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Regulating and Representing Vagrant Curs and Purebred Dogs in Toronto, 1867-1910

by

Amanda Anne Margaret Sauermann, B.A. (Hons.)

A thesis submitted to  
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

Department of History

Carleton University  
Ottawa, Ontario  
21 May, 2010

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*Your file* *Votre référence*  
ISBN: 978-0-494-71721-9  
*Our file* *Notre référence*  
ISBN: 978-0-494-71721-9

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines parallel canine narratives, the story of the city cur and the story of the purebred dog, to argue that the dog was entangled in a broader discourse of governmentality and modernity in the city. In the City of Toronto, between 1867 and 1910, the unruly dog came to be conceived of as dangerous, destructive and diseased, and was gradually eliminated by a series of regulations requiring the identification and control of the dog by the owner, and the incarceration and adoption or extermination of the stray. Simultaneously, Toronto businessmen began to selectively breed the improved pet – the purebred dog – which was represented by the breeders as being everything the city cur was not: clean, obedient, civilized and economically valuable. While the city cur became invisible, hidden behind the walls of the dog pound, the purebred dog became a consumer product and a spectacle, placed on display at the Toronto Dog Show, alongside other marvels of modern society.

## Acknowledgements

For the successful completion of this MA I am indebted to the many people who have given me suggestions, criticisms and words of encouragement. Above all I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Joanna Dean. Without her patient teaching, insightful and challenging comments and critiques, as well as her unfaltering support and patience, which I most likely tried on more than one occasion, this project would not have been possible. Not only did she dedicate her time and effort to helping me strengthen and clarify my argument so that this thesis could be something we both were proud of, but she also allowed me the room to get carried away by my topic and run off on tangents, even if in the end it meant more work for both of us. I am no less thankful to the two other professors who made up my thesis committee – Dr. Keith Walden and Dr. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera – whose thoughtful questions and helpful suggestions have improved my thesis for the better.

I would also like to thank everyone within the Department of History at Carleton University. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Dominique Marshall, Dr. Pamela Walker, Dr. Jennifer Evans and Dr. John Walsh who have either through support and encouragement or through interesting questions and suggestions all played a significant role in my development as a scholar. I would also like to especially thank Joan White: the most hard-working, meticulous and thoughtful graduate secretary and by far one of the most amazing and kind people I have met. Joan, thank you for everything you have done for me over the past two years – I am extremely grateful.

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of Beth Marley, managing editor of *Dogs in Canada*, who not only made it possible for me to gain entry into the Canadian Kennel Club's private archives, but who also came into work for 8 on the days that I was visiting the archives so that I could begin work before the building opened at 9. Also, I would like to thank Bill MacLellan, Document Delivery & Publications Librarian at the Canadian Agriculture Library, who kindly helped me locate issues of the *Kennel and Bench Gazette* even when the CAL was in the midst of a major move.

The arguments in this thesis have also been strengthened and improved by the members of my thesis group, Justin K. Rivest, Chris Schultz, and Abraham Plunkett-Latimer. I am not simply obliged to Abe and Justin for their thoughtful suggestions and real interest in my work, I am also extremely thankful to them, as well as Kathryn Desplanque, for the many hours well-wasted on beards, prognostications and eighteenth century French art. You guys are great and will do great things!

I am also deeply grateful to Will Knight and Beth Robertson who have been my mentors throughout this entire process. I honestly could not have completed this thesis without their unwavering support, encouragement and interest. You are both great people and extremely talented scholars and I look forward to many more engaging debates and laughs in the future.

Lastly, I would like to thank my friends and family for their love and encouragement (and warm meals and hugs): Oma and Marlene I love you both very much. I am also extremely thankful to my partner, Ryan Hogan, for not only putting up with me through the ups and downs of this process but for also believing in me even when I no longer believed in myself; your love and support has meant a lot to me and I am truly lucky to be your girl.

In conclusion, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents, Hans and Joanna Sauermann, whose love, encouragement and editing (!) have made it all possible. I love you both very much.

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**WARNING**

Notice is hereby given that any unlicensed dog will be immediately impounded.

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-From Disney's *Lady and the Tramp*

In 1955 Walt Disney released his classic animated film *Lady and the Tramp*. The story, which was set in an anonymous American city at the outset of the twentieth century, was a tale of two canine protagonists: a well-mannered dog named Lady, and a disorderly mutt named Tramp. While the unlikely romance between the uptown Lady and dog-about-town Tramp has since earned the film recognition as one of the greatest American love stories of all time,<sup>1</sup> its historical significance emerges through closer analysis of the two contrasting canine characters.

Lady was a polished dog who lived in a similarly refined neighbourhood; there was a “fence around every tree” and “lid on every garbage can.” It was a beautiful, clean and bright middle-class suburb that was well separated from the hustle and bustle of downtown. The neighbourhood where Lady was raised by Jim Dear and Darling characterized the urban ideal, an orderly and regulated space that was similarly filled with properly ordered and controlled citizens, and Lady represented the perfect pet. Not only was she a purebred Cocker Spaniel, she was also inherently obedient, docile, and faithful, making her the ideal addition to any family home.

Lady was also the licensed, leash and collar type of dog. As the film demonstrates, upon turning six months, Jim Dear and Darling, in accordance with the law, purchased Lady a license and properly fitted her with a collar. While Lady's friends Jock, a gentlemanly Scottish Terrier and Trusty, a benevolent Bloodhound, explained that a license was a “badge of faith and respectability,” not to mention “the greatest honour man can bestow” on a dog, it also served a

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<sup>1</sup>American Film Institute, “America's Greatest Love Stories,” *American Film Institute* (accessed March 30, 2010) <http://connect.afi.com/site/DocServer/passions100.pdf?docID=2481>.

larger bureaucratic purpose. Intricately connected to broader ideas of surveillance and regulation, the purchase of a license made Lady, and her owners, explicitly known to the city's governing body, while a collar made her connection to her owners known to everyone in the neighbourhood. Not only did this ensure that Lady had owners who could be held financially responsible in the event that she caused damage to either city or personal property, but by paying the annual licensing fee and dog tax, Lady's very presence was generating important revenue for the city which could be used for its further improvement.

While Lady was the ideal dog, Tramp was in contrast a disruptive, non-breed city cur who was a terrible nuisance. Tramp metaphorically and literally came from the wrong side of the tracks. Spending his time worrying chickens, playing in spaces where dogs were not permitted, evading and bothering the canine police and attacking innocent people on the streets, Tramp was not only disorderly but he seemed to breed chaos wherever he went, a point that was made explicitly clear when Tramp led Lady straight into the hands of the city's dog catcher.

While Tramp's poor breeding and bad behaviour was undesirable, it was his lack of a license and collar that made him particularly problematic. By living "footloose and collar free" on the city streets, Tramp was a financial liability and a potential danger to citizens: there was no responsible human owner who could be made to pay for his indiscretions. Because Tramp did not have a license or a collar he was continually besieged by the city's dog catcher. As the ordinance quoted above demonstrates, any dog that was unlicensed was to be rounded up by the dog catcher and brought to the city's pound to await its fate: either through adoption or extermination stray dogs were removed from the city streets. Despite the fact that Tramp was too smart to be captured by the dog catcher, the film ends with Tramp's loss of freedom in the urban environment and introduction into the bourgeoisie home. Through his re-domestication,

Tramp was transformed from a dangerous and unruly dog into one that, like Lady, was known, regulated, controlled and ordered.

In *Lady and the Tramp*, Walt Disney presents an endearing treatise on the importance of dogs: while they did not belong on the streets or in the pound both the Ladies and the Tramps served a very important purpose as ‘man’s best friend.’ As long as they were properly licensed, maintained in the home and owned by responsible citizens, the dog was the greatest gift money could buy. While the venerable place of the dog as ‘man’s best friend’ features prominently in the film, the image of the canine ‘other’ represented by Tramp and his dog pound friends raises the question: is this the whole story? Has the dog always been loved by all?

Tramp’s life as an unruly canine outlaw suggests a whole other canine narrative and raises various questions. Why was Tramp considered a nuisance? Was it simply because he did not have a license and a collar or do these superficial regulations point to a larger problem? Furthermore, how would our understanding of dogs, as well as our relationship with dogs, change if the stray dog was examined further? How would it influence our understanding of purebred dogs? In the urban environment where pets loom large, what can the negative responses to dogs tell us about changing ideas of the city, the citizen and the place of animals in the city space? More importantly, how does a broader understanding of the canine ‘other’ influence or alter our understanding of the dog as pet? While Tramp did not seem to belong in the city, why did Lady? How, if at all, does her designation as a purebred contribute to her belonging? Could Lady only be the perfect pet if there was an ‘other’ non-perfect dog that she could be contrasted against? And lastly, why were dog control institutions meant to extirpate the city streets of cur dogs like Tramp developing in tandem with industries catering in purebred dogs like Lady?

Although animals have recently been acknowledged as a significant category of historical analysis, little attention has been paid to the place of the stray dog within the city and to the relationship between the stray and the new phenomena of the purebred. By examining how both canine narratives unfolded between the years 1867 and 1910 in Toronto, this thesis fills this lacuna. It argues that the dog was not simply connected to ideas of class and vectors of status, but also intricately entangled in a broader discourse of modernity in the city. The improvement rhetoric that was leading to various changes in the nineteenth century city was similarly influencing the dog in two fundamental ways. In the broad context of the city, the dog became a subject that had to be known and paid for by its owner. This led to the dichotomy between licensed and unlicensed dogs with the city cur being characterized as the latter, and the former becoming the ideal. This thesis will demonstrate that the city cur was no longer considered to fit into the city because it was unknown, unpredictable and economically valueless. Identifying the dog as inherently dangerous, destructive and diseased and therefore an obstacle to progress, the City of Toronto, beginning in 1834 with the institution of a dog tax, began to regulate dog control as a way of removing the dog problem from the city. As a modern city was one that was conceptualized as being void of ownerless dogs, the city more generally was improving through the process of extirpating stray dogs from the city streets. Through an examination of the hated canine 'other' this thesis will attempt to provide a nuanced analysis of urban modernity by revealing how the dog, like the city, had to be ordered, regulated and controlled.

Secondly, the actual canine body was being carefully and selectively bred by Toronto gentlemen, and others, in order to produce the improved and perfect pet: the purebred dog. Not only was the purebred dog made, like other industrial products, to be both explicitly visible and predictable, with a quality guarantee, it was also being thoughtfully represented by breeders as

being everything the city cur was not: clean, obedient, civilized and economically valuable. Furthermore, while the city cur became increasingly invisible – hidden behind the private walls of the dog pound – the purebred dog became a spectacle, placed on display at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition. Behind the romantic idea of ‘man’s best friend’ and the popular image of the purebred dog lays an actual blood and flesh animal which was knowingly constructed by breeders as a product to sell.

Given the interdisciplinary nature of my questions, this thesis has built upon various areas of scholarship. Most importantly, the work of this thesis on representations of the purebred dog in Ontario contributes to the growing area of animal history, particularly the work of Margaret Derry, Harriet Ritvo, Kathleen Kete, Louise E. Robbins, and Katherine Grier on pet-keeping trends and the development of the purebred dog. The only historian to have examined the historical significance of animals, including the dog, in a Canadian context has been Margaret Derry.<sup>2</sup> In her books *Horses in Society*, *Ontario’s Cattle Kingdom*, and *Bred for Perfection*, Derry investigates the history of purebred animal breeding. Her analysis concentrates on trends in shorthorn cattle and thoroughbred horse breeding, however in *Bred for Perfection*, Derry expands her scope to provide a progressive view of dog breeding in North America and Britain. While her work does draw in Canadian sources, her argument focuses on the United States and Britain. Her work on the creation of the purebred breeding method and the trans-Atlantic trade in purebred animals that developed in its wake has been invaluable to my understanding of how the ‘pure’ and valuable canine was created, but her economic focus does not allow for an in-depth analysis of the way the purebred dog was conceptualized by breeders or

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<sup>2</sup> Margaret Derry, *Ontario’s Cattle Kingdom: Purebred Breeders and Their World, 1870-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); *Bred for Perfection: Shorthorn Cattle, Collies, and Arabian Horses Since 1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); *Horses in Society: a Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing, 1800-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

the consuming public.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Derry's work examines the purebred dog and does not consider how the creation of this animal irrevocably changed the way all non-breed 'others' were conceptualized.

The work of Harriet Ritvo in *The Animal Estate* is the foundational work on the dog fancy, the breeding of purebred dogs for body conformation, show and sale, as it first developed in Britain in the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> By examining the rhetorical function of purebred dogs she argues that it became intricately connected to the class aspirations of England's middle-classes. While her scope of analysis does expand to consider the canine 'other' and its association with rabies, she uses the mongrel dog only to ask larger questions of class and gives only brief mention to the way the dog was regulated in London. Kathleen Kete and Louise E. Robbins are the foremost authorities in pet-keeping in France; they, like Ritvo, explain how pets in France were used by their owners to exhibit privilege and wealth. Robbins describes the keeping of exotic pets such as parrots and canaries in the eighteenth century as signifiers of wealth, knowledge and empire.<sup>5</sup> Kete describes the rise of sentimental pet-keeping in nineteenth-century

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<sup>3</sup>See also Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2004) for a study of English husbandry traditions and how livestock in the Chesapeake and New England regions were used by the British as part of a broader ideological colonization effort.

<sup>4</sup>Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: the English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987). See also Philip Howell, "Flush and the *banditti*: dog-stealing in Victorian London," in *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations* eds. Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (London: Routledge, 2000) 37-58 for further analysis of how dogs were considered domestic pets. For a brief discussion of the beginning of petkeeping in the eighteenth century see Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: a History of Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983) 117-119 and J.H. Plumb, "The Acceptance of modernity," *The Birth of a Consumer Society* eds. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, J.H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications, 1982) 320-323. Also see Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance & Affection: the Making of Pets* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984) for a history of the domestication of the dog and pet-keeping trends. Tuan argues that the relationship between humans and their pets has been from the beginning one based on the premise of absolute domination and control. This idea is similarly developed by John Berger, "Why look at animals?," *About Looking* (London: Writers and Readers, 1980).

<sup>5</sup>Louise E. Robbins, *Elephant Slaves & Pampered Parrots: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 2002). For a discussion of how the exotic pet trade developed in Germany see Nigel Rothfels, *Savages and Beasts: the Birth of the Modern Zoo* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

Paris, particularly of the keeping and protection of dogs, as a reaction to modernity.<sup>6</sup> Her work is particularly revolutionary in that she argues that the dog provided the bourgeois with a way of communicating fears and anxieties over modernity. In the United States, Katherine Grier has provided the premier study of pet-keeping trends in various American cities.<sup>7</sup> Unlike the work of Ritvo, Kete and Robbins, Grier's study of pets focuses primarily on twentieth-century patterns and is largely empirical. While she does make the occasional reference to the negative reactions to pets in the city, in her introduction she explains that this was not her intended subject.<sup>8</sup>

Secondly, my work in chapters one and two on the regulation of the dog in the city and representations of the city cur contributes to the growing environmental historiography on animals in the urban environment. Since there has been no scholarship produced which examines the regulation of dogs in the city space,<sup>9</sup> I drew heavily from the existing work which examines feral cat communities, livestock and horses in the city. In this area, the work of animal-geographers Huw Griffiths, Ingrid Poulter and David Sibley on the complicated place of pets in the city, and that of Bettina Bradbury, Sean Kheraj, Ted Steinberg, Chris Philo, and Clay McShane and Joel Tarr on the regulation of animals in the urban environment has particularly framed this thesis.<sup>10</sup> I am especially indebted to the work of Griffiths, Poulter and Sibley on the

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<sup>6</sup>Kathleen Kete, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Pet Keeping in Nineteenth Century Paris*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

<sup>7</sup>Katherine Grier, *Pets in America: A History* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

<sup>8</sup>Grier, 10 explains that while there were Americans who were "uninvolved, indifferent" and hostile to pets "they are not my subject."

<sup>9</sup>Ritvo, *The Animal Estate*, Kete, *Beast in the Boudoir*, and Katherine Grier, *Pets in America* all briefly mention by-laws that were passed in London, Paris and Philadelphia pertaining to the regulation of dogs.

<sup>10</sup>Huw Griffiths, Ingrid Poulter and David Sibley, "Feral cats in the city," in *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations* ed. Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (New York: Routledge, 2000) 59-72; Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-1891," *Labour/Le Travail* 14 (Fall 1984) and Sean Kheraj, "A Multi-Species Metropolis: Managing Animals in Nineteenth-Century Winnipeg," Presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, 2009. ); Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Chris Philo, "Animals, Geographies, and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions," *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* ed. Jennifer R. Wolch and Jody Emel (UK: Verso, 1998) 51-72.

ambiguous and complicated place ‘pet’ animals such as dogs and cats had in the modern city. As feral cats were not considered to have been completely wild nor completely domesticated, their presence in various areas of the city was often met with reactions ranging from veneration to opprobrium. Their study, which examines the reactions of people in Hull, England to various feral cat communities, argues that cats were considered to have been abject and out-of-place when living wild in the city, but in-place once re-domesticated into the home. This thesis demonstrates that this same idea was applied to dogs, except that unlike feral cats which were relatively innocuous, ownerless dogs, or even dogs with owners that were allowed to run unrestrained, could be and were dangerous.

The work of Bradbury, Kheraj, and Steinberg on the regulation of livestock animals in the city has been invaluable.<sup>11</sup> In a foundational article published in 1984, Bradbury uses the story of animal-raising in the city to ask larger questions of working class life in Montreal. She demonstrates that livestock of all types played a central role in the economies of working class families in the nineteenth century. Not only does she explain that pigs, cows and chickens provided a way for working class families to supplement their monetary wage, she argues that the animal-raising that was typical in Montreal was specifically urban in nature and largely different from more rural farming practices. While her work connects the exclusion of livestock animals to the further restrictions on Montreal’s working class, Sean Kheraj in an unpublished paper argues that in Winnipeg the management of domestic animals had more to do with

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Clay McShane and Joel Tarr *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

<sup>11</sup>I also consulted environmental historiography on the regulation of nature in the city. For the regulation of trees see Joanna Dean, “‘Said tree is a veritable nuisance,’: Ottawa’s Street Trees 1869-1939,” *Urban History Review* 1 (Fall 2005) 45-57; for water see Maria Kaika, *City of Flows: Modernity, Nature, and the City* (New York: Routledge, 2005) and Michèle Dagenais, “The Urbanization of Nature: Water Networks and Green Spaces in Montreal” in *Method and Meaning in Canadian Environmental History*, eds., Alan MacEachern and William J. Turkel (Toronto: Nelson Education, 2009).

concerns over human and animal health. Through a close examination of the scavenging by-laws and the establishment of animal pounds in Winnipeg, Kheraj demonstrates that animals were not simply acted upon agents, but rather, that their animality actually influenced urban development in the city.

The work of Steinberg has been the most cogent historical analysis of livestock animals in American cities. In *Down to Earth*, Steinberg argues that the city at the outset of the nineteenth century was an “organic city” filled with both human and animal bodies and excrement. While he argues that livestock would have commonly grazed on green spaces throughout the city, by the twentieth century they had all been “exiled to the farmyard.”<sup>12</sup> Like Kheraj, Steinberg connects the exclusion of livestock to public health concerns and the development of waste management technology. While geographer Chris Philo similarly examines the barring of livestock animals from London, England, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, he situates his study in the broader context of aversion towards meat markets and animal slaughter in the city. Contributing to a rich area of scholarship, Philo argues that meat markets were targeted by reformers who increasingly viewed these spaces as being filthy and immoral places that compromised the cities spiritual and physical health.<sup>13</sup>

The recent work of McShane and Tarr in *The Horse in the City* on the horse in nineteenth-century American cities is strikingly different from much of the other scholarship produced on animals in the urban environment. Building on a chapter in McShane’s earlier

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<sup>12</sup> Steinberg, 161.

<sup>13</sup>For other work on conceptualizations of slaughtering animals and the exclusion of the slaughterhouse to the exterior of the city see Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom Liberalism and the Modern City*, (London ; New York: Verso, 2003) 76-93; Chris Philo, “Animals, Geographies, and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions,” *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* ed. Jennifer R. Wolch and Jody Emel (UK: Verso, 1998) 51-72; Noelle Vialles, *Animal to Edible* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1994), and Jonathan Burt, “Conflicts around Slaughter in Modernity,” *Killing Animals* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 2006) 120-145.

work, *Down the Asphalt Path*, they argue that the urban horse was a “living machine” and that the relationship humans had with horses, as well as other animals in the city, was symbiotic and “not domination.” Furthermore, unlike other livestock animals that had been almost completely removed from the city by the outset of the twentieth century, the horse still played a key role in the twentieth century city, largely supplementing new transportation technology.

Lastly, this thesis contributes to the small but rich scholarship which has been produced on Canadian exhibitions. Of the existing historiography, the work of Keith Walden on modernity in Toronto in the latter half of the nineteenth century has most directly informed this project.<sup>14</sup> Walden’s micro-study of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition, and on a broader level the meaning of and reactions to urban modernity, examines the way exhibitions were conceptualized as miniature examples of the modern city. By building his study upon a foundational analysis of the spatial layout of the Industrial Exhibition, Walden illustrates how the grounds were carefully ordered, controlled, structured and surveyed so as to exhibit, and in turn, legitimize various modern practices to fair goers. His work shows that the rigid and ordered design of the Exhibition grounds, which on the surface appeared to be accepted and uncontested by all, was challenged by the disordered and chaotic underbelly. By developing the order/disorder dichotomy through a number of examples, Walden is able to illustrate how the meanings that surrounded modernity and progress varied considerably depending on the person or context. Much the same can be argued when looking at animals.

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<sup>14</sup>Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). Also extremely influential to my understanding of Canadian exhibitions has been Elsbeth A. Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). For a discussion of exhibition culture and western ideas of race and religion in the nineteenth century see John P. Burris, *Exhibition Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions, 1851-1893* (Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 2001).

Also existing within a symbolic continuum, animals did not, and do not, hold a single meaning but rather reflect different cultural, geographic, and temporal contexts. These meanings, much like the ones that surrounded the exhibition, the city, and modernity in general, are often contradictory, complicated and in a constant state of flux. Being culturally conceived, what 'the animal' or 'the dog' symbolizes varies significantly from person to person even in the context of a specific geographic location. However, as Walden's study has shown, the problem of meaning can often be productive and useful to historians. Exploration of the varied meanings surrounding modernity and the exhibition allowed Walden to develop the experiences of many different groups which, once combined, illustrated the complex social and cultural relations that were inherent in a modern Canadian city. Walden's study not only encouraged me to view the multi-layering of meaning that surrounded the dog as many pieces of a larger puzzle, it also provided a new way of thinking about the exhibition and display of canine bodies. His study forced me to place my analysis of Toronto's conformation bench shows in a wider framework that stepped beyond the confines of dog fancying rhetoric.

While the focus of this thesis has ultimately fallen on the rhetoric surrounding the different sides of the canine divide, effort has been made to keep the physical canine at the center of these debates. By using the canine body to ask larger questions of how the purebred dog was constructed and privileged over its mongrel counterparts, and how all dogs in the city were targeted with strict regulatory by-laws, this project will provide a nuanced examination of the role animals played in the modernizing cityscape. It will argue that both the story of the out-of-place city cur and the in-place purebred demonstrate what type of dog belonged in the 'modern' city: one that was, like the ideal city and citizen, visible, controlled, ordered and well-behaved. Furthermore, both the extermination of the stray dog and the further inclusion of purebred dogs

draw attention to the idea that dogs did belong in the city space but only in the home and under the direct control of human owners. In this respect this thesis will directly contribute to the new, but industrious, field of animal history, as well as the focused body of scholarship that critically examines the regulation of animals in the city space and their historical influence on the urban environment. Lastly, through my analysis of the Toronto Dog Show which was held in conjunction with the Toronto Industrial Exhibition, this thesis will also contribute to a broader understanding of the exhibition and the display of animals in a Canadian context.

### Chapter Breakdown

In the four chapters of this thesis, I identify and trace the cultural and political factors responsible for valorizing the purebred dog while simultaneously devaluing the city cur. I hope to demonstrate that the type of dog that belonged in the city space was transformed from one that was unknown, unregulated and unpredictable to one that was controlled, visible and firmly under human surveillance. In chapter one I examine by-laws related to the keeping of dogs in the city that were passed by Toronto's City Council between the years 1834 and 1890. By gaining a broader understanding of how the dog in the city was incorporated into the broader governing agenda meant to identify and regulate the social body, I argue that the type of dog in the nineteenth century city changed from one that was wild and unknown, to one that was controlled, regulated and ordered. Furthermore, while this chapter will demonstrate that the dog, and its owner, was made visible to the city's government, it will also show how all other dogs increasingly became invisible, incarcerated at disciplinary dog pounds where they would be reformed, through re-domestication into the home, or exterminated. In this chapter, the disciplined canine body (both a symbol of a disciplined citizen and the disciplining government)

will connect to deeper issues surrounding what type of dog (and citizen) was considered to 'fit-in' to modern city.

In chapter two, I examine why the dog in the city was considered a problem. Through an analysis of how 'nuisance' dogs were conceptualized as being dangerous, diseased and destructive I argue that dogs were increasingly regulated in the city because they, like other wild animals, were, or at least were believed to have been, a threat to public safety. In the first section, I examine how dogs were considered to have been dangerous because they attacked horses, women and children. By exploring why dogs were considered to have been terrible and dangerous nuisances, the idea that the unrestrained dog in the city was an obstacle to progress which had to be removed will be developed. Secondly, I draw attention to how stray dogs were conceptualized as being vectors of disease, particularly rabies. Here, I explain how fears surrounding the rabies epidemic were often deeply connected to ideas of class, as it was the city cur, and not the purebred dog, that was accused of spreading rabies. Lastly, I analyze how in the context of the country, the dog was considered to have been a serious problem because of the damage it caused to livestock. During this period agriculture was still Ontario's largest industry and in the many townships that surrounded Toronto, it was sheep and cattle farms that provided the developing cities with their animal products and economic clout. In these communities dogs worrying and killing sheep was a consistent and serious problem which threatened the livelihoods of farmers. However, while on the surface problems with dogs in the country appears to have been a war strictly between man and animal, I argue that upon a deeper analysis it reflected a broader division between rural farmers and urban dwellers.

Beginning in chapter three, I turn my attention to consider the purebred dog. This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section I discuss the establishment of the dog

fancy in Canada through a discussion of the Canadian Kennel Club (CKC). I focus on one of the most important corollaries of the kennel club system: breed standards. Through an examination of breed standards which mapped, standardized, and ordered the canine body, I demonstrate how dog fanciers transformed the dog into a standard and valuable product. Through the efforts of kennel clubs the body of a purebred dog was removed from its connection to wild nature and instead presented as being plastic and malleable: it, like other industrial products, could be made *en masse* to fit an identifiable standard. Having the ability to conform in order to meet recognizable standards and fashion demands, the purebred dog played an important role in the modern city as the perfect pet: it was made to fit.

In the second part of chapter three I examine the various ways that breeders represented purebred dogs. This section develops how particular purebred breeds, specifically the Fox Terrier and St. Bernard, were associated with characteristics and qualities that would appeal to potential consumers. Through an analysis of how the Fox Terrier was presented as being a gentlemanly sportsman and the St. Bernard a Christian protector, I argue that the way these breeds were packaged and sold in Ontario draw attention to manners, traditions and qualities that were valued by a middle-class Victorian audience.

Secondly, I turn my attention to consider how breeders conceptualized their purebred canine products as being superior to all non-breed/mongrel others. Representing the definable 'other' against which 'perfect' and 'standard' dogs could be contrasted; the 'mongrel' dog was portrayed as being disproportioned, uncivilized, and unrefined. Unlike the purebred dog which symbolized desirable traditions and qualities, the mongrel dog was representative of objectionable characteristics that no respectable person would want to be associated with. In the first sense, the mongrel was conceptualized by fanciers to be the non-pure and non-pedigreed

'other' that did not fit into any predetermined standard. However, as the word 'mongrel' can be applied to both mixed animals and humans, the dichotomy that breeders created between mongrel and purebred dogs drew on broader ideas surrounding class and race.

In my fourth and final chapter I examine how purebred dogs were placed on exhibition at the Grand International Bench Show which was held under the auspices of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition. In this chapter I argue that the dog show was an important educational space where breeders learnt how to improve their own specimens, as well as advertizing them to a broad public audience. I discuss the history of the exhibition and exhibition culture, and I examine the Toronto Industrial Exhibition and the Toronto Dog Show separately. I then trace how the dog show connected to the three broad concepts inherent in exhibition culture: education, capital and improvement. By developing the dog show as a didactic space, a place of sale and a place of improvement, this chapter demonstrates how the purebred dog was placed on display and transformed into a spectacle: it was, unlike the invisible cur, worth paying money to see and worth paying money to own.

### Methods and Sources

For this thesis I drew on various textual sources. These sources included nineteenth century specialty gazettes such as *The Canadian Poultry Review*, *The Kennel Gazette*, and *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* and newspapers such as *The Globe*, *The Toronto Mail*, *The Evening Star*, and *The Farmer's Advocate*; nineteenth century dog literature; government sources and archives, and Toronto Industrial Exhibition archival information. In Canada, 'doggy' matters from June 1878 to July 1886 were covered by *The Canadian Poultry Review*. The *Review* was published monthly out of Strathroy Ontario and ran uninterrupted from 1877 to 1975 and was

approximately twenty pages in length. In 1889, the *Review* was distributed to some 8 000 people interested in pure-breeding and the publication provided information on various topics from local and international dog shows, breeding tips, as well as newly drafted breed standards. Due to the growing interest in dog fancying in Canada around the end of the 1880s, the *Review* began to print a monthly supplement entitled *The Kennel Gazette* in February of 1889. The *Gazette* was approximately eight pages in length and was meant to be “bright, spicy, interesting and instructive” and it was touted as being the “official organ of the Canadian Kennel Club,” despite the fact that it was not owned by the club but rather by an independent fancier Harry B. Donovan. Donovan, who was originally a pigeon fancier and who maintained the ‘Pigeon Department’ in the *Review*, was editor of the *Kennel* for the one year that it lasted as a publication. In 1891 the *Kennel* was replaced with *The Canadian Kennel Gazette*. The *Canadian Kennel* ran under that title from 1891 to 1916 under the editorship and ownership of Donovan. While the historical records do not indicate the readership of *Canadian Kennel*, it was distributed to all CKC members and a yearly subscription to both the *Review* and *Canadian Kennel* cost one dollar. The only existing copies of the *Canadian Kennel* are housed in the CKC’s private archives in the club’s headquarters in Toronto, Ontario. Each issue published between 1891 and 1901 was reviewed. After 1901 every second issue in 1903, 1905, 1907 and all issues for 1910 were reviewed, predominantly for coverage of the Toronto Dog Show and the 1910 rabies scare. The *Canadian Kennel* eventually ceased publication in 1916 when it succumbed to the pressure of *The Kennel and Bench Gazette*, a publication owned and operated by Dr. Alfred Boulton, which began its run in 1914. The *Kennel and Bench* ran uninterrupted until 1940 when it changed its name to *Dogs in Canada*, a publication that is still published out of the CKC’s headquarters in Toronto today. The *Review*, *Kennel* and *Canadian Kennel* gazettes

were invaluable sources for insight into the Canadian dog fancy. Given that these sources were targeted at a specific group of individuals who were in many cases already interested in the breeding of 'pure' animals in general, and canines in particular, the source base was expanded to include mainstream papers.

Articles and editorials found in *The Globe* (1867-1900 and 1910), *The Farmer's Advocate* (September 1883, and August 1879), *The Daily Mail* (September 1880-1896), *The Daily Mail and Empire* (1896-1897), and *The Evening Star* (1894-1900 and 1910) provided insight into how the average Toronto resident thought about dogs in the city. Whereas the fancy periodicals gave sparse coverage to larger concerns regarding the dangerous and destructive nature of the dog, the mainstream dailies were consistently published articles and letters to the editor detailing the 'dog nuisance,' 'the rabies scare,' 'killer dogs,' and 'Toronto's canine problem,' while giving only sparse coverage to matters pertaining to the dog fancy. However, both the *Globe* and *Daily Mail* sporadically ran a 'kennel department' in the 'Sports & Pastimes' section.

Both the dailies and the specialty gazettes provided extensive coverage of the Grand International Bench Show. The *Kennel Gazette* and *Canadian Kennel* dedicated significant space to the Toronto Dog Show in their September and October issues. Of the dailies, the *Toronto Mail* and *Globe* provided the most extensive coverage of the Toronto Dog Show. For my chapter on the Toronto Dog Show I also drew on information found in the Industrial Exhibition Annual Reports for the years 1879 and 1891; The Authorized Catalogue of the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto for 1879; the Illustrated Souvenir of the Great Exhibition for 1895; and the Official Catalogue of the Fifth Annual Grand International Dog Show for 1893, the only catalogue found in the historical record.

In order to better understand the development of breed standards and bench show point systems, I examined a number of books published by well-known British breeders Hugh Dalziel, Vero Shaw, and Edward Lavarack between the years of 1870 and 1910. These breed standards provided insight into how breed standards were created, what type of criteria went into breed standards and what a traditional breed standard looked like. Furthermore, the work of these breeders was particularly useful because they were extremely influential on the Canadian standards that were published in the aforementioned gazettes.

Lastly, I also examined all by-laws between the years 1834 and 1916 that were passed in the Former City of Toronto by City Council pertaining to dogs and other livestock. I also spent some time examining dog by-laws that were passed during this period by Scarborough Township. All of these by-laws are housed at the Toronto City Archives in Toronto.

## Chapter One: Modernity and Canine Regulation in Toronto, 1834-1890

On a Monday evening in February of 1873, William Stratton Prince, Chief Constable for the City of Toronto, submitted his annual report to the Board of Police Commissioners. His report for the most part was a series of recommendations meant to ‘improve’ the city space. From further regulations for local businessmen and Toronto ‘hackmen,’ to the dire need for snow removal and pavement upgrades, Prince’s suggestions focused on improving safety and movement in the city.<sup>15</sup> Prince also dedicated significant space to Toronto’s dog problem. “I would earnestly request the Board to urge upon the Council to pass an effective by-law for the suppression of the dog nuisance,” stated Prince, as “nowhere but in an Asiatic town are there such hordes of dogs running at large.”<sup>16</sup> Moreover, he continued, “the Asiatic cur is a scavenger, and generally a silent and harmless one, whereas the Toronto curs, of which there must be some thousands at large, are not only an intolerable nuisance from their nightly howling and barking, but dangerous to the public.” As an answer to the “evil” that was “becoming a pest to society,” Prince called for stricter legislation that would compel all dog owners to procure a license and require all dogs to be properly fashioned with a brass tag indicating proof of licensing and registration. Furthermore, he called for the police department to be given the right to immediately destroy all non-licensed dogs running at large.<sup>17</sup>

The ‘evil’ and ‘pestilent’ dog nuisance that Prince complained of in his annual report was a problem that was believed to have ‘plagued’ Toronto in the latter half of the nineteenth

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<sup>15</sup>“Hackman,” *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). A ‘hackman’ was a cabman who drove a hackney-carriage or hack.

<sup>16</sup>“Annual Report of the Chief Constable,” *The Globe* 25 February 1873.

<sup>17</sup>Apparently one angry citizen was unaware of Chief Constable Prince’s feelings towards the dog problem because in his letter to the editor of *The Globe* in 1871 he stated “And our Police commissioner – if we have such a body – is afraid to act in this matter for fear of hurting the feelings of Captain Prince, who, I believe, is somewhat of a dog fancier!” “Dog Nuisance (To the Editor of *The Globe*),” *The Globe* 21 August 1871.

century. The ‘city cur,’ whose presence reduced Toronto to an ‘Asiatic town,’ was dangerous, annoying, intolerable and un-civilizing. Its presence signaled Toronto’s stagnation instead of its progress. In Prince’s opinion, this animal did not have a place in the city unless it clearly displayed a license indicating ownership. And, if it did not have such identification it was an obstacle to improvement that City Council needed to remove ‘immediately.’

This chapter explores the dog nuisance as it existed in Toronto from 1834 to 1910, with a focus on the legislation that City Council passed, particularly by-laws passed in 1855, 1867, 1877 and 1888 as official attempts to manage dogs in the city. By examining the public and official response to the dog nuisance,<sup>18</sup> I will show that legislation meant to crack down on the canine problem in Toronto was connected to broader ideas of improvement (of the citizen and the city), class (the dog becoming a luxury no longer afforded by all and a symbol of the lower classes that similarly needed to be controlled) and the changing place of dogs in the modern city.

### The ‘Modern’ Toronto

During the latter half of the nineteenth century Toronto was transformed from “dirty little York” to a booming metropolis.<sup>19</sup> In what Andrew C. Holman has termed “Canada’s age of industry,” the period from 1870 to about 1910 was a critical period of economic development, population growth, and infra-structural change, not to mention a crucial period in the development of class disparities, identities and strategies.<sup>20</sup> Partly due to the annexation of smaller counties such as Yorkville, Brockton and Parkdale in the 1880s, along with a stream of

<sup>18</sup>Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth Century London*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 6. Nead explains that her study brings together the ‘public and official and emotive and personal’ story of modernity in London, England. I have structured my first two chapters around this model.

<sup>19</sup>Edith G. Firth, *The Town of York: 1815-1834: A Further Collection of Documents of Early Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966) 297-298. Firth explains that “dirty little York” was commonly used as a nickname for York.

<sup>20</sup>Andrew Hollman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Quebec: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000) 6.

newly arrived immigrants and inward movement from the countryside, Toronto expanded rapidly in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> According to J. M. S. Careless, Toronto's population tripled between the years 1871 and 1891, growing from some 56 000 people in 1871 to a staggering 181 000 in 1891.<sup>22</sup> Unlike American cities such as New York, the ethnic breakdown of Toronto's population was relatively homogenous, with the majority of Canadian born citizens being of British origin and the main immigrant groups being of English, Irish or Scottish descent.<sup>23</sup>

As a result of the population boom and infrastructural innovations, such as the railway and trolley, Toronto's economic sector began to grow and diversify. Beginning in the 1870s, Toronto began to add large-scale manufacturing to its already established commercial transport.<sup>24</sup> While in 1870 Toronto had 530 manufacturing enterprises located in the city space, by 1891 this number had ballooned to 2 401 with "foundries, metal-working plants, furniture workshops, clothing sweatshops, distilleries, piano manufactories, and slaughter houses"<sup>25</sup> developing in the city. With a marked increase in Toronto's economic prosperity, spurred on by a thriving manufacturing and industrial sector, architectural changes in the way of new factories, office buildings, and houses were revolutionizing Toronto's urban space. Urban geographer P. G. Goheen explains that in the 1860s the city would have been a jumble of confusion with rich

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<sup>21</sup>Lawrence Solomon, *Toronto Sprawls: a History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2007) 6 and J. M. S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: J. Lorimer & Co.: National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1984) 109.

<sup>22</sup>Careless 109; Clay McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path: The Automobile and the American City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994) 20. McShane describes a similar expansion of cities across the United States between the years 1870 and 1900 ten of the largest cities doubled their population.

<sup>23</sup>Careless, 120; P. G. Goheen *Victorian Toronto 1850 to 1900: Pattern and Process of Growth*, (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Department of Geography, 1970) 75; Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 1997) 9.

<sup>24</sup>Careless explains that the advent of the railway in the early part of the nineteenth century turned Toronto into a railway city that was at the heart of Ontario's commercial industry with products coming in and out on a regular basis. Also, McShane *Down the Asphalt* 28.

<sup>25</sup>Walden, 8 ; Careless, 109.

and poor housing, commercial and business establishments, and industrial buildings all sharing the same space.<sup>26</sup> By the 1890s, however, the confusion had been put into order; the city “outgrew both its old shell and perhaps its old ways.”<sup>27</sup> A major part of this re-genesis was instigated by Toronto’s city aldermen and councilmen who became actively interested in ‘improving’ the city space and ‘progressing’ the city of Toronto.<sup>28</sup> City Council, between the years 1859 and 1889, passed 1 136 by-laws that were explicitly meant to facilitate ‘local improvement’ by building, repairing and restructuring Toronto’s public spaces.<sup>29</sup> While the bulk of this legislation was focused on the building and reworking of city sewers, after 1881 improvements began to take a more holistic approach with paving and widening sidewalks, constructing boulevards and cobblestone walks, repairing and extending streets growing in importance.<sup>30</sup> With changes to the city taking place at all levels, Keith Walden has observed that Toronto was ‘becoming modern.’<sup>31</sup>

During this period Toronto was not the only city to begin demolishing the ‘old’ in order to usher in a new and ‘modern’ city. According to Maria Kaika in her study on water, modernity

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<sup>26</sup>Walden, 244 also mentions that in the “old walking city” rich and poor would have lived in the same area.

<sup>27</sup>Goheen, 58. Peter C. Baldwin, *Domesticating the Street: The Reform of Public Space in Hartford, 1850-1930* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999) 45. Baldwin explains that in Hartford the ‘re-ordering’ and urban sprawl that separated poor from rich did not begin to take place until the twentieth century.

<sup>28</sup> Notably, the public was in favour of the city improvement plans and agreed that they were necessary. According to one *Globe* reporter in an 1870 editorial everyone in Toronto had to “acknowledge that there is good reason, in many respects, for being ashamed of the condition of our city.” Moreover, he explains that while local improvements are strongly favoured by all “the state of many of them [city streets] is simply disgraceful.” “City Improvements,” *The Globe*, 8 October 1870.

<sup>29</sup>Toronto City Council, *By-laws of the city of Toronto [microform] 1834 to 1890* (Toronto: Rowsell & Hutchinson, 1890).

<sup>30</sup>The years 1884, 1887, 1888 and 1889 saw the most development. McShane, 24 explains that early health theorists connected inadequate sewers with disease and that this connection ultimately led public health officials to begin changing the urban environment. Jesse Edgar Middleton, *The Municipality of Toronto: A History* (Toronto ; New York: The Dominion Publishing Company, 1923) 198. In Toronto, building the ‘Great sewer-system’ began in 1835 on King Street.

<sup>31</sup>Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*.

and the city, ‘early modernity’<sup>32</sup> was epitomized by changes that were occurring to the city’s landscape.<sup>33</sup> “Technological networks and constructions,” she argues, “became the most prominent *material* expressions of progress in the urban sphere, the very embodiment of modernity.”<sup>34</sup> Providing a focused account of how one European city ‘became modern’ is Lynda Nead in her study of London England in the nineteenth century. She explains that London’s metropolitan government was also driven by the concept of ‘improvement’ in the nineteenth century and that ‘modernity,’ particularly in the latter half of the century, “forced itself on the eye.”<sup>35</sup> From the new buildings that were being erected to sketches and maps of the new city, ‘modernity’ manifested itself in the physical changes taking place in the city. Much like what was taking place in Toronto, London was instituting improvement plans that were intended to “sweep away the filth and decay inherent within old London,”<sup>36</sup> with a new and seemingly ‘modern’ city emerging. What was particularly different about the ‘new’ London that planners were developing, Nead explains, is that it was built upon the premise of movement. While the “old city was a place of blocked mobility, of congestion and obstacle,” the new ‘improved’ city with well-laid sewer and water systems, paved and repaired streets and sidewalks, and electric lamp posts facilitated the ordered circulation of the vehicles, people, animals and goods (air and water).<sup>37</sup>

The ‘modernizing’ process did not simply influence changes in the architectural face of the city. As the rhetoric of ‘improvement’ and ‘progress’ might indicate, changes taking place in

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<sup>32</sup>Maria Kaika, *City of Flows: Modernity, Nature, and the City* (New York: Routledge, 2005) dates early modernity from the mid-nineteenth century to about 1914.

<sup>33</sup>Kaika, 33-40.

<sup>34</sup>Kaika, 35.

<sup>35</sup>Nead, 14; 149.

<sup>36</sup>Nead, 150. Indeed, the ‘improvement’ discourse popularized in England most likely prompted Toronto’s City Council to begin ‘improving’ and ‘progressing’ their urban spaces.

<sup>37</sup>Nead, 13. The political history of vision and lighting in London has been developed most cogently by Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: a Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

the city held broader consequences for the city's inhabitants. As the actual city space was transformed into an ordered and regulated space, it became increasingly expected that everything else in that space would similarly need to be regulated. Nead examines how ideas of improvement permeated past the architectural face of the city to target its material 'underbelly': obscene literature was conceptualized as being an obstacle to improvement that needed to be regulated and controlled. Scholars such as Patrick Joyce and Chris Otter have argued that modernity and progress in the city was intricately connected to broader changes in governmentality and the shaping of the 'modern' liberal citizen.<sup>38</sup> They have theorized the 'tools' of modernity, namely statistics, regulatory by-laws, city cartography, architectural reforms and technological innovations, as being instruments of liberalism that slowly constructed the system of 'governing from afar' and the 'self-governing citizen.'<sup>39</sup> The orderly construction and re-construction of the city's streets, pipes, tunnels and buildings influenced the average citizen to behave in an ordered and regulated manner, in sync with their new environment.

As Kaika and Joanna Dean have both illustrated through their work on water in the city and city trees, it was not simply the inanimate city and citizen that was being regulated: it was also nature within the city.<sup>40</sup> In what Kaika has termed 'modernity's Promethean project,' she

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<sup>38</sup>Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City*, (London ; New York: Verso, 2003); Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008). In 1868, Toronto's City Council passed by-law 478 meant to "restrain and punish vagrants and other disorderly persons." Part of this by-law regulated obscene and lewd material, such as pictures, drawing and papers, as well as lewd and insulting language. Toronto City Council, By-law 478, "By-law to Restrain and Punish Vagrants and other Disorderly Persons," 1868-10-26 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

<sup>39</sup>Joyce, 62-63, 86-93. "Governmentality," *A Dictionary of Sociology*, John Scott and Gordon Marshall (Oxford University Press, 2009) *Oxford Reference Online*. Carleton University (accessed March 20, 2010). 'Governmentality' is a term that was introduced in the later work of theorist Michel Foucault. For Foucault, government refers to a set of complex processes through which human behavior is controlled. This government was not limited to the bureaucracy but permeated the whole of society. A disciplined individual is one who has acquired the skills and habits that allow them to behave in socially appropriate ways without the need for any exercise of external, coercive power.

<sup>40</sup>Joanna Dean, "'Said tree is a veritable nuisance,': Ottawa's Street Trees 1869-1939," *Urban History Review* 1 (Fall 2005) 45-57. There has been very little work done on nature in the city. William Cronon in his famous essay "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting back to the Wrong Nature," *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human*

discusses how the taming of nature became a central focus in modernity's broader aims.<sup>41</sup> By problematizing the rigid dichotomy that has developed between culture and nature, she argues that efforts intended to modernize the city actually brought the two closer together rather than pushing them farther apart. Nature became imbedded in the city, albeit in a controlled way. While water ebbed and flowed through every part of the city it did so through an increasingly sophisticated architectural framework that regulated and controlled its natural source.

Dean's work on city trees similarly examines the regulation of nature in the city. She argues that while city trees in the 1860s were initially planted in Ottawa for ornamental and shading purposes and in this way viewed as part of the urban environment, by the 1920s they were criticized for being out of control. This shift was intricately connected to broader changes in the way streets, nature, and the city was being conceived. As part of the 1869 by-law meant to facilitate the planting of trees, Dean explains that "street trees were planted, quite literally, in the streets."<sup>42</sup> These trees served a practical purpose of cleaning and cooling the air and as many of Ottawa's streets were unpaved, they were not competing with the built environment. However, the way street trees were conceptualized in the city began to change simultaneously with ideas about city streets.<sup>43</sup> As streets became 'improved' through paving initiatives, street trees were criticized for competing with the hard infrastructure and invading the street space. Dean

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*Place in Nature* ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1855) questioned how scholars have contributed to the divide that exists between the tree in your backyard and the tree out there in 'the wilderness.' He encouraged scholars to begin developing the story of urban nature. Despite the success of his paper, little work has been done to fill the lacunae he identifies in the historiography.

<sup>41</sup>Kaika, 11-26.

<sup>42</sup>Dean, 46.

<sup>43</sup>Baldwin's work looks at how, beginning in the late nineteenth century, activities in the street increasingly became either regulated or removed. The street became a place for movement and travel whereas other spaces such as the park became areas for play and activity. Scholars such as Jane Jacobs and Mike Davis have argued that innovations in transportation technology led to the "death of the street." Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961) and Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992).

explains that the ‘attack’ on problem street trees was led by horticultural societies who demanded that the trees be controlled through initiatives meant to trim, thin and remove.

While the work of Kaika and Dean shed new light on the way that nature in the city was conceptualized and increasingly regulated, there has been relatively little work done prior or since on this topic. Similarly, work on the regulation of animals in the city, one exception being domestic animals meant for slaughter, has not been well represented in the historiography.<sup>44</sup> The main work done on this topic has been Ted Steinberg, Bettina Bradbury, and Sean Kheraj who have examined how the regulation of livestock animals in the city was tied to broader issues surrounding class and urban development. Consequently, the regulation of dogs in the city has only been given brief mention by historians of pet-keeping, Harriet Ritvo, Katherine Grier, and Kathleen Kete.<sup>45</sup> In what follows I begin to fill this lacuna by examining the way the canine body was regulated in Toronto between the years 1834 and 1890.

### The Regulated Canine

With the passing of the Ontario Act of 1832, all dogs living in Ontario municipalities for the first time could be taxed. Chapter 31 of this Act instituted “that an annual tax shall be levied, in each municipality in Ontario, upon the owner of every dog or bitch therein, unless the Council of such municipality shall dispense, by by-law, with the levy of the said tax.”<sup>46</sup> As this by-law implies, ‘the dog’ that had been living freely in and around Ontario cities or towns since their

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<sup>44</sup>Joyce, 76-93. Chris Philo, “Animals, Geographies, and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions,” *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* ed. Jennifer R. Wolch and Jody Emel (UK: Verso, 1998) 51-72. Noëlie Vialles, *Animal to Edible* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1994). Jonathan Burt, “Conflicts around Slaughter in Modernity,” *Killing Animals* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 2006) 120-145.

<sup>45</sup>Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature’s Role in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Bettina Bradbury, “Pigs, Cows, and Boarders Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-1891,” *Labour/Le Travail* 14 (Fall 1984) and Sean Kheraj, “A Multi-Species Metropolis: Managing Animals in Nineteenth-Century Winnipeg,” Presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, 2009.

<sup>46</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 575 introduction, “Respecting Compensation to the Owners of Sheep Destroyed by Dogs,” 1873-04-21 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

inception was no longer free to do so unless it was accounted for by a human owner.<sup>47</sup> In Toronto, the Act of 1832 led to the passing of various municipal by-laws, beginning in 1834 and continuing today, which subjected the dog, and canine owner to general disciplinary routines meant to transform them into governable subjects. The purposes of these by-laws were three-fold: to impose a tax on all dogs in the city and make all canines visible through licensing and registration; to make the connection between human owner and animal pet more transparent, and lastly, to increasingly regulate the movement of the canine body in the city space.

#### Identifying Canine Bodies: Taxes and Registration

Upon Toronto's incorporation in 1834, the city passed by-law five that imposed the dog tax on all dogs in the city and 'its liberties.' It legislated that all dogs living in the city of Toronto over the age of three months shall be taxed seven shillings and six pence annually.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, it stipulated that for each additional bitch kept by a family or person an extra 25 shillings had to be paid. Similarly, for the first additional dog five shillings extra had to be paid, with each extra dog after the first two costing 15 shillings apiece. The price for additional bitches would be raised by ten shillings in 1855 by by-law 229, with the rest of the allotments remaining the same until Confederation, when City Council made it lawful that "there shall be annually levied and collected within the city upon every dog one dollar, and upon every Bitch two dollars."<sup>49</sup> As part of by-law 229, the dog tax was compounded with licensing and registration fees. For the first time, it became mandatory for all dog owners to procure a license

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<sup>47</sup>Marion Shwartz, *A History of Dogs in the Early Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire How Domestic Animals Transformed Early Americas* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2004). Both Schwartz and Anderson have explained that dogs have been living in and around human settlements in the Americas for centuries. The earliest evidence of an intimate human-canine relationship was found at Danger Cave, Utah and dates to 8,000 B.C.E.

<sup>48</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 5 section one, "An Act to Impose a Tax on Dogs," 1834-05-30 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

<sup>49</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 229, "An Act to Amend the Law in Relation to Dogs," 1855-06-26 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives); Toronto City Council, By-law 446, "An Act to Make Better Provision for Regulating the Keeping of Dogs," 1867-05-27, (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

and registration number at the cost of 50 cents for the former and 25 cents for the latter. Over the next few decades the cost of registration and licensing dogs would continually increase. In 1878 the cost of registration was raised to 40 cents, in 1886 the fee had grown to one dollar for dogs and two for bitches, and in 1888 the fee for registering male dogs was raised to two dollars and the price for bitches was raised to five dollars (a price that would actively be contested by city dog owners).<sup>50</sup>

The institution of the dog tax and city registration and licensing fees had three main objectives: to generate revenue; to make the canine body in the city visible, and to restrict both the number of dogs and dog owners. The dog tax was initially established as a way of compensating farmers for damages to livestock caused by dogs. Much like their wild progenitor the wolf, dogs in and around Ontario municipalities were responsible for the destruction of valuable livestock, particularly among sheep flocks. Due to the large losses that were incurred by farmers, with one farmer claiming to lose between ten and 100 dollars annually, the government was urged to take drastic measures to both curb the problem and compensate the farmers.<sup>51</sup> In publications such as *The Globe*, farmers who had incurred substantial losses wrote in time and again demanding that both their Town Council and the City of Toronto do something to protect their interests from destructive dogs. In response, the Ontario government in section six of the 1832 Act provided “that the moneys arising from the imposition of the said tax shall

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<sup>50</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 839, “An Act to Amend By-Law No. 785 for the Better Provision for Regulating the Keeping of Dogs,” 1878-04-08, (Toronto: Toronto City Archives). Toronto City Council, By-law 1778, “An Act to Amend By-Law No. 1701, Relating to the Keeping of Dogs,” 1886-12-20 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives). Toronto City Council, By-law 2079, “To Repeal all By-Laws heretofore passed relating to the licensing, regulating, and keeping of dogs and bitches, in the city of Toronto,” 1888-06-04 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives). The licensing and registration fee was levied on top of the already established dog tax. For instance, in 1879 it would cost one dollar and 40 cents to license a male dog - 40 cents would go to the city and one dollar to the government.

<sup>51</sup>“Common Sense and the Sheep (Letter to the Editor of the Globe),” *The Globe* 18 January 1869. This is but one example. Complaints of dogs destroying livestock were extremely common and will be discussed in-depth later in the chapter.

constitute a fund for satisfying the damages occasioned by the killing of sheep by dogs within the municipality.”<sup>52</sup> However, despite the fact that the Act made it lawful for all Ontario municipalities to levy a tax on dogs to compensate farmers, they also provided in section 17 of the Act that City Councils could reallocate the funds generated by the dog tax to other areas, as long as it was done through an official by-law. In the Ontario Legislature, this clause came under attack in 1869.<sup>53</sup> It was believed by some members that this clause should be revoked because it was not in the interest of farmers for municipalities to have the option to use this money elsewhere. Despite the objection the clause remained.<sup>54</sup> In 1855 Toronto’s City Council made the decision to continue with the dog tax but to apply the revenue generated “for the use of the city,” most likely using the funds for general infrastructural improvements. In 1867 this by-law was repealed and from this year until 1873 the dog tax was siphoned off to the provincial government and used to recompense farmers for their losses.<sup>55</sup> In 1873, however, the City Council decided to do away with this practice and legislated that the dog tax would be used for “the general purposes of the municipality, in the same manner as other taxes.”<sup>56</sup>

Licensing and registration fees also generated revenue. According to an 1868 *Globe* article, between January and April of 1868 some 695 dollars had been collected from the dog tax, and in 1878 it reported that there were 1 709 licenses granted in 1877 totaling 1 282 dollars in

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<sup>52</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 575 introduction, “Respecting Compensation to the Owners of Sheep Destroyed by Dogs,” 1873-04-21 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

<sup>53</sup>“Legislature of Ontario First Parliament-Second Session,” *The Globe* 8 January 1869. Minutes were recorded from the parliamentary session for 7 January.

<sup>54</sup> According to the minutes reprinted in *The Globe* 8 January 1869, the discussion was to be re-tabled in six months. There was no notice in *The Globe* that this clause was ever changed and given that Toronto in 1873 used this clause to re-allot revenue generated from the dog tax and this remained unchanged in 1916. I did not examine any of by-laws pertaining to dogs after this date.

<sup>55</sup>Between the years 1868 and 1871 there were many letters to the editor from farmers praising the dog tax. According to ‘J.L.’ “there can be no doubt that the bill has already been a great benefit to the country, by increasing the number of sheep and diminishing the number of useless dogs.” “Dog Tax (letter to the editor),” *The Globe* 7 December 1868.

<sup>56</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 575 introduction, “Respecting Compensation to the Owners of Sheep Destroyed by Dogs,” 1873-04-21 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

revenue.<sup>57</sup> Similarly, the *Globe* reported in 1878 that some 2 173 dogs had been registered, a number that was reported to have grown to 2 700 in 1879. While the last two reports mentioned did not state how much money was generated it can be assumed that with nearly double the dogs being registered in 1878 than there was in 1877, the revenue generated would also have doubled.<sup>58</sup> In November of 1910, *The Canadian Kennel Club* explained that in Ottawa there were 1 856 dogs licensed, 1 622 male and 231 female, and that licenses were priced at the rate of one dollar for males and two dollars for females.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the article stated that the city figured that in 1911 some 2 090 dollars would be ‘netted’ for dog licenses.

While early by-laws were passed as a way of generating revenue they were also connected to a broader interest in identifying the social body, both human and animal. With the passing of by-law 229, the registration and licensing of dogs became mandatory for all citizens living in the city of Toronto. However, more than simply instituting a license and registration fee, this law was explicitly concerned with identifying the canine subject and their human owner. It enacted that “every owner of a dog or bitch in the City of Toronto shall annually, on or before the first day of June in each year, procure the same to be registered, numbered, described and licensed.”<sup>60</sup> More specifically, it stipulated that persons or possessors of dogs or bitches had to annually, between the first of January and the first of March, come down to the office of the Chief Deputy of Licenses for the city and fill in a description of the aforementioned dog or bitch

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<sup>57</sup>“The Dog Nuisance,” *The Globe* 1 April 1868; “News,” *The Globe* 12 January 1878. “The Dog Nuisance,” *The Globe* 28 July 1870. The author of the latter article stated that Montreal generated some 10 000 dollars in revenue from their dog tax. I imagine that this is an exaggerated figure but none-the-less illustrates that a significant amount of money was being generated from dog taxes and licensing fees.

<sup>58</sup>“City News,” *The Globe* 3 July 1878. After 1879 I did not find any tables that listed how many dogs were licensed. In July of 1881 *The Globe* reported that “so far 56 bitches and 569 dogs have been registered with the licenser of dogs.” “Dogs,” *The Globe* 9 July 1881.

<sup>59</sup>“Took a Dog Census,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* November 1910.

<sup>60</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 229, “An Act to Amend the law in relation to dogs,” 1855-06-25 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

in the following format: name, address, age of dog, age of bitch, approximate height, colour and general description. What is perhaps most interesting about this by-law is the way that it perceives the dog as a part of the city's population that must be identified, defined, described and known not simply by its owner but by the government. Keith Thomas observes that in the early modern period there were three main factors that transformed an animal into a pet: it was allowed in the house, it was never eaten, and it was given a name.<sup>61</sup> As Thomas' comments indicate, the dog that had been living in and around human settlements since the early middle-ages would have been *known* by its owner and would even have had a name. The significance of by-law 229 was not simply that dogs had to be licensed; but rather, it was *who* was giving the license: *knowing* a dog became bureaucratized. Through the collection of such data the city was gaining a broader understanding of who owned a dog in the city, where they lived, whether they owned a male or female dog, how old each dog or bitch owned was, and approximately what it looked like. This process of identifying and licensing animals and vehicles in Toronto began earlier than 1855, with all coaches, carriages, cabs, carts and other vehicles requiring mandatory licenses by 1843.<sup>62</sup>

As Joyce argues, during the nineteenth century the collecting of statistics, such as those listed above, had deeper connections to governing agendas. By developing a broader knowledge of who lived in the city space, members of the city bureaucracies set into motion a process that would both individualize members of society, while simultaneously immersing them in the

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<sup>61</sup> Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: a History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983) 112-115. For the history of human-canine relations see also, Xiaoming Wang and Richard H. Tedford, *Dogs: Their Fossil Relatives and Evolutionary History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008) 153; Raymond Coppinger and Richard Schneider, *The Domestic Dog: its Evolution, Behaviour, and Interactions with People* ed. James Serpell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 32.

<sup>62</sup> Toronto City Council, By-law 67, "An Act to license and regulate the duties and charges on coaches, carriages, cabs, carts, and other vehicles, kept for hire," 1843-06-05 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

greater social body: a process Joyce explains is known as “governing by numbers.”<sup>63</sup> Bruce Curtis has explained that through the collection of statistics, that increasingly became more specific, the ‘social body’ became specified, objectified, known and normalized. These factors in turn transformed people living in the city from unknown objects into known subjects which could be governed.<sup>64</sup> This information was also used to lump each person into broader categories meant to identify the ‘average person.’ Through the creation of “grids of specifications” which “divided, contrasted and related” people according to race, age, gender, occupation, nationality and class,” as well as other points of relation based on geography, “how populations were now both unified and differentiated as new objects and subjects of governance” changed.<sup>65</sup> Joyce believes that it was through this process of individualizing and then ‘massifying’ the social population that liberalism as a form of governmentality developed.<sup>66</sup> This same pattern can be seen in the 1855 dog by-law. By collecting not only the animal’s physical attributes, but also its owner’s name and address, the dog in the city became an identified body that could be governed, regulated and controlled. With each individual dog being identified and linked to a residence that could be found on a map,<sup>67</sup> both the canine and its owner were identified as individuals but also pulled into a broader collective that allowed city officials to have a sense of the average number of dogs, average number of dog owners, and then the average amount of money that could be generated from these citizens by way of taxation.

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<sup>63</sup>Joyce, 24. Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” *new formations* 4 (1988) 76 discusses how governing bodies, unlike exhibitions, sought to “map the social body in order to know the populace by rendering it visible to power.” The term ‘governing by numbers’ was originally used by British social theorist Nikolas Rose in a review essay examining the connection between qualification and democratic government, “Governing by numbers: Figuring out democracy,” *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 16.7 (1991) 673-692.

<sup>64</sup> Bruce Curtis, “Surveying the Social: Techniques, Practices, Power,” *Histoire Sociale-Social History* 35.69 (May 2002) 90-96.

<sup>65</sup>Joyce, 33.

<sup>66</sup>Joyce, 24-34.

<sup>67</sup>Joyce, 20-61 and Nead, 15-26. Both discuss the development of precise mapping techniques used to break the city into a grid. They explain that it was during this period where all places within the geographic space of London were being identified and incorporated into a clearly navigable map. Not only was the city’s population being identified and individualized, where they lived was also becoming known and placed within an ordered geographic grid.

Moreover, through the bureaucratic collection of statistics that began to identify the city's canine population, 'the dog' that had lived in and around human settlement for millennia was not only being broken down into strict categories of 'licensed' and 'unlicensed:' those animals that were deemed 'unregulated' were designated as out-of-place and out-of-control.

Taxes and licensing fees of this sort were not uncommon during this period. Leading the way in this type of legislation was Britain which instituted a dog tax in London as early as 1796 with Philadelphia and France following behind in 1809 and 1855.<sup>68</sup> According to Katherine Grier, Philadelphia created a sliding annual licensing fee, much like the one that was instituted in Toronto, of 25 cents for the first dog, one dollar for the second, and two dollars apiece for the rest,<sup>69</sup> in an effort to generate revenue for the city, but also to control the city's ballooning dog population. As Chief Constable Prince's statements demonstrate, this same problem was believed to exist in Toronto. While there is no way to know exactly how many dogs lived in and around Toronto during this period, the way this problem was represented by Toronto citizens in the pages of *The Globe* is particularly telling. Between the years 1868 and 1900 there were approximately five letters to the editor each year complaining of 'the dog nuisance' in Toronto. In nearly all of these letters emphasis first fell on the sheer number of dogs in the city. Toronto was exclaimed to be 'full of,' 'overrun,' 'swarming,' 'infested,' and 'plagued' with 'thousands,' if not 'unlimited numbers' of 'useless' dogs. Moreover, in each case the author made it clear

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<sup>68</sup> Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: the English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) 189. Ritvo briefly discusses London's canine tax. Kathleen Kete, *The Beast in the Boudoir: Petkeeping in nineteenth-century Paris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 111. Mary Elizabeth Thurston, *The Lost History of the Canine Race: Our 15, 000-Year Love Affair with Dogs* (Kansas City: Andrews and McMeel, 1996) 94, states that the French crown levied a heavy dog tax in 1770 but does not cite this information. Katherine Grier, *Pets in America: A History* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006). Ritvo and Kete briefly discuss the dog tax that was instituted in London and Paris and Grier examines the Philadelphia dog ordinance passed in 1855. "Notes and Comments," *The Globe* 27 March 1871 draws attention to Philadelphia dog by-laws.

<sup>69</sup>Grier, 214-216.

that it was City Council's duty to remedy this problem by way of taxation, stricter by-laws and ultimately extermination.<sup>70</sup>

This problem for many was gendered, with much of the blame falling on female dogs. While Grier states that techniques for spaying, the sterilization of female animals by removing their ovaries, had been perfected by European veterinary surgeons before 1900 and that castration was commonly practiced on male livestock, the application of these techniques on dogs "seems to have been rare in the United States until the 1930s"<sup>71</sup> leaving animal population control in the hands of City Councilors. Grier explains that while dogs, both male and female, would have spent the majority of their time tied up outside, making contact with other dogs extremely common and nearly impossible to control, dog legislation meant to limit the number of dogs in the city seemed to focus on controlling female dogs.<sup>72</sup> The 1855 dog ordinance, for instance, stated that any bitch that was in heat and running at large in the city would be "taken up and destroyed."<sup>73</sup> In another effort to curb the number of female dogs in the city, by-laws instituted higher taxes for female dogs in the hopes that it would ultimately lead to a lapse in the overall number of dogs. This trend can be seen in the slated licensing fees that existed in Toronto that made both the taxes and licensing fees higher for female dogs. In all of the by-laws previously mentioned, keeping more than one female dog was always more expensive than keeping more than one male dog, and by 1888 the difference in price for the first female dog in comparison to the first male dog was more than double (the dog costing two dollars and the female costing five).

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<sup>70</sup>Baldwin, 54. The dog problem also plagued Hartford as Baldwin quotes one Hartford resident as saying that while the crusade against spitting and littering has been successful "the streets are more defiled by dogs than humans."

<sup>71</sup>Grier, 80.

<sup>72</sup>Grier, 79.

<sup>73</sup>Grier, 79.

While dog taxes and licensing fees were intended to restrict the number of dogs in the city space, they also had the unspoken intention of restricting canine ownership in the city, particularly among the poor. As Grier notes, while the purpose was to ‘squelch multi-dog households,’<sup>74</sup> this type of legislation mainly had the effect of limiting the number of dogs kept by poorer citizens.<sup>74</sup> Also drawing a direct connection between the dog tax and attempts at regulating the lower classes has been Ritvo and Kete. Ritvo explains that the 1796 dog tax in London, England was conceptualized by its creators “both as a revenue measure and as a means of discouraging the rural poor from owning poaching dogs.”<sup>75</sup> As fears over rabies outbreaks in the city, a topic that will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter, grew into downright panic, members of London’s upper classes pointed the finger of blame at dogs kept by the lower classes. These dogs were believed to not only be dangerous because they spread rabies, but they were also believed by many to have been vicious and unruly as they were owned by similarly disorderly and violent people. Ritvo argues that the licensing and registration of canines in the city of London was instituted as a measure to ease the public’s fear over rabies, as well as providing a way for the upper classes to increasingly regulate the disruptive and disorderly lower classes. Similarly, Kete explains that in France the 1855 dog tax was a counter-attack against poor people’s dogs which were considered to be dirty and diseased. It was the unregistered and presumably ownerless dogs that were again blamed for the rabies epidemic. Moreover, the French dog tax was a sumptuary tax that was meant to uphold the prevalent ideology that “only the rich should own pets, luxury articles of consumption.”<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Grier 215.

<sup>75</sup>Ritvo, 188.

<sup>76</sup>Kete, 111.

These same ideas prevailed in Toronto. According to one *Globe* notice in June of 1887 many ‘Democratic’ persons in the city believed that an increase of the dog tax “would establish a class privilege.” “The rich man can pay the increased tax,” explained the reporter, “but the poor man will have to do without his dog.”<sup>77</sup> This concern for the poor was not the norm, however. Out of seven letters to the editor written on the topic of ‘The Dog Nuisance,’ five explicitly called for an extreme hike in the dog tax. One angry citizen called for all dog owners to “pay a tax of fifty dollars per year,” while another stated that “the tax on dogs should be made much more heavy than it is now, especially that on female dogs which should be made to pay at least \$20 each.” For ‘Humanity’ and another anonymous writer, the dog was a luxury, and a dangerous one at that, and that “those who affect a luxury ought to pay for it.” While the tax was not raised to 20 or 50 dollars in 1888, by-law 2070 did provide for a raise in the dog tax for male and female dogs to two dollars and five dollars respectively. As Ritvo has explained, increases in the dog tax would have explicitly limited who could own a dog and this would have been felt particularly by members of the poorer classes. This idea is conveyed by one *Globe* reporter in an editorial on dog pounds when he states “the Commissioner shares that he is often repeatedly besieged by women and children, boys and girls, especially from among the poorer classes, begging for the release of a captive pet.”<sup>78</sup> Whereas prior to 1834 in Ontario a dog could have been kept by anyone free of charge, with the institution of a dog tax only people who had the means to pay an annual fee were able to officially keep a dog.<sup>79</sup> As these fees indicate, the dog during the latter half of the nineteenth century was increasingly being conceptualized as a luxury that was not intended to be available to all. Ritvo points out, licenses always have multiple

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<sup>77</sup>“About Town,” *The Globe* 30 June 1887.

<sup>78</sup>“The Dogs; Catching and Killing the Unlicensed Canines,” *The Globe* 4 February 1880.

<sup>79</sup> Of course, we do not know the degree of compliance to these by-laws.

purposes and the by-laws that increasingly raised the price of dog ownership in Toronto had the purpose of both regulating and limiting who could keep a dog in the city.

### The Collar: Connecting Human Owner and Canine Pet

According to section seven of the 1855 by-law, all dogs in the city had to be fitted with a collar that clearly displayed, either through engraving or painting, the license and registration number that it was given by the General License Inspector. Later, in an 1867 by-law, it was legislated that “no dog or bitch shall be permitted, at any period of the year, to run at large, in the city, without a collar about the neck, with the name of the owner thereon.”<sup>80</sup> In a draft by-law that was passed later in that year, sub-section four of the previous by-law was revised so as to better explain the intricacies of the dog’s collar. More than simply wearing a collar with the owners name thereon, the collar now had to have attached “a metallic plate having raised or cast thereon the letters C. L. P. (city license paid) and the figure indicating the year for which the said license has been paid, together with a number corresponding with the number under which the said dog or bitch is registered in the books of the General License Inspector.” While these by-laws still permitted owners to allow their dogs the freedom to ‘run at large,’ these animals had to wear a collar that clearly displayed that this dog was linked to a human owner and that this owner had paid his or her annual dog fees. This legislation created a dichotomy between licensed and unlicensed canines, and also between disciplined and undisciplined canines and owners.

Here I would like to elucidate on a few of the meanings that surrounded the licensed canine. The collar that explicitly connected human owner with canine pet also provided a way

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<sup>80</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 446 section four, “To make better provision for regulating the keeping of dogs,” 1867-05-27 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

for Toronto residents to display their wealth and status. According to Grier, fashionable owners took pride in dressing their similarly fashionable pets in lavish collars, harnesses, leashes and other decorative pieces; she suggests that in colonial America “every respectable dog probably wore a collar.”<sup>81</sup> Mary Elizabeth Thurston explains that while the tradition of fashioning dogs with collars dates back to Ancient Egypt and Assyria, it would have been Renaissance canines owned by ‘doting aristocrats’ who would have first exhibited lavish and decorative collars.<sup>82</sup> In the Victorian period, the association of aristocratic dogs and elaborate and fancy collars led to a boom in collars that were fashioned after classic styles worn by aristocratic dogs. Ranging in style from rolled brass, copper, or silver, to silk ribbons, bows, scarves and swatches or velvet or lace, the collar provided dog owners with a way of displaying their prosperity as well as their fashion sense.<sup>83</sup> A thriving industry developed to meet the demand. In London, Ritvo explains that there were at least a dozen street traders who specialized in brass collars specifically, “priced from 6d. to 3s. apiece,” with the fancier pieces being worn by the most respectable Victorian dogs. On a few occasions, owners would pay up to 60 pounds for collars made of gold and silver.<sup>84</sup> While the collar had practical applications such as it allowed owners to keep their animals under control and it visibly displayed ownership, it also had the power to transform the canine body into a potent symbol of class and wealth. This idea is perhaps best seen through a *Globe* article which was published in the ‘Ladies’ section in 1880. The author relays a comical story of a wealthy New York woman who complains about the diamond necklace purchased for her toy dog because it fit too tightly. Almost in jest the jewelry store owner asks his employee “are there many customers who come in looking for jewelry for their dogs neck,” to which the

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<sup>81</sup>Grier 304.

<sup>82</sup>Thurston, 207.

<sup>83</sup>Thurston, 218-129.

<sup>84</sup> Ritvo, 86.

store clerk replies “why yes of course there are many women who wish to decorate their dogs neck with fancy jewelry.” While this story was meant to be humorous, and perhaps also a commentary on the supposed vanity of women, it hints at the larger culture that existed around the dog collar.<sup>85</sup>

By requiring owners to fit their dogs with collars detailing their personal information, the government found a way to force owners to take responsibility for their animal’s behavior. As previously mentioned, dogs in and around the city were accused of causing significant damage to farmer’s livestock, particularly among sheep flocks. Since between the years 1855 and 1867 and from 1873 onwards the City of Toronto reallocated the revenue generated from the dog tax, which was meant to compensate farmers for their lost livestock, to other areas of the city, instituting by-laws that clearly linked owner to dog allowed for another way of recouping the losses that took the onus off of the city and placed it onto the animal’s owner. By legislating that all dogs in the city had to wear a collar that clearly identified the animal’s owner the city made the owner responsible for their animal’s actions.<sup>86</sup> In sub-section five of the 1867 by-law it stated that “if any dog or bitch running at large contrary to this by-law, shall attack any person travelling on the street or highway in the City, or do any damage whatsoever” the Police Magistrate must enquire into the situation. More importantly, if the Police Magistrate is “satisfied that such complaint is substantiated” the owner of such dog will be fined and ordered to pay any damages incurred. If owners were unable to pay their fine and recoup the damages

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<sup>85</sup>See Louise E. Robbins *Elephant Slaves & Pampered Parrots: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002) 140-146 for a discussion of how pet-keeping was viewed as a potent symbol of women’s vanity and frivolity.

<sup>86</sup>In England in the nineteenth century the law viewed animals as the property of humans. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 2. She explains that by denoting animals as being strictly property, “they were no longer held morally accountable for their actions.” Rather, their owners were responsible for “assessing the danger they might pose to person or property” accordingly. In Canada it would not be until the late 1890s when dogs would legally become recognized as personal property.

that their animal had caused, they could end up spending some 30 days in a city jail. The by-law also stipulates that at the discretion of the Magistrate the order may also be given to have the dog taken to the Police and destroyed. By holding owners financially responsible for the unruly and unregulated behavior of their animals, it increasingly became in the best interest of the human owner to possess a disciplined, obedient and controlled canine. Furthermore, in this sense more than simply encouraging owners to police the behavior of their own animals, it opened the avenue for other citizens to police the behavior of their neighbour's animals.

In the law of 1887 this idea became more concrete. Section three of this by-law states that "any person giving information leading to the conviction of any other person for breach of the provisions of this by-law shall be entitled to one-half of any fine or fines which may be imposed and collected under any such conviction."<sup>87</sup> Through the passing of this law, it became the interest of all citizens, including the animal's owner, to monitor and regulate the behavior of city canines. Moreover, by offering a monetary reward for the conviction of undisciplined and unruly canines, the by-law encouraged citizens to not only police the actions of disorderly canines, but it also pressed citizens to regulate the behavior of seemingly undisciplined owners. The monetary rewards could have been substantial depending on how many infractions the guilty party had committed. In sub-section four of this by-law it states that any person who is found guilty of an infraction of any part of the by-law shall pay a penalty "not exceeding the sum of fifty dollars for each offense." Anyone who was caught with an unlicensed dog could be fined for not having a license, not having registered the dog, not having paid the dog tax, and possibly even allowing this animal to run at large – infractions that could each carry a penalty of up to 50 dollars.

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<sup>87</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 1827 section three, "To amend by-law no. 1701 and make better provision for licensing and regulating the keeping of dogs and bitches," 1887-06-06 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

This by-law was explicitly targeting citizens who kept dogs that were unregistered. By offering a monetary reward, city officials worked to seek out and punish those individuals who evaded the law by keeping animals that were unlicensed. As these animals were considered to be the most problematic because they could damage personal property but had no human owner to be held financially responsible for such damage, it was a clear tactic on the city's part to enact a law that encouraged community members and neighbours to report dogs that were not under the control of an accountable human owner. In 1890, by-laws 2457 and 2552 continued to encourage all city residents as well as members of the city's police force to monitor the behavior of canines in the city: "any duly authorized person may capture any dog found running at large, contrary to the provisions of this by-law,"<sup>88</sup> and any "Police Officer or Constable who shall give such information as shall lead to the conviction of any person owning or harboring any dog which has not been licensed under this By-law shall be entitled to one-half the penalty imposed."<sup>89</sup> It was not just the public who were encouraged to police unregistered dogs and their owners; the city's police force was also rewarded.

One of the corollaries of making the dog's connection to its owner and the governing body more transparent was that the canine body was transformed into an implicit symbol of governance and discipline. Simply by wearing a collar, the dog that freely traversed the city streets was a symbolic manifestation of a citizen who had paid his or her taxes, licensed his or her dog, and purchased the mandatory collar. More specifically, a disciplined dog, which Joyce observes was deemed social through its visibility and known as a pet, was arguably owned by a disciplined citizen, while an unruly and unregulated canine was believed to have been owned by

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<sup>88</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 2457 section eight, "A By-law relating to Dogs," 1890-01-13 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

<sup>89</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 2552 section seven, "To amend by-law 2457 entitled a By-law relating to Dogs," 1890-03-31 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

a similarly undisciplined citizen.<sup>90</sup> Ritvo explains further that it was often assumed that a dog was owned by a responsible person if the animal was licensed, as this implied that the owner had both the means and the inclination to pay the annual fees.<sup>91</sup> This disciplined animal that represented a law-abiding and seemingly disciplined citizen also signified the power of the broader governing body.

### Regulating the Movement of Canine Bodies in Toronto

Building upon the foundation put in place in 1855 and 1867, by-laws passed in 1877, 1888 and 1890 began to focus on regulating the movement of canine bodies in the city space. In the early pre and post confederation by-laws, the movement of dogs in the city was regulated according to season. The by-law of 1855, for instance, legislated that no dog in the summer months between the first day of May and the first day of November shall be allowed to run at large unless it was properly muzzled. In 1867, this stipulation remained but was amended to shorten the muzzling period to the first day of June until the first day of October. These clauses were responses to the threat of rabies, a viral disease which affected warm blooded animals, as it was believed that dogs were more susceptible to the virus in the dry summer months. This period was known as ‘the dog days.’ A term that originates in Roman times, it refers to the hottest days of the summer, traditionally July to August, when the ‘Dog Star,’ Sirius, was believed to rise.<sup>92</sup> Apart from the muzzle restrictions that were instituted for the summer months, any dog or bitch was free to ‘run at large’ as long as they were wearing a collar that

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<sup>90</sup>Joyce, 88.

<sup>91</sup>Ritvo, 189.

<sup>92</sup>Pliny, *Pliny: Natural History* ed. And trans. H. Rackham, Fellow of Christ’s College (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989) 153. Pliny states “Rabies in dogs, as we have said, is dangerous to human being in period when the dog-star is shining, as it causes fatal hydrophobia to those bitten in those circumstances.” Virgil, *The Aeneid* trans. John Dryden <http://classics.mit.edu/Virgil/aeneid.html> (accessed on January 26, 2010) 65. Virgil also makes references to the connection between Sirius and rabies. “The Dog Days,” *The Canadian Kennel Club* August 1894, explains how the ‘ancient’ dog days myth still holds its spell over Toronto residents in the summer.

clearly exhibited that it had an owner, and therefore someone accountable for its actions, and that this owner had paid their taxes.

However, beginning in 1877, with the passing of by-law 785, greater restrictions were set in place to regulate the movement of dogs within the city. According to sub-section four of this by-law, “no person or persons shall permit or suffer his, her or their dog or bitch to run at large off his, her or their premises during the night-time unless accompanied by some person or persons.” Canines were now only allowed to explore the city streets after dark if they were with a person. This law is interesting because it begins to develop the idea that movement within the city space should only take place during the day time, and it establishes the idea that animal movement in the city space should be monitored and controlled.

While this by-law was providing for the better regulation of dogs in the city, it was also ensuring that the social body was aware of the newly enacted ordinances. As part of the 1867 by-law, it was stated that one of the duties of the Chief Constable was to “keep up notices in at least sixty of the public places of this City, warning persons of the provisions of this By-law.” In sub-section seven of the 1877 by-law, this number was increased to “one hundred of the public places of this city.” Through the establishment of regulatory by-laws in combination with the maintenance of publicly visible by-law notices, the canine body was becoming increasingly incorporated into broader efforts to order the city space. By increasingly regulating the movement of canine bodies within the city space, human bodies were being presented with potent symbols of how they too should behave within the urban environment. This idea becomes clearer in 1887 and 1888 with by-laws 1827 and 2079.

In sub-section two of by-law 1827 it states that “it shall not be lawful for any dog or bitch . . . to run at large in any of the public parks, squares, drives, streets, lanes, alleys or other public places in the City of Toronto unless such dog or bitch is muzzled . . . or is accompanied by its owner.”<sup>93</sup> While by-law 1827 still allowed dogs to run at large if wearing a proper muzzle even this privilege would be revoked in 1888. In sub-section six of the 1888 law, for the first time, the movement of dogs in the city space in the day time without the accompaniment of a human owner or possessor was severely limited: “it shall not be lawful for any dog or bitch, nor shall any person allow his or her dog or bitch to run at large in any of the public parks, squares, drives, streets, lanes, alleys, or other public places in the City of Toronto unless such dog or bitch is accompanied by and is under the immediate charge and control of some competent person.” There was no space of the city left where the dog was permitted to travel unattended by a ‘competent person,’ leaving the proper place of the dog in the house or under the direct charge of a human owner.

Dogs were not the only animals that were being targeted with this type of legislation. According to Grier and Steinberg, livestock running at large in the city was a constant problem in nineteenth-century American cities, with various animals such as pigs, cows and chickens often being let out by their owners to forage freely in the city space. Steinberg explains that “no other animal loomed larger in US urban areas than the pig,” as it was the cheapest animal to keep and it was extremely productive in turning waste into edible meat.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, Grier notes that pigs running and roaming at large “were still a prominent feature of New York street life” until

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<sup>93</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 1827 section two, “To amend by-law no. 1701 and make better provision for licensing and regulating the keeping of dogs and bitches,” 1887-06-06 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives)

<sup>94</sup> Steinberg, 160. Grier, 197 argues that chickens would have been the most common animal in American cities.

well into the 1840s.<sup>95</sup> Despite the fact that it was a common practice, Grier and Steinberg both explain that it was constantly under threat with the colonial government passing hundreds of laws that attempted to control the movements of large animals,<sup>96</sup> with setting pigs free becoming a crime in certain cities as early as 1819.<sup>97</sup> In her essay, “Pigs, Cows, and Boarders Non-Wage Forms of Surviving among Montreal families, 1861-1891,” Bradbury argues that a similar situation existed in Montreal, with cows, pigs and poultry being a constant presence mid-century, but removed from the city by the end of the century. She explains that while the keeping of pigs in Montreal was prohibited in the latter half of the century because they were considered both a nuisance and a threat to public health, to members of Montreal’s working class the keeping of animals such as pigs provided a way for them to supplement their wages, a way of “retaining an element of self-sufficiency.”<sup>98</sup>

In Toronto, the regulation of livestock in the city seems to have begun in 1837 with the passing of by-law 32 which established the first pound for the safe keeping of strayed livestock.<sup>99</sup> While this by-law did not explicitly regulate the movement of livestock in the city space, it did begin to develop the idea that these animals did not belong on the city streets unattended by a human owner. Following the establishment of the pound system, various by-laws were passed that regulated specific animals: for example, in 1838 “swine” running at large was banned, while in 1840 “horned cattle” were restricted from running at large in certain parts of Toronto.<sup>100</sup> However, by 1890, with the passing of by-law 2464, the movement of all herds of livestock

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<sup>95</sup>Grier, 213.

<sup>96</sup>Grier, 213.

<sup>97</sup>Steinberg, 161. His work largely examines New York City.

<sup>98</sup>Bradbury, 12.

<sup>99</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 32, “An Act to establish pounds for cattle, sheep etc.,” 1837 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

<sup>100</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 37, “Swine running at large banned,” 1837 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives); By-law 44, “An act to restrain horned cattle from running at large,” 1840 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

became increasingly regulated. According to this by-law, cattle, sheep, pigs and goats could only be moved through the city if they were led “by persons having full power and control.” Furthermore, the by-law stipulated that this was to be done so that the beasts were “prevented from going on the boulevard or injuring the grass or trees.” Interestingly, horses were also becoming increasingly regulated but instead of being included in the legislation for livestock animals, they were regulated separately with foot passengers and street vehicles.<sup>101</sup> As this by-law indicates, both the way people were conceptualizing the city space and the proper place of animals in that space was changing.

According to one *Globe* reporter, animals were considered to be out-of-place in the new and improved city. In an article entitled ‘City Improvements,’ a *Globe* reporter began discussing many aspects of the City of Toronto that still had to be improved. Health and sanitation, the city’s fresh water supply and the streets and sidewalks were all areas that were listed as being in desperate need of improvement. However, it is this reporter’s notice of animals in the city that is particularly interesting. He explains,

while we have to mourn the absence of shade trees, and well-cleaned, drained and lighted streets, we have no reason to complain of the scarcity of filthy quadrupeds and bipeds everywhere. The geese, dog, cow and even horse nuisances flourish without let or hindrance. Go where one may throughout the whole of our fair city, we shall find the presence of these, or very unequivocal proofs that they are not far off.<sup>102</sup>

Inherent in this commentary is both the idea of what does and does not constitute a modern, and therefore improved, city: namely, ornamental shade trees and organized, clean and well-lit streets define an improved city whereas ‘filthy’ animals do not. As was discussed earlier, Toronto, along with other cities, during this period was ‘improving’ and ‘progressing’ at all levels. It was

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<sup>101</sup>By-law 56 1841 began regulating street and sidewalk traffic and the first section dealt explicitly with regulating horses: how fast they could travel, where they could be parked or tied and where they could be bought or sold.

<sup>102</sup>“City Improvements,” *The Globe* 8 October 1870.

being transformed from a chaotic and confused space to one that was organized and modern. Peter Baldwin has argued that the end of the nineteenth century saw public space being broken into various and more restricted public spaces.<sup>103</sup> According to Nead, this new ‘modern’ city was developed upon two principles, movement and mapping, that contributed to the over-arching idea that the city was purposeful. Streets, alley-ways, drives and all ‘public places’ were designed and regulated so as to encourage free, uninhibited movement. Connecting to the later work of Joyce, Nead explains how the ‘purposeful’ city was conceived of as working much like the human body. Within this context, the streets, drives and alleys of the highly functioning city should facilitate the free and orderly movement of human and animal bodies, in much the same way as the human body circulated blood. In this sense, the city street was like a vein through which the life and sustenance of the organic city moved through effortlessly. As a result, it was extremely important that the streets, or veins, remained unpolluted by excessive disorder or clutter. As by-law 2079 illustrates, animals such as dogs were viewed as impediments to the free movement of a healthy, modern city and therefore had to either be removed or kept under ‘immediate charge and control.’

This type of discourse was influencing the regulation of various public spaces in Toronto. In 1841, by-law 56, “to provide for the suppression of Nuisances, and for the protection of streets and sidewalks of the City of Toronto and its Liberties,” began regulating movement on the city sidewalks and in the city’s streets. Sub-section two explained that no horse, mare or gelding shall be left “unsecured” or “unrestrained” in the city space, nor shall any such beast be allowed

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<sup>103</sup> In chapter five Baldwin looks at the creation and regulation of parks, while in chapter six he examines how the street culture in which children played in the streets began to change.

to run, gallop or travel ‘immoderately’ through any of the city’s streets.<sup>104</sup> This by-law also prohibited any horse, cart, wagon, sleigh or sled from being “on or along any paved or planked side walk,” or for any horse, gelding or mare to “obstruct the free use of such pavement or sidewalk.” In 1868, by-law 56 was amended so as to increasingly regulate the city space. This by-law stated its purpose as being for the “maintenance of order,” the “suppression of nuisances,” and to “regulate travel.”<sup>105</sup> Unlike the previous by-law which focused explicitly on regulating vehicles in the city, this by-law regulated trees, noise, dirt removal, foot passengers, vehicle traffic, vagrants, disorderly people and lewd, immoral, material (among other things). Much like the Municipal Code of 1893 that Joyce examined, this by-law was the first of many to effectively prohibit ‘disorderly,’ ‘disturbing’ or ‘confusing’ behavior that would ‘impede’ or ‘obstruct’ the free movement of traffic. As by-law 56 implies, disorderly dogs were one small part of a much larger problem with order.<sup>106</sup>

### Exterminating Unlicensed and Problem Dogs

The dichotomy that was created between licensed and unlicensed/regulated and unregulated dogs had dire consequences for those in the latter category. As these dogs were considered to be problem canines owned in some cases by problem people, they had to be expelled from the city space by way of extermination. Whereas early by-laws made the extirpation of nuisance dogs public and visible with guilty dogs being killed immediately, later by-laws increasingly called for the incarceration of dogs in dog pounds. Like Michele Foucault

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<sup>104</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 56, “to Provide for the Suppression of Nuisances, and for the Protection of the Streets and Sidewalks of the City of Toronto,” 1841 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

<sup>105</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 467, “for the Regulation of the Streets, Sidewalks and Thoroughfares of the City of Toronto,” 1868-10-26 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

<sup>106</sup>Baldwin similarly explains that in the latter half of the nineteenth century in Hartford public space was being broken down into “various and more restricted public spaces,” 5. He explains that as the purpose of the city street began to change it incited the creation of new, and similarly regulated, spaces such as the city park. Whereas children were no longer permitted to play in the street, they were allowed to play in the park.

explained that the body of the condemned was withdrawn from the public gaze “as punishment increasingly took the form of incarceration;”<sup>107</sup> the same transformation was taking place in the disciplining of canine bodies. Through the establishment of dog pounds, unregulated dogs, which by 1877 included all dogs that were in the city space unaccompanied by a human master, were incarcerated for a certain period awaiting redemptions; if no one came to claim responsibility for them they were killed.

Beginning in 1855, it became lawful for those dogs that were not properly managed to be destroyed. The by-law reads, “it shall be the duty of the police *at all times* to destroy any dog or bitch which may be found running at large within the City or Liberties without a collar numbered as by this act is provided or which may between the first day of May and the first day of November be found running at large without a muzzle.”<sup>108</sup> I emphasize the point ‘at all times’ here because this indicates that the police had the power to immediately kill any dog that was found running around the city without a collar and license. In 1867, by-law 229 was amended to include a section that read “any dog or bitch known to be rabid shall be immediately destroyed.” What is interesting about this section, which remains in effect until after 1916, is that it does not explain what is meant by a rabid dog. The ambiguous nature of this section provides anyone in the city with the right to kill any dog that they deem to be rabid. Considering that the symptoms for rabies varied from loss of appetite and extreme friendliness to snapping and frothing at the mouth this ambiguity left nearly all dogs in a precarious position.

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<sup>107</sup>Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Toronto: Random House of Canada Limited, 1995) 10-31.

<sup>108</sup>By-law 229 1855. In many of the by-laws I examined the word destroy was used as a euphemism for kill. I believe that this could have been because of the moral connotations attached to kill. In contrast, to ‘kill,’ the term ‘destroy’ conjures images of a military attack. Also, whereas the word ‘kill’ identifies that the dog was once a living breathing animal that is now dead, the word ‘destroy’ objectifies the animal subject.

Perhaps most importantly, the 1867 by-law signaled a significant change in the way that unlicensed dogs were treated in Toronto: the impoundment of stray dogs. It stipulated in section four that all unlicensed, or if it was between June and October unmuzzled, dogs “shall be impounded” and if not redeemed at the cost of two dollars in 24 hours, destroyed. Although this by-law makes it legal for dogs to be incarcerated, they would have been kept at pounds meant for strayed livestock and there would not have been a pound keeper responsible for policing the city for unlicensed canines. In 1877 the management of dogs in the city would change irrevocably as a pound system strictly for the management of dogs would be established. Through the creation of a dog control center, the capturing and killing of dogs became institutionalized and private. One of the main changes that this by-law instituted was that it expanded the definition of out-of-place dogs to include licensed dogs as well. As the 1877 by-law no longer permitted dogs to run at large at night, this by-law made it lawful for all dogs found running at large at night, licensed or otherwise, to be “captured, killed, or other-wise disposed of by the City Commissioner” or any of his employees. However, while all dogs running at large during the night hours could be killed, all dogs found in the city during the day time hours were to be rounded up and brought to the pound. Sub-section five of the 1877 by-law stated that “it shall be the duty of the City Commissioner to establish at least two pounds for dogs and bitches to be captured under the provisions of this bylaw.” It also instructed that the pounds had to be “conveniently located” in the western and eastern parts of the city and that they were to be maintained and monitored by the City Commissioner. Furthermore, the Commissioner was charged with the task of appointing persons “to capture all dogs or bitches found running at large, contrary to the provisions of this By-law, and confine the same in such place or places as the City Commissioner may provide.” Not only were there now two pounds in the city of Toronto

dedicated strictly to the management (and destruction) of disorderly canines, the city also appointed persons whose main objective was to police the city's canines. While Grier mentions that the city dog catchers were known for being rough and violent men who "treated dogs as vermin,"<sup>109</sup> they were fulfilling a duty that the public demanded, a public that similarly conceptualized unrestrained and unlicensed dogs as vermin.

In 1880 and 1886, two editorials were printed in *The Globe* which reported on Toronto's dog pound system and dog catchers. The first report began by discussing the dog-catchers and their van.<sup>110</sup> The "ominous-looking black van" was "an iron box about four feet long, three wide and three high." At the top of the vehicle there was a hole that admitted captured dogs and then another door at the back through which the animals exited to the pound. The van, as both articles indicate, was not a constant presence in the streets, rather it was sent out by the Commissioner during periods when the dog nuisance was considered to be at its worst, namely the summer. The Commission was reported to have stated that "the people were making such an outcry about the nuisance the dogs are becoming that we had to put the catchers out."<sup>111</sup> The 1886 editorial is a bit clearer when it explains "there is no particular season for dog catching, except that it is never carried on in the winter." It goes further to state that "the year before last [1884] dog-catching went on for eight or ten weeks" but that last summer "the wagon was only out about ten days." Due to the shortness of last year's 'crusade,' the reporter explains, "the city is overstocked with stray curs." Aside from patrolling in their van, it appears the dog catchers spent the majority of their time at the pound.

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<sup>109</sup>Grier, 214.

<sup>110</sup> "Toronto's Dog Pound," *The Globe* 23 July 1886.

<sup>111</sup> "The Dogs' Catching and Killing the Unlicensed Canines," *The Globe* 4 February 1880.

The pound was, according to the 1886 report, “a comfortable enough place . . . warm and dry and plentifully supplied with sawdust.” It was composed of a dog shed that was divided into two compartments where the dogs were kept. Whereas the 1867 by-law legislated that all dogs had to be kept for 24 hours, sub-section six of the 1877 by-law increased the ‘redemption’ period to 48 hours. During the first 24 hours, the captured dogs were kept so as to give their owners the opportunity to redeem them at a cost of two dollars for male dogs and three for female (plus licensing and registration fees of course). However, once the 24 hour period had elapsed, the dogs became the property of the pound-keeper who could sell them for his own profit. The 48 hour provision is worth exploring a bit further. Animal geographers H. Griffiths, I. Poulter and D. Sibley’s argue in “Feral Cats in the City” that in communities with feral cat populations effort was made by locals to re-integrate these animals into the home. They explain that within these communities it was often believed that the feral cat was abject and out of place, but that this animal could find redemption in a new owner. By encouraging members of the community to adopt these cats and re-domesticate them the idea that animals in the city must have an owner is expressed. Donna Haraway in *When Species Meet* also alludes to this idea through her experience with the organization Forgotten Felines in Sonoma County, California.<sup>112</sup> She explains that Forgotten Felines will help community members trap and release feral cats and kittens, so that they can be sterilized and vaccinated, as long as “the humans promise to feed the feral cats for the duration of their lives.”<sup>113</sup> As Haraway illustrates, even cats that lived outside of the home had to be the responsibility of a competent human. These animals had to be fed by the human hand and were only permitted to remain partly wild if they were vaccinated for rabies

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<sup>112</sup>Grier, 219. She discusses how organizations such as Washington, D.C.’s Alley Cat Allies and San Diego’s Feral Cat Coalition administer the ‘trap-neuter-return’ plan but will place ‘tame’ cats and all kittens into homes. Grier also notes that one of the main problems with feral cat communities is that they largely rely on human care takers.

<sup>113</sup>Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2008) 276.

and sterilized. Furthermore, Haraway explains that in the context of “mutt” dogs, much like feral cats, the accepted idea was that they were “good” if they were sterilized but also that “they needed to be rescued,” indicating that their proper place was not on the streets but in the human home.<sup>114</sup> Inherent in the condition in Toronto’s by-law that all dogs must be maintained for 48 hours in order to give the public a chance to redeem them lies the idea that they could perhaps be rehabilitated. This point can be explicitly seen in Walt Disney’s film *Lady and the Tramp* as there was only a happy ending once the mutt Tramp was adopted and re-domesticated.

However, “in the event of no sale within two days after such capture, then every such dog or bitch shall be killed.” Both reports explain that the dogs were “destroyed” in a large wooden box. The 1880 report described the process in great detail:

They are taken out and put into a long oblong tight box, much resembling the body of a cart. On the day THE GLOBE reporter was present twenty-one dogs of various sizes were put in. The cover was shut down, and the asphyxiating process commenced. Beginning of the end. An ordinary tinsmith’s stove was attached by a pipe three inches in diameters to the box, and the charcoal lighted.

The procedure was argued to have been completely painless and extremely quick, taking no more than 20 minutes. In 1889, a new method of extermination, death by sulphur fumes, which was being practiced in a few American cities, was introduced by the Toronto Humane Society. It was believed that death by sulphur fumes was absolutely painless and that it only took one and a half minutes to kill the dogs.<sup>115</sup> While it is not clear how many dogs were exterminated annually at dog pound institutions, the 1880 report claims that in the first year of the campaign (1877) the dog catchers apprehended approximately 1 200 dogs, of which 90 percent were “smoked.” The 1886 editorial explained that in 1884 the wagon picked up ‘600 or 700 animals’ while in the

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<sup>114</sup>Haraway, 96.

<sup>115</sup>“Death by Sulphur,” *The Kennel Gazette* November 1889. The Editor of the *gazette* explained that the Toronto Humane Society was encouraging the Toronto Pound to adopt this method of killing, which was common in Chicago. He implored readers to write in and share their opinions.

summer of 1885 ‘only 175 dogs were taken.’ In January of 1883 a news bulletin claimed that the number of dogs impounded for 1882 totaled 312 with 259 being destroyed.<sup>116</sup> However, these figures do not include the dogs that were brought in by the authorities or city residents.<sup>117</sup>

Today there are some 136 animal control centers in Ontario, with six in the Greater Toronto Area. While today a few animal control centers no longer believe in euthanizing unadopted strays, many still do, with the Toronto Humane Society ‘smoking’ some 8 000 dogs and cats between the years 2000 and 2007.<sup>118</sup> The institutionalization of animal control is interesting for many reasons as it not only speaks to broader changes in what type of dog was believed to have belonged in the ‘modern’ city, but it also indicates that the move of incarcerated bodies to behind closed doors was not simply taking place in human punishment: unruly dogs were similarly being removed from the city space with their punishment becoming private and unseen. Not only did the establishment of dog pounds make the dog problem invisible, it also made the destruction of worthless dogs that were not maintained by a competent human systematic. Each dog upon entering the pound was given a time limit: 48 hours to be redeemed or ‘smoked.’ Furthermore, institutionalized dog pounds were accompanied by official dog catchers, men who were employed by the city for the specific purpose of capturing and destroying nuisance dogs. As both the dog pound system and dog catchers imply, the proper place of the dog in the city space from 1877 onwards was hardly negotiable: it was either kept under the direct control of a human owner or destroyed in a short span of time.

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<sup>116</sup>“News,” *The Globe* 13 January 1883.

<sup>117</sup>As part of the 1886 report, it explained that two boys brought in a large dog that was no longer wanted by its owner.

<sup>118</sup>“Ontario Pounds and Animal Shelters,” (accessed on March 10, 2010)

<http://www.pawswithheart.com/Ontario%20Pounds%20and%20Shelters.htm>. Toronto Humane Society, “About Us,” *Toronto Humane Society* (accessed on March 10, 2010)

<http://www.torontohumanesociety.com/about/default.asp>.

## Conclusion

Between the years 1834 and 1890, the canine body within the city of Toronto, much like the larger social body, became increasingly regulated. During this period it became mandatory for all dogs living within Toronto or any of its surrounding liberties to be licensed and visibly adorned with a collar identifying its human owner. Furthermore, once legislation was put into place that made the canine body within the city space visible, the focus began to shift from 'knowing' and 'identifying' dog and owner to regulating the animal's movement. Increasingly, where and when a dog could venture out into the city became contingent on whether it was under the direct control of a human master. The changes that dog by-laws made to the place of the dog in the city space speak to broader changes that were occurring to the way the city itself was being conceptualized. In an attempt to 'improve' and 'progress' the city of Toronto, the actual architectural face of the city was being transformed. As part of this re-gensis, the city's social body, both human and animal, also had to be improved. For dogs, this meant that they had to be regulated and controlled and owned by a citizen who was similarly regulated and controlled, this last point being encouraged through the institution of tax and registration fees meant to restrict poorer, and presumably unruly, citizens from owning dogs. While this chapter has elucidated on the 'modern' city and how dogs were increasingly regulated in this space, it falls to the next chapter to explain why.

## Chapter two: Conceptualizations of the City Cur in Toronto, 1867-1910

“Modernisation is not simply a question of the shaping and organization of space,” explains Lynda Nead, it also “concerns the experience of that space, [and] the expectations and fears of those who occupied the spaces of the modern city.”<sup>119</sup> In this chapter I turn my attention away from the public and official response to the dog nuisance, to instead consider the actual experience that people had with nuisance dogs in the city of Toronto: why were dogs in the city considered a problem? By considering the personal and emotive responses to the canine ‘nuisances,’ which I have broadly defined as unregulated canines, I will develop the story of the transgressive blood and flesh canine as it was told through the pages of the *Toronto Globe* and to a lesser extent *The Evening Star* between the years 1868 and 1910.

Before continuing, it would be prudent for me to qualify my shift in sources. The first chapter of this thesis focused almost exclusively on by-laws that were passed by Toronto’s City Council between the years 1834 and 1890, only drawing on newspaper articles when necessary. In order to get at the more personal and emotional response to dogs in the city I turned to one of the more widely read newspapers in Toronto, *The Globe*, searching systematically from 1867 to 1890 and from 1895 to 1900. I then expanded my scope to include 1910 because coverage in *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* indicated that there was a rabies epidemic that year, a point that was corroborated by the extensive rabies coverage in the *Globe* for 1910. I also systematically searched *The Evening Star* from 1894-1900, and 1910 and *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* between 1891 and 1914, both of which were also published in Toronto. What became apparent after examining the many letters to the editor, news bulletins, stories and editorials that ran in *The Globe*, and to a lesser extent *The Star* and *The Kennel Gazette*, was that there was a growing

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<sup>119</sup> Nead, 6.

public concern over ‘nuisance’ dogs in the city. Through an analysis of public outcry over dangerous, destructive and diseased dogs in Toronto, I hope to complicate Chris Philo’s exclusion/inclusion methodology by illustrating that the place of the dog in and around human settlements was never secure, and that the representation of dogs was not always positive.

In his article “Animals, Geography, and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions,” Philo utilizes the theory of fellow geographer Yi-Fu Tuan to begin viewing animals “as a ‘social’ group ensnared in a struggle with humans.”<sup>120</sup> Lying at the heart of this struggle is the dichotomy of exclusion and inclusion. According to Philo, how human communities “think, feel, and talk”<sup>121</sup> about the animals that live within close proximity influences how, and to what extent, these animals will be included or excluded from common sites of human activity. Philo examines how livestock animals, particularly animals meant for slaughter such as cows, sheep and swine, which had been for centuries a common inclusion in London, became increasingly excluded in the late nineteenth century.<sup>122</sup> In what he has called a “flash point in the struggle between animals and humans,” he argues that the discourses that humans scripted about and against animals in the city “often embrace a resolutely anti-animal agenda hostile to the presence of live animals and therefore urging their socio-spatial exclusion.”<sup>123</sup> By maintaining that animals are a ‘social group’ Philo uses the inclusion/exclusion dichotomy to raise larger questions regarding “animals transgressing human expectations of what animals should be like, how they should behave, and where they should or should not be present.”<sup>124</sup> Philo argues that

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<sup>120</sup> Philo, “Animals, Geography, and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions,” *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the nature-culture Borderlands* (London: Verso, 1998) 51.

<sup>121</sup> Philo, 51.

<sup>122</sup> See also Noémie Vialles, *Animal to edible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jonathan Burt, “Conflicts around Slaughter in Modernity,” in *Killing Animals* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 2006) 120-144; Joyce *The Rule of Freedom* 76-93. All discuss how animals meant for slaughter were increasingly removed from the city space.

<sup>123</sup> Philo, 58.

<sup>124</sup> Philo, 58.

domestic animals such as dogs and cats were accepted into much of the everyday space of human life. They were, as Joyce has explained, social animals that, unlike livestock animals, were further incorporated into the human space.<sup>125</sup> Whereas Philo's analysis places dogs safely on the inclusion side of the dichotomy, he identifies wild, dangerous and livestock animals as being the ones that were normally kept at a physical distance from the everyday.

Some scholars however argue that the status of domestic animals such as the cat and dog has been far more problematic than Philo's analysis allows. While Grier's book includes occasional examples of Americans who were "uninvolved, indifferent, or even hostile to having pets in their households," she plainly states: "they are not my subject."<sup>126</sup> Despite the fact that her work does not develop the 'other' attitudes that surrounded dogs in the nineteenth and twentieth century to any great extent, she does question the ambiguous nature of dogs in the city. In a chapter that examines the "edges of petkeeping and its dilemmas," she briefly discusses the status and reception of ownerless dogs in America. Here, she asks the important question "and what of dogs and cats that had lost their identities as household workers or pets and lived on the margins of human communities? Were they now vermin, too?"<sup>127</sup> According to animal geographers H. Griffiths, I. Poulter and D. Sibley in their article "Feral Cats in the City," the place of cats that live outside of the home in the urban environment has been extremely precarious. They explain that the cat held a complicated place in the city because they, more so than other animals, had the power to "transgress the boundary between civilization and nature, or between public and private."<sup>128</sup> It was precisely the fact that the cat was considered to be a pet, therefore a humanized and social being, which made its inherent wildness so unsettling and the

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<sup>125</sup>Philo, 66. He states that dogs and cats are considered "companion animals" or "pets" and therefore tend to be "at the inclusionary extreme."

<sup>126</sup>Grier, 10.

<sup>127</sup>Grier, 183.

<sup>128</sup>Huw Griffiths, Ingrid Poulter and David Sibley, "Feral cats in the city," 60.

idea of the feral and stray cat so problematic.<sup>129</sup> While they argue that the feral cat was often viewed as being abject and out-of-place in the city, they further explain that the response to feral cat communities would often be to either remove them altogether or re-integrate them into the private sphere as pets. What is perhaps most revolutionary about Griffiths, Poulter and Sibley's article is that they explicitly connect the trouble with feral cat communities to a broader concern with what fits in to the 'modern' city space: cats that were wild were "out of place" in "the cultivated and ordered space"<sup>130</sup> of the modern city. If brought into the home and made a pet, however, they belonged.

Joanna Dean's work on trees examines how rogue trees that were encroaching into the city streets or causing problems in other ways were similarly viewed as out-of-place and targeted by legislation meant to bring them back under human control. What is perhaps more interesting than the debates which surrounded the regulation of city trees, is how problem trees were conceptualized by citizens as being evil, unhealthy and misshapen.<sup>131</sup> These representations, much like the ones generated for the abject cat, parallel those manufactured for the city cur; both draw attention to larger ideas surrounding the proper place of nature in the city. The story of the city tree, the city cat and city cur are all a part of a broader discourse that designates controlled nature as being 'in-place' in the city, and nature out-of-control as being out-of-place. The dog did not belong in the city space unless it, like the trees and cats, was brought back under human control. In what follows, I develop the story of the transgressive city cur. I argue that, while Philo rightfully argues that dogs and cats were incorporated into the urban world and wild, dangerous and livestock animals were excluded, he neglects to recognize that the dog within the

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<sup>129</sup>Griffiths, Poulter and Sibley, 59.

<sup>130</sup>Griffiths, Poulter and Sibley, 64.

<sup>131</sup>Joanna Dean, "'Said tree is a veritable nuisance': Ottawa's Street Trees 1869-1939," 51.

city was often considered to be a dangerous nuisance. By developing the city cur as being a nuisance that bothered, attacked and worried citizens and horses, spread disease and destroyed valuable livestock, I will illustrate how the cur was considered a problem because it did not fit into the modern city.

### The Disruptive Canine

Of the many concerns that Toronto citizens had with the city cur, the most innocent was that these animals transgressed noise boundaries during the night.<sup>132</sup> “The number of masterless and *masterful* curs now running at large in this city in this hot weather . . . is positively horrible,” explained one citizen in 1868, “the night is made hideous by their howling, and the footfall of any belated passenger awakens such a chorus as to make sleep impossible.”<sup>133</sup> According to another angry citizen in 1870 “the unlimited number of curs that infest the public streets . . . make day intolerable and night hideous with their incessant yelping.”<sup>134</sup> Echoing these same sentiments in 1886 was another anonymous citizen who exclaimed that “it is chiefly as a disturber of rest that dogs are nuisances.”<sup>135</sup> The incessant barking and howling of dogs during the night was not simply viewed by this city dweller as a bother or nuisance, but, a mortal threat: on account of “the yelping of some worthless cur” many patients had lost their “valuable lives” because the noise prevented nature from repairing their damages. Moreover, the letter reads that “not a night passes but the sleep of infants and of their parents is broken by the howling and barking of some whelp.”

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<sup>132</sup>Mary Elizabeth Thurston, 71. The term ‘cur’ comes from “the medieval practices of requiring lower-class dogs to have their tails docked so they could be distinguished from hounds belonging to aristocrats.”

<sup>133</sup> “The Dog Nuisance,” *The Globe* 22 July 1868.

<sup>134</sup> “The Dog Nuisance,” *The Globe* 28 July 1879.

<sup>135</sup> “What is the Good of a Dog?” *The Globe* 7 September 1886.

The emphasis on ‘whelp’ is particularly important because this, unlike the worthless cur or savage beast, is only a pup.<sup>136</sup> Rather than a blood thirsty mongrel that is terrorizing the city streets, the voice of this tiny whelp that has cut through the historical record conveys an idea of infancy and longing for love and attention. The voice of an innocent pup howling and barking was misinterpreted by its human counterparts as being disruptive and annoying, as opposed to a method of communication. Furthermore, this animal, far from being a danger to society, was simply a nuisance that did no actual harm other than interrupt the quiet and restive hours of the night.

### The Dangerous Canine

The trouble with the canine in the city was not simply that it transgressed during the night hours and disturbed the peace. Rather, the dog was considered worthy of exclusion because it disrupted the social order by worrying and attacking horses, men, women and children. One recurring complaint that was aimed at dogs in the city was that they attacked and bothered horses. According to one *Globe* reporter “the Toronto dog is a first-class nuisance, which frightens more horses, snaps at more children, and destroyed more sleep than any other one thing which could be mentioned.”<sup>137</sup> By this reporter’s admission, the unregulated dog was considered problematic because it, among other issues, compromised the safety of citizens by disrupting the free flow of traffic. As a few historians have illustrated most cogently, the horse until well into the twentieth century would have played an extremely important role in the city space.<sup>138</sup> Clay

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<sup>136</sup>The *OED* defines a ‘Whelp’ as being: “the young of a dog.” It explains that the term is little used now because it has been superseded by puppy. Also, breeders refer to a bitch that is pregnant as being ‘in whelp,’ basically pregnant with pups.

<sup>137</sup>“News,” *The Globe* 12 October 1886.

<sup>138</sup>See also Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature’s Role in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Margaret Derry, *Horses in Society: a Story of Animal Breeding and Marketing Culture, 1800-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 2006); Clay McShane and Joel Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living*

McShane, first in *Down the Asphalt Path* and later in *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century*, co-authored with Joel Tarr, explains that horses in the city fulfilled various tasks in the nineteenth century from hauling freight to passenger transportation.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, Grier has observed that while relatively few people in American cities would have owned a horse because they were so expensive, “everyone relied on them” as the main mode of transportation in the city.<sup>140</sup> Given that the horse was conceptualized as one of the most important animals in the city, an unruly and seemingly useless cur attacking a useful work horse would have been considered a real problem, especially since horses did not adapt easily to work in the city. As Tarr and McShane explain, training horses for work in the city was extremely difficult as horses scared easily and their automatic reflex was to run away.<sup>141</sup> While an overly excitable horse that scares and takes off uncontrollably in the countryside may not cause any real damage, one that loses control in the city could not only cause an accident but also damage itself. This was precisely the problem with dogs in the city for two citizens writing letters to the editor in 1887. “How many horses are frightened . . . because dogs are lords of the walk,” exclaimed one angry citizen.<sup>142</sup> According to another, “those using horses well know how many times the horse has all but got beyond control in consequence of the attack.” Moreover, this author continues by stating that “any day a most serious and not improbably a fatal accident may occur from this cause.”<sup>143</sup> Considering that it was explicitly prohibited in the first 1834 by-law for

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*Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), and Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 19-20.

<sup>139</sup>Grier 188. She states that horses “provided the power for cabs, streetcars, fire engines, refuse collection carts, and police wagons.”

<sup>140</sup>Grier 187-195. She briefly examines the role of horses in early American cities and states that until 1910 the horse population in various cities would have steadily increased. Steinberg, 162, also draws attention to the horse and mule as being the main method of transportation in the “organic city.”

<sup>141</sup> Clay McShane and Joël Tarr, *The Horse in the City* 54.

<sup>142</sup> “The Dog Nuisance,” *The Globe* 10 May 1887.

<sup>143</sup> “Dangerous Curs,” *The Globe* 12 March 1887.

dogs to attack a horse,<sup>144</sup> (or anyone else for that matter who was peacefully traveling in the city space), and that this prohibition was continually emphasized in later by-laws, dogs must have been attacking horses and this must have been considered a real problem.

Chief Constable Prince stated that unregulated dogs in the city were a problem because they were not simply a nuisance, but also “dangerous to the public.” He explains that “hardly a week passes without complaints being preferred at the Police Court by men, women, or children who have been bitten.”<sup>145</sup> Supporting Constable Prince’s claims were numerous news bulletins and stories that ran in *The Globe* between 1868 and 1900. According to one news story in 1868, a man complained to the Police Court that a neighbour’s dog had viciously attacked him. The report stated that “the complainant carried on his face strong evidence of the rabid character of the canine, his chin being swelled to an unnatural size.”<sup>146</sup> A year later in 1869, the Police Court saw another case regarding a “vicious dog” that had a “bad habit of biting.”<sup>147</sup> On March 5 1879, *The Globe* printed a scathing letter that openly criticized the dog for being a terror and a nuisance. Complaining about the uselessness of dogs, among other things, the author emphasized that not only were dogs in the city “of no use but to propagate fleas and keep idlers company,” they were also extremely dangerous. The letter reads, “it was but yesterday a man was seized by the leg, all unexpectedly, by a filthy little terrier on the street; and there are no thanks due to dog or owner that there were no serious results, but to the thickness of boot and pantaloons.”<sup>148</sup> This animal that was granted freedom from the controlling hand of a master, or who perhaps had an incompetent master, invaded the city street and savagely attacked an innocent citizen. While the author was particularly troubled by the ‘filthy terrier’ attacking a

<sup>144</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 5, “An act to impose a tax on dogs,” 1834-05-30 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives)

<sup>145</sup>“Annual Report of the Chief Constable,” *The Globe* 25 February 1873.

<sup>146</sup>“City News – Bitten,” *The Globe* 10 February 1868.

<sup>147</sup>“Vicious Dog,” *The Globe* 12 October 1869.

<sup>148</sup>“The Dog Nuisance (letter to the editor),” *The Globe* 5 March 1879.

man on the street, he was even more concerned about the safety and security of the city's children. The author explains, that in the past week there had been 'several cases' of children being worried by dogs while outside on the street. Complaints of this nature were not uncommon; incidents involving dangerous dogs terrorizing city residents surfaced time and again within the columns of *The Globe* (1868-1900) and *The Evening Star* (1894-1900). Inherent in stories such as "4-year old badly bitten by dog," or "child bit by savage dog," and "small boy attacked by vicious beasts," was a clear commentary on the unrestrained canine as a savage beast.<sup>149</sup> Moreover, this animal was nature out-of-place in the city because it not only transgressed proper codes of behaviour, it was also conceptualized as being a vicious beast that loomed in the streets waiting for an opportunity to 'unexpectedly' attack. On the surface the authors of letters deploring the 'dog nuisance' or reporting on a vicious attack were expressing real fears that surrounded dogs that were allowed to run loose in the city space.

These animals, as one reporter commented, were 'vicious' and responsible for attacking a woman in the Anne Street neighbourhood. He explained that while on her way home, a "woman with a child in her arms was sprung at by one of the animals."<sup>150</sup> Luckily, the reporter stated, neither the woman nor the child were harmed to any great extent but the vicious dogs were not apprehended. Relaying the details of another incident where children were 'attacked' or 'terrorized' by dogs was another reporter writing just two weeks later.<sup>151</sup> Although these stories were simply news bulletins that reported incidents, a 'Long Suffering Citizen,' in a lengthy letter to the editor in September of 1886 went into much greater detail.<sup>152</sup> He explained that in recent days there had been many incidents involving wild and savage dogs upsetting public order. In

<sup>149</sup>"4-year old badly bitten by dog," *The Evening Star* 19 June 1894. "Child bit by Savage Dog," *The Globe* 1 April 1882. "Small boy attacked by two vicious beats," *The Globe* 9 May 1887.

<sup>150</sup>"Vicious Dogs," *The Globe* 28 June 1880.

<sup>151</sup>"News," *The Globe* 2 July 1880.

<sup>152</sup>"The Dog Nuisance in Toronto," *The Globe* 7 September 1886.

one account he stated that “a savage Newfoundland dog” was responsible for tearing the clothing and injuring the wrist of a local resident. In another, he relayed an event that took place on the Rosedale Bridge where a dog attacked a horse-drawn carriage and nearly sent the driver’s children flying out of the vehicle. However, perhaps most problematically, these savage animals were making it “unsafe for children to play in some streets.” Reflecting on his own personal experience, he stated “lastly, my own children have been twice attacked by dogs recently, and, though not injured, had their clothes torn.” This ‘Long-suffering Citizen’ emphasizes the dangerous nature of these animals and expressly conveys the idea that their presence within the city was threatening the safety of both grown man and innocent child. This letter contributes to the broader narrative that dogs did not belong within the city if they were not properly maintained and controlled.

Expressing this idea most cogently was an anonymous writer in May of 1887.<sup>153</sup> Like ‘A Long Suffering Citizen’ he or she regretted the terrible dog nuisance because of the threat it was posing to the city’s children. He stated that “the occurrence on Wellesley street, where two great vicious beasts attacked and worried a little boy who was running along the street, ought to open the eyes of parents as to the risks their children run.” Here, these ‘great vicious beasts’ were not attacking a grown man, but rather, they were worrying a ‘little boy’ who was innocently running along the city streets. The dog in this instance was represented as a monster who was threatening the peace and safety of the city and its citizens. This representation was conveyed by another anonymous writer in a much earlier article in 1870. This writer explained that “at present they [dogs] roam about the streets after dark in packs, apparently ownerless, and at the approach of daylight retire to some quiet lair, like some human night-ramblers, to sleep away the effects of

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<sup>153</sup>“The Dog Nuisance,” *The Globe* 7 May 1887.

their nocturnal dissipation.”<sup>154</sup> The animal that this citizen describes does not belong in the urban environment because it was wild, unruly and as such dangerous. Moreover, he explains that anyone who is out past dusk will be able to hear “these packs of prowling curs . . . snarling and growling while settling their little misunderstandings, or their playful barking under the influence of the silvery moonbeams.” By stating that these ‘prowling’ dogs howl at the moon, roam around in packs in the night, and retreat in the daylight back to their ‘lair,’ this citizen is explicitly making the connection between ‘masterless’ curs and their savage ancestors, the wolf. In both cases, the point is clear that they do not belong in the city space.

Illustrating this same point was a series of news stories that ran in July of 1880.<sup>155</sup> It was reported that “a dog owned by a dairyman attacked a child” and that “a store keeper keeps 2 large dogs that terrorize the children.” Directly following these two news items, attention was paid to the fact that within the same neighbourhood where the attack and terrorizing had occurred there had been seven dogs “seen playing together, none with tags.” Here, the dogs that were feared most were those who were unregistered and therefore presumably masterless, or at least ‘owned’ by a supposed irresponsible master, and that these vicious dogs were roaming the city streets in gangs. In another report, running on May 24 1887, the dangerous effects of wild and unrestrained dogs is presented most clearly through the example of Mr. Farrell’s three-year-old daughter. The story reads “Mr. Farrell, of 417 Queen Street West, brought before the Council his three-year-old daughter, who had been fearfully worried by a dog. The child’s face bore marks of several painful wounds made by a dog’s teeth.” Within all of these stories and letters to the editor the city cur is represented as being a dangerous animal that is willfully attacking the city’s women and children.

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<sup>154</sup> “Dogs,” *The Globe* 9 July 1870.

<sup>155</sup> “City News,” *The Globe* 2 July 1880.

More than simply drawing attention to the fact that dogs in the city were biting and attacking young children, these news stories and letters hint at a broader discourse. Whether the dog was seizing a pantaloons on the street or worrying a small child in a residential neighbourhood, the unregulated dog within the city was out-of-place in the modern city. This idea is first presented by Chief Constable Prince who argued that the only other place where a dog problem such as the one plaguing Toronto would be found was in an 'Asiatic town.' His reference to an 'Asiatic town' here is quite telling. During this period, as scholars such as Edward Said have explained, Asia would have been marveled at and disparaged by 'civilized' Europeans for its difference, its exotic 'otherness,' and its decadence.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, by using the term 'town' here, Constable Prince is implying that the presence of unregulated dogs was a hindrance to Toronto's improvement: rather than becoming a great metropolis Toronto was still a primitive town. Much like the obscene literature that Lynda Nead discusses, the presence of this animal symbolized degeneration and anti-progress as the city cur embodied both chaos and disorder as it disrupted the flow of traffic and threatened the safety of women and children. For another citizen, Toronto did not resemble an 'Asiatic town,' but rather, Constantinople.<sup>157</sup> He explains that "Constantinople and Toronto resemble one another in both being affected with a plague of dogs." Like Constable Prince, this citizen also explains that while the dogs in Constantinople were "industrious scavengers," the dogs in Toronto served "no better purpose than to frighten children and nervous women."<sup>158</sup> According to this citizen, the presence of dogs in the city likened Toronto not to a 'civilized' city such as London, England or New York City,

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<sup>156</sup>Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1979).

<sup>157</sup>"Constantinopolitan Toronto," *The Globe* 5 April 1887.

<sup>158</sup>Haraway, 96. Haraway makes a similar observation when she states that while "fertile street and village dogs were good because they lived in the third world or its moral and symbolic equivalent in doggish humanism," when on American soil they were only considered good if adopted into the home. Here, she identifies a clear difference in the way that people conceptualized the stray dogs that lived in America and those that lived in 'third world' countries.

but rather, a backwards and uncivilized city such as Constantinople. Demonstrating this point further was another citizen who complained that it was not an uncommon observation to see “the base of the buildings along all the business streets . . . disgustingly marred by dogs.” The citizen continues, “can a basket of fruit, or vegetables, or a sample of dry-goods be exhibited along the side-walk without being soiled by dogs?”<sup>159</sup> Not only is the canine presented here as being an impediment to those attempting to freely move through the city’s business districts, but this citizen is suggesting that dogs were actually relieving themselves on potential dinner items.

Developing this point further was another citizen who lamented that “Toronto is absolutely, without any exception, more overrun with vagrant yelping curs than any other civilized city of its size.” Not only is it “unsafe for children to play in some streets, sleep is impossible, and driving through Yonge or Queen Streets is like passing through an Indian village with barking dogs on every side.”<sup>160</sup> While the earlier references to Asia and the East were implicitly alluding to the idea that the presence of dogs was anti-modern, as both places were often conceptualized as being backwards and uncivilized, this citizen directly associates anti-progress with the city cur. As Nead has argued most effectively, the city during the nineteenth century was built upon the premise of free and unrestrained movement. More specifically, she argued that like the human body the city’s streets should facilitate the movement of people and that anything that prevented the free-flow of people should be removed. By the above citizen’s admission, Yonge and Queen Streets, two of the busiest central road-ways, were so overrun with dogs that Toronto resembled nothing of a new, progressive and modern city. During this period, the Indian village would not only have been viewed as an uncivilized and savage place, but it would have also been viewed as fundamentally different from the modern city. Historian Sarah

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<sup>159</sup> “The Dog Nuisance,” *The Globe* 5 March 1879.

<sup>160</sup> “The Dog Nuisance in Toronto,” *The Globe* 7 September 1886.

Carter, whose work examines conceptualizations of aboriginal people and the reserve in the nineteenth century, has explained that the reserve was considered to be a dirty, diseased, wild and essentially backwards place: they were “pockets of rural poverty.”<sup>161</sup> They were unproductive places where disease and immorality festered: an Indian village was antithetical to the modern city Toronto envisioned itself to have been. The connection between savage canines and an uncivilized city is also touched upon by ‘Humanity number two,’ who bemoaned “let anyone name, if he can, another city the size of Toronto whose citizens are annoyed as much as they are here with these curs.”<sup>162</sup> Perpetuating this point, the author states that “there are more dogs to be seen upon our streets in one day than in the city of New York or London, England in one month.” With regards to London, ‘Cave Canem’ argues that whereas the London Chief of Police “enforces the rule that no dogs are allowed at large in the whole of London,” Toronto has not yet reached “this stage of civilization.”<sup>163</sup> By expressing the idea that a civilized city is one that does not have dogs running at large uncontrolled ‘Cave Canem’ explicitly draws attention to the idea that not only are curs considered to be un-modern, but that the very process of removing them was considered to be part of the broader modernization project. Griffiths, Poulter and Sibley explain that once the ‘pet’ animal, such as the cat or dog, became wild, it simultaneously became “regarded as highly transgressive and ambiguous” and therefore no longer in place in the ordered modern city.<sup>164</sup> Consequently, they argue that “the politics of modernity” has “been concerned with the *elimination* of both the nomadic . . . and unregulated nature,” making the

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<sup>161</sup> Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997) 161. See also Mary Ellen Kelm, “Diagnosing the Discursive Indian: Medicine, Gender, and the ‘Dying Race,’” in *Ethnohistory* 52.2 (spring 2005) 371-406.

<sup>162</sup> “Vicious and Useless Curs,” *The Globe* 10 March 1887.

<sup>163</sup> “The Dog Nuisance,” *The Globe* 12 March 1887. ‘Walton Street’ in his 1871 letter stated that there were “thousands of worthless curs [in Toronto] whose existence would not be tolerated in any other city in the Dominion.” “The Dog Nuisance (To the Editor of *The Globe*),” *The Globe* 21 August 1871.

<sup>164</sup> Griffiths, Poulter and Sibley, 61.

purging of stray dogs and feral cats intricately connected to the modernizing process.<sup>165</sup> As ‘Cave Canem’s’ comments indicate, by eradicating masterless dogs from the city space that city was becoming modern.

### The Diseased Canine

The city cur was also feared as a dangerous brute because of its supposed association with disease.<sup>166</sup> According to a *Globe* reporter in an editorial on dog catchers and the dog pound, “the class of animals caught are, as a rule, of the worst kind. Not more than ten per cent are what might be called good dogs, and these are the ones generally redeemed.”<sup>167</sup> Moreover, the “majority are diseased, wretched, starved brutes, whose death is a gift.” According to this reporter, the free roaming city cur that would find itself picked up by the dog catcher was not only of a low-status but also inherently wretched and diseased. Perpetuating this idea in a letter written later in 1886 is an angry citizen who argued that dogs were useless and only “successful disseminators of vermin and cutaneous disease.”<sup>168</sup> Also alluding to the street dog as being diseased was another concerned citizen who argued that the dog in Toronto was a dangerous pestilence. He stated within the beginning of his article that Toronto was “affected with a plague of dogs.” These authors, by associating the feral canine with disease, are contributing to the broader idea that stray and masterless dogs who live on the street posed a threat to public health. They are diseased and therefore dangerous disseminators of viruses that could potentially infect the public at large. As these dogs were feral, and therefore had the freedom to roam the

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<sup>165</sup>Griffiths, Poultry and Sibley, 69.

<sup>166</sup>Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Viking Press, 1967) 57. Veblen states that the “dog is the filthiest of the domestic animals in his person and the nastiest in his habits.”

<sup>167</sup>“The Dogs’ Catching and Killing the Unlicensed Canine,” *The Globe* 4 February 1880.

<sup>168</sup>“What is the Dog Good for?,” *The Globe* 1 September 1886.

city as they pleased, they were even more dangerous because there was no one to prevent them from spreading diseases quickly.

The association of dogs and disease during this period can be seen perhaps most clearly through a discussion of rabies. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, rabies is a viral disease that affects the central nervous system and which typically causes “agitated, aggressive behavior, hydrophobia, and paralysis.” The disease is usually contracted through an open wound, traditionally a bite, where the virus enters the body and travels along nerve tissue to the brain, and causes whoever contracts it to lose all control.<sup>169</sup> Although the virus can attack all warm-blooded animals, humans included, it has historically been associated with members of the Canidae family. “It is the image of the mad dog that has for centuries past come to symbolize humankind’s fear of the disease,” explain Alan C. Jackson and William H. Wunner in their edited book *Rabies* (2002). Dogs have been represented as the main vector of the disease, which dates as far back as 2300 B.C. in Mesopotamia.<sup>170</sup> Moreover, the virus was almost always fatal until Louis Pasteur developed a rabies vaccine in the 1880s.

Fears surrounding rabies in the nineteenth century continuously plagued Britain, France and North America and occasionally erupted into mass panic. Ritvo explains that while rabies in Britain “maintained a continuously high public profile,” she observes that hysteria over the disease peaked in 1830, 1887 and 1897.<sup>171</sup> While panic in some cases was warranted, as rabies was an extremely brutal disease, often fears over a rabies epidemic were not realistic, but rather metaphorical. Kete, who explains that there were only 25 people who died of rabies in France

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<sup>169</sup> Kete, 97.

<sup>170</sup> Alan C. Jackson and William H. Wunner, *Rabies* (San Diego: Elsevier Science (USA) 2002) 1-10. The dog-rabies connection is also conveyed through the cover that Jackson and Wunner chose for their book which pictures a male human being bitten on the leg by a dog-wolf hybrid.

<sup>171</sup> Ritvo, 168.

between 1850-1872, argues that the intensity of bourgeois phobia indicates that fears surrounding the disease were more rhetorical than actual.<sup>172</sup> In Ontario, fears over rabies tended to either creep along slowly but quietly or erupt into mass hysteria. While mentions of rabies cases and rabid dogs can be found consistently in *The Globe* from 1868 to 1910, a clear rise in coverage in 1886-1887 and in 1910, combined with changes in city legislation, seem to indicate that these were years of mass hysteria.<sup>173</sup> This was particularly the case in 1910. Whereas a search in 1886-1887 for ‘rabies’ in *The Globe* turned up 65 notices of rabies cases and rabid dogs, this number grew to 130 in 1910 – with 70 of these occurring between January and April. Also, a search for ‘rabies’ in *The Evening Star* for the year 1910 turned up 118 stories, 73 of these news bulletins, stories and letters to the editor being printed between January and April. Furthermore, in 1910, *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* also began printing extensive coverage on the ‘rabies epidemic.’ With headlines such as “The Outbreak of Rabies,” “Rabies Scare is General,” “Mad Dog Scare,” and “Muzzle all Dogs in Ontario,” being printed continuously in *The Evening Star* and *The Globe*, Toronto citizens were being bombarded with notices warning them to beware of mad dogs.<sup>174</sup> What is perhaps most interesting in the letters is that dogs ‘running at large,’ stray dogs in particular, and rabies always seemed to be connected.

Elucidating on the connection that existed between ‘lower class’ dogs and rabies have been Ritvo, Grier and Kete. Ritvo has argued that there was a close association drawn between

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<sup>172</sup>Kete, 97.

<sup>173</sup>As already mentioned in my section on regulating the canine body in the city, by-law 1827 passed in 1887 made it illegal for dogs to ‘run at large’ in any public place unless they were muzzled or accompanied by their owner or another competent person. This by-law made explicitly clear that the purpose of the muzzle was to prevent dogs from biting. I believe that this by-law was most likely conceived of as an answer to the public out-cry over rabies during this period.

<sup>174</sup>“The Outbreak of Rabies,” *The Globe* 3 February 1910; “Rabies Scare is General,” *The Evening Star* 7 February 1910; “Mad Dog Scare,” *The Globe* 8 February 1910; “Muzzle all Dogs in Ontario,” *The Evening Star* 3 February 1910. Notably from the end of January to the end of April headlines such as these were printed almost daily, especially in February. It was not until August when *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* printed an article “Epidemic almost over,” claiming that the mad dog scare in Ontario was quieting.

the unruly lower classes and the rabies epidemic by members of the elite classes. While rabies cases were appearing in both upper and lower class dogs, the original vector was almost always believed to have been the lower class dog.<sup>175</sup> Moreover, legislation that was passed as a measure to stamp out the mad dog scare centered, as it did in Canada, on unregistered and unlicensed dogs. Grier argues that every summer in America, dogs that were collarless and therefore considered to be masterless were brutally bludgeoned to death because it was feared that they were rabid.<sup>176</sup> While Grier states that it was working class men who were killing unlicensed dogs, she does not otherwise argue that rabid dogs were conceptualized as being owned by working class people. Kete, like Ritvo, however, makes this connection clear. “Rabies was a class-bound disease,” explains Kete, as it was believed in midcentury France that “poor people’s dogs were the ones that caused it.”<sup>177</sup> She explains, however, that a paradigm shift occurred in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s that situated the rabies epidemic among bourgeois pets.<sup>178</sup> While the bourgeois pet, as a denatured and sterilized canine, represented the objectification of the natural world in its purest form, with the onset of the rabies scare fears over the unnaturalness of the city and their pet dogs began to grip the bourgeois. These fears that were once calmed by the subdued canine were now intensified by the inherent beastliness that rabies exposed within the domesticated pet. Rabies also had the power to turn man into beast, thereby forcing the bourgeois to reconcile their own inner conflict and beastly impulses that had been, until this point, systematically removed from modern society.<sup>179</sup>

In Toronto, the rabid dog was similarly conceptualized as being masterless and dangerous to citizens. The author of an 1886 letter entitled “Wants Stray Dogs Shot at Sight,” explains that

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<sup>175</sup>Ritvo, 176-179.

<sup>176</sup>Grier, 214.

<sup>177</sup>Kete, 111.

<sup>178</sup>Jackson and Wunner, 16; Kete, 98.

<sup>179</sup>Kete, 100.

he had been noticing in the newspapers of other cities “reports of mad dogs and people dying of hydrophobia to a greater extent than ever before known.”<sup>180</sup> In light of such information, he questions if there was “any reason why our police force should not be ordered to shoot at sight all dogs running at large about the city.” ‘Cave Canem’ states that “the London [England] Chief of Police says where dogs are allowed to roam the streets hydrophobia sometimes starts nobody knows how or where and at once becomes epidemic.”<sup>181</sup> Moreover, he states that there were some “305 dogs suffering from hydrophobia” killed by the London police in the span of eight months. Here, the idea that dogs who are allowed to roam the city ‘at large’ are not only more susceptible to rabies, but also that a case of rabies may appear out of nowhere among stray dogs is interesting. Dr. James Niven, a well-known London dog fancier, argues in a letter published in the *Canadian Kennel* in 1910, that members of the CKC should not only advocate for the muzzling order, they “might also advise that all stray dogs be destroyed by the police or other recognized authority.”<sup>182</sup> Lending his support to Niven’s idea was Dr. McPherson at a public meeting in Toronto. At this open discussion about the need for a muzzling by-law in Toronto, Dr. McPherson voiced that he would like to see the city “protect the good dogs by doing away with curs.”

The idea that rabies is more prevalent in stray dogs is clearly expressed in an 1890 cartoon, “A Consummate Revenge.”<sup>183</sup> This comic portrays a mangy street dog, known as ‘canine tramp,’ that is about to settle down for a meal of garbage scraps. The caricature illustrates this dog as being extremely dirty, emaciated and ragged. In the opening segment of the cartoon, the canine tramp bellows “Now Heaven fend me from any low interruption til this

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<sup>180</sup> “Wants Stray Dogs Shot at Sight,” *The Globe* 1 January 1886.

<sup>181</sup> “The Dog Nuisance,” *The Globe* 12 March 1887. ‘Cave Canem’ means ‘beware of dog.’

<sup>182</sup> “Dr. J. S. Niven’s Opinion on Rabies in Ontario,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* February 1910.

<sup>183</sup> “A Consummate Revenge,” *The Globe* 17 June 1890.

gaunt hunger be appeased,” as he digs his face into a bucket of garbage. While he is setting to indulge his hunger the tramp is interrupted by a troop of beautiful, well-kept house dogs. As the cartoon continues this poor dog decides to seek his revenge on the house dogs by chewing on a bar of soap and then running into the group of thoroughbred dogs with a frothing mouth. The tramp, after exacting his revenge, exclaims “Ah, hear their master cry, ‘Mad Dog! Mad dog!’ well doth my scheme take shape.” In the last scene of the cartoon, the mangy canine tramp hides while his thoroughbred enemies are bound and shot. While this cartoon is jovial in nature it cleverly presents the idea that dirty street dogs, like the canine tramp depicted, were responsible for the rabies outbreak and not the city’s well-bred and properly maintained thoroughbreds. This cartoon not only clearly separates the canine tramp from the other dogs, it also presents the tramp as being masterless, sneaky and dangerous because of its association to dirt and disease and its ability to freely roam city streets. More specifically, by picturing the canine tramp running at large in the city streets and attacking the well-kept dogs, the author is alluding to the idea that thoroughbred dogs only contracted rabies because they had been infected by dirty street dogs.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>184</sup>Ritvo, 185. She explains that middle class dog owners in England would justify cases of rabies in their pets by stating that they had been infected by a rogue cur or other ‘alien’ dogs, sometimes even accusing Fox Hounds and other hunting dogs kept by the upper classes.



**CANINE TRAMP**—" Now Heaven lend me from any low interruption till this gaunt hunger be appeased."



**C. T.**—" Oh misery ! Oh undone !"



**C. T.**—" By the blue of you high heaven, for this foul use I swear to compass a revenge."



**C. T.**—" Ah, bravo conceit ! This soap I'll chew; then, all foaming from the mouth, and with distempered air, the hydrophobic madness I will affect, and rush among those cruel of my kind."



**C. T.**—" Now haste I on my mission of revenge."



**C. T.**—" Ah, hear their master cry, 'Mad dog ! mad dog !' Well doth my scheme take shape."



**C. T.**—" Now will I wait and see my plot work out."



**C. T. (from his concealment)**—" Now, cringing cowards, think on thy past deeds."



**C. T.**—" Yea, sleep. Sleep on, mine enemies."

Figure 1 - "A Consummate Revenge," *The Globe* 17 June 1890.

The ideas presented in this cartoon were echoed in real news stories. In one report that ran in May of 1890 entitled “a hydrophobic dog,” a small dog that was affected with rabies seized the knee of a citizen “and tore a hole in his clothing.” While the reporter explained that “the cur was soon dispatched with a revolver,” he was also careful to note that it was “not until he had bitten several other dogs.”<sup>185</sup> Again, the idea that stray city dogs were responsible for rabies, but also, that they were spreading this terrifying disease to other potentially well-bred dogs is expressed. In one of the first commentaries covering the 1910 outbreak of rabies, it stated that the infection was “brought across the Niagara Bridge by a stray dog and has spread rapidly – Forty-two persons have been bitten” along with much livestock.<sup>186</sup> According to another report in *The Evening Star*, there were probably “between two and three hundred mad dogs roaming around all parts of western Ontario and new cases of rabies being reported” almost daily.<sup>187</sup> Inherent in this account was the idea that those dogs that were freely roaming around the city space and the countryside were pestilent. This article continued: “a peculiarity of the disease is that as soon as rabies develops the dog starts out to roam the country, biting and infecting other dogs and cattle.” This idea was corroborated by Public Health official and Veterinary Directory-General Dr. Rutherford who explained that not only must there be “scores of mad dogs scattered throughout the infected districts,” but also, “every dog running loose is exposed to the disease.” In these accounts the rabies narrative is intricately connected to dogs that were living as strays. Underlying the overt fears of rabies lay more covert anxieties surrounding unrestrained and unregulated nature.

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<sup>185</sup>“A Hydrophobic Dog,” *The Globe* 20 May 1890.

<sup>186</sup>“Rabies infects Western Ontario,” *The Globe* 7 February 1910.

<sup>187</sup>“All Dogs Must be Chained up,” *The Evening Star* 7 February 1910.

On February 8, 1910 *The Globe* dedicated significant space to reporting the “mad dog scare.” Writing on the status of this ‘dreadful epidemic’ in Toronto was Dr. Sheard, City Medical Health Officer and Chairman of the provincial Board of Health: “I think there are vastly too many dogs running at large . . . without any restrictions, whatever.”<sup>188</sup> He urged drastic measures to abate the spread of the epidemic by stating that “the time is now opportune to have dogs put under better control.” Echoing this same sentiment in a lengthy letter to the editor was an anonymous citizen.<sup>189</sup> The letter begins by stating that civil officials “must not be allowed to subject the people of Toronto to a continuous nuisance or expose them to a serious danger.” He explained that allowing dogs to run at large is just as dangerous as allowing the use of firearms in the streets. The use of firearms, he says, “is a practice no more dangerous than the turning loose of dogs and no more easy of detection. Anyone so unmindful of public safety as to leave a dog at large is a dangerous citizen.” The feral canine was conceptualized as being a dangerous vagabond that disseminated rabies. The story of the ‘canine tramp’ and news stories surrounding the rabies scare point to fears over savage and stray dogs and demonstrated why the public would have wanted masterless dogs, or at least dogs that appeared to be masterless, to be removed from the city space.

The idea of isolation was particularly popular during times of supposed rabies outbreaks. By one angry Torontonians standards no one, no matter how much they love their pet dog, should have the “right to expose the public to the danger of an unmuzzled dog on the street.”<sup>190</sup> Moreover, “it is questionable if the muzzled dog should longer be tolerated. We do not allow cows on the street . . . [and] the cow is certainly more useful and less of a nuisance than the dog.”

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<sup>188</sup>“Dreadful Epidemic,” *The Globe* 8 February 1910. This article was not only featured on the front page but it was also continued on page five under the headline “Mad Dog Scare.”

<sup>189</sup>“The Nuisance and Danger of Dogs,” *The Globe* 15 February 1910.

<sup>190</sup>“The Nuisance and Danger of Dogs,” *The Globe* 15 February 1910.

According to this citizen, the only way to protect the public from the danger of rabid dogs is to enforce that all dogs “must be effectively restrained.” Consequently, in the midst of the 1910 rabies epidemic the Department of Agriculture on the report of Dr. Rutherford, directed

that all dogs in that part of the province lying west of the eastern boundaries of York and Simcoe counties must either be securely chained in an outhouse or other building, or kept under lock and key, or else kept constantly muzzled with effective metallic muzzles in a manner satisfactory to the veterinary inspectors of the department.<sup>191</sup>

Moreover, the order states that if a case of rabies was actually confirmed in a municipality the “muzzling privilege may be withdrawn, in which case all dogs must be detained or isolated.”

Although this order was passed during a period of extreme hysteria, the idea that dogs in the city, or country space for that matter, were potentially dangerous and therefore should be completely isolated is clear. Through this report, the dog, if unmuzzled, was excluded from the urban environment. The idea that dogs, especially during a rabies outbreak, should be kept in isolation was expressed earlier in an 1886 report:

what man in his senses, for instance, would not say that it would be a vast improvement for Toronto if half of all the dogs in this city were sent to the happy hunting grounds in some other world than this, and if the other half were forced to live in a condition of well understood and carefully observed comparative seclusion and restraint?<sup>192</sup>

In this reporters opinion, the dog should be excluded completely from the city space by way of careful isolation.

Of the many reasons that stray dogs were feared, disease was perhaps the most problematic. Not only were stray dogs believed to have been dirty and flea-ridden, it was their association with rabies that led to such a public out-cry against feral dogs. Fear over rabies

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<sup>191</sup>“Rabies infects Western Ontario,” *The Globe* 7 February 1910.

<sup>192</sup>“Notes and Comments,” *The Globe* 12 October 1886.

outbreaks was a constant concern for city residents in Toronto, and elsewhere. While all warm blooded animals could be infected, and therefore could spread the virus, it was predominantly dogs that were associated with the virus and it was dogs that had a tendency to bite humans.

Despite the fact that all dogs were believed to have been vectors for the rabies virus, the problem largely fell on ownerless dogs.

### The Destructive Canine

In a letter of protest printed in *The Globe* in 1880 on 'Destructive dogs,' 'a sufferer' said "the noise made by these beasts at night" should in and of itself be "sufficient to induce our Commissioner to try a remedy."<sup>193</sup> He then develops the paradigm of the savage and destructive canine, lamenting: "two dogs gained entrance to the hen house in the rear of a residence on Carlton-street and destroyed no less than 34 valuable hens and chickens." To exacerbate the problem, these 'pests' destroyed vines and flowers before being heard by the property owner and the police. The dogs that entered the hen house and destroyed vines and flowers were disorderly and unpredictable. These dogs were destructive animals that were viciously destroying valuable personal property. As we have already seen in the section on by-laws and how they made the connection between human owner and canine pet more transparent, the unrestrained dog in and around the city of Toronto was believed to be destructive.

They were particularly destructive of livestock. Beginning in 1868, and perhaps even earlier, headlines in the 'News' section of *The Globe* consistently read 'Dogs have done great damage' among sheep in townships such as Norwood, Brantford, Woodstock, Scarborough, Napanee, and Windsor that were close to Toronto. The greatest number of reports appeared

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<sup>193</sup>"Destructive Dogs," *The Globe* 3 July 1880.

between the years 1879 and 1886. A November 1879 bulletin stated that Brantford farmer Henry Cole, “living a short distance from the city, had 13 sheep killed by dogs last night, and another farm south of Cole’s had 15 killed.”<sup>194</sup> An editorial running four months later on April 15, 1880, stated that “on the 24th of February last a troop of three dōgs invaded the sheepfold of Mr. Daniel Fisher, Jr., Bathurst, and before they were driven off seven fine sheep were destroyed by the canine butchers.”<sup>195</sup> These same dogs were not only responsible for wreaking havoc on the Fisher farm, but they also were accused of causing considerable damage at Mr. Hughes farm down the road. In 1882 Thomas Pratt, a Toronto resident, complained of having 21 sheep killed and 10 badly mutilated by dogs, while in 1883 there were four farmers who successfully made claims for sheep killed by dogs, with many others that were not so successful.<sup>196</sup> These are only a few of almost daily complaints in the form of news headings, editorials and letters written by frustrated farmers; they provide a clear indication of a very real problem. These animals were dangerous and destructive nuisances. For these farmers dogs were far from ‘man’s best friend,’ but rather, harmful ‘butchers’ that were threatening the farmer’s sustenance and economic prosperity. What is perhaps most interesting about the accusations directed at the country hounds was that they almost echoed complaints that were made against other ‘vermin’ such as wolves and coyotes.

This is perhaps best seen in the way that Brantford Township decided to deal with the canine problem. Out of all the counties and townships that were mentioned in *The Globe* as having farmers who lost sheep to dogs, Brantford was the worst. According to *The Globe* in November of 1879, Brantford County Council had to pay out 130 dollars for sheep recently

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<sup>194</sup>“News,” *The Globe* 10 November 1879.

<sup>195</sup>“News,” *The Globe* 15 April 1880.

<sup>196</sup> “News,” *The Globe* 2 July 1881; “News,” *The Globe* 5 June 1883.

destroyed.<sup>197</sup> Similarly in December of 1879, it was reported that the County Council had to pay out 283 dollars for sheep killed by dogs. In September of 1880 Brantford Township Council began offering “\$2 for the tail/head of dead dogs” and it was reported that they already had to pay out 64 dollars on this account.<sup>198</sup> Although this only works out to some 32 dogs the significance lies less in the number of animals exterminated, and more in the actions that were taken to deal with the destructive canines. There is a clear parallel between the methods used in Brantford to curtail the dog problem and wolf extermination practices described by Jon T. Coleman and Tina Loo.<sup>199</sup> Their work explains how in order to protect livestock, governments offered bounties for dead wolves. The extent of the dog problem and the extreme measures that were being taken by farmers to protect their flocks was also expressed in a letter to the editor printed in *The Globe* in November of 1880, by John Douglas, a farmer residing in the township of Adelaide, near Strathroy. He explained how he had some 21 sheep killed by dogs “belonging to the town one night last week.” He complained that nothing was being done to abate this dire situation and that “unless some steps are taken to effectively restrain such brutes from running at large, we have no hesitation in suggesting the formation of a vigilante Committee to take the matter in the hand and rid both town and country of an intolerable nuisance.”<sup>200</sup>

### Urban/Rural Divide

<sup>197</sup> “News,” *The Globe* 21 November 1879; “News,” *The Globe* 12 December 1879.

<sup>198</sup> “News,” *The Globe* 22 September 1880. Another method used by farmers to prevent dogs from attacking their sheep was to tie a bell “of the usual size” on every tenth sheep in their flock. This, it was believed, would deter dogs from attacking the flock because “the instinct of the dog prompts him to do all his acts in a sly, stealthy manner” and the “jingling of the bells strikes terror to the dogs” and they leave the flock alone “fearing the noise of the bells will lead to their exposure.” “Preserving Sheep from Dogs,” *The Farmer’s Advocate* April 1879.

<sup>199</sup> Jon T. Coleman, *Vicious: Wolves and Men in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada’s Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006). See also Jody Emel, “Are You Man Enough, Big and Bad Enough? Wolf Eradication in the US,” in *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* (UK: Verso, 1998) 91-119 for a discussion of wolf eradication in the US and Brett L. Walker, *The lost wolves of Japan* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2005) for a discussion of how western eradication techniques were replicated by the Japanese to wipe out their wolf population.

<sup>200</sup> “News,” *The Globe* 17 November 1880.

Douglas' letter hints at a growing rural and urban divide. The letter states that the dogs that were responsible for the damage to his sheep belonged to the town. More significantly, the tone of his letter and his pointed remarks criticizing the municipalities current methods of dealing with the nuisance also indicate resentment and tension that existed between the farmers and the governing bodies. This tension is also apparent within the bulletin explaining the situation of Henry Cole. Not only did this bulletin explain that some 13 sheep had been killed by dogs during the night, it was also explicit in stating that the sheep had been 'ravaged by city dogs.' The resentment and frustration that Douglas and other farmers felt came as a response to the lack of support that they were receiving from the cities governing officials. In an 1894 editorial titled "A Foe to the Sheep Industry" printed in *The Canadian Kennel Gazette*, the author stated that "in spite of the complaint of sheep owners, very little has been done by the lawmakers either in this country or in the United States to remedy this evil."<sup>201</sup> Despite the fact that John Dryden, Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, was able to place a law in the statute books that legislated that "any dog can be killed which is found pursuing, worrying, or injuring sheep," he was met with "much opposition." Moreover, the disregard for rural issues such as dog worrying and the killing of sheep can also be seen in the wording of by-law 575 passed in 1873. As previously discussed this by-law made it lawful for the dog tax, that was supposed to generate revenue to compensate farmers for their losses incurred by dogs destroying sheep, to instead be applied to the general purposes of the municipality.

As the wording of this by-law illustrates, the tax meant to raise money to help compensate farmers for their losses would be levied in Toronto and its surrounding suburbs, but that the money would be used for "the general purposes of the municipality." With by-law 1701

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<sup>201</sup> "A Foe to the Sheep Industry," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* June 1894.

passed in 1886, the Toronto's City Council did away with the tax altogether, despite the ongoing concerns and outcries of farmers within the city's jurisdiction. The lack of support that farmers were receiving for the very real hardships caused by dogs can also be seen in the minutes taken from a legislative committee meeting in February 1881.<sup>202</sup> In what was reprinted under the title "Civic Affairs," *The Globe* relayed the dialogue that was exchanged between the Chairman and committee members regarding a by-law "to compensate for damage done to sheep by dogs"

By-Law re DOGS. The Chairman— Gentleman, here is a bill referring to dogs. What is your pleasure regarding it?

Ald. Ryan— Throw it to the dogs. (Laughter.)

Ald. Boustead— Put him out.

Ald. Ryan— Mr. Chairman, do you think that we were elected to this honourable position to legislate on such base things as dogs! (Laughter.)

Ald. Boustead— What! man's noblest friend. (Laughter.)

The Bill was not considered.

Despite the fact that *The Globe* reported daily instances where sheep had been worried, injured or killed by dogs, it is quite clear from this exchange between Ald. Ryan, Ald. Boustead and the Council's Chairman that their troubles were not considered pressing. More significantly, the idea of legislating against dogs to these city officials was not only an unimportant laughing matter it is also conceptualized as being below them. Not only does this exchange, as well as the aforementioned by-laws, illustrate a clear disregard for rural issues, it also demonstrates the ever growing divide that existed between urban elites and country farmers.

While there has not been too much work produced on the tense relationship that existed between farmers and city dwellers, Keith Walden dedicates almost an entire chapter of *Becoming Modern in Toronto* to the way Toronto citizens represented "country folk." Walden argues that while gender, ethnicity and class are generally assumed by historians to be the most important

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<sup>202</sup> "Civic Affairs," *The Globe* 2 February 1881.

signifiers of identity, the rural/urban dichotomy that would have loomed large at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition would have also been an important point of difference for Victorian Ontarians.<sup>203</sup> He explains that while farming and farmers were lynch-pins in Ontario's economy during this period, they were often represented as being backwards, uneducated, country bumpkins who lived a life of toil and unhappiness. More specifically, Walden states that to many city dwellers, farmers and their families were tokens of a life that was fundamentally different from the city.<sup>204</sup> Whereas the city was fast developing, progressing and industrializing, the farmer and his farm were firmly situated in the past. However, as Walden explains, it was not simply city people who viewed rural folk as being different and defective, farmers and their families often shared unsavory opinions of urbanites.

While the main issue farmers had with dogs was that they were destructive and economically costly, lying covertly under their criticisms and complaints were specific ideas of the city and city people. This idea is perhaps best expressed in a lengthy editorial printed in the *Farmer's Advocate* in September of 1883.<sup>205</sup> The article entitled "Dog Shows and Agricultural Fairs" began by explaining that while there was an eternal fitness of things, the question of how a dog show can be incorporated into an agricultural exhibition does not appear to have a clear or easy solution. The author explains that "the very class of dogs" which were given countenance, space, prizes, and countenance at their local fair grounds "are the most destructive to the farmers flocks." More specifically, he explains that he does not see how the "yelping and howling of dogs" add anything but noise, disturbance and worry to an agricultural fair. What is perhaps most interesting in his discussion is how the author explicitly refers to the owners of these

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<sup>203</sup>Walden, 214.

<sup>204</sup>Walden, 200-214.

<sup>205</sup>"Dog Shows and Agricultural Fairs," *The Farmer's Advocate* September 1883.

sporting dogs as ‘them.’ While he does not clearly state who ‘them’ refers to, it is clear that ‘they,’ namely those men putting on dog shows, were not considered to be a part of the farming community. He goes on to explain that “the parties who run these ‘bench’ or dog shows ... are mere adventurers and speculators, who go around the country getting up these dog shows to make money, and to benefit – whom? Not the farmer.” And while he believes that dog shows may have their place elsewhere, he argues that “a menagerie of howling hounds and yelping curs should never be associated on the same ground with sheep and cattle.” Among other reasons, namely that sheep are terrified of dogs and are worried by their howls from even miles away, he states that the howling and ‘bedlamite confusion’ of the dogs ruin “the whole harmony of an exhibition.” According to this author, dogs were not simply a disturbance to the animals being exhibited, they also had no business or use at a fair that was supposed to be dedicated to the exhibition of skill and industry. The author was expressly creating a divide between those who were interested in the dog fancy and bench shows and those who participated in agricultural fairs. This idea is furthered when he states that “we think it an insult to the intelligence of the thinking part of the farming community to introduce the frivolities often met with at our shows.” Within this last sentence the word ‘we’ and the phrase ‘farming community’ is of particular interest. Here, much like the ‘them’ previously mentioned, the author is separating himself and the farming community from dog fanciers. In the final section of the editorial, the author makes it explicitly clear who he considers himself and the farming community to be set against: the city managers. He states that the fair organizers must have a low estimate of the intelligence of the average farmer, and that they must set him down as a “half-witted country lout.”<sup>206</sup> In conclusion he strongly states that,

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<sup>206</sup>Walden, 207. He explains that the ‘half-witted country lout’ was a common representation of farmers made by

Ontario farmers as a class are further advanced than people in cities, and if Dog Shows and Merry Andrews are the measure of city tastes, it can be assured that our intelligent farmers aim higher than this, and was their exhibitions to be for the encouragement of agricultural and manufacturing industries of the country, and not for the patronage of dog menageries and circus clowns.<sup>207</sup>

While this letter was undoubtedly intended to dissuade agricultural fair organizers from further establishing dog shows as part of their exhibitions, it was also very clearly a covert attack upon city people and their seemingly absurd tastes. Here the divide that Walden argues existed between city dwellers and country folk is expressed. According to this particular author, farmers, quite unlike urbanites, are dedicated to progress and modernity. Despite the fact that they are not living within the ‘modern’ city space, they are the ones who are devoting their time and life efforts to the ‘encouragement of agricultural and manufacturing industries.’ By aligning farmers with progress and seemingly worthwhile pursuits and city folk with ‘Merry Andrews,’ ‘dog shows,’ and ‘circus clowns,’ the author is sending a strong message to the *Advocate’s* readers: that dogs, and their city owners, are hindering Ontario’s development. Whereas agricultural fairs were established on the premises of further developing Ontario’s farming community and production of valuable livestock, dog fanciers are wasting their time parading and exhibiting animals that are not only useless with regards to agricultural advancement, but that are actually destructive to the farming industry. This idea of the ‘useless’ and ‘dangerous’ canine is worth exploring a bit deeper.

Dogs who transgressed certain boundaries were quickly excluded from the social fabric and treated as a wild animal. However, it was within these transgressions that we are given a glimpse at the historic canine. These animals that were responsible for killing 13 sheep in

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Torontonians. They were conceptualized as being backwards, hicks, and country bumpkins. I would imagine that this author was taking offense to this stereotype when he made this comment.

<sup>207</sup>According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* ‘Merry Andrews’ refers to a clown who entertains people with “antics and buffoonery.”

London, or entire flocks in Brantford, were not simply problematic because they were attacking personal, and indeed valuable, property; they were also dire problems because they were not acting as dogs were imagined and commonly considered to behave. Dogs could not be treated in the same way as a wolf or a coyote because the dog or bitch in question may be the beloved pet of someone else. Illustrating both the destructive potential of canine's and the complicated problems that arise when attempting to legislate against the dog problem was MPP John Dryden (who later becomes Minister of Agriculture for Ontario).

In the June 1889 edition of the *Farmer's Advocate*, John Dryden, MPP for Brooklyn, Ontario, asserted 'unhesitatingly' in response to the question "are dogs a necessity" that "the presence of a dog on a farm is not at all essential" and that "not one dog in fifty . . . can be proven to be of any use whatever."<sup>208</sup> He was particularly concerned with the animal's destructive nature and how it was hindering Ontario's economic development. He explained, that in the previous year (1888) in the riding of Ontario South "\$1, 000 worth of sheep were destroyed annually by dogs." More devastatingly he presented alarming statistics for the years 1879 to 1881:

In 1882 a return was asked for in the legislature, showing the number of sheep killed and injured for the three previous. Out of four hundred and eighty municipalities only one hundred and thirty were heard from, which is less than one third of the whole. In these municipalities the return showed that the number destroyed for the three years was 9, 943. Total amount paid \$38, 611.

In following these findings, Dryden argued that if these statistics were used to calculate the portions of the province that were not reported "the astonishing sum of \$154, 497 worth of sheep destroyed in the Province of Ontario during those three years, or an average of \$50, 000 each year," would be found. While the statistics that Dryden presents are alarming and present the

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<sup>208</sup> "The Value of Dogs," *Farmer's Advocate* June 1889. This article was reprinted in full in the July edition of *The Kennel Gazette*.

obvious damage that can be, and was, caused by dogs, it is his opinion as to who is to blame for this problem and how it should be prevented that is worth exploring. He explained that it would be beneficial to double the tax on dogs because this “would limit the number of persons, unable properly to keep themselves, from being the harborers of dogs allowed to prowl about the country at will.” More specifically, he explains that while “dogs of value” are generally “cared for and kept under proper control, it is the dog of no merit, except that he is MY dog which most needs extirpation.” This aspect of Dryden’s article, perhaps more than the actual statistics illustrating the extent to which dogs were costing Ontario, is important because he clearly asserts that there is a specific class of dog that was to be blamed for the damage. While Dryden is clear to indicate that it is the ‘dog of no merit’ that is the canine transgressor, his comments regarding the doubling of taxes so as to prevent those people who are unable to ‘properly keep themselves’ from owning dogs indicates that he is not simply blaming a certain class of dog for the problem, but also, a certain class of people.

This idea is perpetuated in a later *Canadian Kennel* article ‘A Foe to the Sheep Industry’ printed in 1894.<sup>209</sup> Here, the author provides an example of a case where sheep were worried and attacked by a canine team composed of ‘a collie and a hound.’ Despite the fact that he associates damage with the collie he goes on to state that “it is this latter class of dogs, hounds, that are very often responsible for the damage done.” These dogs he explains are “as a rule” owned by “so-called ‘hunters,’ who live in towns and villages, and who occasionally use the dogs for hunting rabbits.” His reference to ‘towns and villages’ here is telling. Developing the idea that it was a particular class of dog, owned by a particular class of people, which should be blamed for the destruction of sheep was avid and well known dog fancier ‘Mount Royal’ in an

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<sup>209</sup> “A Foe to the Sheep Industry,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* June 1894.

1889 letter to the editor of *The Kennel Gazette*.<sup>210</sup> By contextualizing his letter as an answer to Dryden's article, 'Mount Royal' explains that he believes dogs to be a great necessity, and that the question that Dryden should be asking is not "are dogs necessary," but rather, "what dogs" and "how are they to be restrained." In a later article entitled "The Question of Troublesome or Destructive Dogs," 'Mount Royal' offers an answer to these important questions.<sup>211</sup> Firstly, he explains that while increasing the taxes on dogs would most likely remedy the problem, it would not be fair to the owners of "high-class animals . . . which belong to the classes that are not allowed to roam at large at all hours of the day and night, and do not fall under the condemnation pronounced on the vagrants." By Royal's conviction, the only way that raising taxes would be beneficial was if valuable pedigreed dogs were exempt and that "all mongrels, especially females, [were] heavily taxed." However, he does not believe that raising taxes was the most effective method of dealing with the dog problem, but rather, that "the best remedy for any evil is to destroy its cause." In order to "set the axe unto the root of the tree," he believed in "educat[ing] the public mind up to the point of demanding only thoroughbred dogs or at all events valuable ones." By teaching the youth to understand and respect animals, and by increasing the number of dog shows so that they would be able to see "the higher class of animals," discrimination would soon follow. In conclusion, Royal states that "if properly-educated in this matter he [the man too poor to buy pedigreed dogs] would prefer to have none rather than a miserable mongrel." He believes that by allowing Nature's law, "survival of the fittest," to prevail the true qualities of the noblest specimens would be realized and the "canine evil" would be remedied.

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<sup>210</sup>"Cocker Types and Human Types," *The Kennel Gazette* August 1889. 'Mount Royal' was Dr. Wesley Mills' pseudonym. He owned Mount Royal Kennels located in Montreal and was a constant contributor to and advertiser in *The Canadian Kennel Gazette*.

<sup>211</sup>"The Question of Troublesome of Destructive Dogs," *The Kennel Gazette* September 1889.

## Conclusion

In the latter half of the nineteenth century unrestrained dogs became the center of much debate. These animals, it was explained, were not simply a terrible nuisance to city residents because they disrupted a good night's rest, but they were feared by local residents because they were dangerous, diseased and destructive. Their association with rabies, a disease that essentially turned human into beast, made masterless dogs extremely dangerous to citizens. Moreover, the problem with dogs in Toronto however was not simply that they were considered vectors of disease, but because they were disturbing the peace and the free movement of traffic, they were attacking men, women and children and they were also causing great detriment to the livelihood of Ontario farmers by destroying and worrying sheep. Inherent in letters to the editor, news bulletin and stories about nuisance dogs in the city are deeper concerns over the proper place of dogs in the city space. Due to the fact that they were disruptive, dangerous, diseased and destructive, they were considered a real threat to both public safety and public order, and therefore worthy of exclusion.

### Chapter three: From Pets to Products – Creating and Representing the Purebred Dog

The story of the official and emotional responses to the city cur is only half of the canine story that unfolded in Toronto in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As the proper place of dogs in the city was being renegotiated, a small group of industrious and affluent dog fanciers were re-constructing the way that dogs in general were conceptualized. Whereas the cur was no longer considered to fit into the city space, purebred dogs were being selectively bred for the physical and temperamental qualities suitable for city life. By fostering an infant industry catering in purebred dogs, Canadian dog fanciers began to establish the idea that not all dogs were created equal: purebred dogs were valuable and non-breed ‘mongrels’ were not. The ultimate ambition of the dog fancy, the breeding of ‘pure’ dogs for body conformation, show and sale, was to see a purebred dog ‘in every home.’<sup>212</sup>

While Harriet Ritvo’s work on the dog fancy in Britain has demonstrated that its development was inflected by the social aspirations of the middle classes, Katherine Grier has argued that this was not the case in America.<sup>213</sup> She explains that purebred dogs were simply another example of what sociologist Thorstein Veblen has termed ‘conspicuous consumption,’ namely the lavish spending on various goods by members of all classes for the purpose of displaying wealth.<sup>214</sup> I would argue that while Canada was influenced by both the British and American models, the phenomenon that Grier identifies replicated itself in Canada, with purebred dogs being consumed as any other industrial product.

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<sup>212</sup> Grier cleverly hints at this in her title for chapter five “A Pet in Every Home.”

<sup>213</sup> Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 85-93; Grier, 31.

<sup>214</sup> Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Viking Press, 1967) 35. According to Veblen even the poorest members of society perform conspicuous consumption: it was not strictly a middle or upper class pastime.

Finding its official beginning in 1882 with the establishment of the Dominion of Canada Kennel Club (DCKC), the Canadian dog fancy was dedicated to the “importation, sale, breeding, training, and exchange of highly-bred dogs.”<sup>215</sup> They were, as their mandate implies, creating, refining, and promoting a product that should be owned not simply by members of the upper and middle classes, but by everyone who wished to own a dog.<sup>216</sup>

Not blind to the war on vagrant dogs that was waging in cities like Toronto, fanciers were careful to represent their dogs as being everything that the city cur was not: clean, obedient, useful and majestic in appearance. Furthermore, like the modern city, purebred dogs were an ‘improved’ version of their former selves, both in body and character; quite unlike the gutter pup that was spreading rabies, destroying sheep and attacking women and children, the purebred dog was a civilized gentleman, produced by civilized gentlemen, for both the civilized and average man.

The next two chapters are concerned with two main questions: what made the purebred dog different from the ‘cur’ and how was the dog re-ordered so that it was made to fit in to the city? This chapter is focused primarily on the activities of kennel clubs, with particular emphasis on the activities of the Canadian Kennel Club (CKC), and it will examine how the canine’s body was transformed by fanciers into a valuable and recognizable product and how the purebred dog was represented by fanciers. As this implies, it will develop the story of the purebred dog as it was told by fanciers through the pages of the specialty publications *The Canadian Poultry*

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<sup>215</sup> “Letters Patent,” *The Globe* 12 August 1882.

<sup>216</sup> A point that ‘Mount Royal’ demonstrates when he explains that if people were educated on the value of purebred dogs, those who could not afford to own one would rather own nothing than own a mongrel. As his comments imply, the ultimate desire of Canadian dog fanciers was to see purebred dogs replace all non-breed others. Not simply because I imagine they firmly believed that purebreds were better dogs, but also, and I would imagine more importantly, they had a business selling dogs, a business that would not be so successful if the public at large believed that keeping a stray mutt was the same as keeping a purebred. “The Question of Troublesome or Destructive Dogs,” *The Kennel Gazette* September 1889.

*Review* (1877-1975), *The Kennel Gazette* (1889) and *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* (1890-1916).<sup>217</sup> As mentioned in my introduction, *The Globe* and *The Daily Mail* in their 'Sports & Leisure' section occasionally ran a 'kennel department' that reported the activities of Toronto's dog fanciers. Where applicable, I will also draw from the kennel talk and breed editorials that were published in these publications.

As a result, the story of the purebred dog that is developed in this chapter is told exclusively through the eyes of fanciers, namely wealthy middle to upper class men. As Kathleen Kete has noted in her study of pet keeping in nineteenth century France, "when bourgeois people spoke of their pets, as they loquaciously did, they pointedly spoke also of their times, and above all else of themselves."<sup>218</sup> In the context of Canadian dog fanciers, Kete's point holds true but must be nuanced to account for their role as breeders. These men were not simply dog owners or pet-keepers; they were also dog breeders and pet-producers.<sup>219</sup> Most of the men who contributed breed standards and editorials to the above mentioned publications would have owned a kennel and therefore had a vested interest in the positive reception of purebred dogs.<sup>220</sup> Furthermore, the purpose of a dog kennel was to breed a surplus of dogs for the purpose of

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<sup>217</sup>As mentioned in my introduction, these publications catered to a select group of fanciers and would not have been read as widely as publications such as *The Globe*. This makes them particularly important because they provide an in-depth look into how fanciers were conceptualizing their interest in breeding, themselves as breeders and the breeding community at large.

<sup>218</sup> Kete, 2.

<sup>219</sup>In many cases they were not even the breeders but only proprietor of the kennel and trainers of the dog. Most kennels would employ kennel hands that were responsible for maintaining the dogs. The fanciers would have been responsible for importing new stock, organizing stud visits, and showing the dogs. While this point is hinted at in the *Canadian Kennel*, Vero Shaw in *The Encyclopaedia of the Kennel: a Complete Manual of the Dog* (1913) provides the most cogent example of this in his definition of 'Kennel Man,' 120. While the hierarchy that Shaw is referencing was British, in "Kennel Management," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* May 1910, the author not only states that "a lazy, or indolent kennel-man may easily destroy the chances of success," but he also explains a successful kennel will also have a 'Kennelmaid,' who "must possess firmness and resourcefulness."

<sup>220</sup> A few examples of are 'Mount Royal,' or Dr. Wesley Mills, who owned Mount Royal Kennels, George H. Gooderham who owned Norfolk Kennels, arguably one of the most well-known and consistently advertised Fox Terrier kennels and George Bell, owner of Fox Terrier Kennels.

sale.<sup>221</sup> As they were producing purebred dogs to be purchased, the way that they were representing their canine products is important because it reveals to a certain extent how members of the middle to upper classes in Ontario may have been thinking about themselves. The purebred in this context acts as an example of what type of characteristics they valued and what type of people they were or wanted to be, and the mongrel ‘others’ symbolized what they thought they were not, or perhaps even, what they feared.

This chapter will be broken into two parts. The first will trace the creation of the purebred animal, followed by development of the dog fancy and the Canadian Kennel Club (CKC) and culminate in a discussion of breed standards. The purpose of this section is to examine how breed standards worked to transform the canine body into a visibly recognizable product. In the second section I explore the rhetorical function of purebred dogs by examining how they were represented by dog fanciers. I argue that the Fox Terrier and St. Bernard, two breeds that were extremely popular in Canada, were metonyms for particular social values and traditions that would have appealed to potential buyers. Secondly, I develop the mongrel ‘other’ to demonstrate how purebreds were represented as being fundamentally different from all non-breed others. The mongrel was in contrast to the purebred not well-bred, not well-mannered, oddly proportioned and an embodiment of unsavory characteristics.

### Section One: the Creation of the Purebred Animal

Although humans have been breeding animals for over 14 000 years, the tradition of selectively breeding improved animals is a modern concept that finds its roots in the eighteenth

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<sup>221</sup> “Notes and Comments,” *The Kennel Gazette* February 1889. Mr. H. G. Charlesworth, a Cocker Spaniel and St. Bernard breeder, is quoted as saying that “the demand is greater than he can supply.” Similarly, in July 1891, Major Guillot, a St. Bernard breeder, stated that while his bitches are some of “the most prolific breeders in the country,” he can hardly meet the demand. “Another Large Litter,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* July 1891.

century. Traditionally breeds, or what are known as types or landraces, emerged from particular geographic areas and with selection for particular purposes. As Harriet Ritvo notes, what initially “defined a breed was shared provenance and shared function, along with some degree of physical resemblance.”<sup>222</sup> Dogs are a particularly plastic species. As early as 4 000 years ago a number of types or landraces of dogs appeared in different areas and for different functions.<sup>223</sup> The Newfoundland, the St. Bernard, and the Border Collie are examples; their similarity lays in their geographic location or utility and they were more heterogeneous in appearance than the purebred we know by these names today.<sup>224</sup> Some deliberate breeding of dogs, as well as livestock, for particular characteristics occurred but until the eighteenth century this, as Jared Diamond and Juliet Clutton-Brock have both illustrated, was somewhat ‘hit and miss.’<sup>225</sup>

In the eighteenth century enlightened stock breeders and race horse owners introduced new scientific breeding methods; their influence would lead to the establishment of a new term for designating improved specimens: purebred. According to Margaret Derry, the purebred breeding method can be defined as “inbreeding by pedigree in order to preserve purity which in turn meant quality.”<sup>226</sup> She argues that the idea of a purebred animal took shape in the 1830s and that it developed largely from the efforts of cattle breeder Thomas Bates who fused together cattle and horse breeding practices that were popularized in the eighteenth century.<sup>227</sup> It was the

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<sup>222</sup>Harriet Ritvo, *The Platypus and the Mermaid and Other Figments of the Classifying Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997) 78.

<sup>223</sup> Juliet Clutton-Brock, “Origins of the Dog: Domestication and Early History” *The Domestic Dog: its evolution, behavior and interactions with people* ed. James Serpell (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 16.

<sup>224</sup> Just a note the Canadian Kennel Club recognizes ‘Collie’ as the proper spelling. However, often in the sources they are referred to as ‘Colley.’ For the duration of this thesis I use Collie except when Colley is used in the source.

<sup>225</sup> Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1997); Juliet Clutton-Brock, *A Natural History of Domesticated Animals, 2d ed.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 40 explains that “the production and retention of favored characteristics through several generations was very much a hit-and-miss affair” until the publication of Darwin’s *The Origin of Species*.

<sup>226</sup>Margaret Derry, *Horses in Society* 12.

<sup>227</sup>Derry produces the most historically cogent discussion of the development of the purebred breeding method because she expands her analysis to include horses. Ritvo, who was the first historian to note a historical change in

commercial breeders who had the most impact on the selective breeding, although, as Ritvo demonstrates, aristocratic and gentry breeders competed to produce massive cattle and other “improved” livestock. In the eighteenth century the most influential commercial breeder was Robert Bakewell (1725-1795).<sup>228</sup> Bakewell demonstrated that through judicious and careful selection of breeding animals, both male and female, based on desired type, the progeny produced could consistently and predictably fit a desired standard.<sup>229</sup> An improved animal became one that could not only grow to enormous sizes and produce more meat, but one that could consistently produce progeny of like size and composition.<sup>230</sup> This became known as the ‘progeny test.’ Bakewell also encouraged the strict inbreeding of desired type individuals. By breeding his animals back to their parents, a procedure known as “in and in breeding,” Derry explains that “Bakewell established a recognizable procedure for making breeds,” with his Leicester or Dishley strain of sheep, specimens that were like in weight, wool production and behaviour, being prime examples.<sup>231</sup> Bakewell’s achievements were measured, as Ritvo has shown, in the fact that the weight of both English sheep and cattle doubled in the eighteenth century under his method. Derry has argued, however, that his greatest influence was

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the rhetorical and actual function of animal husbandry, explains that horses were the first animal to have been selectively bred, but she does not develop how horse breeding practices ultimately influenced how later cattle breeders would define purebred animals.

<sup>228</sup>Bakewell did not simply ‘improve’ cattle and sheep. Derry explains that he “tried to enhance the strength of the Shire horse” not to mention the fact that he also ‘improved’ the meatiness of swine. Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 3. Ritvo explains that while Bakewell was pre-eminent, there were 15 or 20 other breeders of his caliber during his period, *The Animal Estate* 68.

<sup>229</sup>Derry, *Horses in Society* 9.

<sup>230</sup>Ritvo, 56. She explains that amateur gentry and aristocratic breeders agreed “that the most impressive animals were those that pushed natural limits or approached unattainable ideals.” Moreover, they often were not successful breeders, 64. Charles Darwin *On the Origin of Species* (London: Arcturus Publishing Limited 2008 first published in 1859) 22. Darwin demonstrates how influential Bakewell’s breeding ideology was when he observed that “no breeder doubts how strong is the tendency to inheritance; that like produces like, is his fundamental belief.”

<sup>231</sup>Derry *Bred for Perfection* 3.

commercial: “he linked monetary value to the very idea of breed and its contingent notion of improvement.”<sup>232</sup>

Race horse breeders contributed to the idea of the purebred animal by developing the first public registration system for animals, the General Stud Book (GSB) in 1791. The GSB was established privately as a way to establish and verify the age of horses for the race track but horse breeders came to rely upon it to establish the lineage or pedigree of the race horse.<sup>233</sup> Registration in the GSB increased the value of a race horse and over time registration came to define the “thoroughbred.” The GSB became a model for the registration of other purebred livestock: the General Short-Horned Herd Book was created in 1822 and other public records of registration followed.<sup>234</sup> The GSB impacted the purebred breeding method in two ways: the separation of thoroughbred horses by type from all others initiated a system that eventually protected intellectual property in living things, and a public registration system would eventually allow for an international trade in breed animals.<sup>235</sup>

The purebred breeding method was born when Thomas Bates combined the idea of pedigree with Bakewell’s inbreeding methods. Bates began choosing his breed animals not on the progeny test popularized by Bakewell but on the basis of pedigree, like horse breeders. After the establishment of the Herd Book, Bates argued that the designation of ‘pure’ should only be given to all animals resulting from the mating of registered animals.<sup>236</sup> Through his method of breeding based on public pedigrees to preserve purity and produce standard quality animals the purebred breeding method was established. As Boria Sax has explained, this type of breeding

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<sup>232</sup>Ritvo, 66, 68-69; Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 4.

<sup>233</sup>Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 4; *Horses in Society* 4-6. The thoroughbred horse was created through the mixing of British and Arabian horses and served the sport of flat horse racing, *Bred for Perfection* 5.

<sup>234</sup>Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 6.

<sup>235</sup>Derry, *Horses in Society* 6.

<sup>236</sup>Derry, *Horses in Society* 11-12; Grier, 28.

method enabled breeders “to produce animals that were specialized and uniform, thus conforming to industrial production.”<sup>237</sup> The outcome, as Derry makes clear in *Bred for Perfection*, was a healthy trans-Atlantic market in pure animals: by the 1880s there was a strong representation of improved cattle in Ontario and by the 1890s there was a healthy trans-Atlantic Collie industry.<sup>238</sup>

### The Dog Fancy: The Canadian Kennel Club

Following the establishment of the purebred breeding model in the 1830s, many different types of animals such as the dog, the chicken and the pigeon, attracted the attention of fanciers, who were intent on creating niche markets for their new purebred stock.<sup>239</sup> However, as Bates’ method of purebred breeding only identified animals that were maintained in a public registry as being ‘improved’ and ‘pure,’ it became increasingly apparent that breeders of other pure animals would have to establish public registration systems of their own. This need, compounded by the desire to govern breeding activity with the ultimate desire being the global standardization of breeds and a global market in purebred animals of all types, led to the organization of clubs representing various animals.

One of the many animals that were fancied in the nineteenth century was the dog and the dog fancy was highly influenced by the cattle and poultry fancy.<sup>240</sup> Many of the earliest dog

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<sup>237</sup> Sax, 83.

<sup>238</sup> Derry *Bred for Perfection* 73-75. Allan Bogue, “The Progress of the Cattle Industry in Ontario During the Eighteen Eighties,” in *Agricultural History* 21.3 (July 1947) 163-168.

<sup>239</sup> Gillian Feeley-Harnik, “‘An Experiment on a Gigantic Scale’: Darwin and the Domestication of Pigeons,” in *Where the Wild Things are Now: Domestication Reconsidered* ed. Rebecca Cassidy and Molly H. Mullin (New York: Berg, 2007) 147-182. Feeley-Harnik examines the pigeon fancy in 19th century London. Derry, *Bred for Perfection*, touches upon the connection that existed between the poultry fancy and the dog fancy in Canada and Britain. *The Canadian Poultry Review* was dedicated to the poultry fancy but officially expanded its focus in 1883 to include pigeons and other fancy pets such as rabbits and ferrets by adding a Pigeon and Pet Stock department. And in 1885 it added a kennel department that covered the dog fancy.

<sup>240</sup> Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 51-55.

shows held in Britain were held in conjunction with large cattle shows, such as the famous Bingley Hall cattle show in Birmingham.<sup>241</sup> Similarly, in Canada the showing of cattle so as to improve Canada's infant agriculture industry began in the early nineteenth century and it is most likely that many of Ontario's earliest dog shows took place contemporaneously with these shows, as well as early poultry shows. Not only were many of the first dog fanciers breeders of poultry, with the CKC's first president, Richard Gibson, being a prominent breeder of shorthorn cattle in Ontario, but prior to the establishment of the first kennel club in 1881 in New Brunswick, dog breeders were part of larger organizations such as the Simcoe Poultry, Dog and Pet Stock Association, dedicated primarily to promoting the breeding of poultry with a secondary interest in pet stock.<sup>242</sup> Furthermore, the 'organ of the Canadian dog fancy,' *The Kennel Gazette*, originated as a monthly supplement to *The Canadian Poultry Review*, and in both the *Gazette* and *Review* exchanging poultry for dogs was a common practice.<sup>243</sup>

The institutionalization of the dog fancy can trace its roots to Britain with the establishment of the first nationwide British Kennel Club (BKC) in 1873 when a group of men, and it was predominantly men until the twentieth century, became interested in breeding pure dogs.<sup>244</sup> In Canada, the dog fancy found its official beginning in August of 1882 when the DCKC received letters patent granting them incorporation.<sup>245</sup> Although the club's national

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<sup>241</sup>Corsinon, "The History of Dog Shows," in Hugh Dalziel's *British Dogs: Their varieties, history, characteristics, breeding, management and exhibition*, (London: The Bazaar Office, 1879) 175.

<sup>242</sup>"Shows," *The Canadian Poultry Review* February 1883. H.B. Donovan, the editor of *The Kennel Gazette/Canadian Kennel Gazette* began as a pigeon fancier. He published *The Canadian Poultry Review* and also maintained the 'Pigeon Department.' It is possible the Montreal Dog Fancier Association predated the New Brunswick Kennel Club. I have not been able to find any information on its origin.

<sup>243</sup>Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 55.

<sup>244</sup>Derry, 55-56. Mary Elizabeth Thurston, *Lost History of the Canine Race* 75 and Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 85 both argue that while the practice of keeping dogs for fancy dates back to the middle-ages it would not be until the nineteenth century when people outside of the highest social ranks would have kept dogs purely for companionship.

<sup>245</sup>"Letters Patent," *The Globe* 12 August 1882. Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 58. Derry states that the DCKC was formed in 1883 but this is incorrect.

objective was ultimately to establish a national registry for purebred dogs,<sup>246</sup> the organization would not live to see the creation of a national registry nor would it succeed as a club in general.<sup>247</sup> Between the years 1884 and 1886 Canadian dog fanciers united with the American Kennel Club (AKC), founded in 1884 in Philadelphia, with Canadian clubs accounting for three of the AKC's first 13 clubs.<sup>248</sup> The relationship between the AKC and Canadian fanciers, as Derry has noted, was extremely turbulent during this period (and after), and in 1886 Canadian members withdrew from the AKC to eventually form their own national governing body, the CKC, in London, Ontario two years later in September of 1888.<sup>249</sup>

The mandate of the CKC like that of its predecessor the DCKC, was to encourage the breeding and showing of purebred dogs, to formulate rules in order to properly govern dog shows, and lastly, but perhaps most significantly, to open a registry that would record thoroughbred dogs.<sup>250</sup> The CKC's first executive was comprised of 15 elected members: one honorary president, one first vice president, four vice-presidents, one secretary-treasurer, and eight executive committee members. Although the club ostensibly claimed to be 'national' in character it was predominantly made up of Ontario residents with a large concentration of Torontonians.<sup>251</sup> Unlike the British model whose membership "was to be limited to one hundred

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<sup>246</sup> "Letters Patent," *The Globe* 12 August 1882.

<sup>247</sup> When the DCKC dissolved is unknown. There is mention of the club in August of *The Kennel Gazette* but nothing afterwards. "Toronto Bench Show," *The Kennel Gazette* August 1889.

<sup>248</sup> Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 58. While the AKC was formed in 1884, The National American Kennel Club was established much earlier in 1876. Unlike the Canadian and British kennel club model, the AKC does not accept individual members but only other clubs.

<sup>249</sup> The Canadian Kennel Club, "The Canadian Kennel Club's first century," *Dogs in Canada* February 1988.

<sup>250</sup> "The Canadian Kennel Club," *The Kennel Gazette* March 1889. I find the use of the term 'thoroughbred' instead of 'purebred' interesting here as it seems to indicate an attempt to situate the CKC alongside horse breeding organizations. This idea is corroborated a few times in the *Kennel Gazette* when it is noted blood and pedigree in dogs "count the same as it would in buying a thoroughbred horse." "A Plain and Common Sense Talk About Dogs," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* January 1900.

<sup>251</sup> The national character of the CKC was consistently questioned by western members who often expressed that they felt alienated by the Club's Ontario center. "The Canadian Kennel Club Annual Meeting," *The Kennel Gazette* September 1889; "Notes and Comments," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* June 1891. Both articles were written by

men drawn from the landed classes, nobility, or royalty,” applicants for membership in the CKC had to be proposed and seconded in writing to the club’s secretary, and then passed by the executive.<sup>252</sup> While their constitution does not explicitly prohibit the entry of female members there does not seem to be a noted female presence until after 1910. In its first year the CKC had a membership of 70 men with a total of 300 purebred dogs registered in the *Canadian Kennel Club Stud Book*, which was published and distributed to all members beginning in 1891.<sup>253</sup> The club charged an annual due of two dollars, a fee that beginning in 1889 included a subscription to both the annual *Stud Book* and monthly *Kennel Gazette*.<sup>254</sup>

Both Ritvo and Derry have demonstrated that the British kennel club system was embedded with an inherent elitism. Similarly, the DCKC and the CKC was an elite affair. The first indication of this is in the location where the CKC’s executive first held meetings. In January and August of 1891, a reporter covering CKC meetings for the *Canadian Kennel*, noted that the meeting location was the restaurant in the Rossin House Hotel, one of Toronto’s premier hotels. According to M. G. Bixby, author of *Industries of Canada: Historical and Commercial Sketches of Toronto and Environs* in 1888, the Rossin hotel after being re-built after a fire in

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fanciers complaining of the western Ontario focus of the CKC. The Canadian Kennel Club, *The Canadian Kennel Club Stud Book* (Ottawa: Crain Printers Limited, 1923). In 1916 (the first year that the Canadian Kennel Club Stud Book listed its members as well as all the registered dogs) there was 1 358 members, 1 000 of which were from Ontario. In 1922, membership had grown to 1785 with 979 being from Ontario. Of the Ontario statistics for both 1916 and 1922, nearly 60% were from Toronto.

<sup>252</sup>Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 55.

<sup>253</sup>“First Annual Report for the Canadian Kennel Club,” *The Kennel Gazette* October 1889. The registry compiled the following information for each registered purebred dog: Breed; Name; Colour; Sex; Date whelped; Sire; Dam; Grand-sire; Grand-dam; Breeders name and address; Owners name and address; Bench and field trial records. “Canadian Kennel Club Constitution,” *The Kennel Gazette* February 1889.

<sup>254</sup>Beginning in 1890 a subscription to *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* cost members and the public at large one dollar annually. By 1916, the membership fee had grown to three dollars annually. Also, this early club fee included stud book registration fees, something that would again change by 1900.

1863 was “one of Toronto’s pre-eminent hotels,” serving the finest vintages and the most luxurious cuisine.<sup>255</sup>

The choice of such a luxurious location as the Rossin is perhaps unsurprising when the club’s members are considered. The DCKC and CKC’s membership was comprised of merchants, manufacturers, professionals and bureaucrats. This was a class of men who, as Andrew C. Holman has pointed out, could “afford to eat, drink, dress and live better,” and they could also afford the luxury of a purebred dog.<sup>256</sup> For example the DCKC’s first executive was comprised of the Hon. Edgar Dewdney,<sup>257</sup> an English born politician who was Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwest Territories and British Columbia (among other notable appointments) and good friends with Sir John A. Macdonald; the Hon. A. P. Caron,<sup>258</sup> who later became Sir A. P. Caron; Charles Robinson, a member of the Queen’s Counsel; the “king of Gatineau” Alonzo Wright,<sup>259</sup> M. P. for the County of Ottawa from 1867 to 1891 and son of lumber mogul Tiberius Wright, not to mention Lindsay Russell, an engineer for the federal government, Zebula Lash,<sup>260</sup> lawyer, civil servant and businessmen, and Dr. James S. Niven, a prominent figure in London, Ontario society.<sup>261</sup>

Similarly the CKC was a homogenous group of prominent agriculturalists, businessmen, doctors and politicians primarily of British descent. The club’s first president, Mr. Richard

<sup>255</sup>M.G. Bixby, “Rossin House,” *Industries of Canada: Historical and Commercial Sketches of Toronto and Environs* (Toronto: M.G. Bixby, 1888) 89.

<sup>256</sup>Andrew C. Holman, *A Sense of their Duty Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000) 32.

<sup>257</sup>“Dewdney, Edgar,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca) (accessed December 12, 2009). “Notes and Comments,” *The Kennel Gazette* December 1889. Dewdney showed St. Bernards.

<sup>258</sup>“Caron, Sir Adolphe-Philippe,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca) (accessed on December 12, 2009).

<sup>259</sup>“Wright, Alonzo,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* [www.biography.ca](http://www.biography.ca) (accessed on December 12, 2009).

<sup>260</sup>“Lash, Zebulon Aiton,” *Dictionary of Canadian Bibliography Online* [www.biography.ca](http://www.biography.ca) (accessed on January 20 2010).

<sup>261</sup>Lindsay Russell, 1901 Census of Canada; “Canadian Kennel Gazette Portraits: Dr. James Niven,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* February 1901.

Gibson of Delaware Ontario, was born in Belvoir, Leicestershire, England and immigrated to Canada when he was a young man. While he was intimately involved in the kennel club scene, he was a “prominent farmer and stock raiser” specializing in purebred shorthorn cattle.<sup>262</sup> In Delaware he owned a 300 acre farm, “one of the best in the county,” where he built a wide reputation as a leading man in shorthorn cattle breeding. Perhaps the most notable part of his Delaware property was his estate known as ‘Belvoir,’ which had been designed and built by Thomas Sent, a well-known architect of the period. In 1880 he was appointed to a position on the board of the Ontario Agricultural Commissioners and a year later he, along with M.P. John Dryden (later Minister of Agriculture), established the Dominion Shorthorn Breeders Association.<sup>263</sup> Gibson was a wealthy and respected breeder who traveled to important exhibitions around Canada and the United States to judge shorthorn competitions.<sup>264</sup> It was stated that among his other interests Gibson “devotes much attention to the raising of thoroughbred collie and fox terrier dogs,” a passion that eventually led him to preside over the CKC.<sup>265</sup>

Other notable members of the CKC included Dr. Thomas Wesley Mills, who was known in the dog world by the pseudonym ‘Mount Royal,’<sup>266</sup> was Canada’s first professional physiologist and a long-standing professor at McGill University who, in 1891, became the

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<sup>262</sup> Anonymous, *History of the County of Middlesex Canada* (Toronto and London: W. A. & C. L. Goodspeed, Publishers, 1889) 829-830.

<sup>263</sup> Bogue, 166. “CKC’s Secretary Report,” *The Kennel Gazette* November 1889. His relationship with Dryden may have been strained considering that Dryden was responsible for entering Dryden’s Bill that wished to see the tax on dogs and kennels doubled. In the CKC’s first annual secretary report, C. A. Stone stated that one of the club’s greatest accomplishments in its first year of existence was defeating Dryden’s bill that would have, if passed, made it so that “a man owning a kennel would have paid more taxes for dogs than his land.”

<sup>264</sup> “Fat Cattle to be Shown,” *The New York Times* October 1895.

<sup>265</sup> Anonymous, *History of the County of Middlesex Canada*, 830.

<sup>266</sup> Mount Royal was also the name of his kennel and he began each of his dogs names with ‘Mount Royal,’ a branding technique that was also used by George H. Gooderham, proprietor of Norfolk Kennels.

Joseph Morley Drake professor of physiology;<sup>267</sup> Dr. Alfred Boulton, who in 1914 would become the editor and proprietor of *The Kennel and Bench Gazette*; Dr. William Mole, member of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in England; and Kathleen Willis Watkins Coleman, or 'Kit Coleman' a well known journalist for the *Toronto Mail*, and George H. Gooderham, son of George Gooderham founder of one of Toronto's leading businesses Gooderham & Worts flour mill and distillery.<sup>268</sup> It was estimated that when George Gooderham Sr. died he "left an estate initially estimated in the press to be worth more than \$15 million," but his will demonstrated that he had approximately 9.3 million dollars.<sup>269</sup> George H. Gooderham did not simply come from a wealthy family, he was also wealthy. In the 1901 census, he listed his annual earnings at 5 000 dollars, an astounding salary for the period.<sup>270</sup>

As the DCKC and CKC's membership demonstrates, the small group of men who began breeding purebred dogs were some of Ontario's most prominent and influential men (and women).<sup>271</sup> They had deep connections to Canada's business community as well as important connections to both the provincial and federal bureaucracy. Perhaps most importantly, they possessed the money and time required to establish a healthy trade catering in fancy dogs in

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<sup>267</sup> "Mills, Thomas Wesley." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca) (accessed on December 13, 2009).

<sup>268</sup> Merna Forster, *100 Canadian Heroines: Famous and Forgotten Faces* (Toronto, Ont.: Dundurn Group, c2004) 69. "Canadian Kennel Club," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1903. This article noted that "Mrs. 'Kit' Coleman" was one of the few members of the 'fair sex' to attend the annual general meeting. "Gooderham, George," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* [www.biographi.ca](http://www.biographi.ca) (accessed January 20 2010). J.M.S. Careless explains that the Gooderham & Worts was one of Toronto's premier businesses, employing some 160 people by the 1860s, 109-110.

<sup>269</sup> "Gooderham, George." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*.

<sup>270</sup> In the 1901 census, Geo H. Gooderham, born in 1867, identifies himself as being of English descent and notes his occupation as being a 'distiller.' Under the category of earnings from your occupation he stated that he made 5, 000 yearly. On his census sheet there was one person who made 2 500 annually. Holman 28, explains that in 1886 the average yearly earnings in Ontario was 403 dollars.

<sup>271</sup> Andrew C. Holman, "'Cultivation' and the Middle-Class Self: Manners and Morals in Victorian Ontario," in *Ontario Since Confederation: a Reader* ed. Edgar-Andre Montigny and Lori Chambers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000) 109 notes that being a clubman was one of the many important roles 'manly' men performed as a way of establishing their authoritative relationship to both family and civil society.

Canada. While they ostensibly loved dogs,<sup>272</sup> these men were decisively businessmen whose entrepreneurial sense would contribute to the dog's transformation into a valuable commodity.

### Dogs as Cultural Products

Canine bodies once brought under the auspices of the kennel club system became increasingly improved, ordered, standardized, sold, purchased, exchanged, advertised and produced *en masse*.<sup>273</sup> Like other products, the 'naturalness' of purebred dogs was increasingly removed and the canine body was repackaged as being created by man. In *The Platypus and the Mermaid*, Ritvo argues that breeders had a complicated relationship with natural taxonomies: they required officially recognized language to help validate their breeds but simultaneously disparaged any suggestion that their strains were natural.<sup>274</sup> While they did utilize the zoological nomenclature that was developed by natural historians to identify and classify the natural world, they did so only to substantiate their claims for newly developed breeds. Rather than stressing the unity between the natural world and their domesticated 'specimens,' these men worked to emphasize their disjunction.<sup>275</sup> Ritvo argues that cattle and dog breeders presented their animals as being inherently plastic, and therefore, receptive to the influences of man. This was

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<sup>272</sup>I do not doubt that members of the CKC owned dogs that they developed sentimental attachments to. However, the majority of the dogs that were kennel bred would rarely have been seen by their owners. This was particularly the case with the most valuable dogs. These specimens often changed hands on a regular basis and at shows would not have been shown by their owners, but rather, professional handlers.

<sup>273</sup>Some of the larger kennels would have kept more than 40 dogs and bitches, not to mention all the puppies that would have been produced. Derry notes in her discussion of American Collie breeder J. P. Morgan that when he decided to sell his dogs, a value of over £50, 000, it was rumoured that it was due in part that his wife was sick of "the barking of over a hundred dogs," *Bred for Perfection* 84. As Morgan was only one of the many breeders that Derry credits with owning large Collie kennels in the US, and that this is only one breed out of many, I would imagine that there were many kennels in both Canada and the US that had over 40 dogs.

<sup>274</sup>Ritvo, *The Platypus and the Mermaid* 76-84.

<sup>275</sup>The unnatural feeling of purebred dogs was perhaps most epitomized through the use of terms such as 'specimen.' While 'specimen' was a term pulled from natural historians, it does not conjure images of living and natural life, but rather cold, lifeless and dead pieces of the natural environment that had been removed from their natural landscape and into the human environment. The very word 'specimen' seems to denote a sterile and unnatural object. The unnatural feeling of purebred also suggests that the individual was only important for the way it reflected its type or species.

particularly true of the dog. By carefully regulating all aspects of the animal's life, Ritvo explains, the outcome was a highly finished and artificially created product. Breeders became manufacturers and canine bodies became consumable in much the same way as a piece of furniture, literature or clothing.<sup>276</sup>

The dog's status as a cultural product was first noted by Thorstein Veblen in his famous book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. He argued that the conspicuous consumption of valuable goods was "a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure," that came to replace conspicuous leisure as the main way of displaying ones wealth.<sup>277</sup> A gentleman of leisure, he explains, freely consumed the "best, in goods, drink, narcotics, shelter, services, ornaments, apparel, weapons and accoutrements, amusements, amulets, and idols or divinities,"<sup>278</sup> with the performance of consumption being intricately connected to a person's ascent up the social ladder. While Veblen states that no class abstained from customary conspicuous consumption, he draws attention to the fact that the tenets of conspicuous consumption manifested differently in the rural and urban environment.<sup>279</sup> He explains that the transient effectiveness of consumption was more decided in the city where citizens, in a struggle to outdo one another, "push their normal standard of conspicuous consumption to a higher point."<sup>280</sup> Whereas in the pre-industrial city people were simply known through their social connections, or by the way they dressed, these old ways of knowing were being redefined by the dynamics of urban

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<sup>276</sup> Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance & Affection: the Making of Pets* (New Have: Yale University Press, 1984) and John Berger, "Why look at animals?," in *About Looking* (London: Writers and Readers, 1980) 1-26. Both argue that the desired modern pet is unobtrusive and able to blend into the home like a piece of furniture. Tuan explains that this is the reason why obedience is considered such a valuable trait.

<sup>277</sup>Veblen 32; 38. Notably, dog fancying was a way of displaying both conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure.

<sup>278</sup>Veblen, 32.

<sup>279</sup>Veblen, 35

<sup>280</sup>Veblen, 37.

expansion.<sup>281</sup> As the city continued to progress and develop, and the very nature of human relationships became changed by the material world, with even your neighbor becoming a stranger, it prompted new ways of knowing to develop.<sup>282</sup> In the modern city space, signs and symbols allowed people to *know* a person based on a reading of the signs that they displayed. Consequently, consumable products, both industrial and old world, became powerful signs and symbols in the modern city that displayed a person's social status, wealth, political proclivities, and culture.

It is in this context that Veblen situates the dog. Much like other domestic animals which served no industrial purpose, such as cats, fast horses and caged birds, the dog was valued for its temperament, beauty and servility.<sup>283</sup> According to Veblen it was the dog's inherent servility that made it particularly suited for the relation of status.<sup>284</sup> He explains that servitude, whether of a wife, servant or slave, had historically been the traditional way that male members of all classes displayed their wealth: with the poor man's wife and the affluent man's slave or servants performing the act of conspicuous consumption.<sup>285</sup> However, it was not simply the dog's role as man's servant that made it a vector of status, rather the dog, similarly to a slave or servant, was an item of expense that held a "well-assured place in men's regard as a thing of repute."<sup>286</sup> He demonstrates, that the dog was intricately connected to the broader market in cultural artifacts meant to display wealth, status, and culture. Much like other products, the canine could only be

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<sup>281</sup>This became increasingly problematic in the age of industry when knock-offs were produced *en masse*. As Miles Orvell has explained the real thing was no longer needed once affordable imitations became available. Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Immigration and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

<sup>282</sup>Walden, 24-25.

<sup>283</sup>Veblen, 57.

<sup>284</sup>Veblen, 57. Scottish poet Robert Burns' statement that 'Man is the god of the dog' illustrates this point further.

<sup>285</sup>Veblen, 35.

<sup>286</sup>Veblen, 57. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 88-89 also develops this point by explaining how the purebred dog's early association with the aristocracy and landed gentry was ultimately what attracted middle class fanciers to purebred dogs. *The Animal Estate* 88-89.

a potent symbol if it was standard and recognizable: what a St. Bernard and Collie looked like had to be standardized before individual breeds could speak for themselves.

### Breed Standards

In order to improve the canine body so that each breed became a clearly identifiable product all variation in the breed had to be removed. This was done in two ways: through the creation and dissemination of breed standards and the establishment of dog shows where dogs were judged according to how they conformed to predetermined standards. Whereas chapter four examines dog shows, this section will analyze breed standards.

Grier defines a breed standard as being “the set of specifications for the ideal physical specimen.” She explains that prior to the establishment of the AKC there would have been few written breed standards,<sup>287</sup> and those that were in existence would have been produced by British fanciers. The attempt to classify dog types was not unique to nineteenth century dog fanciers but dates back to the early modern period with the first known canine classification being produced by Johannes Caius in 1576. Caius, in a fashion that would remain characteristic until the establishment of kennel clubs, identified 16 different types of dogs separated according to function and class association.<sup>288</sup> Largely replicating Caius’ style in 1790 was the notable natural historian Thomas Bewick. In *A General History of Quadrupeds* Bewick identified 36 different types of dog and classified them on the basis of utility. While the categorization of

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<sup>287</sup>Grier, 28. Many of the breed standards that were adopted by the CKC, and most likely AKC, were established by British specialty clubs. The Scottish Colley Club produced the most commonly cited Scotch Colley standard in the *Canadian Kennel*, and according to Hugh Dalziel in his book *The St. Bernard*, the St. Bernard Club of England had a committee that reviewed different standards proposed by members of the club, from which one would be chosen as the one that should be followed by all St. Bernard breeders.

<sup>288</sup>Johannes Caius, *Of English Dogs: The diversities, the names, the natures, and the properties* trans. Abraham Fleming (Britain: Read Books, 2005). Caius was born John Keys but adopted the Latinized spelling of his name ‘Johannes Caius’ at some point. He was a well-known English physician who helped found Gonville & Caius College in Britain. Gonville & Caius College, “John Caius,” Gonville & Caius College <http://babylon.acad.cai.cam.ac.uk/college/past/ingram/historyjcaius.php> (accessed March 20, 2010).

dogs based on utility would remain typical for over 200 years, it would change with the establishment of kennel clubs. As the purebred breeding method was characterized by a concern with physical and behavioral homogeneity as opposed to improved function, the breed standards produced for purebred dogs were based on standard body characteristics.

Breed standards in the latter half of the nineteenth century were explicitly meant to define and ‘improve’ all parts of the canine body. ‘Improvement’ in the context of the dog fancy manifested itself in the canine body with an improved specimen being one that further fit the desired standard. Rather than basing breed standards on historically occurring characteristics, the early standards created for breeds such as the Beagle and Bull Dog were based upon arbitrary standards that kennel clubs determined.<sup>289</sup> As Grier has noted, the breed standards that were drafted by fanciers were largely determined by “the caprice of the moment” and were intended to further individualize breed types.<sup>290</sup>

While the efforts of kennel clubs decreased the variation in specimens of the same breed, with *all* purebred St. Bernards exhibiting relatively the same physical characteristics, variation among breed types increased exponentially. While the CKC in 1889 officially recognized some 27 distinct breeds, mainly composed of various types of Setters, Hounds, Spaniels and Terriers, by 1900 this number had nearly doubled to 46 breeds, with many breeds that would have previously been viewed as ‘foreign,’ such as the Poodle, finding official representation.<sup>291</sup> Today, the CKC recognizes an astounding 175 breeds.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>289</sup>Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 104-115.

<sup>290</sup>Grier, 31.

<sup>291</sup>In 1889 the CKC officially recognized the following breeds: Mastiff; St. Bernard; Great Dane; Bloodhound; English Setter; Irish Setter; Gordon Setter; Pointer; English Foxhound; Beagle; Irish Water Spaniel; Clumber Spaniel; Field Spaniel; Cocker Spaniel; Colley; Greyhound; Bull Terrier; Fox Terrier; Belington Terrier; Yorkshire Terrier; Irish Terrier; Scotch Terrier; Dandie Dinmont Terrier; Skye Terrier; Black and Tan Terrier; Toy Terrier; and

## Creation of Breed Standards

Breed standards were normally crafted by independent fanciers or specialty kennel clubs and then adopted by national clubs such as the CKC and AKC.<sup>293</sup> In the publications examined for this thesis the names of British fanciers ‘Stonehenge,’ Hugh Dalziel and Vero Shaw surfaced time and again as the authorities on breed standards.<sup>294</sup> ‘Stonehenge’ was the pseudonym for British surgeon and dog fancier John Henry Walsh.<sup>295</sup> According to William F. Stifel, author of *125 Years of Westminster* (2001), judges in the latter half of the nineteenth century were generally expected to follow ‘Stonehenge’s’ breed standards.

Similarly, Dalziel was a well-known British fancier who published standards on the Greyhound, the Collie, the St. Bernard and the Fox Terrier.<sup>296</sup> While biographical information is not available on Dalziel, it appears that he published under the pseudonym ‘Corsincon.’ He may have been a veterinarian or doctor as one of his first published works, like that of ‘Stonehenge,’ was on the diseases of horses, a topic that he also covered for dogs.<sup>297</sup> Furthermore, judging by

Pugs. In 1900, the CKC recognized many ‘foreign’ breeds such as the Poodle and Pomeranian. “Toronto Bench Show,” *The Kennel Gazette* September 1889; Canadian Kennel Club, *Official Catalogue of the Fifth Annual Grand International Dog Show* (Toronto, Ont.,: CKC 1893); “Toronto’s Big Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1900.

<sup>292</sup>The Canadian Kennel Club, “Who We Are,” <http://www.ckc.ca/en/Default.aspx?tabid=75> (accessed on March 10, 2010).

<sup>293</sup>Beginning in the 1880s, many specialty kennel club’s began to establish that focused on the improvement of one particular breed. For instance, in 1884 the Ontario Colley Club was established and in 1895 the Fox Terrier Club was established.

<sup>294</sup>William F. Stifel, *The Dog Show 125 Years of Westminster* (US: Westminster Kennel Club, 2001) 27.

<sup>295</sup>John Henry Walsh, “Diseases, and How to Cure Them,” in *Every Horse Owners’ Cyclopedia* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1871). Beside Walsh’s name it reads: F.R.C.S. (“Stonehenge”). According to the *OED*, F.R.C.S. refers to “Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons,” which was a professional qualification needed to practice as a surgeon in the British Isles.

<sup>296</sup>Dalziel was a prolific author and published eight books between the years 1875 and 1900. *Breaking and Training dogs* (London: L Upcott Gill, 170, Strand, W. C., 1875), *The Diseases of Horses* (London: A. Bradley, 1880), *British Dogs* (London: The ‘Bazaar Office,’ 1882), *The Greyhound* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 170, Strand, W.C., 1887), *The Collie* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 170, Strand, W.C., 1888), *The St. Bernard* (London: L Upcott Gill, 170, Strand, W.C., 1889), *Diseases of Dogs* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 170, Strand, W.C., 1893), and *The Fox Terrier* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 170, Strand, W.C., 1900).

<sup>297</sup>“The Colley,” *The Canadian Poultry Review* May 1879. This article was originally printed in the British gazette *The Country* and was written by ‘Corsincon,’ and it can be found in its entirety in Dalziel’s *The Collie*. This

the fact that his work was regularly printed in the *Canadian Kennel*, *Kennel Gazette* and *Poultry Review*, he must have been a well-known fancier.

In the publisher's introduction to the 1984 edition of *The Classic Encyclopedia of the Dog*, Captain Vero-Kemball Shaw was described as having bred, owned, exhibited and judged Bull Dogs. Not only was Shaw "the founder of the British Bulldog Club" but as such he would "have been one of the formulators of the modern Bulldog."<sup>298</sup> Also noting Shaw's influence was fellow fancier 'Corsincon,' who explained that Shaw was "the newest and most brilliant luminary in canine literature, whom all past and present dealers in doggy lore must, sooner or later, pale their ineffectual fires."<sup>299</sup> While Walsh, Dalziel and Shaw were not Canadian authors each played a key role in determining what standards the international purebred breeding community, including Canada, would follow, their work undeniably influenced Canadian fanciers.

Breed standards were also disseminated to kennel clubs by individual fanciers through the reading of papers. Often, these papers would be given by well-known and well-respected members of the local breeding community and they would combine the orator's opinions with standards that were produced by specialized kennel clubs, or fanciers, such as Dalziel. Breed standards reached the local and international breeding communities through newspapers and specialty gazettes. While in Canada between the years 1878 and 1916 breed standards were published in the *Poultry Review*, *The Kennel Gazette* and *The Canadian Kennel Gazette*,

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connection leads me to believe that 'Corsincon' was Dalziel's pseudonym and that he published books under his original name but actively published in gazettes under 'Corsincon.' Similarly, there is a drawing of a Pointer (circa 1880) for sale on Kitty Leibreich's Antique Prints and Maps site that is credited to: "Hugh Dalziel (Corsincon)." Kitty Leibreich Antique Prints and Maps, "Antique prints of Dogs,"

<http://www.kittyprint.com/KTP/HTML/Dogs.html> (accessed on January 20, 2010).

<sup>298</sup> Anonymous, preface to Vero Shaw's, *The Classic Encyclopedia of the Dog* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1984) xv.

<sup>299</sup> 'Corsincon,' 180.

American publications such as *The Field & Stream* and *The Collie Folio* and British gazettes such as *The Country*, *The Fancier* and *The Squire* ensured that Canadian fanciers were intimately connected to the international community and vice versa. Through these publications, Canadian, British and American fanciers began working towards establishing global standards for each breed that would ‘improve’ and standardize all purebred dog specimens.

### The Standards

In all breed standards that were examined for this thesis the dog was gendered male, with female dogs only being considered when discussing breeding and never when discussing the breed’s overall characteristics.<sup>300</sup> The standards which were set for each breed were traditionally organized in the following format: head (including expression); ears; eyes; neck and shoulders; legs and feet; general appearance; colour (and markings); temperament; coat, and in most cases, there would be a section on ‘points of failure’ or ‘points of disqualification.’<sup>301</sup> Often, each section would be given a numerical value which was used by some dog show judges to identify winning specimens.<sup>302</sup> For instance, one of the three potential “Scale of Points” that was presented by Dalziel in *The St. Bernard* (later printed in the *Canadian Kennel* in 1891) to be adopted by the St. Bernard Club of England identified 11 parts of the body each with a corresponding numerical value: Head and expression, 20; Neck, 5; Shoulders, 5; Chest, 5; Body and loin, 10; Tail, 5; Legs and feet, 10; Dew-Claws (as represented by fifth toe), 5; Size, 15; Coat, 10; Colour and markings, 10, to make a total of 100. As this point system makes explicit,

<sup>300</sup> The one exception being that dog show breed commentaries often discussed the qualities of both male and female dogs, but usually treated the males first and followed by a description of the females.

<sup>301</sup> The ‘General Appearance’ category was used in early standards and disappeared after the 1890s once standards became increasingly precise.

<sup>302</sup> Whether dog show judges should judge dogs based on a point system out of 100 or based on their own knowledge of the breed standards was a highly contested issue. Certain breeders, such as Dalzeil, argued that dogs should not be judged blindly but with a written code of laws. Whereas ‘Stonehenge’ favoured the traditional method of judging based on approximation to perfection, Dalziel and Shaw preferred a more exact and precise method of judging by points.

the animal's body was broken into various sections with certain sections being deemed more important than others.

Standards had to be as precise as possible because they were important didactic tools meant to convey to breeders an image of what an ideal specimen looked like, a point that was particularly important in the early days of the fancy when photography was in its infancy. Since by 1900 the *Canadian Kennel* was printing a minimum of two breed standards in each issue, this section will elucidate on two typical examples to demonstrate the standard. In one standard presented by H. P. Mullens to the Toronto Kennel Club in January of 1893 published later in the *Canadian Kennel*, the points of the Airedale Terrier are described:

The head, skull should be flat and moderately narrow, no perceptible stop except in profile, jaw long and powerful, rather deep and moderately square at the end. Mouth, level and teeth large. Eye, small, bright and dark in color with Terrier expression. Ears, V shaped, moderate in size and thickness, carried like a Fox-Terriers and free from long silky hair. Neck, fairly long, well carried and free from thoatiness. Shoulders, fine, long and well loped. Chest, deep and muscular but not wide. Back, short, straight and strong, the ribs well sprung. Loin, broad and powerful and well ribbed up. Hind-quarters, should be strong and show plenty of muscle. Tail, stout and docked and set rather high. Legs, straight with plenty of bone, feet round the thick in sole. Coat, rough, wiry, dense and free from curl or silkiness . . . Weight, dogs 40 to 45 lbs., bitches 35 to 40 lbs.<sup>303</sup>

As this standard indicates, every part of the canine's body was identified, broken down and known. While overall symmetry was an absolute necessity, the head in all breed standards was given the most attention. Mr. L.C.R. Norris-Elye, in 1886, explained that the head is "the point of first importance in every breed."<sup>304</sup> This was because "it shows in the most concentrated form the distinct characteristics of each race of dogs, as distinguished from others, perhaps alike in size, but differing in type." In the above standard, characteristics of the Airedale's head take up half of the description. While the language used in this standard was imprecise and open to

<sup>303</sup>“The Airedale Terrier,” *The Canadian Kennel Club* January 1893.

<sup>304</sup>Mr. L.C.R. Norris-Elye, *The St. Bernard* (London: L Upcott Gill, 170, Strand, W.C., 1889) 9.

interpretation in some areas, through the use of many descriptors that paid close attention to detail a clear picture of the perfect specimen is presented. Moreover, by pinpointing the particular characteristics that would make the Airedale distinct from other breeds, standards increasingly made the Airedale breed physically unique.

The way that breed standards homogenized breeds can best be seen in the Collie standard Mr. Leslie Gault presented in a paper to the Montreal Kennel Association in 1895.<sup>305</sup> Firstly Gault broke the Collie's body into 16 identifiable parts. While the description that he provided for each section was similar to the above standard, what followed the physical breakdown was particularly noteworthy. Directly after the point description of the Collie, Gault provides a section detailing the average sizes for an average dog measuring 22 to 24 inches. It read as follows:

Height at shoulder, 22 to 24 inches; length of head from occiput to tip of nose, 10 to 11 inches; nose to stop, about 4 inches; stop to occiput, 6 to 7 inches; occiput to set on of tail, 27 to 28 inches; length of tail, 18 1/2 to 19 1/2 inches; girth of chest, 26 1/2 to 27 1/2 inches; girth of loin, 20 to 21 inches; girth of head, 15 1/2 to 16 1/2 inches; girth of muzzle, 8 to 9 inches; weight, 50 to 55 pounds.<sup>306</sup>

This description leaves little to the imagination. Rather, every aspect of the dog's body is not only identified but also attributed to a measurable standard. While Gault did state that he did not believe that dogs should be judged by measurements, he does explain that when "given accurately they are useful in showing what is considered 'approved form.'" As the above physical breakdown demonstrates, the bodies of ideal specimens were carefully and meticulously mapped out by breeders with each point being given a specific co-ordinate. However, as the

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<sup>305</sup>"The Rough-Coated Collie," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* February 1895.

<sup>306</sup>"The Rough-Coated Collie," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* February 1895. It was typical for standards to provide these types of measurements for one or two perfect or ideal specimens. For example, in *The St. Bernard*, Dalziel dedicated a whole chapter to developing the pedigrees and measurements of the six best known St. Bernards: Oscar, Mentor, Simplon, Barry, Muren, and Tell. Providing the measurements for one ideal dog was extremely common.

canine body was broken into many identifiable parts, it was believed that each had to be perfect in order for the dog as a whole to be perfect. American fancier L.K. Felch in 1889 stated that “in all breeding we aim at perfection,” and to secure it, “perfection must be secured in each section.”<sup>307</sup> He implored other breeders to “let perfection in any one section be as sacred as any other.” As Felch’s comments indicate, each part of the canine’s body had to be perfectly proportioned in order for a specimen to be identified as being ideal.

Through the creation of increasingly specific breed standards, the purebred canine body became an even more regulated space, and in time, a more recognizable product. This was ultimately the overall purpose of breed standards: to homogenize breeds and make them distinct from all others. According to ‘Croaker’ in an 1891 *Canadian Kennel* article “it is the fundamental principle in breeding that types must be kept distinct.”<sup>308</sup> He cautions fellow breeders, that in the case of the St. Bernard, they were in danger of “shortening up the muzzle and increasing the width of the skull to a degree that suggests Mastiff type.” While the St. Bernard should be bred so that its head was as massive as possible, care must be taken to ensure that the breed remained distinct from those that were similar. Felch, in an article originally printed in *Field and Stream* and reprinted in the *Kennel Gazette* in August of 1889, echoed ‘Croaker’s’ sentiments when he said “I believe in fixed types for every breed” and that “when a breed is so side-tracked as to call to mind any other breed, it is all wrong.”<sup>309</sup> He was particularly concerned with the fact that there were Collies that called “to mind the Setter, Greyhound, and even St. Bernard,” which he declares was “by no means typical.” Likewise, Dalziel explains that “the formulation of standards is at least an attempt to give a definite

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<sup>307</sup> “Collie Standard,” *The Kennel Gazette* August 1889.

<sup>308</sup> “Great St. Bernards and Mastiffs at Home,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* August 1891.

<sup>309</sup> “Collie Standard,” *The Kennel Gazette* August 1889.

character to a breed,” so that the special characteristics of breeds may be defined and publicly known.<sup>310</sup>

Through the creation of precise breed standards that broke the canine body down into identifiable sections, the perfect, homogeneous product was produced. With breeders worldwide breeding towards a globally accepted standard the outcome was breeds that were distinctly recognizable: the St. Bernard, for example, becoming increasingly distinguished from all other large breeds.

### Section Two: Rhetorical Function of Purebreds

Dog fanciers were not simply concerned with improving the canine body so that breeds became increasingly distinct. They were just as interested in representing their respective breeds in a positive and desirable manner. They did this in a variety of ways. Firstly, they presented their breeds as being ‘all the rage’ in the old country, specifically Britain. Noting the breed’s connection to Britain was an important qualifier, especially before 1900, that was consistently used by breeders to increase reputation for their breeds.<sup>311</sup> While there were particular breeds such as the Fox Terrier and English Setter that were known as *the* British dog,<sup>312</sup> in nearly all breed standards examined care was taken by the author to note that the breed was becoming “quite fashionable” in Britain.<sup>313</sup> Two other techniques that were used by breeders to bolster their breed’s image, which will be discussed here, was to emphasize the breed’s natural association

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<sup>310</sup> Dalziel, *The St. Bernard* 42.

<sup>311</sup> Due to time constraints this section has been cut from the thesis.

<sup>312</sup> This was before the Bull Dog was claimed as Britain’s national dog. In the early years of the *Canadian Kennel* the Bull Dog was rarely if ever mentioned. However, by 1910 Bull Dogs and Bull Dog breeders featured prominently in both editorial coverage and the advertisement section. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 108-113, also explains how the Bull Dog was re-constructed so as to separate it from its bull-baiting past.

<sup>313</sup> “The Great Dane,” *The Canadian Poultry Review* September 1885. For example, in the opening paragraph of this article on the Great Dane it directly attributes the interest “on this continent” to the late interest in England. It then takes care to detail the efforts of the British Great Dane Club.

with characteristics and traditions that would have been valued by potential owners, while simultaneously representing the purebred dog as being superior to all ‘mongrel’ others.

As much as breed standards were meant to present the animal’s body in a map like format that could be followed to produce standardized specimens, they were also creatively weaving a story which portrayed certain breeds as being harbingers of specific values, beliefs and traditions. By emphasizing the connection between specific breeds and valuable characteristics and behavioral traits such as courage, good manners, obedience and benevolence, the purebred dog became a symbolic manifestation of the qualities that its human owner both embodied, or strived to embody, and in turn valued in themselves and others. Through an examination of the characteristics that were commonly associated with the Fox Terrier and St. Bernard by Canadian fanciers, I hope to illustrate that the canine body was more than simply a symbol of status and wealth, but rather, a symbol of culturally specific customs and values.

In Canada, the St. Bernard was undeniably the most popular of the non-sporting breeds in the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. Dalziel explained that “the St. Bernard has not merely held the position of first favourite . . . but [he] had increased his lead, and is now more widely spread throughout the country.” Furthermore, Dalziel notes that his English popularity has “smitten our American and Colonial relatives, who exhibit in his worship the fervency and ardour characteristic of all fevers of fashion.”<sup>314</sup> As Dalziel’s comments indicate, the St. Bernard was considered to be a fashionable British dog that was coveted by a colonial audience. The Fox Terrier was described in a similar fashion. “The most popular of all the dogs of the day is indisputably the Fox Terrier,” explained a *Poultry Review* reporter in 1885.

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<sup>314</sup>Dalziel, *The St. Bernard* 5. Dalziel similarly observes the popularity of the St. Bernard in his earlier work *British dogs*, “The St. Bernard,” London: The Bazaar Office, 1879, 248.

Echoing this same sentiment later was American fancier William Haynes who, in an article published in the *Canadian Kennel* in 1899, stated that this little dog “has been the most popular of dogs,” particularly in England.<sup>315</sup> Not only did the Fox Terrier and St. Bernard feature prominently as breeds that were commonly bred by Canadian fanciers in the *Poultry Review*, *Kennel Gazette* and *Canadian Kennel*, they were also always well represented at Canadian dog shows, particularly Fox Terriers.<sup>316</sup> The fact that there were many breeders of these breed types suggests that there was a demand for them.<sup>317</sup>

### The Fox Terrier

In an 1885 editorial written for the September issue of the *Poultry Review*, the Fox Terrier was described as having “more courage than any big dog, joined to which he has intelligence, good manners, good temper, and a singular taste for the company of man.”<sup>318</sup> Moreover, he exhibited “activity, vivacity, sagacity, temper, pluck, and hardihood” in the highest degree and he was “a true sportsman and a gentleman” who was “good in all capacities.” William Haynes similarly argued in 1912 that the Fox Terrier was not simply “the acme of beauty and symmetry,” but also “gamey, courageous and industrious.”<sup>319</sup> In an earlier *Canadian Kennel* article printed in 1910, Haynes states that Fox Terriers were “gentlemen sportsmen – at

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<sup>315</sup> “The Fox Terrier,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* November 1899. This article was later incorporated into his book *The Fox Terrier*. William Hanes *The Fox Terrier* (New York: Outing Pub. Co., 1912) 7. He also notes that the first real ‘boom’ in the Fox Terrier’s popularity was in 1886, 30.

<sup>316</sup> “Toronto’s Big Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Club* September 1900. At the Grand International Dog Show held in 1900, there were 45 smooth-haired Fox Terriers and 55 Wire-haired, the largest amount out of any other breed shown. Of the non-sporting dogs, the breed with the most number of specimens shown was the St. Bernard with 19 dogs.

<sup>317</sup> According to one Toronto breeder of St. Bernards and Cocker Spaniels, Mr. H.G. Charlesworth, the demand for puppies was greater than he could supply. “Notes and Comments,” *The Kennel Gazette* February 1889.

<sup>318</sup> “The Fox Terrier,” *The Canadian Poultry Review* September 1885.

<sup>319</sup> William Haynes, *The Fox Terrier* (New York: Outing Pub. Co, 1912) 30-35.

home in the drawing room, but delighting in the field.”<sup>320</sup> Already from the above descriptions the Fox Terrier is presented as being well behaved, refined and most of all, able to ‘fit in’ to human society. This sentiment was echoed in a description of Terriers that ran in May of 1886 in the *Poultry Review*. In this column the standard temperament of a Fox Terrier was explained as combining “sagacity, intelligence and courage,” with “an eager look, asking plainly for the word of command.” This “compact little person” was presented as being the most “sightly,” “obedient” and “useful” breed of canine. Similarly commenting on the Fox Terrier’s utility was Ontario resident R.H. Trimble in an 1886 letter to the editor, when he stated that Fox Terrier were “thoroughly game” and “capital watch dogs.” While he admired their working abilities, he also qualified Fox Terriers as being desirable house-guests when he stated they were “perfectly kind, clean and tidy.” Not only was this animal naturally intelligent and courageous, he was also inherently subservient, and like a gentleman, had good manners and a mild and controllable temper. This was not the type of dog that would go around destroying sheep or attacking women, but rather, it was civilized and obedient with the ability to follow directions, maintain control of his behavior, and conduct itself in a controlled and ordered manner. Making him even further suited for city life was his size. As Dalziel observes “his handy size admits of his never being in the way in a room,” and that he, unlike some of the other breeds, “did not get-up under foot or in the way” in the house.<sup>321</sup> Through this description, the Fox Terrier is presented as the perfect pet that was bred to fit in to city life.

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<sup>320</sup> “Fox Terriers,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* November 1910. Published later by Haynes in *The Fox Terrier* (New York: Outing Pub. Co. 1912) 13.

<sup>321</sup> Hugh Dalziel and ‘Pathfinder,’ *Breaking and Training Dogs* ((London: L Upcott Gill, 170, Strand, W. C., 1875) 131. Reprinted in “The Fox Terrier,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* June 1895. Similarly on page 140 he explains that the first duty of a companionable dog is the ability to lie down here, there and everywhere, depending on the spot designated by its master; a quality that is inherent to a true Fox Terrier. Tuan, 107-108. He explains that the ability to sit or lie down was considered the most valuable in a house pet because it, like a piece of furniture, could be rendered out of the way and under control.

The above commentary can be examined as a lesson on proper human behavior and etiquette. In *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots*, Louise E. Robbins examines pet-keeping rituals in eighteenth century France and explains how animals, both wild and domestic, have been used as literary tools to teach lessons for centuries. By drawing specific reference to the way cruelty to animals was viewed in eighteenth century France as a precursor to violence towards humans,<sup>322</sup> animals were simultaneously developed as characters in children's stories meant to convey lessons on humanity and kindness. Although maintaining her focus on exotic pets such as parrots and monkeys, Robbins also discusses how animals had the potential to symbolize empire, wealth and status. This idea is compounded by licensing systems and a kennel club structure that explicitly linked owner and animal. Ritvo explains that "the elaborate structure of pedigree registration and show judging metaphorically equated owner with elite pet."<sup>323</sup> While the kennel club system made the connection implicit, the wearing of collars made this connection explicit. Through these metaphorical and actual linkages of human and canine body, the dog becomes both a physical representation of its owner as well as an extension of its owner's own body that, like a piece of clothing, becomes a part of his, or her, cultural omnibus. The purebred dog that you purchased was an extension of you. In this way, the purchase of a Fox Terrier could have provided another way of re-enforcing and re-defining the type of values and traditions that were considered important.

The description of the Fox Terrier as being 'game' and a 'gentleman' is particularly revealing. Firstly, the idea of 'being game' speaks to the broader tradition of 'the hunt,' a British

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<sup>322</sup>See Coral Lansbury, *The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers, and Vivisection in Edwardian England* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) for a discussion of how this same trend developed in Britain.

<sup>323</sup> Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 93.

tradition that was firmly situated among the upper classes by the eighteenth century.<sup>324</sup>

Traditionally designed to be a hunting dog, specializing in bolting foxes, the Fox Terrier was intricately connected to the fox hunt that was at one time extremely popular among British elites, both in Britain and its colonies. Moreover, during this period in Toronto there was a prolific sporting community that was less interested in breeding dogs for fancy than for hunting.<sup>325</sup> By presenting the Fox Terrier as being both a sportsman and a gentleman, the author is drawing a clear distinction between who should own this type of canine, and in turn, what owning this type of breed would symbolize. By adding a Fox Terrier to their cultural omnibus they were making a conscious decision to display themselves as a sportsman, and therefore someone who was masculine, intelligent, adventurous, independent and affluent. Furthermore, by drawing attention to the Fox Terrier as being ‘a gentleman,’ the connection is made between the canine body and a specific class of society, as well as a specific value system: namely one that encompassed morality, cleanliness, and chivalry. These characteristics that were explicitly connected to pet, and in turn, implicitly associated with owner, also correspond to broader ideas surrounding identity and identity cultivation in Victorian Ontario.

In Canadian historiography, this idea has been most cogently explained by Andrew C. Holman. In his article “Cultivation and the Middle-Class Self: Manners and Morals in Victorian Ontario,” Holman discusses how good manners, morals and carriage were understood to be the

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<sup>324</sup> E. P. Thompson, *Whigs and hunters : the origin of the Black act* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975); Edward I. Steinberg, “The Imperial Hunt in Colonial Kenya, c. 1880-1909,” in *Animals in Human Histories: the Mirror of Nature and Culture* ed. Mary J. Henninger-Voss (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002) 144-181. Details the history of ‘the Hunt’ and how it was replicated in colonial Africa.

<sup>325</sup>“Sporting Club (letter to the editor),” *The Kennel Gazette* April 1889; “Sporting Club,” *The Kennel Gazette* October 1889. In April, ‘Sporting’ wrote in to the *Gazette* inquiring about what happened to the Toronto Hunt Club. In response to ‘Sporting,’ an anonymous writer explained that the Toronto Hunt Club was re-organizing. Furthermore, in the Toronto Phone Book for 1890 it lists the Toronto Hunt Club and notes that the current master was Andrew Smith. By 1895 there was no longer a listing for the Toronto Hunt Club but there was one for the Canadian Kennel Club.

most important characteristics that a middle-class gentleman could possess in Victorian Ontario. More specifically, he argued that “to the middle class, ‘good manners’ encompassed personal appearance, body management (or carriage), speech, emotional control, table etiquette, and disciplined spectatorship.”<sup>326</sup> Under the category of personal appearance, Holman developed the importance of clothing.<sup>327</sup> In order to illustrate good manners “clothes were expected to be simple, sincere, and bright reflections of the character of their wearers.”<sup>328</sup> Accordingly, the most ‘respectable’ clothes were believed to demonstrate “taste, reserve, dignity, and humility.” By this description, a person’s good manners were cultivated and displayed through the clothes that covered the human body. Much like a piece of clothing, purebred canine bodies were products that were carefully chosen by their owners so as to add to their omnibus of cultural signifiers. Similarly, as the collar and club affiliation would make the connection between animal and owner explicit, the canine body could be understood as not simply a representation of a gentleman, but also an extension of the gentleman’s body and as such a way of displaying ones good manners. This idea is corroborated by the inherent qualities that the Fox Terrier was believed to possess. Considering that the main characteristics of a gentleman was good manners and reserved behavior, the Fox Terrier acts as a physical representation of these desired qualities, as well as their re-enforcement.

### The St. Bernard

Whereas the Fox Terrier appealed to a sporting audience looking for a gentle family dog, the St. Bernard was presented as being an equally desirable pet but embodying different

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<sup>326</sup> Holman, “Cultivation and the Middle-Class Self,” 109. In *A Sense of Their Duty*, Holman develops these themes further.

<sup>327</sup> Walden, 24 explains that “language, dress, domestic accoutrements, public deportment” all worked to define middle class identity. He observes that dress was an important signifier of class and status in the pre-industrial city, one which continued to be important well into the twentieth century, 244.

<sup>328</sup> Holman, “Cultivation and the Middle-Class Self,” 110.

qualities. More than any other member of the ‘canine race,’ the St. Bernard was immortalized by its many scribes as being “the noblest breed of dog in existence.”<sup>329</sup> Unlike breed editorials covering the Fox Terrier that represented this breed as a hunting companion whose history was rooted in the fields and forests of Britain, St. Bernard lore spun a web of romance, adventure and mythology around this noble dog. According to Mr. J. P. Pitt, in a paper read before the Montreal Kennel Association, the origin of the St. Bernard is firmly situated deep in the inaccessible regions of the Swiss mountains. He explains that the monastery “from which the St. Bernard dog takes its name is situated in the mountains of Switzerland, and was founded in 1125 by Bernard de Menton.”<sup>330</sup> More than simply explaining that the St. Bernard was first bred by Bernadine monks, he creatively paints a picture of the Alps as being a desolate, dangerous and inhospitable place where snow storms “blot out entirely the all but imperceptible thread like paths, and render them quite impassable to the most experienced mountaineer.” It is in this environment where the benevolent and faithful St. Bernard was born: just like the wind, snow and ice crafted and defined the peaks so famously associated with the Alps, so too did these elements create the St. Bernard. This romantic description that characterized the beginning of editorials and standards of the breed, represents the St. Bernard as being inherently kind, noble, faithful and courageous.

These characteristics were presented as being intimately connected to the natural work that these animals were bred for. In his *Classic Encyclopedia of the Dog*, Shaw states that “the work in which he has been engaged for centuries has surrounded him with almost a religious halo in the popular mind.” He articulates that it is here, in his historical vocation, “where his gentle manners and the benevolent and magnanimous character which his countenance expresses

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<sup>329</sup>“Great St. Bernards and Mastiffs at Home,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* January 1891.

<sup>330</sup>“The St. Bernard,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* January 1895.

and his conduct endorses,” has been naturalized.<sup>331</sup> For Shaw, it was not in the St. Bernard’s nature to be savage, but rather, quite contrarily this breed of dog was docile, obedient, intelligent and, perhaps most importantly, a hard-working hero. Both Shaw’s and Pitt’s comments begin to demonstrate a clever way of representing a breed of dog that would have, quite unlike the small Fox Terrier, at first glance terrified the average citizen. Given that the average purebred St. Bernard weighed a minimum 130 pounds and were 30 inches in height or taller, emphasis was placed on representing this animal as being everything he may not have appeared to be: gentle, benevolent, kind and noble.<sup>332</sup> These characteristics were echoed time and again in other editorials.

In 1885, the St. Bernard was triumphantly described as being “easily taught, and obedient” with a “religious halo” that has led to its status as “general favorites throughout the civilized world.” Similarly, in an 1889 editorial written for the *Kennel Gazette*, the St. Bernard’s grand qualities were believed to have been “shown in their affectionate, true, noble and faithful disposition.” Dalziel explains that majesty of form and a benevolent expression have “long been traditionally attached to this breed,” a sentiment that was repeated in 1891 by an anonymous writer who states that “benevolence should be the striking expression on the face of the St. Bernard.”<sup>333</sup> A year later, in 1892, Toronto dog fancier J. S. Williams stated that the St. Bernard’s valorous deeds have gained them a lasting place “in the affections of civilized people

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<sup>331</sup> Vero Shaw, *The Classic Encyclopedia of the Dog* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1984, originally published between 1870-81) 53.

<sup>332</sup> Dalziel, *The St. Bernard* 87. He lists the measurements of the six most famous St. Bernards (Oscar, Mentor, Simplon, Barry, Muren, and Tell) and the lightest weighed 130 with the heaviest weighing in at 170, and the shortest was 29 inches with the tallest specimen being 32 ½ inches.

<sup>333</sup> [John Henry Walsh?] *The Dogs of the British Islands 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.*, ed. by “Stonehenge” (London: Horace Cox, 346, Strand, W.C., 1872) 171-174 also develops the idea that the key characteristic of the St. Bernard is benevolence and nobility.

throughout the world.”<sup>334</sup> He goes on to conclude that the St. Bernard displays a determination and courage that is “unsurpassed by any animal that walks upon the face of the earth,” and that because the St. Bernard has for nearly 1000 years been “devoted, almost exclusively, to acts of mercy and love,” he personally regards the St. Bernard “as the true Christians of the canine race.” This animal is represented as being fundamentally different from the Fox Terrier. While they are both praised for being obedient and servile, the St. Bernard appeals to gentlemen of a different type.

Undeniably during this period the sporting culture that the Fox Terrier embodied did not appeal to everyone. Constantly in *The Globe* were complaints over the cruelty of hunting with dogs, and how these vicious ‘hounds’ tormented their innocent prey. Furthermore, while the tradition of hunting would have been a popular trope among men, the association of the St. Bernard with both ‘civilization’ and ‘Christianity’ would have perhaps appealed to a wider audience as these qualities were not so clearly gendered masculine.

Through this breed’s historical association with the St. Bernadine monks, not to mention the fact that the standard facial markings were noticed for picturing a cross, it was clearly associated with Christian values such as mercy, love, devotion and selflessness that would have appealed to both women and male patrons. Through the romantic and anthropomorphic descriptions that situated the St. Bernard as being the ‘Christians of the canine race,’ breeders were making a covert commentary on the type of person that would own a St. Bernard, namely an upstanding and moral citizen. Furthermore, the emphasis placed on the St. Bernard’s civility, it was, contrary to the destructive and uncivilized city cur, a civilizing force as it epitomized the improved status of ‘modern’ dogs: they had been carefully crafted by breeders to be the perfect

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<sup>334</sup>“The St. Bernard,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* February 1892.

companion. Aside from being inherently gentle and Christian, the St. Bernard was “above all things, pre-eminently the watch-dog” and was “apparently able to distinguish between a thief and honest man.”<sup>335</sup> This same point is noted in *The Dogs of the British Islands*, presumably by ‘Stonehenge,’ when the author explains that in St. Bernards “there is almost always an instinctive dislike to tramps and vagabonds,” which makes them top quality guards.<sup>336</sup> This clever representation not only conveyed the idea that this animal, despite its large and imposing presence, was easily trained and inherently gentle with a Christian heart, but also plays on fears of the modern and dangerous city: you needed this large dog because it would protect your wife and children better than any modern technology.

“They are especially suitable as guardians of suburban residences, factories, banks and other large buildings,” explains a writer for the *Kennel Gazette* in 1889.<sup>337</sup> When properly trained, he states, the St. Bernard “will go the rounds of a building or grounds every few hours during the night, even more faithfully than a human watchman.” As this description indicates, the St. Bernard was not simply represented as a valuable pet because of its docile and Christian nature, it was also useful because it had an innate instinct to protect property and the home from the hostile and dangerous city. Kathleen Kete develops this theme in *Beast in the Boudoir* when she argues that the trend to emphasize canine fidelity in nineteenth century canophile literature speaks to broader fears surrounding the “troubling and problematic core of modern life.”<sup>338</sup> While individualism was a fundamental tenet of the bourgeois, in the ever private modern city where the traditional dynamics of community life were irrevocably altered, this individuality bred fears of dying alone and being forgotten. Kete believes that the notion of canine fidelity

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<sup>335</sup>“The Rough Coated St. Bernard,” *The Kennel Gazette* March 1889.

<sup>336</sup>[John Henry Walsh?], “The St. Bernard,” *The Dogs of the British Islands 4<sup>th</sup> ed.*, ed. by J.H. Walsh (London: Horace Cox, 346, Strand, W.C., 1882), 187.

<sup>337</sup>“The Rough Coated St. Bernard,” *The Kennel Gazette* March 1889.

<sup>338</sup> Kete, 36.

developed as a response to the supposed shortcomings of contemporary life.<sup>339</sup> In other words, “faithful dogs took the place of faithless people.”<sup>340</sup> Walden explains that similar fears existed in Toronto. “As cities began to swell in the late nineteenth century,” he argues, “so did concerns about the possibilities of urban existence.”<sup>341</sup> While he explains that members of the wealthier classes benefitted from urban expansion, “the new city” for all classes “was mysterious, full of dark, unpleasant, [and] hidden spaces.”<sup>342</sup> Furthermore, in the post-industrial city, even the open places were filled with strangers: in the wake of extreme population growth and urban sprawl neighbours became nameless and unfamiliar and the “broad social intimacy” which was characteristic of the pre-industrial city disappeared.<sup>343</sup> In this unknown and dangerous space, the home was perhaps the only safe place, and as the work of Philip Howell on dog-stealing in Victorian London explains, even this was under attack.<sup>344</sup> Much like Kete explained was the case in Paris, a faithful dog would not only protect your home and family from the dangers of the industrial city, it would also provide much needed comfort and companionship. Whereas the human friend was never fully reliable, the purebred dog of any breed was. Through better understanding how breed standards for the St. Bernard and Fox Terrier worked to infuse specific breeds with desirable characteristics and traits, the symbolic potential of the canine body becomes increasingly apparent.

### The Mongrel

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<sup>339</sup> Kete, 33.

<sup>340</sup> Kete, 25.

<sup>341</sup> Walden, 224.

<sup>342</sup> Walden, 225. Walden also explains that the city was conceptualized as being inherently diseased and dissolute, 233.

<sup>343</sup> Walden, 86-87; 245.

<sup>344</sup> Philip Howell, “Flush and the *banditti*: Dog-stealing in Victorian London,” in *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations* (New York: Routledge, 2000) 35-53. Howell explains that dog-stealing directly attacked bourgeois sensibilities and made the rigid line between private and public blurred.

In *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, Walden developed a dichotomous narrative of modernity and progress in the city: order was off-set by disorder and control was off-set by chaos. In maintaining that order in the exhibition grounds was always undercut by chaos, Walden presented a nuanced analysis of modernity in the city as being in a constant state of flux, or to put it another way, order was in a constant state of attack. Whereas the ‘others’ of the ordered and controlled exhibition for Walden were the drunkards, thieves and bullies who traversed its under-belly, the ‘other’ in the canine dichotomy created by dog fanciers appeared in the form of the low-classed and unrefined mongrel.

As Susan McHugh has pointed out in her book *Dog*, while the purebred canine was valued and marveled over by many, they made up an extremely small portion of the world’s canine population.<sup>345</sup> Rather, it was the non-breed canine that constituted the overwhelming majority in cities worldwide and it was this dog that citizens contended with most regularly. It was also this dog that posed the ultimate threat to the success of the Canadian purebred dog industry: why pay to own a purebred when you could own a non-breed for free? Not oblivious of this point, fanciers not only had to present their purebred dogs as being superior, they also had to carefully present all mongrel others as being inferior. The idea that a canine hierarchy existed was expressed time and again by dog fanciers as they had a vested interest in turning the negative attention that targeted dogs in general away from the purebred and onto the mongrel ‘other.’ Represented as being fundamentally different from their well-bred and well-behaved purebred dogs, mongrels were represented by fanciers as being disproportioned, worthless, uncivilized and unrefined. Although this canine ‘other’ appeared to be worthless, meaningless

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<sup>345</sup> Susan McHugh, *Dog* (London: Reaktion Books LTD, 2004) 133.

and valueless, it was only through its very existence that the fanciers were able to transform purebred dogs as being worthy, meaningful and valuable.

In 1889, in a letter to the editor of the *Kennel Gazette*, ‘Science’ recognized the dichotomy that existed between purebred and ‘other’ canines when he cautioned readers that when purchasing a puppy “always get thorough-bred animals, no mongrels.”<sup>346</sup> This same sentiment was echoed in 1910 in an article entitled ‘A Plain and Common Sense Talk about Dogs.’ Penned by an anonymous writer for the *Canadian Kennel*, this article advised, much like ‘Science,’ that when buying a dog it would be wise to “get a thoroughbred, for it costs no more to feed or give a home to a good one than to a poor one.” Immediately, this fancier presents the idea that not all dogs are created equal. Furthermore, he explicitly associates the mongrel’s body with feelings of embarrassment and shame and identifies this as being the main reason why it would be in one’s best interest to own a thoroughbred. He explains that if you do purchase a thoroughbred dog as opposed to a ‘poor one,’ then you “won’t have to apologize for your dog when your friends see it,” but rather you “can feel proud in being the owner of a good specimen.” More than anything else, the ownership of a ‘poor dog’ could be embarrassing and regretful, but the purchase of a ‘good specimen’ would be a matter of pride. Emphasizing the elite status of purebred dogs, he explains that “blood and pedigree count the same as it would in buying a thoroughbred horse.” Through the purebred dog’s association with the thoroughbred horse, this author is making a strong commentary on what type of animal purebred dogs were, as well as what type of people would own them. What is perhaps most interesting about the way this particular author separates thoroughbred from non-breed dogs is the way he identifies the canine body as having the ability to convey a sense of worth onto its owner. Whereas the

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<sup>346</sup> “Science and the Intelligence of Dogs,” *The Kennel Gazette* August 1889.

thoroughbred body elicits feelings of pride in the dog's owner, the mongrel in contrast is a source of shame. This idea is further developed by dog fancier Norman K. Swire.

Swire, who was the editor of *Kennel and Bench* from September 1917 to April 1919, was not only a well-known Canadian fancier, but he was also a respected breeder of British Bull Dogs. Swire explained in the *Canadian Kennel* in 1910 that "when one is keeping a dog there is a heap of solid satisfaction in owning one for which no explanations have to be made."<sup>347</sup> Expanding on this point, he states that the ownership of a thoroughbred dog has become even more significant because "more and more people are learning something about the points of the various breeds, and they are quick to notice a friend's dog." One major repercussion of this increased interest in the dog fancy, says Swire is that "friends are quicker to notice a friend's dog," whether for good or bad. He notes that while there is a 'heap of satisfaction' to be gained from a thoroughbred dog, "there is not a bit of fun in being forced to say that your dog is part spaniel and part terrier," or that you came by the 'cute little beggar' by way of the butcher. Furthermore, Swire cautions that while "even the most mongrel of mongrels, are attractive little chaps" when they are puppies it is "the monstrosities that some of them grow into" that one must be wary of. Inherent in Swire's comments is the idea that the mongrel's body was a source of shame and embarrassment. Elaborating further on the mixed-up nature of the mongrel canine's body was well-known fancier George Cecil.

In 1910, Cecil identified that the problem with the mongrel was that unlike the purebred canine that could be visibly placed into identifiable breed categories the mongrel's body was badly mixed up. "A creature which is cursed with a Water Spaniel tail, a Newfoundland head, and the body of an Italian Greyhound," he explains, can easily be defined as a mongrel dog of

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<sup>347</sup> "Advice on Buying a Dog," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* January 1910.

'low degree.'<sup>348</sup> He argues that the mongrel is "dashed with Fox Terrier or Bull Terrier, there are points about him which suggests the Tibetan sheepdog, the Irish Terrier, the Rampur hound, the imported Mastiff and the Jackal." As Cecil's description indicates, the mongrel's body was a disordered and mixed-up mess. This animal possessed points from many different types of dog and as such was visibly non-pure. In this way, one could not simply look at a mongrel and *know* what type of dog it was. Despite the fact that the mongrel's body was believed to be made up of an assortment of breed characteristics, Cecil argued that "whatever breeds may be represented by this mixed blood, the animal usually is long of leg and short in the body; and whether the ears suggest the Terrier or the Hound, they invariably flap dejectedly." According to Cecil, the mongrel was short, lanky and completely out of order. Echoing this same sentiment in November 1910's issue of the *Canadian Kennel* was William Haynes.<sup>349</sup> He explains that in America "the whole country is overrun with so-called Fox Terriers, unauthorized editions that bear but scant resemblance to the original." These fake Fox Terriers, according to Haynes, were "as full of faults as an alley cur is of fleas." While he explains that mongrel Fox Terriers had heads that were "short, thick in skull and snipy in muzzle," they also "always [had] crazy ears – either big, pendulous affairs like a hound, or else small and pricked like a Pomeranian." He concludes that "the real Fox Terrier is a very different looking dog." As Haynes and Cecil demonstrate, the real issue with these animals was that their bodies did not fit any predetermined standard.

The term 'mongrel,' according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* refers to "a dog having parents of different breeds" or "a dog of no definable breed resulting from various crossings." In

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<sup>348</sup> "Riviera Dogdom," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* November 1910. He identifies the mongrel dog as being the choice pet of ugly French women.

<sup>349</sup> "All About Terriers," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* November 1910.

the examples cited by the OED, the mongrel was cowardly, of low-degree and intimately associated with the wolf or wild dog.<sup>350</sup> The connection between the mongrel dog and wolf is made by Hugh Dalziel. According to Dalziel the mongrel's mixed-up body was not simply unsightly, but also a sign of its degeneration. In his explanation of 'throwing back,' the idea that a dog may inherit features or peculiarities of one of its distant relatives, Dalziel stated that this phenomenon of 'nature' was seen most clearly in mongrels.<sup>351</sup> He explains that "this, in the dog, is shown in the gaunt form seen in many mongrels, and in its most pronounced form often assumes that of his congener the wolf." Furthermore, he states that if "allowed to breed promiscuously, unmistakable traits of the wild dog will be developed." By Dalziel's analysis, a mongrel is not only a wretched and disproportionate animal, it has also through unmediated breeding degenerated away from civilization towards its wild counterparts. Through his association of the wild dog and wolf with the mongrel, he is presenting the idea that the inter-mixing of canine breeds does not simply produce a gaunt and disproportionate animal. Rather, this animal is not progressing or improving and by eluding domestication and the protective care of the breeder, it is actually digressing back towards its beastly ancestors.

This idea of 'degeneration,' explains dog fancier Dr. William Mole, can be linked to the fact that mongrel dogs, as opposed to purebred, are "invariably neglected."<sup>352</sup> In a paper read before the Hamilton Kennel Club on December 15 1890, Mole begins in much the same way as the other authors already mentioned. He explains, that while he believes that everyone should keep at least one dog, he does state that "in this respect, let the canine be the best that can be

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<sup>350</sup>Elizabeth Atwood Lawrence, "Rodeo Horses: the wild and the tame," in *Signifying Animals: Human Meaning in the Natural World* ed. Roy Willis (New York: Routledge, 1994) 211-223. Although examining contemporary conceptualizations of feral and thoroughbred horses, Lawrence explains that much like wild dogs, feral horses were described by breeders as being inherently smaller and weaker, with poor body conformation and low mental capacity making them hard to train and there for "good for nothing," 225.

<sup>351</sup>Dalziel "Breeding," *The Colley* 42-43.

<sup>352</sup>"The Origin, Breeding and Management of the Dog," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* December 1890.

procured . . . and by all means do not keep a mongrel cur, they cost as much to board and keep clean as a good animal.” Ritvo notes that in England this same sentiment was well established. She explains “as the stock of well-descended animals rose during the nineteenth century, that of commoners fell.” As the mongrel dog was disparaged as a non-pure beast, ownership of this animal had to be at all costs avoided. She states that in London during this period there was “manual after manual” warning “that a careless choice of pet could signal the owner’s lack of distinction and discrimination.”<sup>353</sup> Mole similarly develops the thoroughbred/mongrel dichotomy by arguing that the latter “are more liable to vermin and disease; they are, as a rule, dirty; they are invariable neglected, and consequently a source of danger to others.” What is perhaps most interesting is that Mole clearly identifies the degenerate appearance and behaviour of the mongrel canine with the fact that they were neglected. He states, as mentioned before, that mongrels were invariably neglected, but that “this neglect breeds all manner of complaints which deteriorate the standing of the canine race.” The point of contention for Mole with regards to the mongrel canine is not simply that their bodies are unsightly and mixed-up, but rather, that these animals do not know how to properly behave. By developing a clear dichotomy between the way that the well-bred dog and the mongrel behaves within the city streets, Mole begins to present a commentary on what type of dog was valued within the city space. He explains that “a well-bred, good behaved dog, walks majestically along with its master, taking no heed of the snarling curs.” More importantly, if any of these beasts should “attempt a liberty by too closely fraternizing, a sharp bite soon sends him about his business.” However, in contrast, the “mongrel will associate with every dog that comes along, inviting him to play and gambol like many a rude animal of the larger growth.” By Mole’s description, the mongrel within the city space behaves in an unruly, unregulated and unrestrained manner. It moves about the city

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<sup>353</sup>Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 91.

'gamboling' and 'playing,' but also snipping and snapping at any other dog or master that crosses its path. Inherent in Mole's description is an idea of what type of dog was valued within the city, namely one that was under control. However, while Mole is clearly providing an interesting commentary on the dog in the city, often at times it is hard to tell whether the dog within Mole's account is an animal or a human zipped in furry garb. Deeply intertwined with Mole and Dalziel's earlier commentary are specific ideas regarding the way one should behave within the city, but also, the idea that the inter-mixing of races and classes was frowned upon. More than simply commenting on the need to separate the classes, these fanciers are also expressly communicating through the mongrel the idea that one should behave, whether within the city space or the privacy of one's home, in a controlled manner.

For Mole, the mongrel dog is particularly problematic because it does not possess the ability to recognize its social betters and is feared because it possesses the ability to move freely between the classes. This idea is identified by Susan McHugh when she explains how the stray, non-breed dog was often intimately associated with the flâneur. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a "flâneur" was "a loungeur or saunterer, an idle man about town." As this definition hints at this man was conceptualized as having the freedom to wander about the town as he pleased. McHugh explains that, like the flâneur, the non-breed canine embodied freedom of movement in the urban space, a type of freedom that could be exercised among different classes.<sup>354</sup> When Mole states that a negative quality in the mongrel dog is that it "will associate with every dog that comes along," he is covertly expressing both the idea that people from different classes should not be fraternizing, but also that the mongrel dog and mongrel person disregarded this point. More than simply stating that members of different classes should

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<sup>354</sup>McHugh, 133.

maintain a safe distance, Mole is also presenting the idea that members of the lower classes do not know how to properly behave. Through his analysis of the mongrel dog's behaviour he explicitly illustrates that he is not speaking of strictly mongrel dogs but also mongrelized people when he states "the mongrel will associate with every dog that comes along, inviting him off to play, and gambol like many a rude animal of the larger growth." Inherent in this last comment is the idea that this 'rude' human animal did not possess cultivated manners. As Holman explains, the "golden rule, in manners as in much of middle-class culture, was self-control." When in the public space, the middle-class gentleman was expected to behave in a controlled and dignified manner, and that all acts of "buffoonery and clownishness" were decried.

In Toronto during this period, as was demonstrated in the first chapter, behaving in a controlled manner when out in the public space was not simply a respectable countenance, but the law. According to by-law 467 passed in 1868 there were rules and etiquettes that must be followed on both the streets and sidewalks. In section three, it stipulated that "three or more people shall not stand in a group or near to each other on any street or sidewalk in such a manner as to obstruct a free passage." Furthermore, no person was permitted to "run or race on the street or sidewalks so as to create discomfort, disturbance, or confusion."<sup>355</sup> As this by-law implies, there was a particular way that one was supposed to conduct themselves while in the public space: in an orderly and composed fashion. Both the human and mongrel animal that Mole identifies were problematic because they not only misbehaved while in public, but through their invitations of 'play' and 'gamboling' they were also encouraging others to act inappropriately.

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<sup>355</sup>Toronto City Council, By-law 467, "for the Regulation of the Streets, Sidewalks and Thoroughfares of the City of Toronto," 1868-10-26 (Toronto: Toronto City Archives).

The association of the mongrel dog and the lower-classes is done quite explicitly in the remainder of Swire's article.<sup>356</sup>

Swire also links the mongrel with the lower classes. He argues that the unfortunate mongrel dog which one must make explanations for was procured from 'a butcher.' By identifying the butcher as being a possible 'dealer' of ragged and mongrelized canines, he is making a certain commentary on what type of person the butcher was believed to be. In *From Animal to Edible*, Noelle Vialles explains that there were deep seated ancestral taboos about blood "which in the Middle Ages put butcher in the same category as executioners, barbers and surgeons."<sup>357</sup> Similarly, Ritvo explains that in London butchers were a class of men that were not only believed to have been violent and disruptive, but also owners of dangerous dogs.<sup>358</sup> Furthermore, as Philo and Joyce demonstrate, the meat market in the nineteenth century became increasingly conceptualized as an immoral, dirty and dangerous space and that these representations led people to perceive those who lived in and around the meat market, namely butchers, as being corrupt and immoral individuals.<sup>359</sup> However, while the connection that Swire makes here between the mongrel and the lower classes is arguably covert, within the second part of his article he is far more explicit.

Firstly, he explains that the "thoroughbred has behind him generations of good care, proper associations and sound healthy ancestors." By this assertion, Swire is not only separating the purebred and mongrel apart, he is also asserting that the mongrel, as Mole explained, was inherently neglected. More specifically, through this simple sentence Swire creates a clear picture of what a mongrel was conceived to be, but also, who was believed to own this animal.

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<sup>356</sup>"Advice on Buying a Dog," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* January 1910.

<sup>357</sup>Noelle Vialles, *From Animal to Edible* 5-6.

<sup>358</sup>Ritvo, *The Animal Estate* 177.

<sup>359</sup>Philo, "Animals, Geography, and the City," 59-67; Joyce, 76-93.

According to Swire's logic, since the thoroughbred has 'generations' of 'proper associations' and 'healthy ancestors,' then all other non-thoroughbred canines had generations of poor associations and unhealthy ancestors. Swire makes the idea of 'poor associations' even more concrete when he propounds that the "gutter pup may have the sharpness of the street Arab" but a "real dog has the intelligence of your own children." This last sentence is worth exploring further. In this final sentence both class and race are not implicitly implied, but rather, they are explicitly stated. By Swire's admission, the 'gutter pup' and the 'street Arab,' defined in the *OED* as "a homeless little wanderer [or] child of the street," shared the same intelligence as well as living space.<sup>360</sup> By stating that the gutter dog and street Arab were 'sharp,' the implication is also made that they need to be stealthy and sneaky in order to survive life on the street. In conclusion, Swire argues that contrary to the "wheezing nondescripts" and "flea-bitten, mangy curs" the thoroughbred "has better brains, better instincts and better manners. He is, in fact, well-bred in all that those words mean." Within this final analysis, Swire clearly states that the canine 'other' was unhealthy, unattractive, unintelligent, and ill-mannered. Moreover, in examining the mongrel dog as a stand-in for the mongrelized human, Swire presents a clear commentary on how members of the upper classes were viewed as being fundamentally better. This idea is important because it draws attention to broader discussions that were taking place during this period surrounding eugenics and Social Darwinism.

The term 'mongrel' was not confined to animals, but was also used as a derogatory term towards "a person of mixed descent; a person whose parents are of different nationalities; a person whose parents are of differing social status."<sup>361</sup> More than simply referring to a person or dog who might be of mixed-descent, this term was used as an insult towards members of other

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<sup>360</sup> 'Street Arab,' *OED*.

<sup>361</sup> "Mongrel," *OED*.

races or classes. By Swire's explicit argument that the purebred dog possessed better brains, manners and instincts this animal surfaces as being superior, progressive and the epitome of civilization. In recognizing that this pure canine body was a physical representation of its master's beliefs, virtues and status, it could be argued that Swire was making a clear correlation between the superior dog and the similarly superior man who owned it. Now this idea is particularly telling when we again consider Dalziel. By his assertion, those animals that are allowed to breed 'promiscuously,' thereby producing mongrels would be degenerating back towards their wild ancestor the wolf. Contrarily to the purebred that was improving intellectually, behaviorally and structurally, the mongrel dog because of its promiscuous and uncontrolled nature was digressing away from civilization. This idea of the mongrel dog as being non-progressive has been illustrated in a number of ways. Firstly, as we have seen, the mongrel dog's body was believed to be mixed-up and degenerative. Unlike the structurally superior and improved purebred body, the mongrel's body was unhealthy, unsound and of poor constitution. Moreover, as we have seen through Mole's account, the mongrel was believed to exhibit poor behaviour, and in this way they were degenerating the good name earned by improved members of the 'canine race.' Lastly, this animal, was intellectually inferior to the thoroughbred dog that had the 'intelligence of your own child.' In all ways this dog was viewed to be uncivilized and subordinate to the superior purebred. Inherent within this strict dichotomy are deeply set ideas surrounding control and the degenerate lower-classes.

### Conclusion

With the institutionalization of the canine fancy, dogs were increasingly transformed into products. Through the creation and distribution of breed standards, fanciers broke the canine body down into various sections meant to convey to the mind an idea of what an ideal specimen

looked like. By breeding towards a predetermined standard, breeders standardized animals in breeds so that they became increasingly recognizable to the public at large. As part of this process, fanciers carefully represented their purebred specimens as being inherently superior to all mongrel others. They were well-bred, well-mannered and intimately associated with valuable characteristics that would have appealed to their audience. While fanciers were careful to represent their purebred dogs as being everything that the city cur was not: clean, civilized and refined, they also degraded all 'mongrels' as being dirty, uncivilized and unrefined. The purebred, like other products, became standardized, steeped with symbolism and meaning, meant for public consumption, and intricately associated with ideas of improvement and progress.

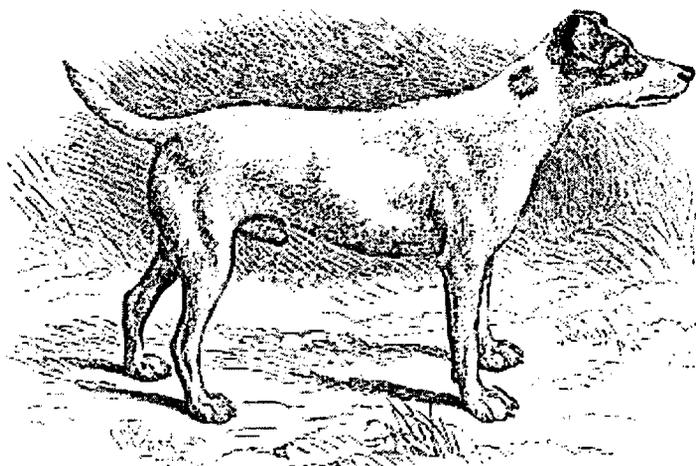


Figure 2 – Dalziel, “The Fox Terrier,” *British Dogs*, 289.

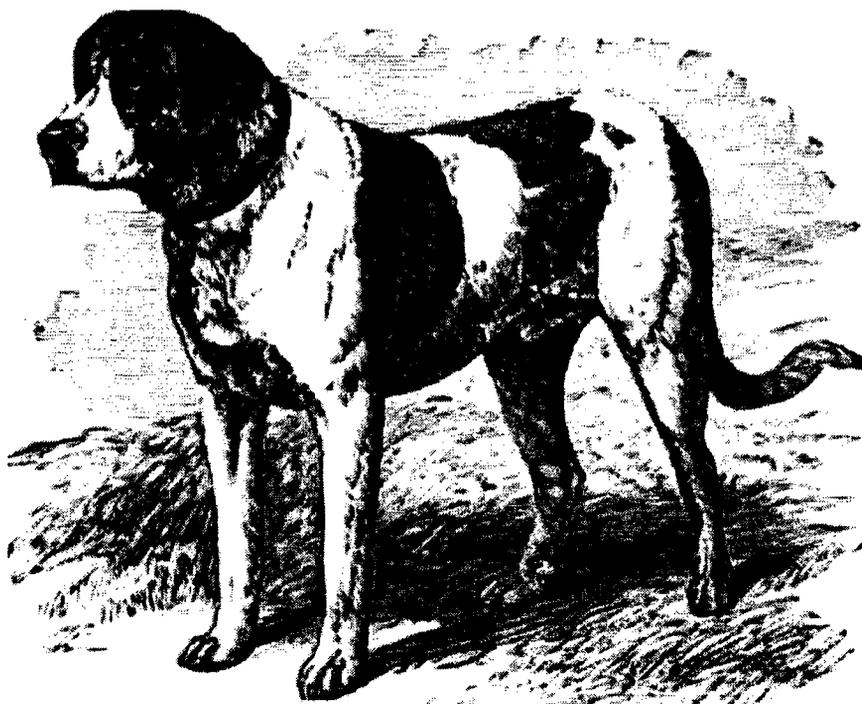


Figure 3-- “Rough-Coated St. Bernard,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1890.

## Chapter four: Exhibiting Purebred Canine Bodies, The Toronto Dog Show, 1879-1910

While ownerless dogs were being exiled to the closed and private dog pound where they were rendered invisible, purebred dogs were being placed on display at dog shows and made completely visible to the public. Dog shows were one of the most important corollaries of the dog fancy. Not only was the dog show where breeders established the specific points of each breed that went into official standards, it was also in this space where purebred dogs were presented to the public as being improved versions of the canine race as well as economically valuable. While dog shows proliferated across Ontario between the years 1870 and 1910 this chapter will focus on the dog shows that were held in conjunction with the Toronto Industrial Exhibition: the Toronto Dog Show (1879-1888), the Grand International Dog Show (1889-1910) and the Canadian National Dog Show (1910-). I chose to focus on the Toronto Dog Show not simply because it was the largest in Canada, but also because the purebred dog's presence at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition is a testament to the fact that these animals, like the other industrial products featured at the Exhibition, were made to fit into the modern city.

The Toronto Dog Show was covered sporadically in the pages of *The Globe*, *The Daily Mail* (which became *The Daily Mail and Empire* in 1896), and *The Evening News*.<sup>362</sup> The coverage that the Dog Show received was non-continuous in *The Globe* and *The Evening News* but was quite consistent in the *Daily Mail*.<sup>363</sup> Usually, commentary on the Dog Show fell under the 'Industrial Exhibition' section and in a few cases, particularly in the *Daily Mail*, it was also

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<sup>362</sup>*Forest & Stream* and *The Fancier Gazette* also covered the show but I was unable to search these publications.

<sup>363</sup>The daily mail covered the 1880, 1884, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1896, and 1897 Dog Shows, and both *The Globe* and *Evening News* covered sporadic shows.

covered in the 'Sports & Pastimes' section.<sup>364</sup> Beginning in 1889 with the establishment of *The Kennel Gazette* and later *The Canadian Kennel Gazette*, the Dog Show was covered consistently and extensively by various Canadian dog fanciers. Dedicating nearly five pages in both September's and October's issues each year, the *Canadian Kennel* provided some of the most detailed accounts of the Dog Show.<sup>365</sup> The structure of the editorials that reported on the Dog Show was similar in each year's coverage. They traditionally began with an opening paragraph, or two, detailing important exhibitors, notable dogs, how many spectators attended, how many dogs were shown, how much money was made, culminating in a review of the show's management and how they could improve next year's event. Following this section the focus shifted to the dogs. This section would methodically go through each class and each breed, always beginning with the largest non-sporting dogs, such as the Mastiffs and St. Bernards, and end with the 'foreign entries,' noting the strengths and weaknesses of celebrated dogs, bitches and puppies, and lastly, they would commend, or criticize, specific breeders and kennels. While emphasis would fall on the dog, bitch or puppy that won its class, the reporter would always comment on the status of the class as a whole, noting whether it had improved or degenerated since last year's event.

The Toronto Dog Show existed in three particular contexts: as a dog show put on by a relatively small group of dog fanciers; as a small part of the larger industrial exhibition, and as animals on display for human spectators and consumers. Although each of these categories can stand alone they are not fixed or rigid. Rather, each is porous and was intricately connected: an

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<sup>364</sup>This section first appeared in 1891 and continued to be included in the 'Sports & Pastimes' section when there was an important dog show, namely in Toronto or Hamilton, or when there was an important purchase.

<sup>365</sup>I examined September and October show reports printed in *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* for the years 1891-1897, 1900-1907, and 1910. Sometimes the reports were longer than five pages and they were written by various authors that often remained anonymous. If the author's name was given I have included this information.

examination of the dog show and the broader exhibition is contingent on the base fact that animal bodies were on display in either case. I have structured this chapter to consider both the Industrial Exhibition and Dog Show as separate entities, but also as being connected as the latter was often informed by the broader exhibition culture. To begin, this chapter will briefly discuss exhibition culture and the history of exhibitions followed by a summary of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition. My understanding of the history of exhibitions in Canada and before is greatly indebted to the work of Canadian historians Keith Walden and E.A. Heaman as well as theorist Tony Bennett. While Heaman's work is largely empirical and helped me identify important trends and details regarding when certain fairs were established, who was largely involved in their management, and how much revenue was generated, Walden's theoretical approach to the Toronto Industrial Exhibition and Bennett's analysis of exhibition culture in general has been invaluable to my understanding of the exhibition as a cultural apparatus. Furthermore, it was not until I read Walden's *Becoming Modern in Toronto* that I realized the Toronto Dog Show was not strictly a dog show put on by fanciers, but rather one small part of a much larger cultural institution. Following this section I will discuss the development of the dog show generally and then in Ontario specifically. Stemming from this will be a case study of the Toronto Dog Show where I will elucidate on how the Toronto Dog Show, much like the Toronto Industrial Exhibition, was a didactic space that was committed to both the improvement and marketing of the purebred canine body.

### History of the Exhibition

Nead notes that “the spectacle of modern life seemed to demand new modes of representation;”<sup>366</sup> arguably one institution that was intricately attached to representing modern innovations and modern culture was the exhibition. While the exhibition was simultaneously a space of trade and commerce, display and spectacle, of seeing and of being seen, Walden has explained that the exhibition’s main objective “was to make the fruits of human endeavour available for public view,” and public purchase, a point that he notes was not lost on local businesses.<sup>367</sup> The exhibition as a place of sale is firmly rooted in history. Early fairs offered entertainment, but were also explicitly focused on bringing people together to facilitate economic development in the community and country as a whole. By the mid-twelfth century, English fairs played an essential role in the economic development of medieval communities across England as part of the general expansion of trade throughout northern Europe.<sup>368</sup> By 1300 they began to decline as other more regular economic channels began to develop and over time their character changed from a respectable place of business to a disorderly space more resembling a circus or a side-show. For example, the St. Bartholomew Fair in London, established in 1120 by Henry I, had by the seventeenth century come to be associated with thievery, rowdiness and inebriation. New, respectable fairs organized around the interests of the rising middle class, commitments to scientific agriculture, and the new phenomena of international expositions, took their place.<sup>369</sup> Beginning in 1851 with ‘The Great Exhibition’ in London, England and reaching

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<sup>366</sup>Lynda Nead, *Victorian Babylon* 57.

<sup>367</sup>Walden, 121 explains that businesses flocked to the fair to show their goods.

<sup>368</sup>Ellen Wedemeyer Moore, *The Fairs of Medieval England: an Introductory Study* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1985) 24-30. John P. Burris in *Exhibiting Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions, 1851-1893* (Virginia: The University Press of Virginia, 2001) briefly examines the Champagne fairs of France that were part of this general expansion.

<sup>369</sup>Walden, 11.

its apex in the first half of the twentieth century, the latter half of the nineteenth century was the golden moment of exhibitions.<sup>370</sup>

In Canada, the exhibition directly evolved from smaller county and district fairs where professional breeders and farmers would display their fresh produce and hardy livestock. After early attempts by governors to personally spur agricultural improvements, agricultural societies were created in Lower Canada in 1817 and Upper Canada in 1818,<sup>371</sup> which were dedicated to holding and promoting exhibitions, encouraging farmers and elites to discuss how to best serve community interests and to import animals and grains to facilitate the improvement of Canada's stock. The business of exhibitions and agricultural societies expanded after the 1840s, particularly in Ontario. Heaman explains that between the years 1846 and 1889 Ontario held provincial exhibitions every year and that by 1890 Ontario had held over 300 exhibitions with gate receipts totaling some 100 000 dollars.<sup>372</sup> By the 1890s exhibitions had developed into venues of mass entertainment which brought in large groups of spectators demanding constant and innovative amusement. Walden explains that as the exhibition became a place that was known by visitors for its business and pleasure qualities, both the Industrial Exhibition Association and shopkeepers adapted. While the Association allowed more purely entertainment exhibits,<sup>373</sup> shopkeepers attempted to incorporate aspects of the carnival into their displays as a way of making them exciting and approachable.<sup>374</sup> Ultimately, the mixing of business and

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<sup>370</sup> Walden states that between 1855 and 1914 an event involving more than twenty nations was held somewhere in the world on an average of once every two years and that these exhibitions were supplemented by smaller exhibitions, 12. On the 1851 London Exhibition, Walden states that its influence was far reaching. He explains that after its huge success a glass and iron building resembling the original Crystal Palace seemed to be a requirement for any self-respecting fair in Europe and North America, 219.

<sup>371</sup> Heaman, 34.

<sup>372</sup> Heaman, 53.

<sup>373</sup> Walden, 159-160.

<sup>374</sup> Walden, 296.

pleasure was part of the overall objective of the exhibition to make money: crude and explicit entertainment was permitted, providing that it drew in more paying consumers.

### Exhibition Culture

While at its core the exhibition was a place of commerce and business the exhibition space was also a potent didactic tool that worked to improve the city, the citizen and the animal. The exhibition was a space where the city and nation(s) could place their greatest and most advanced manufactured goods, technology and animals on display as a way of improving the image of the city in the eyes of its citizens. Historian John Burris, whose work focuses primarily on how the world exposition conveyed culturally specific ideas of religion and race, has argued exhibitions “functioned to enhance the image of the nation in the eyes of its people” through displays of productive capacity and attractive exhibits.<sup>375</sup> Through the display of the latest technology, the most improved livestock and innovative products, the exhibition made the city and nations advancement known to the public. The power of the exhibition in this capacity was not lost on exhibition committee members. According to the Toronto Industrial Exhibition Association in the 1879 exhibition catalogue, industrial exhibitions were “the exponents of civilization, industry, social advancement and national prosperity,” and that they have “wielded their influence for several centuries.” Furthermore, they had “the means of creating a healthy stimulus to industry and exciting emulation among our agriculturalists and manufacturers.”<sup>376</sup> As these comments indicate, despite the slow beginning, fairs and larger exhibitions had been firmly established as not only important economic stimulants that fostered economic development, but also as a potent vector of civilization and sensibilities.

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<sup>375</sup> Burris, 8.

<sup>376</sup> Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto, *The Authorized Catalogue of the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto* (Toronto: Copp, Clark & Co., 1879) 3.

The exhibition has also been examined as a space that was intimately connected to broader governing agendas meant to order and civilize the social body. Bennett examines how the exhibition functioned as a civilizing agent that transformed the average citizen into a “constantly surveyed, self-watching, self-regulating, and . . . consistently ordered public.”<sup>377</sup> He argues that while the exhibition developed out of “a response to the problem of order,” it worked to solve this problem differently than other methods of social discipline. While the bureaucracy worked to make the subject known, he explains that the exhibition “sought to allow the people, and *en masse* rather than individually, to know rather than be known, to become the subjects rather than the objects of knowledge.” Heaman similarly observes that the exhibition’s power as a civilizing agent lay in the fact that it, like the panopticon, “created a special place where everything existed to be seen completely.”<sup>378</sup> According to Graeme Davison, the exhibition was not simply like the panopticon, but rather, the exhibition was the panopticon inverted. He explains that while the panopticon “was designed so that everyone could be seen . . . the Crystal Palace was designed so that everyone could see.”<sup>379</sup> Bennett believes that it was through this process that the exhibition solved the problem of order as it allowed people to “regulate themselves.”<sup>380</sup> Interestingly, Walden has since complicated Bennett’s assertion that the exhibition was a powerful ordering institution by demonstrating that while the exhibition was ostensibly dedicated to order and control, it often bred chaos and disorder.<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” 81.

<sup>378</sup> Heaman, 74.

<sup>379</sup> Graeme Davison, “Exhibitions,” *Australian Cultural History* 2 (1982/3) 7.

<sup>380</sup> Bennett, 76.

<sup>381</sup> See also Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991). Bauman argues that that chaos is generated through the very ordering activity that is inherently modern. Therefore, through the process of ordering and structuring, chaos, the unknown and the un-definable, are made visible which increases the need for both order and modernity.

Lastly, and most importantly for the context of this thesis, the exhibition was considered to have been an important space where breeders could learn how to improve their livestock. As was explained in chapter three, improvement in the context of the animal was manifested in its body prescribing to a predetermined ideal and this type of improvement was encouraged through competition. Exhibitions year after year encouraged competition between neighbours and communities alike in order to foster the improvement of crops and livestock. It was believed by exhibition organizers and exhibitors that at the exhibition people were brought together to see the wealth and progress of a nation, but also to learn what they could do to contribute to the city and country's agricultural and industrial advancement. In hopes of reproducing what Heaman has termed "the emulative model" at Ontario exhibitions, show committees offered lucrative prizes for winning stock as a tactic to draw large numbers of exhibitors, but also as a way of identifying ideal specimens. Walden explains that the practice of providing prize purses for winning stock dates back to 1792 when Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe donated a 40 dollar prize purse to the Niagara Agricultural Society.<sup>382</sup> While the institution of prizes was meant to facilitate the improvement of Ontario's livestock, Heaman notes that often they were only ostensibly dedicated to aiding the small farmer produce prize stock. The average farmer did not benefit from the prize money as a small number of wealthy breeders nearly always usurped the funds.<sup>383</sup>

For fair and exhibition committee members, prize money was of secondary concern to the overall purpose of identifying the ideal specimen, something both the rich and poor farmer could benefit from. It was believed that Ontario's agricultural industry as a whole would improve and

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<sup>382</sup> Walden, 11. He also explains that in other sectors the "preferred course of many exhibitors was to do away with prizes altogether," 105.

<sup>383</sup> Heaman, 64; Ritvo, 48-52 has argued that in Britain prize money won at cattle shows contributed little to the overall costs of raising cattle but was rather viewed as a distinction of honour. Walden notes that the tradition of awarding prizes for the best stock often ended in squabbles over judging, 104.

progress if both large and small scale farmers and breeders were able to see what a prize specimen looked like, and in turn, how they could emulate this model. Shorthorn breeder and M.P. John Dryden explained in 1890 that a breeder or farmer needed an ideal – “some high purpose and object” – and that this should be found at the exhibition.<sup>384</sup> He explained that while a man may achieve temporary success by accident, he will only be continually successful if he has an ideal before him that he can work towards. In order to facilitate this process, Dryden argued that only prize specimens should be provided with prizes as it was only these animals that should be emulated.<sup>385</sup>

### The Toronto Industrial Exhibition

In 1846, the newly formed Provincial Agricultural Association and Board of Agriculture for Canada West, which was established as a coordinating body for local societies, organized the first province wide exhibition.<sup>386</sup> This fair, held in Toronto, generated 408 dollars in admission fees, offered prizes totaling 1 100 dollars and attracted some 1 150 exhibitors: it was announced to have been a success.<sup>387</sup> The initial intent was to rotate the Provincial Fair around the province, since it was an exhibition that represented the whole of Ontario’s interests, but as the fair proved less lucrative in smaller centers, this system was quickly abandoned for a more profitable rotation of larger agricultural centers like London, Kingston, Hamilton, Ottawa and Toronto.<sup>388</sup> After Toronto had hosted the fair some seven times, local leaders lobbied to have the fair made a permanent fixture in the city, and invested money and effort into the 1878 fair in hopes of

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<sup>384</sup>Heaman, 61.

<sup>385</sup>As Heaman explains, Dryden was speaking against the idea that prizes at exhibitions should be distributed equally, giving all who participate a share. He believed that only improved animal should be given prizes, 61-62.

<sup>386</sup>Walden. 11.

<sup>387</sup>Heaman, 80.

<sup>388</sup>Heaman 86-87 explains that when the fair visited small and eastern towns such as Cobourg and Brockville it invariably lost money. However, when held in a western town where the livestock trade was centered, or in Toronto, where it attracted large crowds, it was decisively more successful.

securing Toronto as its permanent location. When the Agricultural Association decided that despite the overwhelming success of the 1878 fair the next Provincial Fair would be held in Ottawa, Toronto officials decided to break from the Provincial Agricultural Association and form a separate Industrial Exhibition Association with the plan to host its own show.

The first annual Toronto Industrial Exhibition was opened on September 5 of 1879 by the Marquis of Lorne and boasted that it was a “competition open to the world” offering some “\$20,000 in prizes.”<sup>389</sup> There were 8 234 exhibits, 100 000 people in attendance and approximately 52 000 dollars in receipts. The fair grounds were made up of 23 buildings including the improved Crystal Palace, a Grand Stand that seated some 5 000 people, and a number of agricultural buildings. No expenses were spared on improvements and Exhibition organizers worked hard to strike a balance between entertainment and business as the fair’s success rested upon both. At this the Exhibition was successful as can be seen through the simple fact that each year larger numbers of exhibitors and spectators alike were drawn to the fair grounds. This is most apparent through the fact that during its first year both Ottawa and London held simultaneous exhibitions, but that the amount of revenue taken in by the Toronto Exhibition far surpassed that made by London and nearly doubled what was made in Ottawa.<sup>390</sup>

Although a decisive national success, the Toronto Industrial Exhibition never gained international acclaim. As Walden notes, throughout its early years the Exhibition aspired to be an international exhibition deserving of the same pomp and circumstance given to the Crystal Palace exhibition in London, or the Chicago’s World Fair. However, despite its efforts the Exhibition was only able to attain the notable status of being the biggest and most impressive

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<sup>389</sup>Oswald Charles Joseph Withrow, *The Romance of the Canadian national exhibition* (Toronto: R. Saunders, 1936) 63.

<sup>390</sup>Heaman, 88.

exhibition in Canada.<sup>391</sup> It attracted more exhibitors and spectators than any other Canadian exhibition and offered the greatest opportunity for established and new manufacturers and breeders to advertise their name and products to the country.

### Dog Shows

According to British dog fancier 'Corsincon,' Britain's first dog shows took place in public houses and sanded parlors "where they had long been deeply rooted."<sup>392</sup> Despite these rustic origins, which Corsincon stated had been ignored by fanciers because they were found to have been inconsistent with existing pride, the official birth of dog shows 'in polite circles' has been settled on June 28, 1859 in Newcastle.<sup>393</sup> This early competition was limited to two sporting breeds, Pointers and Setters, had three judges for each class and exhibited 60 dogs in total.<sup>394</sup> Impressed by the success of this show another was quickly organized a few months later in Birmingham which was opened to gun dogs as well as 13 classes of non-sporting dogs.<sup>395</sup> Following the success of these two shows, both the dog fancy and the dog show system continued to grow in London, Birmingham, Manchester and elsewhere until in Chelsea in March of 1863 the first show admitting over one thousand entries took place. In the United States,

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<sup>391</sup>Walden, 13.

<sup>392</sup>Corsincon, "The History of Dog Shows," in Hugh Dalziel's *British Dogs: Their varieties, history, characteristics, breeding, management and exhibition*, (London: The Bazaar Office, 1879) 172.

<sup>393</sup>Corsincon, 173.

<sup>394</sup>The details of this show have been covered by both Ritvo *The Animal Estate* 97 and Derry *Bred for Perfection* 54.

<sup>395</sup>Corsincon argued that the Birmingham dog show was one of the greatest and most successful because it was held contemporaneously with the world-famed show of fat cattle at Bingley Hall, pp 175. Edward Laverack in *The Setter* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1872) states that the Birmingham show is 'class No. 1,' 48. Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 70 explains that Birmingham grew to be the center of dog breeding in general and Collie breeding in particular.

fanciers held their first 'official' dog show in 1877 in New York City with many others becoming established soon after.<sup>396</sup>

Canada also had a small but thriving dog show scene, concentrated in Toronto and Montreal, which developed contemporaneously with poultry and cattle shows.<sup>397</sup> Dogs were initially exhibited alongside poultry and other livestock, and as a result it is hard to pinpoint when the first dog show in Canada occurred. Margaret Derry has identified the first 'official' dog show as taking place in 1878 in Montreal under the auspices of the Montreal Poultry, Dog and Pet Society.<sup>398</sup> Charles A. Stone, who was the CKC's first secretary and first superintendent of the Grand International Dog Show, similarly noted in a 1936 issue of *Kennel and Bench* that he had shown dogs at a show in London in the fall of either 1876 or 1877.<sup>399</sup>

There are, however, notices for even earlier dog shows in *The Globe*. In 1872, there was mention of a poultry and dog show that had taken place in March of that year in Montreal.<sup>400</sup> It stated that, "the poultry and dog show was a most successful affair," but did not elaborate on numbers, spectators or winners. A year later there was a short editorial on a successful Toronto Dog Show that was held in Toronto on Friday, March 28 1873.<sup>401</sup> It was recorded that the receipts from this show amounted to 1 000 dollars but the article does not mention how many people attended or how many dogs were exhibited. Two years later in 1875 it was reported that Montreal "had a novelty in a dog show Thursday evening" where some 125 "splendid specimens

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<sup>396</sup>Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 58. This is of course the famous Westminster Dog Show that is still held today. In the first year of *The Kennel Gazette* nearly all bench show and field trials advertized were held in various parts of the states.

<sup>397</sup>Derry, *Bred for Perfection* 51-54.

<sup>398</sup>Derry, 54.

<sup>399</sup>"The Canadian Kennel Club's First Century," *Dogs in Canada* February 1988.

<sup>400</sup>"Poultry and Dog Show," *The Globe* 21 March 1872.

<sup>401</sup>"Civil Service," *The Globe* 29 March 1873.

of the canine race” were shown representing 21 breed types.<sup>402</sup> There were between three and four thousand spectators present; this show was heralded as a resounding success. In 1876, it was mentioned that there would be “a grand show of dogs” at the Centennial Exhibition, while a year later in 1877 it was noted that the receipts for the Toronto Dog Show amounted to 1 000 dollars.<sup>403</sup> As interest in purebred dogs grew, both the number of dog shows and the number dogs exhibited increased substantially, with the early Centennial Dog Show of 1876 exhibiting 600 dogs, 280 of which were setters.<sup>404</sup> From these early beginnings dog shows in Ontario became extremely common; by 1900 there was a dog show in nearly every substantial city and town. At the beginning of every *Canadian Kennel Gazette* issue there is a section at the top left-hand side of the page that details upcoming shows. In 1889 nearly all shows and field trials mentioned were American, yet already by 1895 this had changed drastically with shows being put on in London, Kingston, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton and many other smaller cities such as Simcoe, Brantford and Guelph.

### The Toronto Dog Show

Dog shows were held in conjunction with the Toronto Industrial Exhibition from its opening in 1879. In this year, there were 95 dogs exhibited at the Dog Show made up of 18 recognized breeds, four of which were types of Hounds and five that were Terriers, with one

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<sup>402</sup>“Dog Show in Montreal,” *The Globe* 15 November 1875.

<sup>403</sup>“The Centennial Dog Show,” *The Globe* 5 September 1876. “Civil Service,” *The Globe* 29 March 1877.

“Canada,” *The Globe* 31 January 1880. In 1880 it was noted that the annual Ontario Poultry and Dog Show would most likely be held in Brantford the following year. Although dogs and poultry continued to be shown together in various shows across Ontario and Quebec (and most likely elsewhere), this practice came under scrutiny in 1882 when the Montreal Dog Fancier Association proposed the idea of showing dogs separate from birds. “Events,” *The Canadian Poultry Review* December 1882. Although there were independent dog shows as early as 1876, it was not until 1889 when this practice became standard.

'extra entries' category.<sup>405</sup> The dogs were to be shown during the third week of the exhibition along with the horses, cattle, sheep, swine, poultry and other pet stock.<sup>406</sup> Entry into the dog show cost a fee of 25 cents, comparable to the exhibitor fees for poultry, pigs and sheep.<sup>407</sup> The offered prize purse totaled just over 50 dollars which allowed for two dollars to be given to the 'best' dogs that placed first and one dollar for those that ranked second.<sup>408</sup> In 1880, the Dog Show was touted by a reporter for the *Daily Mail* as being one of the 'principal attractions' of the Exhibition and one of 'two greater than ordinary attractions' by *The Globe*.<sup>409</sup> Held in the poultry building, the show began promptly at nine in the morning and featured 150 dogs, the 'principal arrivals' being the Setters, Cocker Spaniels, Fox Hounds, and Fox Terriers, which were displayed on "commodious" straw covered benches.<sup>410</sup> Although it was not stated exactly how many spectators paid to enter the Dog Show, it was reported to have been well attended by sight-seers who experienced great satisfaction "at the display of fine dogs."<sup>411</sup> Four years later in 1884, the Dog Show was held in the Horticultural Gardens but did not receive any significant coverage because it was overshadowed by the first Collie Field Trials and Bench Show put on by the Ontario Colley Club, established that same year, that also took place on the Exhibition grounds.<sup>412</sup> While there was no newspaper coverage of the Dog Show between the years 1885

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<sup>405</sup>Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto, "Class 34: Fancy and Hunting Dogs," *List of Premiums and Rules and Regulations for the First Annual Exhibition* (Toronto: Copp, Clark & Co, 1879) 13. There were 35 animal classes: 7 for horses, 9 for cattle, 6 for sheep, 4 for pigs, 6 for birds, 1 for dogs and 1 for cats. Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto, "Total number of Exhibitors," *Reports for 1879* (Toronto: Dudley, Burns, Printers, 1880) 5. Out of a total of 8234 entries dogs accounted for 95.

<sup>406</sup>"The Exhibition," *The Globe* 30 August 1879.

<sup>407</sup>*List of Premiums and Rules and Regulations for the First Annual Exhibition* 13. Entry for horses was 1 dollar and for cattle .50 cents.

<sup>408</sup>Industrial Exhibition Association, "Official Prize List for the Toronto Industrial Exhibition," (Toronto) 34. I was able to find very little information regarding this early dog show. However, unlike later shows it appears as though there was no gender or age divisions in the categories.

<sup>409</sup>"The Industrial Exhibition," *The Globe* 9 September 1880; "The Dog Show," *The Toronto Daily Mail* 7 September 1880.

<sup>410</sup>"The Dog Show," *The Globe* 8 September 1880.

<sup>411</sup>"Canada's Great Fair: The Dog Show," *The Toronto Daily Mail* 8 September 1880.

<sup>412</sup>"Colley Field Trials and Bench Show," *The Toronto Daily Mail* 17 September 1884.

and 1888 it maintained momentum and in 1889, with the establishment of the CKC, the show changed its name to the Grand International Dog Show and became a permanent fixture at the Exhibition.<sup>413</sup>

The 1889 Dog Show was organized by the Dog Show Committee, a newly established branch of the Industrial Exhibition Association, which was headed by Captain Charles Greville Harston and comprised of C. W. Postlethwaite, R. Ford, J. F. Kirk, C. H. Nelson, W. S. Jackson, J. Henderson, A. Burland, R. W. Jean and J. Massey.<sup>414</sup> Much like the Industrial Exhibition Association members, the Dog Show Committee was comprised of “new businessmen” predominantly of British descent.<sup>415</sup> For example, Charles W. Postlethwaite was born in England in 1863 and was a watch maker and jeweler who afforded enough to keep a domestic; Arthur Burland was born in England in 1863 and upon moving to Toronto became a manufacturer; and John F. Kirk was a British born merchant.<sup>416</sup> Similarly, Capt. Harston was born in Tamworth, Staffordshire England in 1844, and served in the Royal Marines until he retired and removed to Canada in 1876. Upon arriving in Canada, Harston, along with some 25 others, founded a settlement in Muskoka called Ilfracombe where he lived until moving to Toronto in 1884 where he became president of Greville Co. Ltd. Mining Brokers and manager of the Standard Life Assurance Company of Ontario.<sup>417</sup> He was an active sportsman and lover of sporting dogs and in 1884 he became the secretary for the DCKC and president of the Ontario Collie Club.

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<sup>413</sup>Derry 59 references the 1885 Toronto Dog Show. She states that it “drew at least four hundred entries.” This seems unlikely considering that the first Grand International Dog Show in 1889 only had 313 entries.

<sup>414</sup>“The Toronto Dog Show,” *The Kennel Gazette* September 1889.

<sup>415</sup>Walden, 17-19 provides detailed information about each of the Industrial Exhibition Associations first 20 directors and states that they were all “prominent business figures.”

<sup>416</sup>1901 Census.

<sup>417</sup>Frederick de la Fosse, “Charles Greville Harston (1848-1931),” *In the Backwoods of Muskoka, 1878* Ed. Scott D. Shipman (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural history Inc., 2004) 156-158. 1901 census. “Ilfracombe,” *A Dictionary of British Place-Names*. A. D. Mills. (Oxford University Press, 2003).

In 1890, Charles A. Stone, Esq., an accountant, breeder of Pointers and secretary for the CKC, assumed the role of secretary and superintendent of the Dog Show, a job that he would retain until 1894 when it appears he shared the duties with Thomas G. Davey, a newspaper man, executive member of the CKC, and proprietor of one of “the largest and most influential kennels of English Setters and Pointers in Canada.”<sup>418</sup> In 1900, the Dog Show’s superintendent was W.P. Fraser, a well-known Fox Terrier breeder and president of the elite Ontario Jockey Club, and the chairman for the Dog Show Committee was George H. Gooderham, who was also a Fox Terrier breeder and well-known for providing lavish hospitality to the Show’s judges.<sup>419</sup> In 1903, Fraser was replaced with Dr. A. W. Bell, who had been for many years the assistant secretary of the Industrial Exhibition Association, and John G. Kent Esq., jeweler and president of the CKC, replaced Gooderham as the Dog Show Committee’s chairman.<sup>420</sup> Like the organizers of the Industrial Exhibition Association, members of the Dog Show Committee were dedicated to advancing their own investment interests. Nearly all of the members of the Dog Show Committee owned their own kennels and therefore had a heightened interest in dog breeds and their positive reception. Often, Dog Show judges were criticized for favouring dogs owned by members of the committee, who directly benefitted from the show.<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>418</sup>“The Dog Show,” *The Globe* 12 July 1890. Despite the fact that Capt. Harston was replaced by Stone as the Show’s superintendent, he remained on the Dog Show Committee as it was mentioned in 1892 that his efforts contributed to the overall success of the Dog Show. “Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1892. “Historical Sketch of the Beginning of the Canadian Kennel Club,” *The Kennel and Bench* July 1923. Stone reminisces on the beginning of the CKC and explains that of all the past presidents Thomas Davey was one of the best, noting that his being a ‘newspaper man’ allowed him to develop a lot of support for the club.

<sup>419</sup>“Toronto’s Big Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1900. “Toronto’s One Thousand Entry Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1903 also mentions Gooderham’s reputation for providing lavish hospitality to the Dog Show judges. Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto, *Reports for 1879* 11. Alan Metcalfe, “horse racing,” *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*. Ed. Gerald Hallowell. (Oxford University Press, 2004). The Ontario Jockey Club was founded in 1881 by a group of wealthy Ontarians to improve the quality of horse racing in Toronto.

<sup>420</sup>“Toronto’s One Thousand Entry Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1903.

<sup>421</sup>“Toronto Dog Show, Criticism of the Management,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1894, “Corruption at the Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1895. To name a few: Gooderham was proprietor of the Norfolk Kennels, W.P Fraser owned The Fox Terrier Kennels, and Charles A. Stone owned a Pointers kennel.

In 1889, the Dog Show Committee had more than simply their immediate economic interests riding on the Show's success, but also plans for a new building. "We have it on good authority," explained H. B. Donovan, "that if the bench show in connection with the Industrial Exhibition is well patronized this year, the Association will probably put up a new building for dogs and make the show a permanent fixture."<sup>422</sup> Luckily for Canadian fanciers, the Dog Show of 1889 was a decisive success. Not only did the show attract some 19 000 paying spectators and generate 1 900 dollars in admission fees, it also featured 300 exhibitors and yielded 600 dollars in exhibitor fees.<sup>423</sup> There were 313 dogs entered which were divided into 30 breed classes of both sporting and non-sporting canines. At this show, the prize package had grown from the modest sum of 58 dollars to between four and five hundred dollars which accounted for the rise in the prize for winners from two dollars to 20. Whereas the first Toronto Dog Show in 1879 only provided prizes for first and second place specimens, by 1889 five dollars was awarded to third place dogs and the distinction 'Very Highly Commended' (VHC), while not incurring a financial reward, was awarded to deserving dogs. On account of the large numbers and overall success of the Dog Show, the Exhibition Committee erected a new Dog Show building in 1890 that was 200 feet long by 100 feet wide, with "the latest improvements," and which cost the Exhibition Committee 9 150 dollars.<sup>424</sup>

As the Industrial Exhibition grew and progressed so did the Dog Show. In 1891 the Show offered 3 000 dollars in premiums, approximately 2 500 dollars more than they had in 1889, had generated 3 071.40 dollars in admission fees and 1 190.50 dollars in entry fees, and

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<sup>422</sup>"Notes and Comments," *The Kennel Gazette* August 1889.

<sup>423</sup>The entry fee for the Dog Show remained two dollars until 1894 when it was increased to three dollars.

<sup>424</sup>"3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Grand International Dog Show," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* August 1891. Industrial Association of Toronto, "Expenditures," *Reports for 1891* (Toronto: The Mail Job Printing Co., 1892) 14-15. According to the expenditure reports, the Exhibition committee spent 5611 dollars on the poultry building, significantly less than what was spent on the Dog Show building. Also, in 1891 the Exhibition committee spent 174.88 dollars to add an addition onto the Dog Building.

the number of dogs exhibited grew to 581.<sup>425</sup> A year later in 1892, this number had already grown to reach some 733 dogs. In 1894 the number of classes grew to 37 and exhibitors fees grew to three dollars, while in 1895 the Dog Show was quoted as being one of the Exhibitions “features,” as it had the power to draw “exhibitors annually from as far west as Omaha, as far south as Arkansas, and east from Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Washington, etc.”<sup>426</sup> By 1895 the Toronto Dog Show was argued to rank among “the leading Bench Shows in America, being on par with New York, Chicago, and Boston.”<sup>427</sup> Not only had the Dog Show become a Canadian and North American success, it also recognized the progress of Canadian breeders by introducing a category in each class for Canadian bred dogs only. By 1903 the goal of 1 000 dogs was met and exceeded with an entry of 1 014.<sup>428</sup> This show drew in some 13 000 visitors on the opening day all of whom paid an entry fee of ten cents. According to a writer for the *Canadian Kennel* in September 1903, “attendance was greater in 2 days than the entire week last year.”<sup>429</sup> The Grand International Dog Show had become not only the greatest canine exhibition in Ontario, but it was also the largest fall dog show in America, and decisively the largest show of its kind held in Canada.

### Dog Show Structure: Order and Classification

Kennel club members and Dog Show Committee organizers were concerned primarily with order and structure and this manifested itself most explicitly in the way canine bodies were

<sup>425</sup>*Reports for 1891* 10. “3<sup>rd</sup> Annual Grand International Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* August 1891.

<sup>426</sup>Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto, *An Illustrated Souvenir of Canada's Great Exhibition* (Toronto: F. Smiley, 1895) 15.

<sup>427</sup>Industrial Exhibition Association of Toronto, *An Illustrated Souvenir of Canada's Great Exhibition* (Toronto: F. Smiley, 1895) 15. The New York show referenced here would have been the Westminster Dog Show one of the largest dog shows in the world, second only to the Crystal Palace Show in England.

<sup>428</sup>It appears as though Charles A. Stone, Esq., was secretary and superintendent from 1890 to 1899 at which point the job passed into the hands of W. P. Fraser who remained superintendent until 1903 when Bell took over the position. According to *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* Bell had been the Assistant Secretary of the Industrial Exhibition Association for ‘many years.’

<sup>429</sup>“The Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1903.

identified, classified and organized on the bench and in show premium lists, prize lists and catalogues. Under the auspices of the show system breed dogs were subject to meticulous and careful classification that continually worked, like breed standards, to standardize and order the canine body. Perhaps most broadly, dogs were separated into ‘sporting’ and ‘non-sporting’ classes, with the former being comprised of ‘gun-dogs’ such as Spaniels, Setters, Retrievers and Pointers, and the latter being made up of working dogs such as St. Bernards and Collies, or fancy pets such as any one of the toy breeds.<sup>430</sup> Categorizing dogs on a utilitarian basis dates back to the earliest known canine classification system developed by Dr. Johannus Caius in 1576. In his *Englishe Dogges*, Caius identified three divisions of dogs all based on utility: ‘A gentle kind,’ comprised of hunting and fowling dogs; ‘A homely kind’ made up of working Mastiff’s and Shepherd dogs, and lastly ‘A Currish kind’ which encompassed “cures of the mongrel and rascall sort,” who fulfilled the most grueling labour.<sup>431</sup> Each of these three canine divisions were based explicitly on utility and also had clear class divisions, the first category being representative of the upper classes, the second being intimately associated with artisans, and the last were connected to the lowest classes, often owned by cooks for labour purposes. This method of classification was extremely popular prior to the institutionalization of the dog fancy, as can clearly be seen in the original names given to many breeds (Setter, Pointer, Retriever and even the Turnspit), but after 1880 the explicit division of ‘sporting’ and ‘non-sporting’ categories seems to have fallen out of favour.<sup>432</sup>

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<sup>430</sup>Small dogs were considered to be the most useless and were often gendered as being ladies lap-dogs.

<sup>431</sup>Mary Elizabeth Thurston *The Lost History of the Canine Race* 122-123;134-135 . The ‘Turnspit,’ a breed has all but disappeared except for historical references, is a perfect example of ‘a currish kind’ of dog. According to Thurston, the ‘Turnspit’ was a small dog that worked in restaurant or estate kitchens turning the spit (hence the name). They would be fastened onto a wheel that they would continually turn which would correspondingly turn the meat that was cooking on the spit. In the 1870s, this practice was outlawed with the ‘Turnspit’ being deemed useless and the job being filled by goats and in one instance, African-American children.

<sup>432</sup>This change could be indicative of changes that were occurring in the way dogs were being viewed. Whereas previously dogs were kept for work, in the second half of the nineteenth century they were increasingly being

The practical system of identifying dogs based on utility began to change in favour of classifying the dogs based on how their body conformed to breed standards. As the dog fancy became increasingly more concerned with conformation as opposed to utility, dog shows themselves manifested this change. Breed, type, gender, age, weight, hair-type, colour and wins were all used to de-homogenize 'the dog' into many smaller identifiable groupings. Firstly, all dogs were separated into their respective breed and type categories, the breed being 'Setter' or 'Terrier' and the type being 'English,' 'Irish,' 'Dandie Dinmont,' or 'Yorkshire.'<sup>433</sup> While at the 1879 Dog Show there were only 18 recognized breeds, by 1894 there were some 37 breed classes including one 'miscellaneous' category for breeds that were recognized but not provided for in the prize list, and by 1900 this number had grown to 47 including the 'miscellaneous' category.<sup>434</sup>

Once the animals were separated into their respective breed and type categories, they were further segregated by age and sex: there would be a 'dog,' 'bitch,' 'novice,' and 'puppy,' class. Both the 'novice' and 'puppy' classes would have been separated by gender and the latter would encompass all dogs over the age of six months and under the age of 12 months, and the former was for all dogs who had not won first at any recognized show.<sup>435</sup> The dog show system also separated dogs into 'challenge' or 'champion' classes and 'open' classes.<sup>436</sup> In order for a dog to compete in the champion class he, or she, must have won four first prizes "exclusive of

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brought into the home and kept as pets. Therefore, the value of dogs changed from being based on utility to being wholly sentimental. Although it was no longer explicitly reflected in the prize list and catalog, judges and reporters continually used utility as an important point of judgment when assessing sporting dogs such as the Cocker Spaniel or English Setter.

<sup>433</sup> As the fancy develops the number of breeds expands exponentially. Whereas the 1879 show list was comprised of 18 breeds, by 1894 this number had ballooned to 38, including seven 'hounds' and ten 'terriers.'

<sup>434</sup> "Canadian National Dog Show," *The Kennel and Bench* May 1915 and "Canadian Kennel Club," *The Kennel and Bench* July 1917. The number of recognized breeds continuously increased and by 1915 the CKC recognized 77 different breeds and in 1917 they recognized 86.

<sup>435</sup> "Canadian Kennel Club Dog Show Rules," *The Kennel Gazette* April 1889. "Toronto Dog Show," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1893 also mentioned this.

<sup>436</sup> In 1900 the 'challenge' class is replaced by 'limit' classes.

puppy classes and classes not confined to one breed, at shows approved by the CKC.”<sup>437</sup> Once a dog was able to compete in the ‘challenge’ class it was considered a ‘champion’ and ‘Ch.’ was attached to its name. In the ‘open’ classes, all dogs or bitches could compete for prizes, even champion dogs who had already placed in the ‘champion’ class. The designation of ‘Ch.’ was particularly important because unlike other physical identifiers that were simply meant to standardize or separate, being known as a ‘Champion’ increased that particular dog’s worth exponentially. Similarly, acquiring a first place win at a Canadian show that was recognized by the AKC allowed that particular dog to become eligible for registration in the AKC’s Stud Book, a perk that ensured that the prize-winning dog would be advertised to all members of the AKC.<sup>438</sup> Lastly, certain breeds were also separated by hair texture and weight.<sup>439</sup> Breeds such as the St. Bernard and Fox Terrier had ‘smooth’ and ‘rough’ coated types that were deemed to be distinct enough to warrant separate judging, and Field and Cocker Spaniels were separated by weight: the former being 28 lbs and over and the latter being 28 lbs and under.<sup>440</sup> All of these methods of categorization worked to further standardize and order the canine body. As they were separated by gender and age, hair type and weight, breeds that at one time closely resembled many others, such as the Mastiff and St. Bernard or Bloodhound and Great Dane, became increasingly more defined and distinct, and therefore, increasingly more classifiable. Furthermore, by classifying dog types based on physical characteristics as opposed to the dog’s

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<sup>437</sup>Both the puppy and novice classes were frequently contested within the pages of *The Canadian Kennel Gazette*. The puppy class was considered dangerous as many pups contracted distemper from dog shows, and the novice class was considered superfluous as it drained show committee funds and energy. Also, it was criticized for providing dogs who were not good enough to win in the ‘open’ class an opportunity to do so in the novice, “Letter to the Editor,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1893.

<sup>438</sup>“Notes and Comments,” *The Canadian Kennel Club* August 1889.

<sup>439</sup>Certain breeds were also separated based on colour. For instance, the Black-and-tan Terrier, before becoming known as the Welsh Terrier, was considered a different breed of Terrier strictly on its different colouring. Also, as new breeds began to arise distinctions are made between Golden and Black Labrador Retrievers.

<sup>440</sup>By 1894 Pointers were separated into ‘heavy’ and ‘light’ categories. Similarly, by 1917 Poodles, Retrievers and Basset Hounds were separated into distinct breeds based on hair type: Corded and Curly haired Poodles, Curly-coated and Wavy-coated Retrievers, and Smooth and Rough Basset Hounds.

utilitarian purpose, breeders actually had more room to introduce new breeds, as distinct differences in hair texture and colour was often enough to earn a breed type recognition by the kennel club.<sup>441</sup>

### The Dog Show as a Didactic Space

The dog show was conceptualized as a didactic space and this manifested itself in two distinct ways: the dog show was a way for dog breeders to educate the public and secondly, it was a place for breeders to educate themselves on how to improve the canine race. It was believed by breeders that dog shows were a place where they would be able to educate the public as to the different breed types, but also, what a valuable and well-crafted canine should look like. Writing in 1872 on dog shows in general, Edward Laverack, creator of the famed Laverack Setters, explained that dog shows “bring together a large assemblage of canine wonders, which enables visitors to see the various breeds, and judge for themselves if the specimens exhibited are good, bad, or indifferent.”<sup>442</sup> Echoing this sentiment in 1880 was a *Daily Mail* reporter who explained that the main “purpose of bench shows is to educate the general public as to what each breed of dog should be like.” The many sight-seers who passed through the dog show, the reporter stated, could expect to see “some very fine specimens of the canine race, from the lordly Mastiff down to the plain bone-worrier.”<sup>443</sup> They would be met with a fine display of Fox Terriers, English Setters, Cocker Spaniels and gigantic Mastiffs: a full and accurate representation of the various fashionable purebred breeds would be exhibited at the dog show. In

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<sup>441</sup>For instance, by 1917 the English Toy Spaniel was separated into four distinct breed types all based on different colour patterns: orange and white, red, black and tan and tri-colour.

<sup>442</sup>Laverack, *The Setter* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1872) 46. Although Laverack was British, he was writing for an international dog fancying audience and his opinions are relevant within a Canadian context because he was often cited in articles that ran in *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* and he was praised time and again for his exceptional English Setters that were world renowned. “The English Setter in England,” *The Canadian Poultry Review* November 1885. This article discusses Mr. Laverack’s creation the Laverack Setter. It states that “From other strains have sprung many handsome dogs, but the Laveracks are the aristocrats of the breed.”

<sup>443</sup>“The Dog Show,” *Daily Mail* 7 September 1880.

the dog show space, the public would, as this reporter demonstrates, be able to *see* the many valuable canine specimens that were available to them and learn about the respective qualities of each breed.

Mole illustrates this point in a 1895 report for the *Canadian Kennel* on the Toronto Dog Show. In his commentary on Bloodhounds, Mole praised Dr. Lougest, an American Bloodhound breeder, for “having brought over some of his best specimens.” This was particularly important because “the public had the opportunity of seeing what a Bloodhound really is.”<sup>444</sup> Opinions such as those listed above were repeated time and again within the pages of the *Canadian Kennel* and *Daily Mail*. Norman Swire in 1910 explains that “more and more people are learning something about the points of the various breeds,” and that “credit for this phenomenon must be given to the dog show.”<sup>445</sup> As Swire’s comments indicate, it was believed that the dog show was an important space for the public at large to learn about the many different types of canine products that were available to them. Through paying entry to the dog show the consuming public was allowing breeders the opportunity to present them with neatly organized canine displays that represented each breed. Not only would the public see groups of benched ‘St. Bernard’s’ or ‘Cocker Spaniels,’ but they would also have been met with clearly marked tags that identified each dogs name, breeder/owner, winnings and most importantly breed and type.<sup>446</sup> Shelley Scott notes that at dog shows of today it is not uncommon for breed teams to use “elaborate signage to advertise their breeds: post board presentations decorated with photographs and information about a particular breed,” accompanied by breeders’ brochures and business

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<sup>444</sup>“Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1895.

<sup>445</sup>“Advice on Buying a Dog,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* January 1910.

<sup>446</sup>When trotting or walking dogs through the rings for competition owners would also have had their names fastened onto their hats.

cards.<sup>447</sup> While there would not have been anything so extravagant in the nineteenth century, elaborate signs were used to draw the public's attention to prize and note-worthy specimens, such as the great English Setter 'Paris.'<sup>448</sup> It would have been at the dog show where the public would have begun to be indoctrinated into the culture of pure-breeding, the sub-text being that a purebred dog was a valuable commodity and fundamentally different from the curs or mongrels lurking in the city streets.

Educating the public on the various purebred dog types was important because it facilitated the ever growing market in purebred canines.<sup>449</sup> In 1889 'Mount Royal' explained that "it will be to the advantage of Exhibitors to show here, as it is a new territory and many of the breeds of dogs are utterly unknown to the mass of our people."<sup>450</sup> Writing three years later in 1892 on the idea for a show for Canadian bred dogs only, 'Mount Royal' believed that this type of show would undoubtedly help to develop the breeding industry in Canada. "The demand for high class dogs in Canada is still not very great- not as great as it should be" he explained "and such a show would greatly increase this demand." It would, he argued, "not only become a large market for stock, but also, be the best advertisement a breeder could have."<sup>451</sup> As 'Mount Royal's' comments indicate, there was no better place to bolster public awareness of purebred canines and their respective breeders. The exhibition was a large market place where the public, if not coming with the intent to purchase a dog, would unavoidably be influenced by the show's

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<sup>447</sup> Scott 47.

<sup>448</sup> "The Lewellin Setter Dog, 'Paris,'" *The Canadian Poultry Review* January 1886; "The London Dog Show," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1893.

<sup>449</sup> In *The Kennel Gazette* from February to December 1889 there were 87 'for sale ads,' 29 of which were for kennels and 58 of which were for individual owners. During this span there were only three kennels listed under the 'kennel names registered' section. By 1910, there were 41 kennel names listed under the 'kennel names registered' section in the month of March alone, not to mention the fact that there were eight pages dedicated strictly to advertisements. I counted 43 ads in this one issue, nearly half the ads that ran in an 11 month span in 1889. This is to show the growth of the canine industry.

<sup>450</sup> "Notes and Comments," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* May 1889.

<sup>451</sup> "An Annual Show of Canadian Breeders," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* June 1892.

overt message: purebred dogs, as opposed to non-breed mongrels, were valuable, affordable and necessary. Writing again in 1893, 'Mount Royal,' explained that "to our annual fall shows is largely due the credit for the very rapid increase in the value and the growing public interest in thoroughbred dogs."<sup>452</sup> The growing success of the dog fancy was credited to the dog show system because it allowed people to see and learn about the various canine breeds that were readily available to them at a fair, or extravagant, price.

### Canine Products: the Dog Show as a place of sale

Teaching the public how to identify the different types of canine breeds was intricately connected to the broader conception of the exhibition as a sale space. As both Walden and Heaman discuss, exhibitions had the power to change objects that were on display into commodities for sale. Heaman argues that "exhibitions were machines designed to transform artifacts into commodities, to turn the display of objects into a market for objects."<sup>453</sup> According to her, every object that entered into the exhibition space became a commodity and as such was integrated into the larger commodity culture. This transformative process was fueled by a variety of factors. In the broadest sense, exhibitions were market places that worked to broadcast the availability and virtues of certain products in order to increase demand. Miles Orvell in *The Real Thing* explains that exhibition displays, as well as mail order catalogues and department stores, increasingly featured elaborate displays in which "goods were massed to form huger versions of themselves" so as to convey the idea of abundance and availability.<sup>454</sup> Similarly, Walden has argued that the display culture of exhibitions contributed to a complete

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<sup>452</sup>"The Domestic Dog," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* March 1893.

<sup>453</sup>Heaman, 110.

<sup>454</sup>Miles Orvell *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1989) 41-43.

reformulation of the culture of consumption by not only inciting people to want products they would not normally have desired, but they also presented these products as being necessary and affordable.<sup>455</sup> Through the creation of large displays of identical products, Walden explains that consumers became familiarized with the various products which “made goods seem more normal, more an established part of a regular life.”<sup>456</sup> According to Walden, businesses, in an effort to clear away old inhibitions about spending, attempted to sell the idea that personal identity depended not on family or religion, but rather, on choices made among consumer goods in the market place, a point that Thorstein Veblen’s earlier conspicuous consumption theory similarly demonstrates.<sup>457</sup> As part of this process, displays at the Industrial Exhibition were transformed into mediums through which businesses created trademarks, brand-names, slogans and standard packaging that increasingly allowed products to speak for themselves.<sup>458</sup> In this way someone could simply look at a product and know who made it and what it in turn symbolized to others. Through this process, everything that was on display at an exhibition was incorporated into the broader commodity culture; canine bodies were not an exception.

At exhibitions, people came and saw many different types of products: manufactured goods, hand-crafted instruments, agricultural tools, as well as animal merchandise. Dogs were arguably more closely aligned with other industrial products than other domestic animals. Like most of the dog shows in the late nineteenth century, the Toronto Dog Show was benched, which meant that the dog was on display for the entire duration of the event, only being allowed to leave his or her post for exercise in a designated space and at a designated time. (By comparison, most conformation events today are unbenched, with no benching area and no

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<sup>455</sup>Walden, 126-128.

<sup>456</sup>Walden 144-145.

<sup>457</sup>Walden, 125. He explains that purchased products began to replace other identifiers such as religion and family as the main way that people displayed their personal identity to others.

<sup>458</sup>Walden 127.

display requirements).<sup>459</sup> At the Toronto Dog Show the benches would have been organized according to breed type. One *Kennel Gazette* reporter, although covering the Victorian B.C. Dog and Poultry Show, presented a picture of what walking through a typical dog show would have been like:

Passing down the right, after entering, a number of splendid Setters, of all the peculiar breeds, are first visited. Then come Grey-hounds, Deer-hounds, Retrievers and all the other intelligent friends of the sportsmen; with several sturdy Mastiffs occupying a prominent position at the View street end of the rink . . . with toy dogs no bigger than kittens are not fifty feet away from the family of Great Danes, Danish boar hounds.<sup>460</sup>

As this description indicates, all the different dog breeds were neatly and clearly organized into their own ‘family’ groups. Furthermore, it also appears as though for effect the largest dogs were placed in close proximity to the smallest toy dogs. This technique would have not only emphasized the sheer difference in the ‘canine race,’ but also accented how extremely small the toy breeds were and how incredibly large the guard breeds were. Furthermore, as figure five demonstrates, the dogs were kept in extremely close quarters which made good behavior a must. Not only would many dogs of many different breeds have been fastened close beside one another, these animals would have also been held there from between nine in the morning to sometimes five or six in the evening.<sup>461</sup> Of course they would have been relieved from bench duty when they were brought to the competition rings or when they were exercised, but other than that, these specimens remained tied up amongst thousands of spectators. Undeniably, this would not have been an enjoyable situation for many dogs, especially considering that many

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<sup>459</sup>Shelley Scott, “Theorizing Performances of the Human-Animal Relationship,” (dissertation, Northwestern University, 2006).

<sup>460</sup>“Victoria (B.C.) Dog and Poultry Show,” *The Kennel Gazette* February 1889.

<sup>461</sup> “The Dog Show,” *The Daily Mail* 20 September 1889. This report notes that the dog show opened at nine in the morning and did not close until six that evening – meaning that dogs were most likely tied to their benches for a minimum of six hours, allowing three hours for exercise and competition.

would have travelled to the show alone in a small crate on the train, and their controlled and orderly behavior in such a high-stress situation would have further demonstrated their value as a house pet.<sup>462</sup>

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<sup>462</sup>“Canada’s Great Fair,” *The Daily Mail* 11 September 1880, notes that many of the dogs were extremely unhappy with their dog show living arrangements: “give me liberty or give me a bone was the cry of the dogs all day yesterday. The canines do not like meeting in convocations.” The main way that dogs traveled to dog shows was by train. It was even noted in an 1893 article that it was not uncommon for dogs to have been misplaced or forgotten by handlers for hours, even days in extreme cases. “Notes and Comments,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* August 1893.

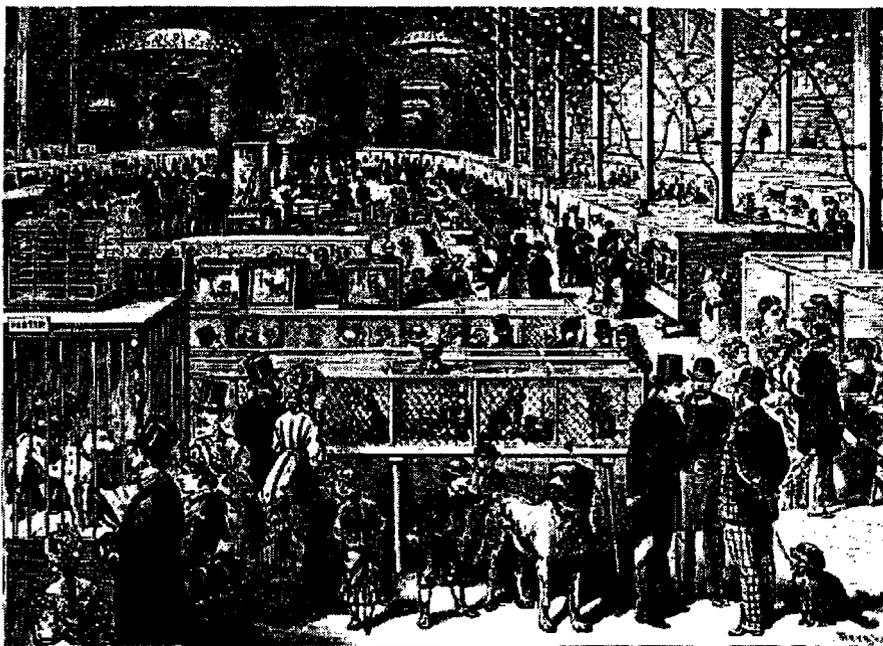


Figure 4 – “General View of the Hippodrome on May 10 1877,” *The Bettmann Archive* originally published in Stifel, *The Dog Show: 125 Years of Westminster*, 26.



Figure 5 – “Anna H. Whitney in the Benching Area, Madison Square Garden (1897),” *Museum of the City of New York, The Byron Collection* originally published in Stifel, *The Dog Show: 125 Years of Westminster*, 51.

Like other industrial products that were organized so as to emphasize abundance and availability, with many of the same product being placed on top of one another, so too were dogs. Although certain breeds would have certainly been under represented, many breed displays consistently exhibited 40 or more of the same breed and type. Accompanying the editorial for the 1895 “Toronto Dog Show” in the *Canadian Kennel* was a chart that broke the 633 entries into the specific number entered for each breed class. This chart listed, among six other breed groups that had over 20 dogs entered, 52 St. Bernards, 40 Collies, 79 Cocker Spaniels, 58 smooth-haired Fox Terriers, and another 30 wire-haired Fox Terriers.<sup>463</sup> As this chart illustrates, there would have been huge exhibits of specific breeds that to the untrained eye would have looked almost identical. Except for a few specimens that would have been written off as ‘mongrels’ or ‘weeds,’ all dogs in a breed group would have been relatively the same colour with the same markings, the same weight and height, with similar facial and physical features, a point that can clearly be seen in the dog show pictures included in this chapter. This was of course the ultimate goal of the Dog Show: to produce canine bodies that were standard and typical so that they clearly represented the true image of their breed type.<sup>464</sup> One could simply look at the animal’s body and *know* that it was a Fox Terrier or St. Bernard, and *see* that they were widely available from local breeders.

While purebred dogs could, and did sell for extremely high prices, they were, like other products, relatively inexpensive and available *en masse* to a consuming public at the Dog

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<sup>463</sup>“The Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1895. It was rare for editorials to state the exact number of dogs that were entered for each breed class. What was far more common was statements such as ‘large numbers of entries,’ ‘well-filled class,’ or ‘the largest entry to date.’ It can be assumed that since the number of entries continually grew after 1895 it would have been common for popular breeds such as the Cocker Spaniel, St. Bernard and Fox Terrier to have had more than forty dogs entered. “Notes and Thoughts on the St. Bernard,” *The Kennel and Bench Gazette* January 1914. This article notes that at the Toronto Show in 1913 there were 19 Rough-coated St. Bernard dogs, 22 Smooth-coated St. Bernards dogs, and 43 Fox Terrier dogs, but it does not mention how many bitches were shown nor does it mention how many puppies.

<sup>464</sup>This idea will be discussed in-depth within the section on ‘Improvement.’

Show.<sup>465</sup> William F. Stifel in *The Dog Show: 125 Year of Westminster* (2001) briefly discusses this aspect of the dog show scene in his section on the first Westminster dog show held in 1877. He quotes one American fancier as saying “selling dogs was an integral part of dog shows and owners were urged to give a price for each entry for publication in the catalog.”<sup>466</sup> Dog shows, as Hugh Dalziel explained in his *Encyclopaedia of the Kennel*, published between 1879 and 1881, had become all “the rage” across Britain and elsewhere and were responsible for bringing in a good deal of money into communities.<sup>467</sup> Although lamenting the loss of the ‘good old days’ when dog shows were a “medium for attracting sportsmen who were genuinely desirous of comparing the merits of their respective animals,” Dalziel draws attention to the economic industry that dog shows were when he stated, “they have become a business [and] it can scarcely be denied that the commercial aspect is of paramount importance.”<sup>468</sup> ‘Barkus,’ in an 1892 *Canadian Kennel* article also hinted at the fact that dog shows had become lucrative market places for dogs when he stated that “dog shows should not be a mere market for the sale of puppies.”<sup>469</sup> In a 1910 *Canadian Kennel* article, the author corroborates Dalziel’s statements by explaining that “many promising young dogs are claimed at the shows, and very often there are several claimants for a particular dog, especially if the catalogue price is a very enticing one.” Moreover, this author stated that 50 or 60 guinea were ‘everyday occurrences in doggy transactions,’ while sales that often took place at various exhibitions in Britain and elsewhere

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<sup>465</sup>Cows, sheep, swine and to some extent poultry would not have been considered products that the average city dwelling citizen would purchase and bring home as a pet. Moreover, while some people may have coveted a thoroughbred horse, it was unlikely that many of the Exhibitions spectators could have afforded to purchase one of their own. Also, like all products, dogs could be extremely expensive, costing well over 9 000 dollars, or they could be purchased at much lower prices. While almost all kennels would have had featured dogs, it would have been the puppies that were for sale and these would have been readily available for fair prices.

<sup>466</sup>William F. Stifel, *The Dog Show: 125 Year of Westminster* (US: The Westminster Kennel Club, 2001) 27.

<sup>467</sup>Dalziel, *Encyclopedia of the Kennel* 174.

<sup>468</sup>Dalziel, *Encyclopedia of the Kennel* 174.

<sup>469</sup>“Dog Shows,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* May 1892. Dalziel writing under his pseudonym ‘Corsincon’ also noted that dog shows should not strictly be a market for puppies, 180.

were traditionally much higher.<sup>470</sup> In his own section on ‘Buying and Selling’ in *The Book of the Dog*, Dalziel, in a far less negative tone than his earlier writings, argued that “dogs can often be bought for very low prices at shows, and a person who contemplates an investment in dog-flesh can do worse than claim a dog off the bench.”<sup>471</sup> Indeed, as many of the Dog Show editorials that ran in both the *Daily Mail* and *Canadian Kennel* indicate, dogs at shows were being bought and sold on a regular basis.

It was explained by a *Daily Mail* reporter in 1880 that “from \$500 to \$1, 000 is by no means an uncommon price for a dog good enough to win prizes at bench shows.”<sup>472</sup> Similarly in another 1880 editorial, it was noted that a ‘fair’ Irish Terrier specimen who easily won in her class “was immediately claimed at the entered price of \$40,” and later, in 1893, another Irish Terrier owned by Mr. J. Watson was priced and sold for 1 000 dollars.<sup>473</sup> At an 1892 show, ‘Candour,’ another Irish Terrier bitch, “changed hands for \$500,” and ‘Prince Charlie,’ a St. Bernard dog, was quickly claimed at his catalogue price of 75 dollars.<sup>474</sup> Notices such as these were so common that there was even a ‘Notes and Comments’ section in the *Canadian Kennel* that was almost exclusively dedicated to detailing what dogs were bought and sold at the various shows, focus being given to the sale of prize dogs.<sup>475</sup> It also appears as though dogs that were meant for sale at the Dog Show were also put up for auction. On September 11, 1880 in the *Daily Mail* a notice ran stating that “the auction sale of dogs at the close of the dog show

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<sup>470</sup>“Buying and Selling,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* August 1910.

<sup>471</sup>Dalziel, *Book of the Dog* 36.

<sup>472</sup>“The Dog Show,” *The Daily Mail* 7 September 1880.

<sup>473</sup>“The Dog Show,” *The Daily Mail* 8 September 1880; “The Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1893.

<sup>474</sup>“The Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1892.

<sup>475</sup>“Notes and Comments,” *The Kennel Gazette* February 1889; “Notes and Comments,” *The Kennel Gazette* October 1889; “St. Bernards in America,” *The Daily Mail* 10 September 1891. One example was the St. Bernard dog ‘Plinlimmon.’ In 1889, it was reported that ‘Plinlimmon’ was sold to an English fancier for “a large sum of money.” Later in October of 1889, it was stated that ‘Plinlimmon’ had again changed hands for 3 000 dollars. Later, in 1891 it was reported that he was sold to an American fancier, Fritz Emmett for 5 000 dollars.

yesterday was not a great success, the prices obtained being rather modest.” Despite the supposed failure of this event, the auction is important as it suggests that dog shows were not simply spaces where canine bodies were placed on display for potential buyers, but dogs were also put up for open auction after the show was over. Mention of the dog show auction was made in two other instances in the *Canadian Kennel* stating that “many fine dogs fetched a fair price as the auction.”<sup>476</sup>

### Advertising Canine Products

The influence of the dog show on the commodification of canine bodies did not stop at the purchases that were made on the Exhibition grounds. Rather, the competitions that took place at the Toronto Dog Show, as well as others, that designated certain dogs as being ‘winners,’ ‘champions,’ ‘the best in show,’ and ‘the best in breed,’ influenced the way certain dogs were conceptualized as being good sires as well as how breeders in turn advertised these animals outside of the dog show space. Scott explains that like other sports, “showing dogs is a business,” and that “there is no disguising that the animals on display are there to demonstrate their potential as reproducers of future money-making champion dogs.”<sup>477</sup> Similarly, ‘Corsincon’ in 1879 states that “the astute exhibitor knows that the prizes [won at dog shows] carry a higher remuneration than the mere money value.”<sup>478</sup> Rather, he explains “they raise the prestige of his kennel and bring grist to the mill in the shape of stud fees and immensely enhance the prices for his stock.” As ‘Corsincon’ and Shelley’s comments indicate, wins acquired by a dog at prominent shows are extremely important because they greatly increased its financial

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<sup>476</sup>“The Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1905; “The Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* September 1898.

<sup>477</sup>Scott, 47.

<sup>478</sup>Corsincon, *British Dogs* 176.

worth as a stud dog or, to a much smaller extent, brood bitch.<sup>479</sup> By recognizing that a particular dog was the ‘best’ in his/her class or ‘best in the show,’ and then perhaps earning enough wins to become a ‘champion,’ dog shows developed a specific advertizing culture based on show performance. Intricately connected to the idea that ‘like begets like,’ namely Bakewell’s progeny test, dogs that excelled at important shows were believed to be the best, therefore having the potential to produce equally exceptional get.<sup>480</sup>

This trend can be seen in breeder and kennel advertisements that ran in *The Kennel Gazette* and *The Canadian Kennel Gazette*. In the *Kennel Gazette*, a 27 word advertisement could be procured for 25 cents, with each additional word costing one cent, or an ad taking up one-fifth of the page could be had for three months for three dollars, five dollars for six months, and eight dollars for 12 months.<sup>481</sup> From February to December 1889 in the *Kennel Gazette* there were 90 advertisements, 87 small ‘for sale or exchange’ ads and three large ones, and 15 stud ads representing three kennels. In the for sale advertisements, emphasis was placed on the dog’s or puppy’s good breeding. They were touted as being ‘thoroughbred,’ ‘of imported stock,’ or ‘pure’ and attention was paid to their pedigree. These early advertisements did not pay much attention to a dogs show record. This was not the case with the stud ads. Of the 15 stud advertisements, all of them drew attention to the dogs own ability as a prize winner as well as his ability to produce prize winners. ‘Obo Jr.’ was presented as the “well-known prize-winner” and the few dogs that were placed on stud by a kennel in Melrose, Massachusetts were all the greatest ‘champions,’ making them worthy of a 50 dollar stud fee.

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<sup>479</sup> Emphasis was always placed on the stud dog as opposed to the brood bitch.

<sup>480</sup> ‘Get’ refers to puppies produced by a male sire.

<sup>481</sup> “Ad Rates,” *The Kennel Gazette* February 1889. For ‘double size’ ads it cost five dollars for three months, eight dollars for six months, and 12 dollars for 12 months.

As the dog show scene in Ontario grew exponentially so did advertisements for dogs in the kennel gazette. By 1891 pages of advertisements for puppies, grown stock and stud dogs filled the front and back of the *Canadian Kennel*. Unlike the earlier sale advertisements that emphasized pedigree and thorough-breeding, later ones began to mimic 'in the stud' ads that intricately connected the dog's worth with their previous dog show performance. This was done in a variety of ways. Out of 50 advertisements for kennels or individual breeders that ran between 1891 and 1901, 40 used the terms 'winner,' 'best,' 'champion' to emphasize the value of their dogs, bitches and puppies. These advertisements commonly described their puppies as being 'celebrated,' 'the best' and 'the greatest,' or dogs as being the "winners of specials and highest kennel prizes at International dog show, Toronto, 1889 and 1890."<sup>482</sup> Some of these advertisements drew explicitly on the dog show to sell their puppies by stating that they "guaranteed a bench-show or field-trial winner if properly developed."<sup>483</sup> Many advertisements would also draw attention to the constant availability of puppies from 'champion stock,' using their dog's previous dog show wins to advantage the sale of their dogs. One advertisement for the Cocker Kennels in Toronto owned by George Bell, an affiliate of the famed Walker House hotel in Toronto, stated "puppies from pedigreed stock for sale at all times," and another 1891 ad followed a large printed description of their champion dogs with "black pups from the above stock always on hand."<sup>484</sup> In 1905, Dr. C. Y. Ford advertised "the best prize winning strains of the above [Collies and Cocker Spaniels] constantly for sale," and Bonnington Kennels in the same year advertised "puppies and grown stock always on hand for sale."<sup>485</sup> As advertisements became increasingly more extravagant, kennels no longer placed separate ads for stud dogs and

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<sup>482</sup>"Buy the Best," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* January 1891.

<sup>483</sup>"At Stud: The Best English Setter in Canada," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* January 1891.

<sup>484</sup>"Ancient and Modern Spaniel Kennels, Toronto," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* January 1891.

<sup>485</sup>"The Best Collies, Cocker Spaniels," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* April 1905 and "Bonnington Kennels," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* May 1905.

dogs for sale, but rather, combined both into large, sometimes full page, eye-catching advertisements. The 'in the stud' was more prominent and often followed by dogs that were for sale.

In another set of 50 advertisements for stud dogs (that also often included 'for sale' aspects) that ran between the years 1891 and 1901, 41 of them used either the term 'champion' or 'winner' to describe the advertised dog. Of these advertisements, 34 of them also described the stud dogs previously sired get as being 'champions' or 'winners.' In many of these advertisements, great detail was given to describing the stud dogs previous wins as well as the wins of his offspring. In one 1902 ad, it exclaimed "To breed a Winner, Look for a Winner, that has Sired Winners."<sup>486</sup> Another ad for Boston Terrier studs explained of their prize dog 'Raffles 10<sup>th</sup>' that "this little dog requires no boosting, only take a look at his stock at all dog shows - they will speak for his quality as a superior stud dog."<sup>487</sup> In many other instances, the advertised dog would be touted as "a big winner and sire of winners," or "a consistent winner and sire of winners."<sup>488</sup> Attached to each of these dogs would be the stud value of 10 dollars, 15 dollars, 25 dollars, and in some cases 50 dollars, a price that had to be paid in cash directly after the arranged 'visit' was completed.<sup>489</sup> In these advertisements, the stud dogs worth, economically and as a producer of champion puppies, was completely determined at the dog show. The technique of advertizing dogs as the 'champion' or 'winner' illustrates the importance that was placed by fanciers on dog shows. By using these terms, which could only have been earned at

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<sup>486</sup> "To breed a Winner, Look for a Winner, that has Sired Winners," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* April 1902.

<sup>487</sup> "Duneldine Kennels," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* August 1905.

<sup>488</sup> "Fox Terriers," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* May 1903; "Norfolk Kennels," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* May 1899.

<sup>489</sup> "Kersal King," *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* February 1899. 'Kersal King' was an acclaimed male Bull Dog who was bred in England but who also had an exceptional show career in Canada and the US.

dog shows, the idea was conveyed by breeders that their dogs not only conformed to the desired standard, but that they were also believed to have been superior to all others.

### Improvement at the Dog Show

The dog show was intimately connected to ideas of improvement and progress. In the broadest sense, the Dog Show as an institution was in a constant state of progress, the next show always outdoing the one that came previously. *The Daily Mail* explained that the 1880 show “was pronounced to be the best dog show ever held in Canada.”<sup>490</sup> Writing ten years later in 1890, a *Daily Mail* reporter explained that the show was “admitted on all hands to be a great advance on the very promising display of last year, and the average merit of the competitors has also increased all around.”<sup>491</sup> A year later, in an 1891 article that ran in the same publication, the reporter exclaimed that “in point of numbers of entries and general excellent the show is universally conceded to be ahead of last years.”<sup>492</sup> This same sentiment was echoed in 1896 in *The Daily Mail and Empire* when the reporter announced that “The Dog Show this year excels that of former years, not only in point of numbers, but in the quality of exhibits.”<sup>493</sup> Moreover, “taken as a whole the Dog Show of 1896 excels any yet held.” That is of course until the 1897 Dog Show which was argued to be “better than ever.”<sup>494</sup> Each year the display of dogs was reported to be of a greater caliber than the year prior, and the Dog Show as a whole was an even more astounding success.

This idea had little to do with the actual improvement of the canine bodies and more to do with the desire to see the Dog Show maintain its status as one of the principle attractions at

<sup>490</sup>“The Dog Show,” *The Daily Mail* 8 September 1880.

<sup>491</sup>“The Dog Show,” *The Daily Mail* 16 September 1890.

<sup>492</sup>“The Dog Show,” *The Daily Mail* 15 September 1891.

<sup>493</sup>“The Dog and Cat Show,” *The Daily Mail and Empire* 8 September 1896.

<sup>494</sup>“Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* November 1897.

the Exhibition. The fanciers who were responsible for writing such editorial articles were attempting to illustrate how the show added to the overall success of the exhibition. Arguably, they did this because they had a vested interest in not only the Dog Show remaining a part of the Exhibition, but also, with it remaining a popular one as they all owned kennels and sold dogs. As a way to bolster the Dog Show's image, it was presented as not only drawing in a substantial amount of spectators, a number that was ostensibly argued to have grown each year, but it was also drawing in exhibitors from all across Canada and the United States thereby increasing the international status of the Exhibition. By touting that it was constantly growing in number of exhibitors and spectators, the Dog Show was being presented as in-line with the grander dog shows such as the British run Crystal Palace and the American Westminster. In an effort to make the Toronto Dog Show the premier Canadian show, they were attempting to draw in breeders from across North America and Britain: if you were only going to attend one dog show during the year, they wanted the Grand International Toronto Dog Show to be your first choice.

#### 'He is a much Improved Specimen': Improving the Canine Body

The dog show institution, much like the exhibition more generally, was explicitly concerned with the improvement of animal bodies.<sup>495</sup> For a lengthy period, beginning with British prize-cattle, an 'improved' specimen was one that was massive in size, Ritvo's Durham ox that weighed nearly 3 000 pounds by age five providing a clear example of this rage.<sup>496</sup> Among sheep fanciers, the specimens that produced the most wool were touted as being 'improved,' and pigs would have, like the cattle, been marveled for their sheer size. However, in the context of the dog show, 'improvement' nearly always implied that a breeder had been

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<sup>495</sup>Between the years 1889 and 1897 the word 'improvement' or 'improved' was used 52 times to describe certain dogs in dog show reports.

<sup>496</sup>Rewarding massively fat cattle was also common in Ontario, explains Heaman, but fell out of favour as meat production became intricately linked to improving the country's agricultural industry, 101.

successful in bringing his specimens closer to the ideal standard for the particular breed. While canine ‘improvement’ was judged upon two criteria, body conformation and character, the latter was of secondary concern to the animal’s ability to ‘fit-in’ to the desired standard.<sup>497</sup> To ‘Corsincon,’ writing in 1879, dog shows and improving the canine race were intricately connected, as the one facilitated the other. On this matter he stated confidently that dog shows held one great objective that was universally professed and which should take precedence over all others: “the improvement of the various breeds.”<sup>498</sup> In supporting this statement, he explained that dog shows were particularly important for the cultivation of distinct breeds because they were the most convenient and, in some cases, only space for breeders to compare the excellence of their own dogs with that of others. As the dog fancy established itself well before photography became widely available, dog shows were one of the only spaces where breeders could see, study, examine and inspect the animals body closely for observable characteristics.<sup>499</sup> As ‘Corsincon’s’ comments also suggest, dog shows were explicitly conceptualized as places where breeders learned how to improve their respective canine specimens; this was done by replicating the emulative model that was already being used by cattle fanciers.

Just as cattle fancier Dryden noted in 1890, dog fanciers conceptualized the dog show as an important didactic space where breeders could see and learn what a typical specimen of their fancied breed look like, and more importantly, how they could improve their own respective animals so that they better fit the standard. This method was being used to improve canine bodies as well. “A dog show,” explained a *Daily Mail* reporter in 1880 “is above all things for

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<sup>497</sup>Derry, 48. Here she defines the ‘dog fancy’ as being “conformation breeding for show,” namely breeding dogs so that they visibly fit into a breed standard.

<sup>498</sup>Corsincon, “The History of Dog Shows,” in Hugh Dalziel’s, *British Dogs Their varieties, history, characteristics, breeding, management and exhibition*, (London: The Bazaar Office, 1879) 172-192.

<sup>499</sup>In January 1891, *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* made a note regarding the important role that photography was destined to play in the advancement of the dog fancy. It was explained that photography would allow breeders to “better note improvement and make comparison that could not but be useful for future guidance.” 4.

instruction.” Furthermore, explained J. S. Williams in 1892, the principal value of dog shows was rooted in their instructive capacity in that they provided a space for breeders to learn about their dogs faults and qualities. Williams situated his attraction to dog shows on their comparative element when he stated: “I breed dogs because I like them and I show dogs because I want to learn their defects as well as their merits.”<sup>500</sup> By seeing and learning his dog’s weaknesses and strengths, Williams believed that he could learn how to correct the former while cultivating the latter, thereby producing a more standard canine specimen that would ultimately improve the canine race more generally. “I consider them [dog shows] a step in the right direction,” explained Laverack as they enable “those who are desirous of improving their own breed to select models which will conduce to the improvement of the strain they fancy.”<sup>501</sup> As Laverack illustrates, it was at dog shows where fanciers and breeders could view dogs of their fancied breed seriatim and so as to better understand how ‘average’ and ‘typical’ their specific specimens were in comparison to the breed standard.

However, as the above comments might also indicate, dog shows were important for breeders because it was at the dog show where they could procure dogs that would help them improve on their animal’s faults. As dogs were improved through judicious and selective breeding, finding the perfect dog that compensated for your own specimen’s weaknesses was extremely important. If your dog, for instance, was criticized for being too short, you would want to purchase a dog that was much taller in hopes that the puppies produced would be the proper height. Furthermore, if you were a new breeder starting out, it was at the dog show where you would purchase the stock that you needed to begin your kennel. Often, as one *Canadian*

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<sup>500</sup>“The Dog Who Stays at Home,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* August 1892.

<sup>501</sup>Laverack, *The Setter* 46-47.

*Kennel* article explains, new breeders, and indeed “the smartest breeders” would purchase the best quality bitch that they could afford and then pay the stud fee for the dog that best complemented their female.<sup>502</sup> Issued as both an advertising technique as well as a way for breeders to identify the dogs that would improve their own, dog shows published show catalogues. Show catalogues would include information on all the dogs that would be displayed at the upcoming dog show and would be available to breeders weeks in advance.<sup>503</sup> The catalogues were organized according to breed and always listed the following information for each dog: the dogs age, height and size, breeder, owner, address of the breeder/owner and price.<sup>504</sup> Through obtaining a copy of the show catalogue beforehand, breeders were able to research which dogs they were interested in viewing. As many breeders were traveling great distances to show their dogs, it was often mentioned that “many meetings” took place during the dog show days.<sup>505</sup>

Considering that dog shows were where breeders purchased dogs that would improve their own, or bred their dogs to ideal specimens, identifying the ideal and perfect specimen was important. The emphasis on identifying an ideal or typical specimen was a specific concern of dog show breed editorials. This was done by paying close attention to each animals individual body so as to locate breed characteristics that were ‘standard,’ ‘typical,’ and ‘ideal’ of each particular canine type. As part of this process, canine bodies were carefully and meticulously observed, inspected, studied and broken down into individual parts of a greater whole. In all of the breed editorials consulted for this thesis, successful specimens were applauded for being

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<sup>502</sup>“Notes for Novices,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* April 1899.

<sup>503</sup>“Notes and Comments,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* July 1891. Around this time the gazette would run a notice reminding all Toronto Dog Show exhibitors to send in information on the dogs they are entering. Anyone was eligible to obtain a copy of the catalogue all they had to do was write in and request a copy,

<sup>504</sup>Dog Show Committee, *Official Catalogue of the Fifth Annual Grand International Dog Show*, (Toronto: Industrial Exhibition Association Committee). This was the only catalogue that I was able to locate.

<sup>505</sup>*The Canadian Kennel Gazette* had a section called “Meetings” that listed the mating of important dogs.

standard, uniform and ideal in both body and desired characteristic. These specimens were explained as having ‘a good pointer head,’ ‘of excellent Colley type,’ or for being ‘a perfectly typical specimen.’ Winning dogs in category after category were explained as being ‘well-proportioned,’ ‘of nice type,’ ‘of fair average quality,’ ‘well-shaped,’ ‘splendidly characteristic,’ or ‘typical.’

Of the last terms used for describing ideal specimens ‘typical’ was the most common, being used 56 times between the years 1889 and 1899 in editorials that ran in the *Canadian Kennel* to describe notable specimens.<sup>506</sup> Time and again in editorials describing winning or specially mentioned canines, emphasis continually fell on their bodies being ‘typical.’<sup>507</sup> Through this process breeders were systematically identifying characteristics that should be emulated by all breeders of a particular canine type as this would increasingly homogenize the breed. Organized around the principle that each breed dog was a standard representative of a uniform and standard whole, dog shows were important places where new and old fanciers could learn what a ‘typical’ Fox Terrier or ‘true to type’ St. Bernard looked like, and then work to produce specimens that better suited the identified ideal.

Dog shows editorials were not simply interested in identifying ‘ideal’ specimens, they were also explicitly concerned with identifying areas in need of improvement. In the Fox Terrier class in 1889, it was argued that “not a single one of them could be pointed to as illustrating exactly the right thing.”<sup>508</sup> Later, in 1891, Irish Setters breeders were warned “to those looking for advances and with a high ideal of what an Irish Setter should be these classes were a sad

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<sup>506</sup>This statistic was gathered from editorials that covered the Toronto Dog Show that ran in either September or October’s issue of the *Canadian Kennel Gazette*.

<sup>508</sup> “The Toronto Dog Show,” *The Kennel Gazette* October 1889.

disappointment.”<sup>509</sup> Moreover, the reporter lamented “they are on the whole not equal to last year, and it is scarcely too much to say that not one typical specimen was shown.” Similarly in 1892, it was reported that “after carefully examining the” Cocker Spaniel dogs, it was determined that instead of improving, “the Cocker fancy has been put back five years.”<sup>510</sup> He drew direct attention to one bitch ‘Cherry Ripe’ and cautioned breeders “this bitch cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered typical . . . and ought not to have been placed.” Descriptions like these were common in show reports: attention falling on Great Danes and Collies in 1895, Pointers in 1897 and Beagles in 1900.<sup>511</sup> Emphasis in these descriptions always fell on one or two particular dogs that were ‘standard’ but that still had room for improvement.

The idea that even a ‘perfect’ specimen had flaws that could be corrected through careful breeding was intricately connected to the improvement rhetoric. In many of the show reports the bodies of notable dogs were meticulously broken down to identify both their qualities and faults. Through this process, breeders were presented with a standard or typical version of their particular breed that they should emulate but were encouraged to not simply reproduce that exact model, but rather, create an improved version. In 1891, ‘Barkus,’ noted of the Great Danes open class that “Imperator was first as he scores in size, head, front and general symmetry. He is, however, rather defective in loin and does not move with the ease and elasticity of a perfect dog. Favor is a good specimen that might move better and show more quality, though far ahead of Brutus, that is cheeky and lacking in spring of ribs, etc.”<sup>512</sup> In this description, emphasis was given not simply to where the animal’s body was typical, but also where the dog’s body did not

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<sup>509</sup> “The Toronto Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1891.

<sup>510</sup> “Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1892.

<sup>511</sup> “Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1895. “Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* November 1897. “Toronto Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1900.

<sup>512</sup> “Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1891.

quite fit the desired standard. Similarly, in a report covering Bull Dogs in 1893 it stated that “‘The Salem Dog,’ in addition to other defects, and no dog is without, would be greatly improved by more layback.”<sup>513</sup> In 1894, ‘River Roe,’ a winning Irish Setter bitch, was described as “an excellent bitch at all points but could be improved in colour,” while ‘Lady Judith,’ a St. Bernard bitch was praised for having excellent legs, feet, body and movement, but that her head “would be much improved by dark shadings.”<sup>514</sup> Similarly, in 1895, ‘Ring Mahon,’ was criticized for being short in body, with a roughish coat, and “could be improved in body, legs and muzzle.”<sup>515</sup> As these breed reports indicate, no matter how standard or perfect a dog was believed to have been there was always room for improvement. Connecting to the broader exhibition culture of progress and improvement, canine bodies at the dog show were in a constant state of advancement. Year after year, as these examples illustrate, canine bodies were broken down and closely examined to identify where each specimen could be improved. They may have been ‘perfectly characteristic’ or ‘perfectly uniform’ but there were always points that could be uplifted, improved upon and corrected so that the dogs body better fit the desired standard.

## Conclusion

The Dog Show that was held in conjunction with the Toronto Industrial Exhibition was the largest of its kind in Canada. Like the exhibition more generally, the dog show was conceptualized as an important didactic space meant to educate the public about the value and

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<sup>513</sup> “Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1893. C. Marien-de Luca, “The English Bulldog Breed Standard,” *The Bulldog Information Library* (2003-2010) <http://www.bulldoginformation.com/standarduk.html> (Accessed on April 28, 2010). ‘Layback,’ meaning that when a straight edge is placed on the center of the brow downwards to the tip of the underlip, the top of the nose should touch this line. The line of the layback should make an angle of between 35 and 45 degrees to the horizontal.

<sup>514</sup> “Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1894.

<sup>515</sup> “Toronto Dog Show,” *The Canadian Kennel Gazette* October 1895.

points of purebred dogs, while simultaneously providing breeders with a space to work on the standard points of their respective breeds. These animals were believed to have been fundamentally different than non-breed others and it was at the dog show when breeders could demonstrate this point to the public: you could see that these animals were well-behaved and you could learn about how they were carefully and judiciously bred. Undeniably, the dog show, much like the Exhibition more generally, was meant to be a sale space. Whereas all members of the CKC and other breeders and dog fanciers would have had a subscription to the *Canadian Kennel*, the average citizen would most likely not have been reading this publication. At dog shows the public would have not only been introduced visually to all the different breeds, they would have also had the opportunity to purchase. While dog shows were essential in that they stimulated the infant purebred dog industry into a healthy, and profitable, business, they were also important because they allowed breeders learn about breed standards and how to produce standard and typical specimens. While the breed standards that ran in specialty kennel gazettes provided a detailed description of what standard and typical specimens should look like, it was only at dog shows where breeders actually had the opportunity to see large group of their breeds side-by-side in the flesh. They could touch them, measure them and walk them, a process that allowed breeders to identify areas where specimens could be improved, but also areas that had been improved.

## Conclusion

This thesis has examined two canine narratives that emerged in late nineteenth century Toronto, the contrasting stories of the city cur and the purebred, in order to understand the place of animals in urban modernity. Animals have become a worthwhile and significant area of study since anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss famously observed that “animal are good to think [with],” but Canadian historians have been slow in developing human-animal historiography.<sup>516</sup> The purpose of this thesis is to begin filling this lacuna. Making dogs the focus, this thesis has argued that during this period the ‘modern’ city defined the appropriate urban canine as one that was not simply known and controlled, but selectively bred for the desired temperamental and physical qualities that would suit it to life on the leash and in the home. Through an examination of both the regulation and conceptualization of the city cur and the creation and representation of the purebred, this thesis has demonstrated that both narratives were intimately connected to a broader discourse of improvement and progress: of the city and of the canine body.

The history of the regulation of the urban canine is intricately connected to broader political histories of surveillance and governmentality. In the late nineteenth century it became mandatory for all dogs living in Toronto or any of its surrounding areas to be taxed, licensed and visibly fitted with a collar which made its connection to a human owner transparent to the government. Once legislation was put into place which transformed the dog in the city from an unknown object to a known and governable subject, the focus began to shift from ‘knowing’ and ‘identifying’ dog and owner to regulating the animal’s movement. Increasingly, where and when a dog could go in the city space became contingent on whether it was under the direct control of a human master. While all those dogs that were properly licensed, collared and leashed when out

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<sup>516</sup> Claude Levi-Strauss, *Totemism*, Trans., Rodney Needham. (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 1963) 89.

in the urban space were considered to belong, all those unlicensed and seemingly unruly others were systematically excluded from streets either through adoption into the home or extermination at the pound.

Dogs in the city were being targeted with increasingly restrictive by-laws in part because the dog was considered to have been a threat to public safety and public order. Since the narrative of 'man's best friend' has become so common, it is sometimes easy to forget that dogs were, and still are, wild animals that could be dangerous. The unrestrained and unpredictable dog in nineteenth-century Toronto was conceptualized as being not simply dangerous, but also disruptive, diseased and destructive. Not only did these dogs inhibit the free flow of traffic by barking and biting at horses, but they also made the city unsafe for women and children. For the farmer, dogs were not simply a nuisance that interrupted a good night's rest, but they were also responsible for annually destroying thousands of dollars worth of valuable sheep and uncontrolled dogs were treated much like other noxious creatures, such as wolves and coyotes. The exclusion of unruly dogs was intricately connected to the broader modernizing agenda: loose dogs signaled Toronto's stagnation and their exclusion increasingly became associated with modernity.

Yet, exile was not the whole story for dogs. While city curs were being systematically excluded from the city space because they were deemed un-modern, new and improved purebred dogs were being actively included into the city space: whereas the unruly dog indicated anti-progress, a civilized and ordered purebred dog seemed to signal advancement as another example of man's triumph over nature. By exploring how a small group of industrious men were systematically regulating and standardizing the canine body this thesis has shown how the purebred dog became an industrialized product. Like other industrial products, the purebred dog

became standardized and branded, intimately associated with culturally specific symbolism, and increasingly produced *en masse*. By breeding towards a pre-determined standard, breeders were able to minimize variation and increase homogeneity among specimens of the same breed type.

While working towards creating specimens that were perfect representations of their breed type, breeders were also carefully infusing particular breeds with specific and desirable qualities: the St. Bernard was described as a benevolent Christian while Fox Terriers were sporty gentlemen. At the same time, as part of the larger effort to represent purebred dogs as being inherently superior from all other non-breeds, breeders were careful to disparage all non-breed others. By explaining that the purebred dog was a symbolic representation of valuable characteristics, while the mongrel in contrast signified undesirable qualities and undesirable people, breeders created a dichotomy that valorized purebreds and degraded mongrels.

Finally, through an examination of Toronto Dog Show, this thesis has explained that purebred dogs were not simply bred for the purchase and enjoyment of a small group of fanciers, but also placed on display for the consuming public. The Dog Show, which was held under the auspices of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition, was conceptualized as a pedagogical space meant to educate the public about the value and points of purebred dogs, while also providing breeders with a place to work out the standard points of their particular breeds. More than simply a space where breeders could learn how to emulate ideal specimens, the Toronto Dog Show was also important because it provided breeders with the opportunity to show the public how their dogs were different from non-breed others. Not only could the public see that these animals were, unlike the mixed-up mongrel, aesthetically pleasing and well-behaved, but at the dog show breeders were given the opportunity to educate the public about how their purebred dogs were carefully and judiciously bred so as to transform them into the perfect pet. This was done,

however, with a purpose: to sell a product. Like the exhibition more generally, the dog show was a place of sale where the public would be introduced visually to various breeds and then given the opportunity to purchase. While the purpose of a chapter on the Toronto Dog Show was meant to illustrate how purebred dogs were intricately connected to broader ideas of improvement, it was also intended to problematize the romantic story of ‘man’s best friend’ by showing that the dog, much like other industrial products and other livestock, was originally conceived of as a product to be constructed and improved.

### Final Thoughts

Ultimately, the question that has driven this thesis is to ask how two contrasting institutions, the dog pound and the dog show, could develop simultaneously in the same city. While the one was established as a way to manage and exterminate unwanted dogs and was built on the premise of secrecy and invisibility, the other was intended to not only make dogs visible – but actually transform them into spectacles and products. At the dog show, dogs became much more than animals on display, they became performers: performing both specific ideas of class, race and gender, as well as culturally specific ideas of ‘dog,’ ‘animal,’ and ‘breed.’ I would argue that institutions such as the dog show, which apparently bring humans and canines closer together, were actually spaces where the human-canine, and indeed human-animal, divide was widened: the dogs on display were objects and specimens. Although they exhibited many human characteristics and symbolized specific human traditions, these associations were superficial and created by breeders looking to present their purebred dogs so that they were appealing to consumers.

Despite the contrasts which exist between these two institutions, further analysis into the development of animal management and institutions like dog shows also provide insight into the influential role animals have played in urban development. While places such as dog pounds were built with the intention of eradicating problem dogs, they developed out of a response not simply to conceptualizations and representations of dogs – but because of real dogs behaving like dogs. By traveling the city streets cajoling, biting and barking, dogs forced the city to create a surveillance system, a bureaucratic apparatus for the identification, control, detention and eventually extermination of the canine subject.

In conclusion, this thesis has only begun to touch upon the complicated relationship that Canadians had with their animal others. As Levi-Strauss has observed, ‘animals are good to think [with].’ There are many stories that could be told and I encourage others to continue looking at different animal groups and their place in the modern city.

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