Culture," in Malamud, ed., *A Cultural History of Animals*, 14.
8 Michael Slackman, "For Mourners of Knut, A Stuffed Bear Just Won't Do," *New York Times*, April 11, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/12/world/europe/12berlin.html, accessed May 1, 2015.
9 John Allemang, "Extending Celebrity Worship to Animals? It's More than I Can Bear (Polar Bear, That Is)," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), April 16, 2011, F3.
10 Maisels et al., "Devastating Decline of Forest Elephants in Central Africa."
11 Canby, "Elephant Watch," 37.
12 "More Tigers in American Backyards than in the Wild," *World Wildlife Fund*, October 18, 2012, http://www.worldwildlife.org/stories/more-tigers-in-american-backyards-than-in-the-wild, accessed May 15, 2014; "US Urged to Regulate Backyard Tigers," CNN.com, October 21, 2010, http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/americas/10/21/tigers.captive.regulation.us/, accessed May 15, 2014; "Big Cats in Captivity," IFAW.org, n.d., http://www.ifaw.org/united-states/our-work/tigers/big-cats-captivity, accessed May 15, 2014.

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