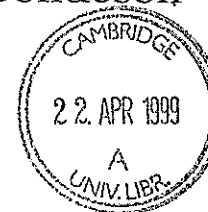


The Feejee Mermaid

*and Other Essays in Natural
and Unnatural History*

❧ Jan Bondeson



CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

Ithaca and London

1999

1-xiii, 1-315

walk the tightrope. Some historians have accepted this as a fact, and there have actually been rumors that a late-nineteenth-century circus elephant could perform this feat—on a very thick rope, to be sure! It would seem more prudent, in spite of the elephant's well-developed sense of balance, to await the display of a similar feat from a present-day circus elephant. Nor does it enhance the credibility of Pliny's account that he claims, in another part of his narrative, that elephants can also be taught to climb up and down ropes, something that is manifestly impossible.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, the elephant disappeared from the Western world, some early medieval writers put it on par with the basilisk, the mantichora, the sphinx, and other creatures of myth and legend. The two things every medieval bestiary reader knew about elephants were that they had no joints in their legs, which enabled hunters to capture them by cutting down the trees they were leaning toward while they slept, and that the elephants were often killed by mice crawling into their trunks, which communicated directly with the brain. This strange idea of truncal anatomy, which would put the elephant in immediate danger of literally blowing its brains out when sneezing or trumpeting violently, has remained widespread in folklore well into modern times, and the elephant and mouse motif is not infrequently met with in literature and poetry. In the year 797, Charlemagne received an elephant as a present from the Caliph of Bagdhad. It crossed the Alps with its new owner and accompanied him on several of his later travels, until its death in 810. One of its tusks was made into an enormous hunting horn; this famous "oliphant de Charlemagne" is still kept, at Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1254, an elephant from Palestine was given to King Henry III of England by St. Louis of France. It was lodged in a 40 × 20 foot elephant house near the Thames and immediately became one of the sights of London. A remarkable drawing of this elephant, by Matthew Paris, in the *Book of Additions* to his *Greater Chronicle*, is kept on permanent display at the British Library in London. In 1514, the Portuguese Ambassador Tristan da Cunha brought an elephant to Pope Leo X's menagerie at the Vatican. When the rare beast was turned over to the pope, under great festivities, the elephant bowed three times at its keeper's command, greatly impressing the church dignitaries, who praised the creature's piety. The next moment, however, the elephant filled its trunk with water from a nearby trough and soused the assembled bishops and cardinals, not even sparing the majestic figure of the pope himself.

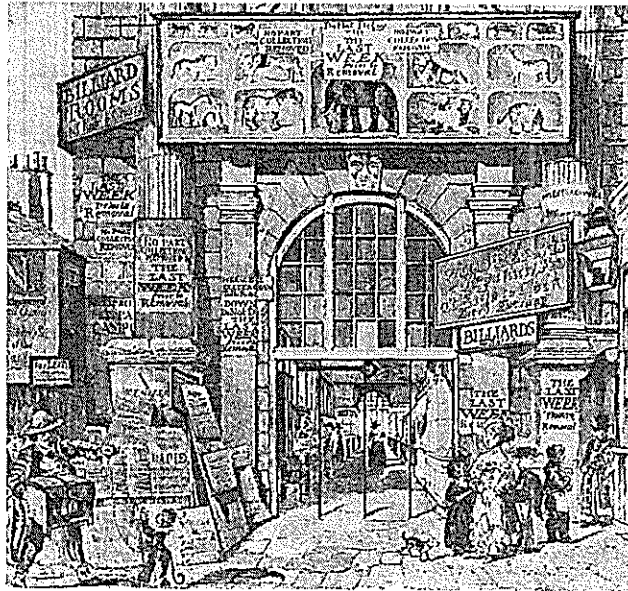
During the 1600s, elephants became a more common spectacle in Euro-

pean cities. In Paris, the Versailles menagerie always kept one or two elephants. The most popular of them was an African elephant, which resided there from 1665 to 1681. With age, it became something of a gourmet, dipping its bread in huge pailfuls of soup with great relish and insisting on a ration of at least 12 pints of wine daily. In 1679, Robert Hooke recorded in his diary that he had seen an elephant in London that could "wave colours, shoot a gun, bend and kneel, carry a castle and a man etc." Another elephant was on show in Dublin. When it was accidentally burned to death in 1681, the body was used for one of the earliest studies of elephant anatomy. The popular interest for this elephant dissection was immense, and the proprietor had to employ a file of musketeers to guard the carcass until the skeleton was ready for inspection. The death of another elephant, while on exhibition in London in 1720, was attributed to the immense quantity of ale continually given to it by the spectators. No elephants reached the United States until 1796, when an enterprising sea captain named Crowninshield imported an Indian elephant whose name is unknown; there are several records of its appearance in various American towns.

The Exeter Change Menagerie

In the late eighteenth century, London had close to a million inhabitants, many of them with ample money to spend on amusements and an insatiable thirst for animal curiosities. An edict from 1697 had prohibited the exhibition of wild beasts in the streets of London, on the ground that this was the privilege of the keeper of his Majesty's lions in the Tower. But this proclamation did not prevent showmen and monster-mongers from showing their beasts at fairs and markets, or clandestinely displaying them in back alleys throughout the metropolis. It was not until 1793 that any privately owned full-scale menagerie was established in London. The itinerant showman Gilbert Pidcock had purchased a large four-story building at the Strand called Exeter Exchange (or Change). It was called this because it had been built with material salvaged from the old Exeter House, which had stood at the same site in the Strand in the late 1600s. It had once been some kind of "exchange" or station for stage coaches. The house was of considerable size, and it is likely that Pidcock first wanted it as winter quarters for his animals in between tours, but he soon realized that the animals could be profitably

The entrance to the Exeter Change menagerie.



exhibited there all the year round. Gilbert Pidcock brought with him a rhinoceros, a zebra, a kangaroo, a lynx, and a collection of rare birds; some years later, several tigers and elephants were purchased. The animals were all kept indoors, the majority of them on the first floor of the old house. The ground floor housed several small shops that flanked an arcade incorporating the Strand footway; the shop owners must have become somewhat worried when the rhinoceros shifted its weight upstairs. The cages and dens of the animals had been put in the ample parlors of the old house, whose walls had been decorated with murals of tropical motives—a sad reminder, for the wretched caged animals, of their faraway proper homes!

The old Tower menagerie went into a decline in the late eighteenth century, and Pidcock's Royal Menagerie at Exeter Change usurped its position among the Londoners. Using ostentatious handbills and newspaper advertisements to attract public attention, it became extraordinarily popular, and was a lucrative business for many years. The profits were cleverly invested by Pidcock and his deputy Edward Cross and were used to purchase a great variety of beasts, through contacts with sailors and animal dealers, that filled

every apartment at Exeter Change with interesting animals and birds. It was an audacious, not to say unique, enterprise to establish a complete zoological garden in one of central London's most densely populated areas. Rather surprisingly, the civic authorities did not object to it, but there was a steady barrage of threatening letters and whining newspaper correspondence complaining about the disturbing jungle noises and noxious smells emanating from the old house. The early animal protectionists were also critical, rightly claiming that the cages and dens used at Exeter Change were far too small. Both Pidcock and Cross were skilled animal keepers, however. In a time not noted for humanity toward captive animals, they took good care of their beasts, some of which resided at Exeter Change for decades and became well-known London favorites. Several lion and tiger cubs were successfully reared there. The exhibition catalogue of the Exeter Change menagerie was quite well written, containing lengthy quotations from the natural history works of Buffon and Oliver Goldsmith as well as a dedicatory poem to the inhabitants of the menagerie:

*And if you would wish for an exquisite treat,
At nine in the Evening the Wild Beasts all eat;
Their dishes so various, substantial and good,
That pleasure they give while enjoying their food,
And wonder impress, both delightful and strange,
On each one that visits famed Exeter Change.*

In 1810, Gilbert Pidcock died, and another veteran menagerist, Stephen Polito, bought the whole establishment at auction.

When Edward Cross bought out old Mr. Polito in 1814 and became the sole owner of the menagerie, one of his ostentatious newspaper advertisements likened him to "that primeval collector of natural curiosities, Old Noah." And the boastful menagerist was not far off the mark: the old house at Exeter Change contained a remarkable collection of animals, far outclassing any other British menagerie. The huge lion Nero was a long-term favorite among the Londoners, and the exhibition contained four other African lions and several tigers, leopards, jaguars, and hyenas, as well as a boa constrictor, an orangutan, and "the greatest variety of Crocodiles ever exhibited." Antelopes, camels, llamas, bison, and sea lions were also kept. The huge collection of birds featured several African ostriches and five different species of eagles and vultures. Edward Cross corresponded with many of the leading

anatomists and zoologists of London, such as Sir Everard Home, Sir Astley Cooper, and Joshua Brookes. He was also a patron of the arts, and several times allowed Sir Edwin Landseer to portray his beasts in various settings.

An Elephant in the Theatre

During the 1811 season, it was very fashionable to use animals in dramatic performances on the London stage: not infrequently, a well-trained dog, ape, or horse received more accolades than the human actors and actresses. Mr. Henry Harris, manager of the Covent Garden theater, was an audacious theatrical director who was one of the pioneers of English hippodrama: the use of horses in theatrical productions. Together with his partner, Mr. John Philip Kemble, Mr. Harris had hired horses and riders from Astley's circus to act in melodramas written particularly to suit the display of these equine performers. Elderly purists, meanwhile, were aghast at these novel vulgarities, which had usurped the place of Shakespeare's dramas at this venerable theatre. They suggested that the horses themselves should be poisoned before they poisoned the national taste, and described how Shakespeare's statue had groaned and shaken its head when being forced to endure Mr. Harris's prolonged equine histrionics. Several other establishments had followed suit, and hired various animal actors.

In late 1811, Mr. Harris, in an attempt to outdo the competition once and for all, recruited an elephant and its keeper to perform in a pantomime version of *Harlequin and Columbine*. This elephant, a young Indian male, was called Chuneer; it had probably grown up in captivity in the Indian countryside. When just 2 or 3 years old, it was purchased by Captain Hay, of the East Indiaman Lady Astell. In July 1810, he took it from Bombay to London. As soon as Chuneer had disembarked, he was purchased, at the docks, by Messrs. Davis and Parker, of Astley's circus, which was at this time London's leading establishment of its kind. At the circus, Chuneer was just another elephant until he was rented, for the huge sum of 900 guineas, by the Covent Garden theater. Mr. Harris advertised his newly recruited elephantine actor widely, and most of the people at the sold-out premiere of *Harlequin and Columbine* had come to see the elephant. There was a general hush when the huge beast first set foot on the stage. The setting was that the sultan of Cashmere was returning from a day's tiger hunting, seated in a howdah on the elephant's back. Just before the sultan in the procession was a slave carrying a bowl of strong rum, from which Chuneer helped himself to a

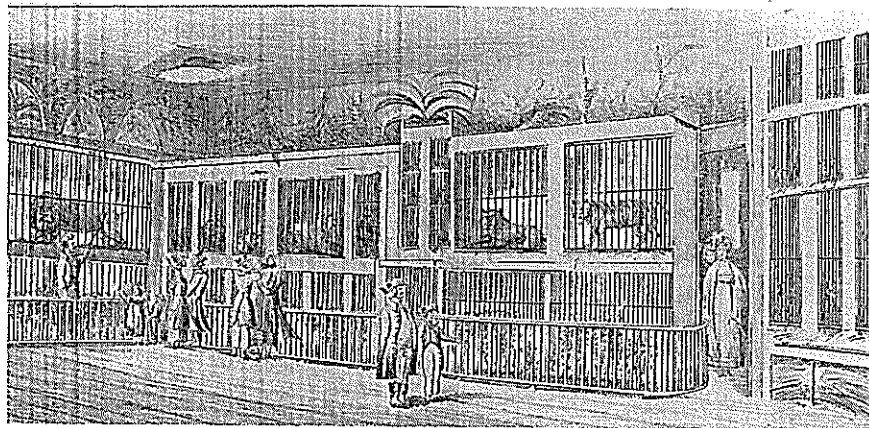
few mouthfuls, using the trunk. The Indian elephant keeper from Astley's circus, who had joined Chuneer in the elephant's theatrical career, was seated on the neck, but the audience noticed that the swarthy, turbaned individual himself looked quite frightened, and that he was holding on for dear life as the elephant hastily walked toward the middle of the stage. Chuneer was ordered to kneel, to enable the sultan to dismount, and the elephant obeyed the command. The audience cheered wildly, and the clamorous sounds from galleries, pit, and boxes induced a severe attack of stage fright: the elephant abruptly jumped to its feet and pushed its way out of the stage, driving the actors and guards before it. The terrified sultan and the shrilly screaming elephant keeper were desperately clinging to their seats, and only luck prevented them from being seriously hurt.

This dismal fiasco was much laughed at in the newspapers, but Mr. Harris and his colleagues were undaunted: they kept the elephant in the cast, refusing to admit defeat and hoping that Chuneer would, with time, get used to being on stage before a noisy crowd of people. Chuneer's uncertain temper and lack of stage experience was a continual worry to them, however, and there were many other comic incidents, some of which would have broken the spirit of most theatrical managers. The worst thing was that the flatulent elephant's nerves suffered from the shouts and clamoring of the audience: its thunderous farts resounded in the theater hall, and there were frequent calls of "Shame!" and "Off! Off!" from the pits. The Indian elephant keeper was a brutal rascal who punished Chuneer with his sharp iron goad when the elephant was disobedient. Chuneer returned his dislike fully: whereas the elephant was docility itself when ridden by the theater's leading lady, the beautiful Mrs. Henry Johnston, the Indian was frequently thrown from his seat or given a resounding box on the ear from Chuneer's powerful trunk. These burlesque additions to the pantomime's subject matter were greeted with cheers, applause and catcalls by the rowdy audience, which jarred Chuneer's sensitive nerves further. After the play had run of 40 nights, Chuneer retired permanently from the stage; the manager and actors probably breathed a sigh of relief to get rid of the unruly beast. The director of Astley's circus was not particularly interested in using Chuneer in his own shows, and Mr. Norman, the circus clown, was instructed to sell the elephant. The business-minded clown struck a deal with the Exeter Change menagerie, where Chuneer took up residence in a purposely built elephant den on the first floor. It was not recorded how Mr. Polito and Edward Cross managed, some time in 1812, to get Chuneer up the groaning, decayed wooden stairways of the old house.

London's Favorite Elephant

From 1810 to 1826, the Exeter Change menagerie was very popular indeed, and an extremely lucrative business. This was largely due to Chunee the elephant: along with the lion Nero, he was by far the most famous inhabitant of Exeter Change. Mr. Cross's Royal Grand National Menagerie was open between 9 A.M. and 9 P.M.; it cost a shilling to see each of the three main apartments, or 2 shillings to see them all. The facade toward the Strand was decorated with colorful drawings of animal, and a large sign: "Edward Cross Dealer in Foreign Birds and Beasts." A gigantic doorman, dressed as one of Henry VIII's Yeomen of the Guard, stood at the entrance, handing out descriptive bills to all passersby and describing the living wonders awaiting them inside in a stentorian voice. Above him, a similarly noisy and gaudily colored macaw sat perched on a swing. The animals within supplied their own exotic sound effects, sometimes frightening passing horses in the Strand and making them bolt.

The animals were all fed at 8:00 P.M., at which time the whole place was crowded with spectators. The journalist William Clarke, editor of the *Cigar* magazine, wrote in his *Every Night Book* that the Lords of Parliament and the lions of Exeter Change all dined at about 8:00; the journalists reporting from Parliament thus had ample time to visit the menagerie on the way home. Himself, he vastly preferred to see a beautiful Bengal tigress and a noble



The interior of the Exeter Change menagerie; a drawing from one of Edward Cross's catalogues. Reproduced with permission of the trustees of the Victoria & Albert Museum, V & A Picture Library.

African lion gruffly debating over a bone than to hear a noble lord and a royal duke doing the same over some boring political question. Chunee the elephant rang a large bell, hanging from the roof of the den, as a signal that food was on its way. On November 14, 1813, Lord Byron visited the menagerie to watch the lions, tigers, and panthers "growl over their grub." In his diary, he recorded that the sloth much reminded him of his own valet, both in appearance and in habits. Lord Byron was much amused to see the elderly Exeter Change hyena Billy's great affection for its keeper, but the sight of the camel made him pine for Asia Minor. He also wrote that the face of the hippopotamus looked very like that of the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool. This is a remarkable observation, since there is no record of the Exeter Change having a hippopotamus at this time. The menagerie had a rhinoceros, however, and it may be that Lord Byron's poetic imagination got the better of his knowledge in zoology; the existing portraits of Lord Liverpool give no hints either way. Lord Byron also saw Chunee perform. The keeper Alfred Copps had taught the unruly elephant a bag of tricks, and Chunee gently returned a coin Lord Byron had tossed into the den. Chunee then removed his tall hat and gingerly put it back on his head. The elephant was on its best behavior throughout his visit, and Lord Byron joked that he would like to employ it as his butler.

Chunee had an impressive memory and always remembered some person that had shown him kindness on previous visits. During the elephant's tempestuous theatrical career, Chunee had made friends with several of the actors. One of them, Charles Mayne Young, had a life ticket to the menagerie, and when he visited the elephant, while taking a stroll on the Strand, Chunee always recognized him. The great tragedian Edward Kean was another of Chunee's old friends. Once, when returning from a lengthy tour to the United States, he doubted whether the elephant would remember him. But as soon as Chunee heard his voice, the elephant turned around in amazement and welcomed him with many caresses. Another London man-about-town, Thomas Hood, the poet of the Learned Pig, was also an avid visitor to the menagerie and a particular friend of the Chunee:

*I was the Damon of the gentle giant,
And oft has been,
like Mr. Kean,
Tenderly fondled by his trunk compliant.
Whenever I approached, the kindly brute
Flapped his prodigious ears, and bent his knees . . .
I bribed him by a apple, and beguiled*

*The beast of his affection like a child;
And well he loved me till his life was done
(Except when he was wild).
It makes me blush for human friends, but none
I have so truly kept or cheaply won!*

Edward Cross was a clever, observant man, and although he lacked a formal education, his knowledge in practical zoology was considerable. He was known and respected by many of London's anatomists and zoologists and was a particular friend of the surgeon Sir Everard Home, who was a copious writer on comparative anatomy and physiology. Home was often consulted when men or beasts belonging to the menagerie were taken ill; in return, many dead animals of comparative anatomical interest were taken to Home's headquarters at the Royal College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields to be dissected and prepared for the famous Hunterian Museum. Sir Everard was something of an elephant enthusiast, and he visited Chunee many times. He was particularly interested in the elephant's power of digestion. In 1823, Sir Everard wanted to investigate whether the elephant was capable of appreciating music. Mr. Cross was easily persuaded to assist him, and he recruited a pianoforte tuner to bring his instrument to Chunee's den. Sir Everard accompanied him on the French horn when they started playing, and Chunee seemed to appreciate their impromptu concert: "He brought his broad ears forward, remained evidently listening, and he made use of sounds rather expressive of satisfaction than otherwise." For a lark, they also played for the lion Nero, which stood glaring at them when the high notes were sounded. As soon as the flat notes were played, the lion sprang up, lashed his tail, roared fiercely, and endeavored to break free, to the alarm of the female spectators and the amusement of Sir Everard Home.

Big Trouble at Exeter Change

Each day, Chunee consumed more than 800 pounds of hay, corn, straw, carrots, mangel wurzel, and biscuit. He grew at an astounding rate and in 1820, when a new den had to be built to accommodate the huge beast, had more than doubled his size in a little more than 8 years. When Mr. Cross published a new guidebook to Exeter Change in 1820, he proudly declared that Chunee was Europe's largest elephant, being more than 10 feet in height and weighing about 5 tons: "familiarily speaking, he may be called an ani-

mated mountain." In spite of his huge size, the elephant was timid and easily frightened, Mr. Cross claimed. Once, when quite young, the elephant had been terrified by a large dog leaping forward; now, it was enough that Mr. Cross's fierce little fox terrier ran into the den for Chunee to cower into a corner, trumpeting with fear. In his guidebook, Mr. Cross advised the visitors not to try to pat or fondle the elephant; he had received many complaints from ladies whose white gloves had been ruined by the smelly oil rubbed into Chunee's coarse hide by the keepers. Other well-intentioned advice was that the ladies should not stand too close to the cage of Ould Bill, the orangutan, since he liked to dash forth and grab hold of their long skirts. It was also strongly recommended to get out of the way sharply when the llamas cleared their throats to spit.

In his pamphlet, Mr. Cross boasted of the elephant's docility and its great affection to its keeper, but he neglected to mention that there had been several violent incidents at Exeter Change, all involving the elephant. Chunee's first keeper Alfred Copps long seemed capable of controlling his charge; several visitors to the menagerie had, like Lord Byron, even been quite impressed by the elephant's obedience and sagacity. But one day in early 1815, Chunee attacked Copps without warning and gored him into a corner of the den with great force; it was fortunate that the tusks went on each side of his body. Copps fell senseless to the floor, and Chunee proceeded to throttle him using the trunk. A bystander called Mr. Cross, who valiantly ran into the den and struck Chunee with a pitchfork. The elephant turned and attacked him instead, and the senseless Copps, who had, according to another keeper, "scarce any breath remaining in his body," was pulled out through the bars. Rather understandably, Alfred Copps did not dare to enter Chunee's den again, and he left Exeter Change for good, later to become head keeper of the Tower menagerie. A young man named George Dyer was appointed in his place. This individual had little previous experience of animal keeping, and had probably never seen an elephant before; he completely lacked the skill to control the unruly beast, and Chunee's behavior went from bad to worse. The gentlemen who, like Lord Byron, let Chunee act the part of their valet, sometimes received their hats back in a flattened and dirty condition, or covered in elephant dung. When Dyer objected to this latter outrage, and struck Chunee with a poker, he was soused with dirty water that the elephant had drawn into its trunk. The wretched man had his own bedroom next to the elephant's den, which is unlikely to have benefited his night's sleep. Chunee could easily reach into his room with the trunk, and once tore

The mythology and physiology of mermaids is reviewed by, among others, P. Lum (*Fabulous Beasts*; New York 1951, 130–144), R. Carrington (*Mermaids and Mastodons*; London 1959, 3–20), G. K. Brøndsted (*Havfruens Saga*; Copenhagen 1965), and B. Phillpotts (*Mermaids*; London 1980) and in articles by A. S. Goodman (*Journal of Popular Culture* 17 [1983], 32–48), C. B. Fleming (*Smithsonian* June 1983, 86–95), K. Banse (*Limnology and Oceanography* 35 [1990], 148–153), and T. W. Pietsch (*Archives of Natural History* 18 [1991], 1–25). The most important sources on Captain Eades and his mermaid are the British Library's collections of pamphlets and handbills (Sadlers Wells; Morley's Scrap-book), and the valuable Lysons' *Collectanea*, as well as the 1822 and 1823 volumes of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Annual Register*, and the *Times* and *Mirror* newspapers. William Clift's description of the mermaid is kept in the archives of the Royal College of Surgeons of England (Cabinet II.7), and the same file also contains copies of Home's correspondence with Eades and Clift about the mermaid. Another account of the mermaid, also by William Clift, with a drawing of it by the artist Robert Hills, is in the Natural History Museum, London (OC 62.8/39). Later articles about the Feejee Mermaid include those by L. E. Chaney (*The Dickensian* 50 [1984], 39–40), S. C. Lévi (*Western Folklore* 36 [1977], 149–154), and H. Ritvo (*Victorian Literature and Culture* 19 [1991], 277–291). P. T. Barnum tells the story of the Feejee Mermaid in his *Struggles and Triumphs* (Hartford 1869), and his later biographers all have discussed the mermaid's career: see M. R. Werner (*Barnum*; New York 1923, 56–63), I. Wallace (*The Life and Times of P. T. Barnum*; New York 1959, 73–77), and N. Harris (*Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum*; Boston 1973, 62–67). Of particular value are the well-written and scholarly biography of Barnum by Mr. A. H. Saxon (*P. T. Barnum, the Legend and the Man*; New York 1989, 119–123) and the same writer's *Barnumiana* (Jumbo's Press, Fairfield CT, 1995, 38–39, 62–63), which add much new information about the mermaid. The 1822 mermaid pamphlet is at the Beinecke Rare Book Library at Yale University, and the 1842 pamphlet is at the Library Company of Philadelphia; neither is held by the British Library. Much valuable information about the Feejee Mermaid and other faked mermaid specimens has been obtained from Mr. A. H. Saxon, Ph.D., Bridgeport. Also thanked for valuable information are the archives of Harvard Peabody Museum (L. Wolf Whitehead, who kindly supplied valuable copies from the mermaid file), the British Museum (Prints and Drawings), the Museum of Mankind (Dr. Brian Durrans and Mr. Jim Hemall), and the Brighton Royal Pavilion Museum (Mr. Antony Shelton). Carl Linnaeus's writings about mermaids are in his *Bref och Skrifvelser*, Vol. 2 (Stockholm 1908, 129–131). Other faked mermaids have been described by Frank Buckland in volume 2 of his *Curiosities of Natural History* (London 1865, 113–122), by Henry Lee (*Sea Fables Explained*; London 1882, 213–217), by J. Boullet (*Asculape* 41 [1958], 3–62), by J. Hutchins (*Discovering Mermaids and Sea Monsters*; Tring 1968), and in an anonymous article in the *Buried Treasures of the Peabody Museum* (2 [1969], 1–4). Another valuable source is the excellent book *Animal Fakes and Frauds* by Peter Danie (Maidenhead 1976, 37–56).

Some excellent books on the natural and cultural history of elephants are *Elephants* by R. Carrington (London 1958), *Elephants Ancient and Modern* by F. C. Sillar and R. M. Meyler (Ontario 1968), *Elephants* edited by S. K. Eltringham (Poole 1991), and *Elefanten in Zoo und Circus* edited by A. Hauffellner et al. (London 1993). Additional information can be found in the articles by N. Kourist (*Zoologische Beiträge* 18 [1971], 141–148) and R. Delort (*L'Histoire* 20 [1980], 32–40). The most important sources on Chunee and the Exeter Change menagerie are the collections of press cuttings, pamphlets, and drawings in the Enthoven Collection, Theatre Museum, London, and the Archives of Westminster City Libraries, London. Much additional material, including several scarce pamphlets and prints, is in the British Library (Bartholomew Fair, Sadlers Wells, and Lysons collections). Four important contemporary sources are E. Cross, *Companion to the Royal Menagerie, Exeter Change* (London, 1820); J. Taylor, *The Life, Death and Dissection of the Largest Elephant Ever Known in this Country* (London 1826); P. Egan, *Anecdotes of the Turf, the Chase, the Ring, and the Stage* (London 1827, 281–293); and W. Hone, *Every-Day Book*, Vol. 2 (London 1834, 321–345). The *Times*, *Morning Chronicle*, and *Mirror* newspapers of 1826 contain many articles about Chunee's tragic death and the elephant mania that ensued. Important information about Chunee's skeleton is contained in the manuscript "Diaries of William Clift" (entries for March 1, 1826; May 26–June 10, 1831; and Nov. 1, 1831), kept in the archives of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and in volume 1 of the descriptive catalogue of the osteological series in the Royal College of Surgeons' Museum. Charles Dickens wrote about Chunee in *All the Year Round* (13 [1866], 256–257); two later articles were in *Once a Week* (Nov 1863, 586–588) and the *Picture Magazine* (April 1894, 205–206). The essential modern description of the Exeter Change and its animals is that by Professor Richard D. Altick, in his masterly *The Shows of London* (London 1978, 302–316); other accounts are C. H. Keeling's *Where the Lion Trod* (Clam Publications, Shalford [Surrey UK] 1984, 2–25) and *Where the Elephant Walked* (Clam Publications, Shalford [Surrey UK] 1991, 4–9; 41–43) and H. Ritvo's *The Animal Estate* (London 1990, 205–242). Mr. C. H. Keeling, Shalford, and Mr. Ian Lyle, Librarian to the Royal College of Surgeons, London, are thanked for valuable help.

Jumbo, King of Elephants

The only full-length biography of the King of Elephants is W. P. Jolly's *Jumbo* (London 1976). In its preface, it is remarked that the biographer of an elephant has the great advantage not to be overburdened with the personal papers of the deceased; nor is there any worry of offending the family! *London Zoo from Old Photographs 1852–1914* by Mr. John Edwards (London 1996) is another valuable source, and contains an annotated collection of almost every known photograph of Jumbo at London Zoo. Four important articles about Jumbo are those by J. Bannerman (*Maclean's Magazine* 68 [1955], 28–29, 43–50, 84), J. L. Haley (*American Heritage* 24 [1973], 62–68, 82–85), T. James (*Smith-*