

# **PAPERS READ AT THE 52<sup>nd</sup> LAMAS LOCAL HISTORY CONFERENCE HELD AT THE MUSEUM OF LONDON, 18 NOVEMBER 2017: ‘PASTIMES IN TIMES PAST: ENTERTAINMENT IN LONDON’**

## **‘CULTURAL CAPITAL’: LONDON AND THE MAKING OF MODERN PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENT**

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The subject of this short paper is the emergence and development of London’s public entertainment spaces across a broad sweep of time from the late 17th to the early 20th centuries. At the heart of academic discussion about the history of popular entertainments in Britain has been a debate about continuities and discontinuities within popular culture. Some historians and theorists have seen modern popular culture and entertainments as being characterised by a sharp discontinuity from the pre-modern past (for example Chambers 1986), while others have stressed continuities over time, arguing that industrialisation and urbanisation brought no great cultural watershed (for example Golby & Purdue 1999). With these debates in mind, I will argue that a distinctly modern popular culture, centred on London, emerged in Britain between the late 17th and early 20th centuries, and that this was connected to three distinct though interrelated strands within London’s history.

The first of these strands is London’s

emergence from the late 17th century as first Europe’s and then the world’s largest, wealthiest and most populous city. At the end of the 17th century, London had a population of some 575,000 people (Weinreb *et al* 2010), which meant that London was considerably smaller than a number of global cities, such as Istanbul or Beijing. That situation changed over the course of the 18th century and, at the time of the first British national census in 1801, London had become Europe’s most populous city with a citizenry of roughly one million people. By 1901, a six-fold increase in population saw London become the first city in the world to have a multi-million strong population. The development of this new kind of ‘monster city’, alongside a predominantly industrial economy and associated technological innovations, enabled new possibilities for London’s popular culture and entertainments.

The second strand is the appearance of a modern citizenry, with arguably modern sensibilities, which emerged from, and were drawn to the newly enlarged city and its new public entertainment spaces. Diary-keepers and visitors to London write of the thrill of the new, a sense of wonder at the scale of the city and the variety of entertainments on offer (for example Moritz 1795). As John Brewer has shown (Brewer 1997), the 18th

century saw the rise of the arts in the context of extensive commercial development backed by relative (by contemporary European standards) social liberty. At the same time, there was a waning of the cultural importance of the Court and signs of a growing independence of social elites from the Crown (Black, 2005), alongside a lessening of the influence on those lower down the social scale of the guilds and of the rural squire, as the emergent working classes of the industrial age descended upon the city (Brewer, 1997). Once in the city, the vastly inflated population provided a critical mass for groups with shared interests, from, in the later 19th century, football clubs associated with the workplace, to cycling and camping clubs and political organisations. The potential anonymity (especially for men) and the relative openness of the city's new public and semi-public spaces increased the potential for participation by a wide range of social classes.

The third strand is the new kind of public and semi-public spaces which emerged in London from the later 17th century onwards, sustained by this newly enlarged and modern population. New kinds of public entertainment spaces began to appear after the Restoration, notably with the opening of pleasure gardens, such as those at Vauxhall, where for the price of entry, it was possible to promenade, to see and be seen and to partake in a range of entertainments. Coffee houses also began to appear in London at this time and, in the context of a relative weakness of the Crown in the final decades of the 17th century, these facilitated the flourishing of a civil society in London. (Ellis 2005). Other new public entertainment spaces for the growing well-to-do classes included the Assembly Rooms, such as the Pantheon, which hosted balls and other social gatherings from 1772. A little later, in 1819, we see the development of shopping as a social and entertainment activity with the opening of the first of London's covered shopping arcades, the Burlington Arcade. In the mid 19th century, as the population of the city began to increase exponentially, other new spaces of public entertainment which were more truly open to the majority began to appear, some commercial, others provided from public funds. The latter

included the new public parks, such as Victoria Park, opened in 1845. The former included, most notably, the purpose-built music halls which began to appear in the 1850s after the success of the Canterbury Music Hall, built in 1852. The entertainment industry that grew up around the music hall – performers, managers, agents, syndicates, advertisers *etc* – provided a blueprint for other forms of public entertainment which followed, notably within organised sports (Horrell 2001). Football stadia began to appear in the city in the 1880s and organised sport quickly grew in popularity, especially among working class men.

In the modern period, it is because the British economy was the first to industrialise and because London was the first of the new super-sized global cities associated with an industrial economy that London is so interesting and important a place to study modern popular culture and entertainments. The relative liberty and extensive commercial development of the 18th century helped produce a modern citizenry and a critical mass of population to sustain the creation of new kinds of public entertainment space. This pace of development increased in the second half of the 19th century when the city reached dizzying heights of population growth and the first mass entertainment industries of the music hall and organised sports begin to appear alongside new publically funded entertainment spaces. It is here, then, that an arguably discernible modern popular culture with modern public entertainment spaces took shape.

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### KEYNOTE LECTURE – ‘THE WAY OF THE WHIRLED’: COMMERCIAL DANCING IN VICTORIAN LONDON

Lee Jackson

The topic of commercial dancing in 19th-century-London has been much neglected by historians. One might easily conclude that, between the Regency ballroom and the jazz age Palais de Dance, nobody set foot on the dance-floor. In fact, beyond the ‘Society’ assembly-rooms and house party, there were numerous commercial ventures which permitted ordinary people to ‘trip the light fantastic toe’.

If we review the situation in the early 19th century, the principal venues were pubs, dancing academies and pleasure gardens. Makeshift arrangements in the public house were commonplace. Itinerant fiddlers travelled from pub to pub; tables would be cleared, and people danced. Some landlords hosted ‘twopenny hops’ in their ‘club-room’ or ‘concert-room’ above the pub – the same spaces that fostered early music hall. Wapping boasted numerous ‘long rooms’ behind or above pubs, with benches along the walls and either a gallery or raised stage for musicians. These were notoriously places where sailors could meet prostitutes, but were also entertainment venues. Evidence from newspaper articles finds numerous other commercial dancing-rooms above regular pubs and, on occasion, a clientele who sound suspiciously like the modern night-clubber; for example, a room above a pub in Southwark patronised by ‘chiefly boys and girls, some of whom were decked out in spangled dresses and wore masks’.

Beyond the pub were ‘dancing academies’. Some of these were little more than commercial hops, passing themselves off as educational establishments, to avoid magisterial licensing and oversight. As for real academies, their social tone varied. Some were genuine finishing schools for the well-

to-do; others catered for the lower middle class, providing a convenient place to meet the opposite sex, and an end of term ball providing an incentive to pay for the (often poor quality) tuition. Mr. Billsmethi’s academy in *Sketches by Boz* provides a good example.

Pleasure-gardens were the other great venue for dancing, albeit only in the summer months. Famous gardens like Vauxhall and Cremorne possessed – amongst other attractions – both indoor ballrooms and later, the Victorian addition of extravagantly ornamented outdoor dancing-platforms. But they also attracted a rather Bohemian crowd; and Cremorne in particular was notoriously a place to which wealthy West End night-clubbers would decamp at midnight, and party into the small hours with ‘courtesans’. Pleasure-gardens perhaps provided the nearest thing in the capital to a commercial nightclub in the early 19th century; but they were much else besides, hosting theatrical events, ballooning, fireworks, sports and other events.

Finally, there were venues in central London that resembled small nightclubs, and advertised ‘a ball every evening’ – such as the Royal Victoria Saloon in Catherine Street – but they were essentially clip-joints, with extravagantly priced champagne and minimal space in which to actually dance. In short therefore, until the 1840s, London lacked a straightforward commercial nightclub.

This changed with *Laurent’s Casino*, opened in 1846, which charged a shilling on the door. The casino was a galleried room with a full orchestra led by the virtuoso cornet-a-piston player Emile Laurent; open on regular nights every week, during the winter. It was designed by its lessee James Ellis to complement Cremorne Gardens. The theory was that Cremorne’s patrons, bored during the winter months when the gardens were closed, would flock to the casino. The venture was prompted by the recent success of Louis Jullien’s ‘promenade concerts’ for a mere shilling, and ‘polka-mania’. The new dance inspired young men to take up dancing in greater numbers, thanks to its lively and relatively easy (or easy to fake) steps. *Laurent’s Casino* proved a huge success, heralded as a breakthrough in entertainment,

arguably London's first dedicated nightclub, offering what was described as 'dancing for the million', where anyone could pay on the door. The formula was swiftly copied by the *Holborn Casino* and the *Walhalla* in Leicester Square, as well as *Caldwell's* in Dean Street, Soho – a casino in all but name. Indeed, for a brief moment in the 1840s, the dance-hall, rather than the music-hall, looked like the future of London night-life.

However, the casinos were swiftly attacked as unlicensed venues, by a professional informer sponsored by protectionist managers of West End theatres. The law was rather archaic and confused, and the venues became mired in legal cases and licensing. The *Walhalla* and *Laurent's* closed in 1849. The latter was reborn as the *Argyll Rooms*, sponsored by the well-connected West End bookmaker Bob Bignell but it, and the *Holborn* developed a reputation for prostitution and vice. *Caldwell's*, on the other hand, was the polar opposite: a casino for the working-class, it was maintained with rigid moral policing, since licensing magistrates were always paternalistic and severe about the pleasures of the lower orders.

None of these venues, although famous in their day, survived beyond the 1870s. Partly they simply fell out of fashion; partly they were assailed by moralists; and, perhaps most of all, they were thrown into the shade by the rise of music-hall. Indeed, when the *Argyll* was finally closed, Bignell took the lucrative step of converting it into the *Trocadero Music Hall*. Yet the late-Victorian period would see diverse new venues offer a space for dance, from local mission and temperance halls, to new town halls and grand hotels; from East End working-men's clubs to West End night-clubs in Soho that anticipated the jazz age venues of the 1920s. Large-scale commercial dance-halls that rivalled music hall only arrived with the American-influenced *Hammersmith Palais* in 1919. Modern variety theatres provided inspiration, and modern mass media – the gramophone record and the radio – helped create a new sort of 'dancing for the million'.

## **VICTORIAN LEISURE (ORGANISED RECREATION IN VICTORIAN LONDON)**

*Ian Bevan (City of London Guide-Lecturer)*

People have always found ways to entertain themselves and others, and the Victorians were no exception. They might not have invented many of the amusements that they enjoyed but they certainly organised them. This was particularly true in London where the rapidly increasing population demanded more and more recreational facilities.

In my presentation, I selected just a few examples, so many of which we still enjoy. Take for instance the public park. We are blessed with parks all over the country, and especially in London. However, before the 1840s there were no public parks. Those parks that did exist were generally limited to the upper echelons of society. However, in 1842, James Pennethorne designed *Victoria Park* in Hackney for the benefit of everyone in the area, many of whom were very poor. Other parks followed, for example, in *Dulwich* Francis Peek persuaded the *Dulwich College Estate* to release some fields to be converted to parkland.

Some parks were developed into more sophisticated attractions. The *Crystal Palace* and its park at *Sydenham*, opened in 1854, provided an all-day experience with lots of experiences to enjoy; it truly was a Victorian *Disneyworld*. Meanwhile, in *Regent's Park*, an area was taken for a zoo in 1830 and it was not long before the public were allowed in to see the exotic animals. What a treat!

And what about the funfair? These began touring the country in the 19th century and were given a huge boost by the work of *Frederick Savage*. As a mechanical engineer in *King's Lynn*, he repaired a fairground ride and from that experience was able to develop new and more efficient rides, for example the '*Gallopers*'. Later, inventors like *Hiram Maxim* developed new rides, like the *Flying Machine*, which were erected at *Crystal Palace Park*, *Battersea Park* and all over the country.

Circuses too began touring from the 1860s onwards. Circus acts had already appeared in London at *Astley's Amphitheatre*, just south of *Westminster Bridge*. In the 1870s *Astley's* was acquired by *George Sanger* who

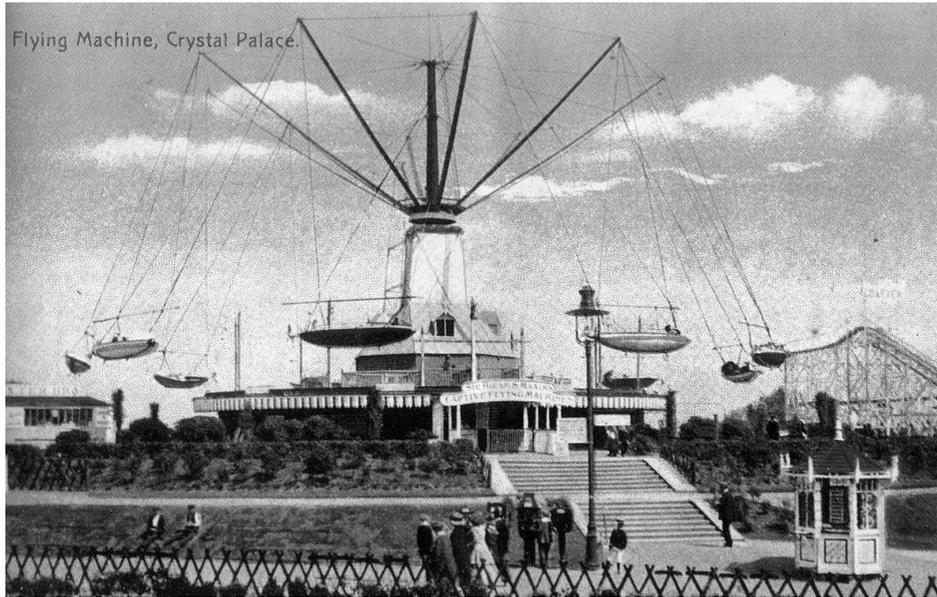


Fig 1. Contemporary postcard of Hiram Maxim's Flying Machine, Crystal Palace (1904)

began taking his show on the road. Examples of circus acts included Jules Leotard (the amazing young man on the flying trapeze) and Blondin (the tightrope walker).

Many sports are of ancient origin but in the 19th century they became organised. Rugby clubs were formed, for example Blackheath in 1858, with regular fixtures and in 1871 the first international was played on Blackheath between England and Scotland.

In the 18th century, football was played in the public schools – Eton, Harrow, Charterhouse, for instance. When they played each other, they probably spent ages arguing about the rules by which they were going to play. In 1863, Charles Alcock gathered representatives of the football clubs in the Freemason's Tavern in Holborn, to thrash out a body of rules. The result was the formation of the Football Association. A few years later, it was suggested that they have a formal competition between them and the FA Cup competition was born. This became very popular, particularly from the 1890s onwards when workers got a half-day off on Saturdays. To get to the Cup Final was the ultimate objective and thousands of fans followed their teams to the Final; at first at the Oval, and then at the Crystal Palace, where over 100,000 were present for the

1901 Cup Final between Sheffield United and Tottenham Hotspur.

Other games emerged in the 19th century, organised by their governing bodies. The All England Croquet Club was formed in 1868 to control the sport, and later created an arm to govern the new sport of lawn tennis.

In the 18th century, few would have been able to see and appreciate works of art. Paintings and sculpture were bought by the rich and were available only for them or their friends. However, in 1823, 38 paintings from John Julius Angerstein's collection were acquired for the nation and eventually exhibited at the new National Gallery – the public art gallery was born.

Music was very popular with Victorians. There seemed to be music everywhere – the barrel organ in the street, minstrels, the brass band in the park. But there were no large venues in which to see a large orchestra and hear elaborate musical pieces, that is, until the concert hall was built inside the Crystal Palace. An audience of 15,000 plus could now attend concerts given by a large orchestra and hundreds of singers. The Crystal Palace had its own orchestra and music school, where Arthur Sullivan was trained. Other venues followed – the Royal Albert Hall, the Queen's Hall.

For those who preferred the highbrow, there was always the Covent Garden Theatre. A new building was erected in 1858, designed by Edward Barry, where audiences could see ballet and opera, with performers like Nellie Melba, Adelina Patti and others. Less demanding was light opera at the Savoy Theatre, organised by Richard D'Oyly Carte and the works of W S Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan.

A visit to the theatre was not to be recommended in the 18th century and certainly not for families. However, after David Garrick cleaned up the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, he put on Shakespeare plays and going to the theatre gradually became a popular entertainment. Most of the theatres that we enjoy today were built in the Victorian period. The Theatre Royal, Haymarket, by John Nash in 1820, was one of the first but most were built between 1870 and 1930. Henry Irving and Ellen Terry took over the Lyceum Theatre in 1871 and ran it for 25 years.

Other types of entertainments opened in the 19th century. In Piccadilly, the Egyptian Hall began as a magic show but before long it was the venue for speciality acts – a freak show which included the Elephant Man and Tom Thumb. If you could not afford to go to the theatre, there was always the music-hall. Typically, the landlord of a pub would take over another building or isolate an area of the pub and invite people to entertain the clientele. They became incredibly popular, despite the drinking and rowdiness, and music hall performers like Marie Lloyd, Vesta Tilley and Little Tich became huge stars.

### **STEALING CHILDREN IN 1600: THE STAR CHAMBER CASE OF CLIFTON V ROBINSON<sup>1</sup>**

*Julie Ackroyd (Open University)*

On the 15th July 1597 Queen Elizabeth awarded 'letters patent' to 'Nathaniell Gyles the master of the children' of the Queens Chapel, which allowed him to take any 'singing children' which he or his deputy should think fit for service in the chapel.<sup>2</sup> However, Gyles, together with James Robinson, and Henry Evans made a decision to use these letters patent in a more lucrative manner: to 'furnish [...] plays & interludes with children whom they thought fittest to act'.<sup>3</sup>

We would know nothing about this method of recruiting boy actors had the management not, on 13th December 1600, plucked 13-year-old Thomas Clifton off the streets of London. Whilst making his way through the City to Christchurch Grammar School he was 'seized & surprised with great force & violence and then hauled, pulled, dragged & carried away to the [...] play house in the Blackfriars', where he was left 'amongst a company of lewd & dissolute mercenary players'<sup>4</sup>

Luckily for Thomas his father, Henry Clifton, somehow managed to trace him to Blackfriars. However, when Henry approached Nathaniel Gyles to claim his son back, Gyles 'utterly & scornfully refused' to return Thomas.<sup>5</sup> Indeed Gyles said that Henry could 'complain to whom he would', including the Queen, it would make no difference.<sup>6</sup> Henry Clifton was extremely fortunate in that he knew Sir John Fortescue a leading member of the Queen's Privy Council and asked him to sign a warrant demanding the return of Thomas. However, even with this official paperwork, a certain amount of wrangling must have gone on, as it took 'about a day and a night' for Thomas to finally be handed over to his father.<sup>7</sup> Henry Clifton then made a written deposition to the Star Chamber, the highest court in the land, complaining of the way he and his son had been treated and demanding redress.

This unique document details how the three men at Blackfriars theatre had 'most wrongfully, unduly & unjustly taken eight boys, 'from divers & sundry schools of learning, & apprentices from their masters'.<sup>8</sup> Basically, they stole male children from off the streets of London, and held them against their will, forcing them to become actors. Henry Evans of the theatre's management team was the one who took the blame for the kidnap of Thomas. He was accused by the Star Chamber, of 'un-orderly carriage and behaviour in taking up of gentlemen's children against their wills' and of daring 'to employ them for players' (Wallace 1908, 141) The outcome of the case was that he was found guilty by decree, an absolute judgement against him, which he was forbidden to appeal against. He was no longer allowed to have any 'concern in plays or Interludes' and was fined £100 (*ibid.*)

Bearing in mind this very expensive outcome why were apprentices and grammar school boys recruited in this manner? The answer is that they would have been literate. Education of the time used the *Viva Voce* style which expected students to memorise and recite large portions of text. This emphasis on repetition and the reliance of memory over paper is a central skill an actor needs in order to be successful. In addition the grammar school boys would have performed play texts whilst still at school. They acted in the works of Plautus and Terence, in Latin, which taught them ‘audacity, [...] gesture, pronuntiation, [and] memory’ in addition they would pick up comic timing, as well as playing a whole range of characters from callow youths through to old men (Brinsley 1612, 206).

Henry Clifton was also not honest in his deposition for the case when he states that none of the boys listed were in any way suited to their new employment; ‘Being children no way able or fit for singing’.<sup>9</sup> Salmon Pavay is listed as an apprentice of ‘Peerce’ who has very plausibly been identified as the Master of Paul’s theatre company, if this is the case Salmon may well already have been an actor.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, Avery Trussell also appears to have possessed a similar connection as ‘an apprentice to one Thomas Gyles’.<sup>11</sup> This potentially makes him a chorister at St. Paul’s Cathedral under Thomas Giles, the Master of the Choir School. He would, therefore, already have possessed strong singing and musical skills, both highly useful for a theatre company which provided a short concert of music before each play. These two were a double bonus for the theatrical company at Blackfriars.

So, what happened to the eight children after the court case? Thomas had already been returned to his father; he completed his grammar school education, and then attended the Inns of Court. Although he never returned to the Blackfriars as an actor, it is interesting to speculate whether he ever attended any of their performances as a member of the audience, as the theatre – being so close to the Inns of Court – was one of the favourite excursions for its members. The rest of the boys were left at Blackfriars, as, due to the workings of the legal system, even though the Star Chamber found in

Henry Clifton’s favour, and agreed that his son should not have been kidnapped, this did not automatically set a precedent where the other boys, taken at the same time, would be returned to their families. This is because, at this point in time the law was a system to remedy specific wrongs, which had been drawn to the courts attention, rather than being a method of defining abstract rights which would set a precedent and assist in the judging of future cases.

### Notes

- <sup>1</sup> This paper is based on Dr J Ackroyd’s book (Ackroyd 2017).
- <sup>2</sup> TNA, STAC5/C46/39. (Bill 1600) Court of Star Chamber Proceedings, Clifton v. Robinson, line 2.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid* line 9.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid* line 36.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid* line 40.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid* line 41.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid* line 51.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid* line 11.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid* line 17.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid* line 17.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid* line 16.

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### SAPIENT PIGS AND RASCAL TIGERS: ANIMAL CURIOSITIES ON THE STREETS AND STAGES OF LONDON, 1750–1850

*Alexander Clayton (Victoria and Albert Museum: Department of Theatre and Performance)*

This paper looks to address the cultural phenomenon for performing animals in

the 18th and 19th centuries. The paper will build upon a growing field of research addressing the cultural representations of animals, a turn which has led Harriet Ritvo to argue that 'animals are edging towards the mainstream', with animal histories and historians gaining inclusion into elite universities and publications (Ritvo 2004, 205). Even with this increase, the histories of animals in performance and entertainment have been left largely under-represented. Their literary and material remains – ranging from autobiographies to ceramic figurines – form a rich cultural output hitherto lacking an in-depth inclusion in the 'animal turn'. By providing a detailed overview of these performances, the paper will argue that the process of exhibiting and performing animals was a process of definition, changing as human understanding altered, and highly reflective of particular social, economic and cultural circumstances. In addressing these changes over time, it will argue that changing attitudes towards animals – from physical specimens to sentimental beings – drastically altered the nature and spaces of animal entertainment in London.

Beginning in the 18th century, the cultural representation of animals was one of physicality and exhibition, focusing on spectatorship rather than emotional engagement. Visitors sought to engage with these physical displays in intense and intimate ways, engaging with animals visually, haptically, aurally and nasally. In spaces such as the menagerie, it was about having an authentic, albeit controlled engagement with *the wild*, something increasingly lost in the sprawling urban environment of London. This controlled experience was intended for the sensibilities of the middle and upper classes, placing animals in small cages with little opportunity to move or act as animals. Movement, smell and noise were all carefully curated for the public's tastes, with one paper even advertising a camel with breath 'as sweet as a sow's'.<sup>1</sup>

This process of visual definition extended across Georgian culture and leisure, with dedicated spaces for the physical competition and display of animals. For example, thoroughbred horse racing emerges as a popular sport during the period, with Royal Ascot being founded in 1711, the Jockey

Club in 1750 and the first Derby in 1780. These spaces and competitions focused on the physicality of the animal, prioritising the 'fastest', 'largest', or 'rarest' of their kind – attributes that extended across sport and entertainment.

In their efforts to define and understand animals, the Georgian public also rendered animals meaningful by their own cultural interests. In one particularly noteworthy spectacle, this included the haptic engagement with electric eels. The exhibitions of George Baker in 1776 represented the first display of the species in Britain, reportedly visited by George III, Queen Charlotte, and the President of the Royal Society (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 23 Nov 1776). This process of definition was equally a process of self-definition, highly representative of Georgian culture at the time. The eel would become eroticised in literature and popular culture, visited by popular Georgian erotica characters such as Paddy Strong-Cock and Lucretia Lovejoy.<sup>2</sup> In entering into these cultural circles and debates, Baker's apartment came to represent a liminal space, fulfilling roles of entertainment, experimentation and titillation.

The decline of central London menageries marked the end of the confluence of education, experimentation and entertainment. By the early 19th century, the spaces for the physical display of animals had moved away from London's cultural hub in the West End, receiving new, dedicated spaces for observation and definition. The Exeter 'Change – London's largest menagerie – would close in 1829, with the Zoological Society being founded in 1822 and the London Zoological Gardens in 1828. Zoological gardens demarcated a new, intellectualised leisure space where visitors could watch species enact their animality in larger habitats.

As the spaces for the physical display of animals moved away from London's entertainment centre, the emotional and sentimental display of animals increased in London's theatres and exhibition rooms. These acts responded to changes in culture – rather than science – continually refreshed by their patron's desire for novelty. Displays of musical, sapient, and learned talent saw performances challenge the boundaries of

animality, sensibility and understanding. Acts such as Toby, the Sapien Pig could read, gamble, and cast accounts, providing a satire on the interests of his middle class patrons. The performance of a humanised animal also played on sincere concerns about man's place in the natural order, with concepts of natural selection and hierarchy being the key scientific discussion of their time. Toby's performance sought to challenge these hierarchies, illustrated in his own poetic memoirs:

Oh, why did I at Brazen-Nose  
Route up the roots of knowledge?  
A butcher that can't read will kill  
A pig that's been to college!

*The Lament of Toby, the Learned Pig* places the pig above the intellect of an illiterate butcher, distinguishing class, as well as species.<sup>3</sup> These social definitions of animals could be found across entertainment, no more apparent in acts of taming and control. Lion-tamer Isaac Van Amburgh would perform on the patented dramatic stage at Drury Lane, comparing his tigers to drunken rascals and enacting Britain's imperial project – the civilised white man, taming the beasts and savages of Empire.

From rascal tigers to erotic eels, the display of animals was continually driven by cultural norms and expectations. Throughout the 18th and 19th century, the process of exhib-

iting and performing animals has been illustrated as a process of definition and self-definition, driven by attitudes towards humans, animals and entertainment. Within this, we witness an increasing concern for the lived experience and mental characteristics of animals. A movement from the animal as a visual, physical specimen, to a behavioural, sentimental creature – a different animal altogether.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Advertisement for the 'Dromedary and Camel', 26 January 1758, British Library, Lysons Collection, Microfilm MC20452.

<sup>2</sup> Lucretia Lovejoy, 1779 *An Elegy on the Lamented Death of the Electrical Eel, or Gymnotus Electrocutus*, London.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Hood, 1835 'Lament of Toby, the Learned Pig' in *Comic Annual* 6, 179.

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