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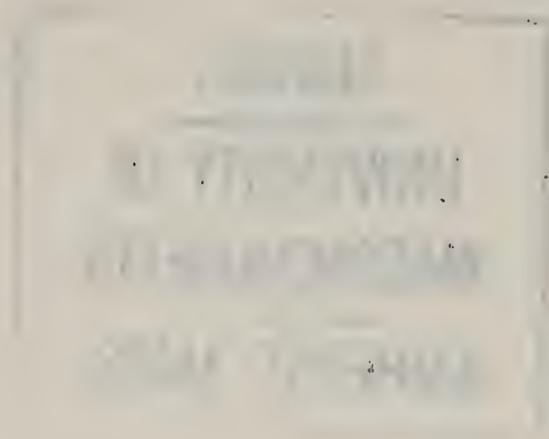
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ANGLO-AMERICAN BLOOD SPORTS, 1776-1889:
A STUDY OF CHANGING MORALS



A Thesis Presented

By

Jack William Berryman

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
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Department of History

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

From earliest times until approximately the eighteenth century, most cultures viewed the animal as only an object placed on earth for the benefit and service of man. Accordingly, man exploited animals for labor or used them for food. The intriguing physical traits of many animals have fascinated man throughout history and such peculiarities have inspired people in all cultures to use animals for amusement and entertainment. Man has created special breeds of animals, as they have plants, for the psychological pleasure of sheer mastery over nature or the visual pleasure of pleasing form. But man also takes pleasure in cruelty and suffering, and the animal, because it reacts rather quickly, was a rather frequent victim of the darker aspects of human nature.

Sports involving cruelty to animals reached a peak of popularity in eighteenth-century Europe, and English historians especially, have written vivid accounts of cruel sports involving the baiting, fighting, or torturing of animals. The strong religious tone of seventeenth-century American settlements, together with the overwhelming richness of animal life in the New World, combined to prevent the direct importation of cruel Elizabethan and Jacobean

animal sports. But by the eighteenth century such sports had become common in the colonies. Eventually these sports came to be called "blood sports," many of which had as their sole object the cruel treatment of animals.

No sooner had blood sports become widespread in America than two general forms of opposition arose. One, which may be called anthropocentric, placed man at the center of the moral universe, and typically opposed blood sports not for the cruelty to animals but the dangers to the morals of men--gambling, brutalization of feelings, misuse of time, and so on. The second, or anthropomorphic form of opposition, saw the animal as a man-like creature with man-like feelings and consciousness. Thus, the animal had "rights" not dissimilar to those of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. At its best the anthropomorphic view led to the growth of "humane societies" by the middle of the nineteenth century; at its worst it has led to the sentimentalism of pet cemeteries and poodles or chimpanzees dressed as humans. External to these two essentially moral attitudes of men and women was another factor that would eventually lead to the decline of blood sports: many new and different sporting options. New sports or attitudes toward sport emphasized new goals like physical or mental or moral health or even the duty of helping build the "image" of one's country.

And thus it was not merely legislation but the transformation of established moral beliefs that ultimately lead to the elimination of blood sports like cock fighting, gander pulling, bear and bull baiting, snatching the rooster, and cock throwing. The transformation began in the Jacksonian era, which witnessed the first great wave of American effort at amelioration or "reform," of humanitarian campaign, and of the general belief that society could be improved. Americans of the 1820s, 30s and 40s believed that everyone was capable of moral redemption. Many thought they could achieve ultimate perfection. Most believed that they could achieve their ends and even improve human nature by changing the environment, whether by diet, by architecture, or by sport. The traditional historical isms of the period--like transcendentalism, romanticism, and revivalism, reinforced the idealistic faith of the perfectability of man.

The more humane view of animals did not suddenly begin to hover over the scene in the Jacksonian period. There were, of course, precedents and forerunners. During the two previous centuries individual clergymen, educators, government officials, editors, poets, artists, scientists, journalists, and moralists of every stripe had exerted a positive influence that cannot easily be assessed. But as with penal and temperance reforms, progress had to await organization into groups. There was nothing that could be

called a humane movement until the organization in 1824 (England) and 1866 (United States) of groups promoting kindness to animals. With the formation of animal protection societies, there was some hope for altering the American tradition of blood sports; and that alteration, is, in turn, indicative of the transformation of American moral beliefs and social behavior.

The eventual demise of blood sports was aided in part by their own popularity and easy accessibility. Humanitarians could easily find out about them and attack them. The abolitionist had little hope that the well-publicized maltreatment of a few slaves could lead to preventive legislation; and even on the comparatively trivial level of temperance or teetotalism, legislative victories were local, sporadic, and impermanent. But in the instance of blood sports, preventive legislation--that final aim of reformers--often derived its initial stimulus from attempts to stop public exhibitions of barbarous sports. Aided by lurid stories of vivisection and by everyday scenes of cart drivers flogging their horses, reformers could point to the fact that people took pleasure in the pain and death of animals, and to the fact that there were "inhuman sports."

During the first three quarters of the nineteenth century it was two figures who did most to stop blood sports in the United States: Henry Bergh (1823-1888) and George Angell (1823-1909). By 1866, Bergh had succeeded in

founding the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, a high point in the campaign against blood sports and cruelty in general. Bergh and Angell, at times in cooperation with one another, fought for laws prohibiting blood sports. Among other activities they disseminated humane literature, published journals pertaining to cruelty, formed the American Bands of Mercy, and founded the American Humane Education Society. Largely as a result of their work, the period following 1866 represented a new epoch in the treatment of animals and a partial transformation of America's sporting tradition.

This general story of the rise and fall of blood sports in America would be worth telling in itself. But it also affords a peculiarly illuminating view of two larger areas of history: sport history in general and the great changes in the general social behavior of nineteenth-century America. Why did Americans come to view one part of their sporting heritage with disapproving and critical eyes? Was concern with the maltreatment of animals related to a more general discontent with all forms of physical violence?

In short, to study the relationship between man and animal is to study the relationship between man and man.

A. Anglo-American sports before 1776

The colonists who settled along the Atlantic Coast of North America in the beginning of the seventeenth

century were familiar with a variety of sports practiced in Europe. But the realities of getting a livelihood out of forests and swamps reinforced the importance of hard work and the need to place sports under strict control. For the early colonist, survival itself was the primary concern as they struggled with the Indians, health problems, and economic stability. Using valuable time in idle diversions caused stringent restrictions to be placed on them. Sports and general recreation had to serve a useful purpose before they could be condoned.

The restrictions and regulations prohibiting sports reflected the overall importance of using time wisely, protecting property, and guarding individual safety. Laws utilized phrases such as "detestation of idleness," "mispence of time," and the "common good," to prohibit all forms of sports that could not be justified by some motive besides having fun. Other laws were concerned with sports which damaged houses, windows and other private possessions. Laws also prohibited any sport which was deemed harmful to "life or limb." It was necessary to protect morals too, and legislation restricted sports which included gambling or elicited drinking and profanity.

Although local laws and general environment were not wholly conducive for sport participation, the pioneers did find ways to combine work and pleasure. Necessary tasks such as hunting and fishing could entertain and

divert as well as provide food. Likewise, corn huskings, log rollings, barn raisings, quilting parties, sheep shearings, and plowing bees, which were chores of major importance, provided occasions for group gatherings where strength and skill could be tested. Special days such as training or muster days and fairs, were also times when the colonists could participate in sports.

The seventeenth-century inhabitants of America also participated in sports which were obvious displays of a European sporting heritage which regulations could not eradicate. Laws restricting sports varied from colony to colony and by 1700 some areas had achieved enough stability to permit more sport participation. As wealth and leisure time increased, more and more sports became popular.

The actual sports which were popular before the beginning of the eighteenth century relied on equipment which was readily available and easy to assemble or consisted of activities where little or no equipment was needed at all. Hunting and fishing are excellent examples. Other popular pursuits were target shooting, wrestling, running and jumping contests, kaetzen, skittles, kolf, kolven, gouging, nine pins, shuffleboard or clef, long bullet, horseshoe pitching, cudgels, archery, swimming, fencing, ice skating, shuttlecock, various ball games, sledding, and pitching the bar. These sports needed little formal organization and were often spontaneous events when

large groups of people were brought together.

Another group of sports which were popular during the seventeenth century relied on the abundance of wildlife in the colonies. Animal sports such as horse racing, bear and bull baiting, fox hunting, cock throwing, cock fighting, clubbing the cat, target shooting at live animals, and gander pulling, utilized both wild and domestic animals for sporting pleasure. A disregard for animal life and the general belief that animals were only for the purpose of serving man, provided an environment conducive for enjoying the suffering and pain of animals. Horse races were often run for very long distances, animal baitings pitted dogs against much abler foe, and the participants and spectators of gander pulling were elated when the gander's head was successfully pulled from its body.

During the first three quarters of the eighteenth century a change in governmental control provided a stimulus for the further growth and development of sport. Men appointed by Great Britain to govern British land holdings in America, sometimes called Royal Governors, succeeded in introducing to the colonists many of the amusements and sports typical to England's upper class. The Royal Governors were a leisurely and sporting group. They promoted added interest in a variety of sports by setting an example for the lower classes to follow. The lower classes have been traditionally known to adopt the sports

of the upper classes in order to at least act the part of a higher social ranking to which they all aspired. Imitation was one way new sports grew and developed in America.

A growth in transportation and communication provided new stimuli for sports. Coffee houses, inns, ordinaries, taverns, spas, watering places, and seaports became centers for participation in sports. Newspapers, periodicals, books, and general printed material informed the people of important events and established better communications between America and Europe. Changes in the size and location of the population which led to the formation of larger towns and cities made it possible for the early Americans to join together more readily in sports. By 1700, a noticeable economic prosperity had also been established which permitted the men of wealth to live without labor and form America's first leisure class. These men became America's first real sportsmen. Accompanying all of the above alterations in society was a gradual reduction of the premium on labor, an ease of restrictive legislation pertaining to sports, and a reduction of general church control. Combined, the aforementioned factors provided an environment instrumental to a gradual growth of participation and observance of sports.

New places and opportunities for the practice of sports were direct outgrowths of changes in the social and economic structure. The development of a wealthy upper

class led to elite sporting clubs and a large amount of leisure time necessary for sport participation. Social clubs such as the South River Club in Maryland, formed in 1742, and the Schuylkill Fishing Company established ten years before near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, were formed by wealthy merchants and became centers for sport. Elite jockey clubs were created throughout the colonies during the mid 1700's in conjunction with the popularity and rapid growth of horse racing. Taverns, inns, coffee houses, and ordinaries were scattered throughout the East and were popular for sports of all kinds. The owners frequently sponsored sports for business purposes and the constant availability of strong drink promoted many bets concerning strength, skill, and endurance to be tested by sports. Spas and watering places, the first areas where one could display an over abundance of leisure, were frequented by the upper classes who treasured their balls, parties, games, and sports. Trade fairs, popular throughout the colonies, furnished an opportunity for the colonists to assemble and have recreation. Some of the fairs eventually became more popular for the sports held than for their original purpose of promoting trade. Likewise, election days, political rallies, commencement days, court days, lecture days, and training days, which provided an occasion for assemblage, became popular for their varied array of sports. Of course, local and national holidays

and all varieties of work parties remained popular opportunities for sport participation. Virtually any event which pulled the colonists together was occasion for recreation and sport.

A variety of new and different sports arose as the colonies became more similar to continental Europe in their overall development. Yachting and rowing became popular as seaports and river towns grew with the increased emphasis on trade. Swimming grew rapidly in conjunction with the spas and watering places. The drinking establishments sponsored shuffleboard, bowling, billiards, boxing, quoits, shooting, racing, cock fighting, animal baiting, gander pulling, and a variety of ball games. Horse racing was the most popular sport and race tracks were built in almost every colony. Trotting and fox hunting grew in popularity and clubs were established for their participants. Winter sports such as sleighing, sledding, and skating were popular sports where the weather permitted. Even ballooning, a little known sport, had a period of popularity before 1776.

Intercolonial rivalries were established in horse racing and cock fighting with much emphasis placed on the quality of each colony's entrant. But, for the most part, the sports before the Revolutionary War remained unorganized, local affairs, without much of the professionalization or the overt emphasis on advertising that we associate with

sports in the twentieth century. Roughness, gambling, profanity, cruelty, and strong drink, were part and parcel of many of the eighteenth century sports.¹

¹The information for this chapter was derived from the following general sources: Robert B. Weaver, Amusements and Sports In American Life (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1939), chs. 1-3; William C. Ewing, The Sports of Colonial Williamsburg (Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1937), pp. 1-9 and 21-28; Herbert Manchester, Four Centuries of Sport in America, 1490-1890 (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), pp. 14-47; Foster R. Dulles, A History of Recreation: America Learns To Play (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940) chs. 1-3; John A. Krout, Annals of American Sport, Vol. 15 of The Pageant of America Series (New York: United States Publishers Association, 1929), ch. 1; John R. Betts, Organized Sport In Industrial America. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1952, chs. 1-2; Jennie Holliman, American Sports (1785-1835) (Durham, North Carolina: Seeman Press, 1931), Introduction, pp. 3-10; John Durant and Otto Bettman, Pictorial History of American Sports: From Colonial Times To The Present (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1952), pp. 2-45; Richard Kraus, Recreation and Leisure in Modern Society (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971), pp. 160-167; Jane Carson, Colonial Virginians at Play (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1965); Marvin H. Eyler, "Origins of Contemporary Sports," Research Quarterly, 32 (December, 1961), 480-489; Ruth W. Fink, "Recreational Pursuits in the Old South," Research Quarterly, 23 (March, 1952), 28-37; Samuel C. Worthen, "Outdoor Sports In Colonial Times," Granite Monthly, 54 (December, 1922), 450-451; Harry B. and Grace M. Weiss, Early Sports and Pastimes in New Jersey (Trenton, New Jersey: Past Times Press, 1960), chs. 5, 9-10; Guion G. Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), pp. 109-113 and 180-187; June A. Kennard, "Maryland Colonials At Play: Their Sports and Games," Research Quarterly, 41 (October, 1970), 389-395; Everett Dick, The Dixie Frontier (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), ch. 13; Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia In The Age Of Franklin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), ch. 6; Edward Eggleston, "Social Life In The Colonies," Century, 30 (July, 1885), 387-407; W.G.S., "Racing In Colonial Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 2 (January, 1895), 293-305; Horatio Smith, Festivals,

B. The nature of blood sports

Sports expressing an obsession with the death and torture of animals were popular throughout England and most of colonial America. These cruel amusements have been referred to by those attempting to prohibit them as blood sports. The term blood sports was used because the rules of the sports included the maiming, injury, killing, or bloodshed of innocent animals. Henry Salt, editor of one of the few books pertaining to blood sports, Killing For Sport (1915), defined blood sports as "those amusements which involve the death or torture of sentient beings."² He further stated that the "worst and most demoralising forms of blood sports" were "those which make use of a tame or captured animal, and not one that is really wild and free."³

Blood has always been an important symbol and was universally attributed with a special significance. "In blood," an old hunting phrase, popular as early as the seventeenth century, meant "in full vigor or full of life."

Games and Amusements (New York: J. and J. Harper, 1831), Appendix, chs. 2-4; Dixon Wecter, The Saga of American Society, A Record of Social Aspiration, 1607-1937 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937) ch. 11; and, Ruth E. Painter, "Tavern Amusements in Eighteenth Century America," Americana, 11 (January, 1916), 92-115.

²Henry S. Salt (ed.), Killing For Sport; essays by various writers, with a preface by Bernard Shaw (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1915), p.v.

³Ibid., pp. v-vi.

"Raise the blood," another famous sporting line, meant "to make eager for combat or bloodshed."⁴ Although no reliable source of information is available, the term blood sport itself seems to have become popular in England during the latter part of the eighteenth century as part of the propaganda of reformers; individuals who worked to eliminate cruelty from British sports. Later, around the 1820's, humane society leaders and humanitarians in England adopted the term. Blood sports soon became associated with cruel animal sports such as cock fighting, bull and bear baiting, dog fighting, gander pulling, rat baiting, snatching the rooster, and cock throwing in America by the 1830's.

The cruel nature of the British had been alluded to by numerous travelers during the eighteenth century. The French, more than others, frequently commented on England's bloodthirsty people. Etienne Perlin, a traveler through England in 1775, was shocked that all life was sacrificed "in such abundance that blood flows by the brook full."⁵ Earlier in the same century a visiting scholar, Sorbriere Mons, remarked in regard to the British that

⁴James A. H. Murray, et al. (eds.), The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), I, 930-931.

⁵Etienne Perlin, Descriptions des Royaumes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse (London, 1775), p. 28, quoted in Dix Harwood, Love for Animals and How It Developed In Great Britain (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), p. 55.

"there is something in them that is great, and which they seem to retain from the Old Romans: They have at this Day a sort of Gladiators, Bull and Bear-baiting and Dog-fighting."⁶ Even as recent as 1875, Rene Rapin, discussing British tragedy, said, "Our neighbors the English like blood in their games by virtue of their temperament. They are insular and separated from other men."⁷ In a similar vein, American historian Max Lerner, described the relationship between sport and blood:

Sports do for the popular culture of America what 'circuses' did for the Roman culture at the height of the Empire. They let the populace take part in a crucial ritual that binds them to one another and to the culture. Every people, no matter how civilized, must have a chance to yell for blood.⁸

It can certainly be argued that blood sports were not only inherent to the British tradition. Still blood sports were very popular amusements in England and America during the seventeenth, the eighteenth, and the early part of the nineteenth century. To some extent this popularity must have reflected a culture in which cruelty, severe punishment, and an obsession for violence were prominent characteristics.

⁶Sorbiere Mons, Voyage to England (London, 1709) p. 5, quoted, ibid., p. 55.

⁷Rene Rapin, Reflexions sur la Poetique. n.d., Vol. II, p. 20, quoted, ibid., p. 55.

⁸Max Lerner, America as a Civilization (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 812.

C H A P T E R II

BLOOD SPORTS IN THE NEW NATION, 1776-1889

Practically all American blood sports had their origins in England. The three most popular blood sports of England, cock fighting, bear baiting, and bull baiting, were carried to America by the colonists and were practiced regularly before the Revolutionary War. Less popular sports, such as dog fighting, rat baiting, cock throwing, and badger baiting, had similar origins in England. While not British in origin, gander pulling was nevertheless European; having originated in Holland, it was subsequently practiced in New Netherlands, whence it spread to the American South and mid-West. Snatching the rooster was another sport which could not be traced to Britain. Resembling gander pulling and demanding expert horsemanship, this sport was probably practiced solely in the western and southwestern parts of America. Though prominent on the borderlands of Anglo-America, the colonies of France and Spain had little significant influence on blood sports. The tradition of blood sport can thus be attributed almost entirely to Great Britain.

Americans conducted blood sports at special events such as church gatherings, festivals, holidays, court sessions, militia musters, and election days, besides the

everyday activities at taverns, hotels, inns, local pits, race tracks, and town commons. Those that attended and participated in these sports ranged from the highest nobility to the lowest peasant and on occasion represented both sexes. Blood sports were sometimes associated with religious rites, sometimes the requirement of local custom, and sometimes the obligation of certain town merchants. Cock fighting, cock throwing, bear baiting, and bull baiting, were customary events at holidays and religious festivals. Tormenting these animals had religious connotations and it was expected of the people to perform these rites. Even the school children in England participated in cock throwing and cock fighting as part of their school activities until the mid-eighteenth century. But, for the most part, these sports were conducted because they attracted large crowds who enjoyed watching animals face death, reach their utmost limits of physical endurance, or display feats of strength, dexterity, and cunning. Most blood sports also provided an occasion for gambling.

The popularity of blood sports was related to the universal interest in wild animals native or foreign, especially dangerous animals from a foreign country. When such beasts became available, Britons and Americans, and to some extent peoples of other countries, felt an urge to test the physical qualities of the animals by the established standards of the baiting pit. With excited curiosity the

people wanted to see the foreign animals pitted against the best dogs in the land to determine superiority. The bulldog's and mastiff's physical capabilities were known and were used as standards of strength and ferocity. In 1716 Londoners baited a leopard and the next year baited a tiger. Early Americans baited wolves, cougars, foxes, and wild horses for similar reasons. These more exotic events were not as common as the frequent, more or less traditional baits of bulls and bears, but occurred from time to time.

People enjoyed watching animals being tortured and they loved to see pain inflicted upon any living thing. Spectators of blood sports had a thrill from seeing death inflicted; they took a certain sadistic joy in it. They also took a kind of aesthetic pleasure in the looks, strength, dexterity, ferocity, and cunning of the animals. The psychology involved probably went beyond these simple pleasures, for such sports also represented a test of man and his arts against the brute creation. Spectators were quite conscious of testing themselves, or preferably their dogs, against the strongest and fiercest creatures of the animal world. Using baiting dogs, which were products of man's training and breeding skills, one could feel that the cunning of man was pitted against the animal creation. It was man, too, who arranged each contest and presided over

it. Thus, blood sports served to reinforce his lofty position above animals in the order of the universe.

Blood sports were popular, too, because they provided a contest capable of lending itself to gambling. Since animals were competing against each other, the chances of "fixing" the outcome were less likely than for human contests. In addition, the animals generally fought life or death battles which encouraged more betting and guaranteed a clear winner. As entertaining spectator sports, as socially acceptable outlets for aggression, and as money-making devices, blood sports were the forerunners of professionalized twentieth century sports and the stadium age.

Before 1820, Americans lacked some of the exotic or sophisticated touches of English blood sport--tigers, carefully bred lines of bull dogs--so they turned to the everyday domestic animal life around them: chickens and geese, dogs and cattle. Not only the availability of animals, but also certain local values like the American admiration for horsemanship (not confined to the upper classes), determined the kinds of blood sports that grew up in the United States. Thus, cock fighting and gander pulling could use easily accessible domestic fowl. At the same time, gander pulling and snatching the rooster tested horsemanship, while cock fighting challenged the art and science of animal breeding.

It is probable that cock fighting, one of the oldest blood sports known to civilization, was also one of the earliest blood sports practiced in the Anglo-American and Hispanic-American colonies. Though long since outlawed by most states, it is still widely practiced.

A. Cock fighting

[The sport of cock fighting was conducted by placing two fighting cocks together in a way calculated to arouse their natural instinct to fight. In the exciting combat that followed, the cocks would tear at one another until one either succumbed or ran from his adversary. Breeders took great pride in developing a strain of cocks which would survive the fights between cocks from other breeders. The fighting cocks used the natural spurs on their legs to cut and puncture their opponents. To fight properly, the cock had to have the ability to fly rapidly above the other combatant to successfully thrust his spurs into a vital area. Natural spurs were sharpened to make killing more rapid or were sometimes padded to extend the duration of the fight. Later, steel or other metal spurs were substituted for the natural spurs in order to match the cocks more closely.] Before the sixteenth century, fights were staged on the open ground but as the sport grew in popularity regular pits with seats for spectators were

built.¹

Probably the earliest account of cock fighting dates the sport to 1,000 B.C. It was popular in Asia, Greece, Rome, India, and China before coming to England. One authority on the subject claimed that cock fighting was partly a religious and political institution in Rome but the Greeks perverted it to a low and unmeaning sport.²

Fighting cocks were used in these early civilizations for reasons besides sport. The noble fighting of the cocks was thought to encourage military valor, to inspire the soldier with courage, teach indifference to personal pain, and a contempt for death.³ Speculation has it that the Romans or perhaps even the Phoenicians first brought the sport to England.

The first recorded instance of cock fighting in England was in 1174, when William Fitzstephen described the use of cocks by school children on Shrove Tuesday in his

¹There are a number of histories of cock fighting. See, for example: C. A. Finsterbusch, Cock Fighting All Over the World (Gaffney, South Carolina: Grit and Steel Co., 1929); Andrew P. O'Connor, Forty Years With Fighting Cocks (Goshen, New York: E. W. Rogers, 1929); Tim Pridgen, Courage, The Story of Modern Cockfighting (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown and Company, 1938); Arch Ruport, The Art of Cockfighting (New York, N. Y.: Devin-Adair Co., 1949); and, George R. Scott, The History of Cockfighting (London: Charles Skilton Ltd., 1957).

²Rev. Samuel Pegge, "A Memoir on Cock-Fighting," Archaeologia, 3 (1786), p. 143.

³A. O'Connor, Forty Years . . ., pp. 21-27.

Descriptio Londoniae.⁴ Cock fighting remained as part of the annual celebrations held at most of England's schools well into the eighteenth century.⁵ Adults too, relished the sport, and it benefited from the support of royalty throughout its history in England. Henry II (1154-1189) enjoyed the sport so much that he established a permanent office with the title of "Hereditary Marshal of the King's Birds."⁶ Cock fighting became more fashionable during the reign of Edward III (1327-1377) and was taken even more seriously by adults.⁷ It received further royal support when Henry VIII (1509-1547) built a cockpit at Whitehall Palace for his personal entertainment.⁸ The sport however was still primarily for school children and members of the upper class. Even during Tudor and early Stuart times (1485-1649), cock fighting was still mainly conducted on a

⁴Described in Sir Sidney Lee, "Bearbaiting, Bull-baiting, and Cockfighting," Ch. 7 in Shakespeare's England, An Account of the Life and Manners of His Age (London: Clarendon Press, 1932), Vol. II, pp. 428-436.

⁵A. O'Connor, Forty Years . . ., pp. 29-30.

⁶Lawrence Fitz-Barnard, Fighting Sports (London: Odhams Press Ltd., 1921), p. 7.

⁷Joseph Strutt, The Sports And Pastimes Of The People of England (Detroit, Michigan: Singing Tree Press, 1968), pp. 224ff. (Originally published in 1801).

⁸S. Lee, "Bearbaiting . . .," pp. 434ff.

regular basis by country gentlemen and royalty.⁹

James I (1603-1625) appointed a "cockmaster" as a royal officer who was responsible for breeding, feeding, and training the king's gamecocks.¹⁰ At this time Englishmen viewed cock fighting as just another "game" in England and the cocks were referred to as "cocks of the game." But, later in the reign of James I, they began to be noted as "game cocks," signifying high courage.¹¹ The growing popularity of the sport encouraged Gervase Markham to write The Fighting Cock: The Choice, Ordering, Breeding and Dieting of the Fighting Cock for Battel in 1614.¹² This was probably the first book written on training for sports and was subsequently used as a guide for training athletes and race horses. Also during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, various town councils supplied cocks for fighting on the popular holidays of Eccles Wake, Ash

⁹William B. Boulton, The Amusements Of Old London: Being A Survey Of The Sports And Pastimes Tea Gardens And Parks, Playhouses And Other Diversions Of The People Of London From The 17th To The Beginning Of The 19th Century (New York, N. Y.: Benjamin Blom, 1969), p. 178 (Originally published in 1901).

¹⁰S. Lee, "Bearbaiting . . . ," pp. 434ff.

¹¹A. O'Connor, Forty Years . . . , p. 139.

¹²Ibid., p. 34.

Wednesday, Shrove Tuesday, Whitsuntide, and Easter Monday.¹³

By 1660 and the beginning of the reign of Charles II, cock fighting was reaching a high point in its growth in England.

During the seventeenth century clergymen sponsored and participated in cock fighting. Fights were held at churches during this time and at least one contest had a prize of a prayer book.¹⁴ The church officials who participated believed there was no great cruelty to cocks "for they are Devil's messengers because one crowed for joy after Peter denied our Blessed Lord."¹⁵ Cocking season, by this time, had extended to all months except June and July and pits for fighting them were built at race tracks, bowling greens, opera halls, and some early theatres.¹⁶ Finally, in 1683, the Duke of York introduced the sport of cock fighting to Scotland.¹⁷ By the end of the seventeenth

¹³T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, British Popular Customs, Present and Past; Illustrating The Social and Domestic Manners of The People: Arranged According to The Calendar Year (London: George Bell and Sons, 1876), pp. 117, 369-370.

¹⁴G. Scott, History of . . ., p. 116.

¹⁵William S. Davis, Life In Elizabethan Days: A Picture of a Typical English Community at the End of the Sixteenth Century (New York, N. Y.: Harpers and Brothers, 1930), pp. 237-238; Dorothy G. Spicer, Yearbook of English Festivals (New York, N. Y.: Wilson Co., 1954), p. 191 (note).

¹⁶G. Scott, History of . . ., pp. 59-69.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 115. For more information see Ch. IX, "Historical Aspects of Cockfighting In The United Kingdom," pp. 93-120.

century, then, cock fighting was well established and quite popular in Great Britain.

Cock fighting was introduced to America along with the first colonists. Jamestown, named after King James I, had fighting cocks. Sea captains brought the cocks from England and Ireland to satisfy a constant demand for good fighting fowl. Rules of the sport, patterned after the British rules, were introduced early in the seventeenth century. The Spanish also enjoyed the sport and were responsible for its popularity in the far South and Southwest.¹⁸ As more colonists with a strong sporting background settled in America, the sport of cock fighting matured into a popular amusement.

The sport was practiced in all of the colonies, but the middle and southern sections had much more support for cock fighting. In New York and New Jersey it was considered a pardonable diversion and in Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, it was regarded as a proper pastime for gentlemen.¹⁹ The South, with its aristocracy of planting and professional classes who took pride in their English heritage, was the recognized center for the sport. The men of class, in normal cavalier fashion, gambled on horse

¹⁸A. O'Connor, Forty Years . . ., pp. 54, 83-87.

¹⁹"Game Cocks and Cock-Fighting," Outing, 39 (December, 1901), p. 351.

races and cock fights.²⁰ As often as not, matters of personal pride were settled by a duel, horse race, or cock fight. Even in New York City at the beginning of the eighteenth century, cock fighting was an aristocratic pastime. Shrove Tide, Whitsuntide, and Easter were the most popular holidays for contests, keeping with the still predominant English tradition.²¹

Evidences of the popularity and appeal of cock fighting in America before 1776 are numerous and appear in a variety of locations. Quality cock fighting before the Revolution was primarily a sport for upper class gentlemen who could afford to conduct private fights and do their own breeding and training. The middle and lower classes imitated the gentry and conducted their own fights but these were merely spontaneous, low stakes affairs, with the fighting fowl possessing a questionable hereditary background. Cock fighting, along with a number of other sports, received some notoriety in 1682, when it was termed "riotous" by an act of the Assembly of the Pennsylvania

²⁰Rosser H. Taylor, "The Gentry of Antebellum South Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, 17 (April, 1940), pp. 114, 123.

²¹James G. Wilson (ed.), The Memorial History of the City of New York: From Its First Settlement To The Year 1892 (New York: New York History Company), 1893, p. 459. See the advertisements for cock fighting on Whitsun Monday and Easter Monday in the Virginia Gazette: March 17, 1768, p. 3; February 22, 1770, p. 3; May 24, 1770, p. 3; May 28, 1772, p. 2, and May 12, 1774, p. 3.

Colony²² because it kept people from their work. But, in Williamsburg, Virginia, cock fighting was one of the most popular sports.²³ Hugh Jones, in his account of Virginia in 1724, observed that the lesser planters "don't much admirer Labour, or any manly Exercise, except Horse-Racing, nor Diversion, except Cock-Fighting in which some greatly delight."²⁴ The church apparently did not consider it any more an immoral sport than did the clergy of England and in fact participated as spectators. Thus the Reverend John Sharpe, an Anglican minister in New York, between 1710 and 1713, wrote in his diary on several occasions that he "dined in the ffort, at night at the fighting cocks" and "at ye fighting cocks at night."²⁵

Cocking mains and horse races were generally held on the same day in the South. Almost all advertisements

²²Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Weiss, Early Sports and Pastimes in New Jersey (Trenton, N. J.: The Past Times Press, 1960), p. 64.

²³William C. Ewing, Sports of Colonial Williamsburg (Richmond, Virginia: Dietz Press, 1937), p. 1.

²⁴Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia (1724) (New York, N. Y.: Joseph Sabin, 1865), p. 48.

²⁵Rev. John Sharpe, "A Journal of My Life-Exterieur," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 40 (1916), pp. 420-425. There are numerous entries between February and December of attending cock fights and mention of the sport conducted on "Shrove Tuesday". The importance of cock fighting on Shrove Tuesday in New York City was also alluded to by Louis B. Wright, The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763 (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p. 189, and by J. G. Wilson, Memorial History . . ., p. 459.

for one event contained at least some reference to the other. The cock fights were usually held in the jockey club headquarters at the track or in a nearby barn where admission could be charged. These fights drew a more elite clientele and were sometimes held as private social affairs by the wealthy.²⁶ County court houses were also quite popular places to hold cock fights in the South.²⁷ The people of North Carolina enjoyed cock fights as much as any of the Southern colonists and adopted it as one of their earliest organized entertainments. But, in the beginning, before the sport was well established, they had to secure their fighting cocks from either England or Ireland.²⁸ By 1750, cock fighting was well established in the colonies and wealthy breeders began developing strains of American cocks for competition. Before long, inter-colonial rivalries were established and the sport grew rapidly as cocks

²⁶For example, "The first known club organized in North Carolina for the purpose of conducting cock fights, as well as horse races, was the Wilmington Jockey Club which held its first meeting November 26, 1774." A. P. O'Connor, Forty Years . . ., p. 82.

²⁷The majority of advertisements in the Virginia Gazette from 1736-1776 list the county court house as the proposed site.

²⁸John Brickell, The Natural History of North Carolina (Dublin, Ireland: Privately printed, 1737), p. 40. Brickell observed: "Cockfighting the North Carolinians greatly admire, which birds they endeavor to procure from England and Ireland, and to that intent, implore masters of ships, and other trading persons to supply them."

began representing the reputation of their home state and breeder.²⁹

Although still not at its peak of interest and participation, cock fighting grew considerably before the end of the eighteenth century. It was a common event at the numerous colonial fairs held throughout the colonies and was popular for both the upper and lower classes.³⁰

There were also attempts to attract women to fights. Many of the advertisements in the Virginia Gazette promised a

²⁹One such fight was held on March 6, 1770, near Philadelphia. James DeLancey of New York fought his cocks against Timothy Matlack of Philadelphia in an inter-state battle. "Extracts From The Diary Of Jacob Hiltzheimer, Of Philadelphia, 1768-1798," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 16 (1892), p. 95.

³⁰For a description of the colonial fairs and the common activities engaged in, see: John A. Krout, Annals of American Sport, Vol. 15 of The Pageant of America Series (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 23-24; Charles M. Andrews, Colonial Folkways, A Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1919), pp. 120-121; Edward Eggleston, "Social Life in the Colonies," Century, 30 (July, 1885), p. 398. The class background of those associated with cock fighting was alluded to by: Foster Rhea Dulles, A History of Recreation--America Learns to Play (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965), pp. 35, 52, 159 and 161; Winslow C. Watson (ed.), Men and Times of the Revolution: Memoirs of Elkanah Watson (New York: Dana and Co., 1856), pp. 261-262; Jennie Holliman, American Sports (1785-1835) (Durham, N. C.: The Seeman Press, 1931), p. 125; Daniel W. Lord, "Journal of a Trip from Baltimore to Savannah and Return," quoted in Clement Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860 (New York: Harper and Bros., 1961), p. 17; and Porte Crayon, "North Carolina Illustrated," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 14 (May, 1857), p. 754.

ball in the evening for the ladies who attended.³¹ Tavern owners in all of the colonies staged cock fights for their customers in order to increase patronage and foster an environment suitable for gambling and drinking.³²

Since cock fighting and horse racing tended to complement one another in social appeal and physical requirements, horse racing clubs in the South began increasing the number of cock fights they sponsored after 1776. Another advantage lay in the fact that sponsors needed more than one sport to provide the full day's sport expected by all who attended.

The great influx of British troops quartered in the larger towns of the North, especially New York and Philadelphia, added a new dimension to the sporting life of these areas. Cock fighting by 1783 in the Northern cities almost reached the popularity it had obtained in the South ten years before.³³ Some of our most notable government officials

³¹See Virginia Gazette: March 17, 1768, p. 3; February 22, 1770, p. 3; and, May 12, 1774, p. 3.

³²Ruth E. Painter, "Tavern Amusements in Eighteenth Century America," Americana, 11 (January, 1916), pp. 105-106.

³³J. A. Krout, Annals of American Sport, p. 26, deals directly with this subject. For a description of cock fighting in Philadelphia at this time, see J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884. Vol. II, (Philadelphia, Pa.: L. H. Everts and Co., 1884), p. 941, and Darlene E. Fisher, "Social Life in Philadelphia During The British Occupation," Pennsylvania History, 37 (July, 1970), p. 245.

were known to frequent the cockpits. For instance, one description of Andrew Jackson in 1785 described him as being "the most roaring, rollicking, game cocking, card-playing, mischievous fellow that ever lived in Salisbury."³⁴ Later in the century, cock fighting was well established from North to South and almost every town whether large or small had some devotees of the sport.³⁵ Cock fighting was apparently popular with the college men too, for in 1799 regulations of the University of North Carolina included a rule which stated that "A student shall not . . . keep cocks or fowls of any kind, or for any purpose."³⁶

The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of great growth for cock fighting. Cocking mains, as

³⁴R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1585-1925 (4 Vols.)(Chicago, Illinois: American Historical Society, Inc., 1929), I, p. 217. The most famous were George Washington, Andrew Jackson and Jefferson Davis. Louise J. Walmsley, "Sport Attitudes and Practices of Representative Americans Before 1870." Unpublished Master's thesis, George Peabody College, 1938, pp. 29, 37, and 53. Abraham Lincoln also was credited with attending a cock fight by William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik, Life of Lincoln (New York, 1896), I, pp. 108-109.

³⁵Oscar Handlin (ed.), This Was America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 103, provided a good account of the importance of cock fighting in New York City between 1794 and 1798. "But cockfights are the chief recourse of gamblers. These take place every day. Men spend all their time and energy preparing cocks for battle."

³⁶Louis R. Wilson and Hugh T. Lefler (eds.), A Documentary History of the University of North Carolina, 1776-1799 (2 vols)(Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), II, p. 487.

they were often called, continued to be prevalent in all sections but were gaining more importance in the larger cities where large numbers of people were willing to pay admission to see the fights. Tavern owners and private pit owners were the sport's most consistent sponsors.³⁷ As interest grew, challenges between "cockers" from different states increased and interstate battles became more and more frequent. Every breeder believed his cocks were the best and the only way to prove his contention and preserve the good name of his state was to defeat a rival cock fighter.³⁸ Two cities with reputations for their great

³⁷One tavern owner wrote an advertisement in the Virginia Argus (March 20, 1800): "Cockmain will be fought on the second Tuesday in May next, 13th day of the month at Osborne's in Chesterfield County a main of 21 cocks for \$50 a battle, and \$500 the odd. The subscriber, tavern keeper at the place will be at great pains and expense to provide every necessary accommodation of such gentlemen as choose to favor him with their company." Quoted in Holliman, American Sports . . ., pp. 127-128. In 1806 a three-day main was fought in Pittsboro, North Carolina, at Joseph Harman's Tavern, Raleigh Register, (July 14, 1806). Quoted in Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina, p. 180.

³⁸The Raleigh Star (May 25, 1807), reported that "A main of cocks will be fought at Granville Court House on Thursday and Friday, the 8th and 9th of June for \$300 between Tarlton Johnson of Granville County, North Carolina, and Robert Wooden of Halifax, Virginia." Quoted in Holliman, American Sports . . ., p. 127. The North Carolina Journal, (July 28, 1806), stated: "A number of gentlemen of Maryland at Norfolk . . . to show fifty cocks, and match not less than twenty-one in the main." Quoted in B. W. C. Roberts, "Cockfighting: An Early Entertainment in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, 42 (1965), p. 311.

cock fights were Hagerstown, Maryland, and Halifax, North Carolina. Hagerstown was a center for cock fighting because of its favorable geographic location between the North and South. It was most famous for the annual Easter Monday series of fights.³⁹ Halifax had one of the largest pits in the South which had a seating capacity of over 1,200 spectators.⁴⁰ Both cities attracted contestants and spectators alike from all over the Eastern seaboard to their larger contests. Cock fighting was also very much in vogue around Philadelphia⁴¹ and New York during the 1820's. Isaac Holmes, in his description of New York City in 1820, said

it is perfectly common for two or three cockfights regularly to take place every week. I was once taken to view the game cocks of one individual, which amounted to sixty or seventy, and was told that no English cocks were a match for them.⁴²

At the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century,

³⁹J. Thomas Scharf, History of Western Maryland. Being A History of Frederick, Montgomery, Carroll, Washington, Allegany, and Garrett Counties From the Earliest Period to the Present Day; Including Biographical Sketches of Their Representative Men (Baltimore, Maryland: Regional Publishing Co., 1968), p. 1198.

⁴⁰Glenn H. Todd, The Immortal Nick Arrington (Chicago, Illinois: Adams Press, 1965), p. 33.

⁴¹J. Scharf and T. Westcott, Philadelphia . . ., p. 941.

⁴²Isaac Holmes, An Account of the United States of America (London, 1823), p. 354.

cock fighting was on the verge of becoming one of the most popular sports in many of the middle and southern states.

The traditional upper class nature and gentlemanly flavor of cock fighting made it a popular sport among those government officials who frequented Washington, D. C. One historian of cock fighting described the sport as a "national pastime" in early 1830 since it had the full patronage of most members of Congress.⁴³ President Jackson brought his love for the sport to the White House, where he fought cocks on the carpet for the enjoyment of Senators and Congressmen.⁴⁴ Advertisements for fights were numerous in the newspapers and periodicals of the day. Local newspapers and handbills always contained the latest news on cock fighting but to discover the national news regarding the sport, one read the Spirit of the Times. It always listed the most important mains, the stakes, and the location of the event.⁴⁵ Books and journals on cock fighting, the other popular printed sources for the sport, became more and more frequent after 1830. This growing literature not only helped promote the sport and influence outsiders to try it but also gave needed direction to those already

⁴³A. O'Connor, Forty Years . . ., p. 237.

⁴⁴G. Todd, Nick Arrington . . ., p. 57.

⁴⁵Published in New York City beginning in 1831.

avidly involved.⁴⁶

The popularity of cock fighting in the United States reached its highest point in the four decades between 1840 and 1880. Just before this time, however, the famous North Carolina cock fighter, Nick Arrington, fought a challenge match with Santa Anna, the President of Mexico. This was probably the first main of international importance. They met again in 1842 with Arrington winning this match as well as their first encounter.⁴⁷ These two contests were widely publicized and did much to promote interest in the sport, especially in Arrington's home state of North Carolina. A resident of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, claimed in the 1840's that cock fighting was

⁴⁶These publications were: Joseph Taylor, Curious Antiquities: or, The Etymology of Many Remarkable Old Sayings, Proverbs, and Singular Customs (Baltimore, 1820); Edmond Hoyle, Hoyle's Games Improved (New York, 1830); New-York Sporting Magazine and Annals of the American and English Turf (New York, 1835-1836); Jonathan H. Green, An Exposure of the Arts and Miseries of Gambling (Cincinnati, 1843); Edmund S. Dixon, A Treatise on the History and Management of Ornamental and Domestic Poultry (Philadelphia, 1851); and, J. W. Cooper, A Treatise on Cocking (Media, Pa., 1859).

The publication providing the biggest boost for cock fighting, however, was Rules of Virginia and North Carolina for Cock-fighting (Richmond, Virginia: James M. Ford, 1860), pp. 1-12, which included a detailed set of rules. These rules were widely used and provided consistency for the sport.

⁴⁷G. Todd, Nick Arrington . . ., pp. 83 and 123.

"one of the fashionable amusements of the day."⁴⁸ In 1854, Putnam's Monthly published an article entitled "The Cock-Fight" with a complete description of cocking methods, betting, and participants.⁴⁹ The article signified the interest in the sport and surely provided guidance for those novices who aspired to fight their fowl.

Contrary to common belief, cock fighting was known in New England. Mr. John Stone of Marblehead, Massachusetts, was one of the greatest cockers around the mid 1850's and fought the best in the Southern states.⁵⁰ Just before the close of the decade in 1857, the first international cocking main was held at Gray's Ferry in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.⁵¹

Cock fighting received an added stimulus to its growth from the Civil War. Soldiers fighting for both North and South found great amusement in cock fighting. They held cock fights of their own when out on maneuvers or attended establishments specifically for fighting when they

⁴⁸B. Roberts, "Cockfighting: An Early Entertainment . . .," p. 311. Also, in Pittsburgh, Pa. (1843). Soeren S. Brynn, "Some Sports in Pittsburgh During the National Period, 1775-1860," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, 51 (October, 1968), p. 361.

⁴⁹"The Cock-Fight," Putnam's Monthly, 4 (September, 1854), pp. 310-319.

⁵⁰G. Todd, Nick Arrington . . ., pp. 153-154.

⁵¹A. O'Connor, Forty Years . . ., p. 237.

were in the towns.⁵² After the war, many of the men took the sport back to their home towns.

Cock fighting moved from the country to the city along with industrialization after the Civil War and increased rapidly with sponsorship from both the aristocracy and the lower class.⁵³ In the West cock fighting was conducted on the town plaza of Los Angeles in 1866 where it was frequented by men, women, and children from all ranks of life. Even the priests attended fights that were held on Sundays.⁵⁴ The sport of cock fighting was amusing to the spectators and provided a great opportunity for gambling.

Cock fighting survived numerous attacks because the cocks entered into battle on their own free will with great eagerness and without much encouragement from their

⁵²W. G. Stevenson, 13 Months in the Rebel Army (New York: n.p., 1862), p. 43; Sam R. Watkins, "Company Aytch" First Tennessee Regiment (Nashville, Tenn.: Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House, 1882), p. 252. Quoted in David S. Crockett, "Sports and Recreational Practices of Union and Confederate Soldiers," Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1958, p. 18. John R. Betts discussed cock fighting in New York City in "Home Front, Battle Field, and Sport During the Civil War," Research Quarterly, 42 (May, 1971), pp. 118 and 127.

⁵³Alvin F. Harlow, Henry Bergh, Founder of the ASPCA (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1957), pp. 124-125 and 134-135, discussed the importance of cock fighting for those from all walks of life.

⁵⁴Warren S. Tryon (ed.), A Mirror for Americans: Life and Manners in the United States 1790-1870 as Recorded by American Travelers (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 769-770.

handlers. This fact seemed to subtract from the criticism usually made against the sport for cruelty and barbarity. But as the twentieth century approached, various new developments in both society and sport would lead to its decline.

B. Bull baiting

Bull baiting was a sport in which dogs attacked a chained or similarly secured bull over and over again trying to bite it and hold securely until the bull snorted and roared with anger. The bull was usually tied around the neck, around his horns, or by means of a ring through the nose. A strong rope or chain usually about 15-24 feet long was then connected to an anchor in the center of an open area or pit. Bull mastiff dogs or bull-dogs were used to bait the bull and were sent in to attack the animal singularly or in small groups of four to six.⁵⁵ They automatically went for the head and attempted to grab the bull around the nose or neck. If a dog was successful and held a secure grip until the bull stood still, it was called "pinning the bull" and the owners of the dog received a prize. But, more often than not, the bull would keep his head down and at the right instance flip the dogs high into

⁵⁵For a description of the dogs used see Emma Phipson, The Animal Lore of Shakespeares Time (London: Keegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1883), pp. 57-59.

the air with his horns. Also, the bull often gouged the dogs with his horns.

Many extras were added to the sport to make it more exciting and attractive to spectators and to prolong the actual contest. The bull's horns were often dulled or covered with leather to protect the dogs and the bull was usually provided with a hole in the ground to rub his wounded muzzle. A rosette or similar target was sometimes placed between the bull's eyes to serve as a target for the dogs. On occasion when the bull would not fight in his expected ferocious fashion, the handlers would put hot irons against him, put pepper in his nose, or tie either fire works or a live cat to his tail. During eighteenth century England, one group of men were so provoked that a bull would not fight that they built a fire around him and on another occasion cut each of its four legs off at the knee joint. On the other hand, the dogs had to be discouraged sometimes to allow the bull a rest period. Accounts are numerous describing the use of a crowbar to pry the dog's mouth from the bull.⁵⁶

⁵⁶William B. Boulton, The Amusements of Old London: Being A Survey Of The Sports And Pastimes Tea Gardens And Parks, Playhouses And Other Diversions Of The People Of London From The 17th To The Beginning Of The 19th Century (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), pp. 6ff. (Originally published in 1901); Lawrence Fitz-Barnard, Fighting Sports (London: Odhams Press Ltd., 1921), pp. 188-189; Dix Harwood, Love For Animals - and How It Developed in Great Britain (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), pp. 49-50; Edward G. Fairholme and Wellesley Pain, A Century of

The following poem provides a vivid description of the sport of bull baiting:

What creature's that so fierce and bold,
That springs and scorns to lose his hold?
His teeth, like saw hooks, meet!
The bleeding victim roars aloud,
While savage yells convulse the crowd,
Who shout on shout repeat.

It is the bull-dog, surely, brave,
Like bipeds on the swelling wave,
Amidst the battle's flood.
It is the bull-dog, dountless hound.
That pins the mourner to the ground,
His nostrils dropping blood.

The stake-bound captive snorts and groans,
While pain and torture rack his bones,
Gored both without and in;
One desperate act of strength he tries,
And high in air the bull-dog flies -
Yet toss'd to fight again.

He falls - and scarcely feels the earth,
Ere innate courage shows its worth,
His eye-balls flashing fire
Again he dares his lusty foe -
Again aloft is doom'd to go -
Falls-struggles-and expires.⁵⁷

Work for Animals, The History of the R.S.P.C.A., (1824-1924) (London: John Murray, 1924), p. 75; Sir Sidney Lee, "Bear-baiting, Bullbaiting, and Cockfighting," Ch. 7 in Shakespeare's England, An Account of the Life and Manners of His Age (2 vols.)(London: Clarendon Press, 1932), II, pp. 428-436; Joseph Strutt, The Sports And Pastimes of The People of England (Detroit, Michigan: Singing Tree Press, 1968), pp. 206ff. (Originally published in 1801); William C. Sydney, England and the English in the Eighteenth Century: Chapters in the Social History of the Times (2 vols.)(Edinburgh: John Grant, 1891), I, p. 180; and, Christina Hole, English Sports and Pastimes (Freeport, New York: Books For Libraries Press, 1968), pp. 103ff.

⁵⁷The Spirit of Humanity, and Essence of Morality; Extracted From the Productions of the Enlightened and Benevolent of Various Ages and Climes (Albany, New York: O. Steele, 1835), p. 324.

The sport of bull baiting was practiced as early as the twelfth century in England. Baiting bulls was related to the spread of Mithraic bull worship practiced in Greece, Rome and Crete. The cult of Mithra extended over most of Europe at the peak of the Roman empire which greatly influenced the Celtic bull cults known in England. Killing a bull with the spilling of blood was believed to influence the Gods of strength and fertility. Consequently, the death of a bull was held sacred to many of the inhabitants of early England.⁵⁸ As Christianity spread, the worship of bulls declined considerably but the sport remained.

Bull baiting was encouraged by English sovereigns and their Courts and had almost universal patronage of the middle and lower classes as well. During the sixteenth century it was a leading national amusement and during the reign of Henry VIII the "mastership of the royal game of bears, bulls and mastiff dogs" became a Court office. Contests were held in amphitheatres for baiting, at royal and private parks, and at taverns. Sometimes an admission was charged while other times everyone was admitted free. Baitings were of the same importance as dramatic performances during Shakespeare's time and the same theatres were

⁵⁸Jack R. Conrad, The Horn and the Sword: The History of the Bull As Symbol of Power and Fertility (New York, N. Y.: E. P. Dutton, 1957), pp. 145-160.

often used for both. Queen Elizabeth and other notables considered bull baiting a proper entertainment for visiting nobilities.⁵⁹

After the sixteenth century, bull baiting in England became even more popular. The contests were held on holidays such as Eccles Wake, St. Thomas' Day, or St. Brice's Day,⁶⁰ and on other important occasions at courts, market-squares, or village greens. A good fighting bull was the pride of any district. Traditionally, the local butchers were responsible for the baits since it was believed that a baited bull had more tender and digestable flesh. In fact, it was improper in some districts for a butcher to sell beef that was not properly baited first.⁶¹ Bull baiting became a real sport for the populace and reached a peak of popularity in mid-eighteenth century England.

The desire for the sport of bull baiting was surely transported from England to America in the seventeenth century but we find no recorded instances of baitings until the

⁵⁹S. Lee, "Bearbaiting . . . ," pp. 428-429.

⁶⁰T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, British Popular Customs, Present and Past: Illustrating The Social And Domestic Manners Of The People: Arranged According To The Calendar Of The Year (London: George Bell and Sons, 1876), pp. 369, 421, and 438.

⁶¹C. Hole, English Sports . . ., pp. 103ff; J. Strutt, Sports and Pastimes . . ., pp. 206ff; and, W. Boulton, Amusements of Old London . . ., p. 8.

middle of the next century. Bulls were baited in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia before 1776, all of which were sponsored by owners of taverns. The Kingshead Tavern in New England, the Robin Hood Tavern in Philadelphia, and Bayard's Mount in New York were all places where bull baiting took place.⁶² Generally the lower classes were the most avid spectators of the sport but some very respectable citizens also kept bull-dogs and found much excitement and enjoyment in the fights.

Bull baiting in the United States reached its highest period of popularity between the time of the Revolutionary War and the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century. The sport was sometimes conducted as a segment of colonial fairs or court days,⁶³ but tavern owners, innkeepers, hotel managers, and butchers were the

⁶²James G. Wilson (ed.), The Memorial History of the City of New York: From Its First Settlement To The Year 1892 (New York, N. Y.: New York History Co., 1893), pp. 458-459, and, J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884 (2 vols.)(Philadelphia, Pa.: L. H. Everts and Co., 1884), II, p. 941. Also, a bull was baited every Thursday on Tower Hill near St. George's Ferry on Long Island in 1774. Esther Singleton, Social New York Under the Georges, 1714-1776 (New York, N. Y.: D. Appleton and Co., 1902), p. 267.

⁶³J. A. Krout, Annals of American Sport, pp. 23-24, provided an excellent description of the sport of "baiting" practiced on these various days. Also, Andrews, Colonial Folkways, A Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges, pp. 120-121, and Eggleston, "Social Life in the Colonies," Century, (1885), p. 398, discussed the activities at these various occasions.

prime sponsors. They often owned a bull and a pack of mongrels which were used as entertainment for their customers. Although realistic to the spectators, many of the baits sponsored by businessmen never continued to the point where the animals were injured beyond recovery since the same group had to make several additional performances.⁶⁴

The large contingent of British troops stationed in the

⁶⁴An advertisement appeared in Rivington's Gazette of June 20, 1781, announcing a bull baiting "after the true English manner." Quoted in J. G. Wilson, Memorial History . . ., p. 536; in New York, Thomas McMullan advertised bull baiting in the "New York Royal Gazette" of August 29, 1781. He said, "The subscriber having procured a stout Bull, proposes bateing him tomorrow at four o'clock in the afternoon, at his house, the sign of his present Majesty, near the fresh Water Pump." Quoted in Weiss, Early Sports and Pastimes in New Jersey, p. 60.

"In 1788, the 'St. George Tavern' near Boston, was maintained by a woman named Sally Barton, who provided the novel attraction of bull baiting for the amusement and edification of her guests." Edward Field, The Colonial Tavern: A Glimpse of New England Town Life in the Seventeenth And Eighteenth Century (Providence, R. I.: Preston and Rounds, 1897), p. 253. On October 29, 1807, a "Bull-Fight and Bait" was held at the Wigwam Tavern on Race Street near the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia and in 1809 the Half Way House between Boston and Salem sponsored a bull bait. Quoted in Weiss, Early Sports and Pastimes . . ., p. 60, and the Independent Chronicle, June 28, 1809, which was quoted in Holliman, American Sports . . ., p. 131. Butchers were also known to keep animals for baiting. See J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884, p. 941, Thomas F. DeVoe, The Market Book, I, p. 389, and, John F. Watson, Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania In The Olden Time (2 vols.)(Philadelphia, Pa.: C. W. Murray and Co., 1850), I, p. 279. Even hotel owners used the sport to attract customers. "In 1819, a grand battle took place in the yard of the Eagle Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, between a buffalo and eight or ten of the best bull dogs that could be procured in the city." Quoted in Holliman, American Sports . . ., p. 132.

more populated towns of the East during the Revolutionary War aided in the establishment of baiting practices. They brought with them a heritage of participation in the sport and had an opportunity to observe the contests when not on duty.⁶⁵ But, as the British influence gradually declined, so did the sport of bull baiting. By the late 1820's, bull baiting had practically disappeared from the American sporting scene. There were some isolated events after 1830, but they never amounted to anything more than a local joke or exhibition.⁶⁶

C. Bear baiting

The sport of bear baiting was nearly identical to bull baiting. A chain was usually fastened to a collar around the bear's neck which was then attached to a wall or stake in the ground. There was also usually a rope fastened to a collar around the bear's neck which was then attached to a wall or stake in the ground. There was also usually a rope fastened to the collar which passed through a pulley and was controlled by a man standing in the baiting pit.

⁶⁵The influence of the British troops is discussed by: Krout, Annals of American Sport, p. 26; Holliman, American Sports . . ., p. 6; and Alice Morse Earle, quoted in Painter, "Tavern Amusements . . .," p. 108. See also D. Fisher, "Social Life in Philadelphia . . .," pp. 237-260.

⁶⁶For instance, in 1868, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper reported a bull baiting had taken place in Louisville, Kentucky. Quoted in Zelma Steele, Angel in Top Hat (New York, N. Y.: Harper and Brothers, 1942), p. 156.

This was used in case the dogs got in trouble while attacking. The bears had coarse fur and their primary offensive attack was to hug the dogs and roll when he was seized while clawing all of the time. Without the extra rope, no dog would have been capable of damaging the bear.

Like bull baiting, the sport of bear baiting was practiced in England as early as the twelfth century. It had royal support and was practiced by the same general group of people and in the same locations. The bear was sometimes paraded around the town by a minstrel as advertisement for the bait. Usually bear baits and bull baits occurred in the same amphitheatres and were often staged simultaneously for added excitement.⁶⁷ In 1591, during the reign of Elizabeth, the sport was so popular that the Privy Council forbade London theatres to open on Thursdays because they drew people away from "the game of bearbaiting and like pastimes which are maintained by here Majesty's pleasure."⁶⁸ A good fighting bear was, like the fighting bull, the pride of a district and almost all town councils had official bears and bearwards during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact, in 1620 Congleton, a small town in England, sold the town Bible to purchase another

⁶⁷S. Lee, "Bearbaiting . . .," p. 428; J. Strutt, Sports and Pastimes . . ., pp. 206ff; L. Fitz-Barnard, Fighting Sports, pp. 189-191.

⁶⁸Quoted in C. Hole, English Sports . . ., p. 104.

bear for the purpose of baiting.

Congleton rare, Congleton rare,
Sold the Bible to pay for a bear.⁶⁹

The sport was still flourishing in the mid-eighteenth century and was practiced in conjunction with the election of mayor in some locales⁷⁰ and the celebration of Christmas in others.⁷¹ But, after 1760, the sport gradually lost popularity. When bears became too scarce in England they had to be imported, and the event came to be too expensive.⁷² Bears were maintained and preserved to keep the sport going but as the bears died so did the sport of baiting them.

As in bull baiting, we are unable to locate recorded references to bear baiting in America before the middle of the eighteenth century. The sport was most popular at taverns in the larger cities such as Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. Most of the drinking places noted in the previous section were also known to occasionally sponsor bear baiting. But because of the increasing scarcity of bears, the sport never quite came to equal bull baiting

⁶⁹Quoted in E. Phipson, Animal Lore, p. 83.

⁷⁰T. Thiselton-Dyer, British Popular Customs, p. 385.

⁷¹Henry Crowe, Zoophilus; Or, Consideration on the Moral Treatment of Inferior Animals (Bath, 1820), p. 59.

⁷²D. Harwood, Love For Animals, pp. 50ff and Alfred L. Rowse, The Elizabethan Renaissance: The Life of the Society (New York, N. Y.: Macmillan Co., 1971), p. 188.

in popularity. As the wilderness moved farther to the West, the sport either moved with it or died rapidly. The peak of interest in the sport came during the years between the Revolutionary War and the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century.

Between 1830 and the 1860's the sport was practiced sporadically, but mostly in scattered locations. There was no real renewal of interest in the sport. On December 10, 1814, a tavern bulletin from the mid-West advertised that "there will be RARE SPORT at which time a He Bear will be baited by relays of five dogs every thirty minutes, and that a She Bear will be barbecued for dinner."⁷³ A similar tavern advertisement appeared on November 11, 1823, in Morristown, New Jersey:

A Bear Bait To be seen at Mr. L. Hayden's Yard in Morristown On Saturday the 15th inst. The Bear will be chained with 20 feet of chain, and 3 Dogs permitted to attack him at once. Tickets to be had at the Bar.⁷⁴

A bear baiting was held near Charles, Missouri, in 1833, where forty hounds were set on a bear. The hounds could not kill the bear which resulted in the spectators finally finishing the animal off. The event was so exciting that the spectators commented that "it had been the greatest

⁷³The Western Citizen, December 10, 1814, quoted in Thomas D. Clark, The Rampaging Frontier (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1964), p. 110.

⁷⁴Quoted in Weiss, Early Sports and Pastimes, p. 60.

sport they had experienced in years."⁷⁵ New York City had some bear baiting too, but it never lasted long. A bear was baited on January 27, 1855, at McLaughlin's bear-pit⁷⁶ and Kit Burns, the owner of the famous Sportsman's Hall, had a black bear which he occasionally baited.⁷⁷

D. Dog fighting

Fights between dogs in a pit for that purpose were known at least as early as seventeenth century England. The bull-dogs and mastiffs trained and utilized for baiting bulls and bears were sometimes set to fight each other to the death. Dog fights were held as special events in conjunction with the normal major event of either bear baiting or bull baiting. Evelyn reported in his diary that he once witnessed a dog fight between a mastiff and an Irish wolfhound in 1670. It was staged at a local bear pit as an added attraction.⁷⁸ The fight itself usually lasted about two or three hours with the victor normally killing his opponent or maiming him so bad that he had to be killed by his owner. Neither of the dogs would ever give up and

⁷⁵Everett Dick, The Dixie Frontier (New York, N. Y.: Capricorn Books, 1964), p. 139. (Originally published in 1948).

⁷⁶Denis T. Lynch, The Wild Seventies (New York, N. Y.: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941), p. 307.

⁷⁷Z. Steele, Angel in Top Hat, p. 142.

⁷⁸W. Boulton, Amusements of Old London . . ., p. 13.

accounts of fights describe the broken legs, bleeding wounds, and ripped anatomy. The handlers had to clean the dogs thoroughly before they entered the pit so that there was no possibility of poisoning the opponent with foreign substance on the dog's fur. Tasting or licking the fur by the handler was usually done to prove that there were no pernicious substances on his dog.

Although practiced in England, dog fighting was much more popular in America. Whereas it was only an extra event in most cases in England, dog fighting became a major sporting event in the United States. Unlike bull baiting and bear baiting, dog fighting had its period of greatest growth and popularity following the Civil War and lasted until about 1885. When baiting sports were no longer popular, the sportsmen of the day began using the dogs to fight against each other. A special dog for fighting was bred by crossing the bull-dog with a terrier. The bull-terrier as it was called, was lean, round-headed and short-eared, and was usually multi-colored with white, brindle, or fawn. It was bred for its viciousness and strength and weighed about forty pounds. A fighting dog could always be identified by its short cropped ears, pug tail, and numerous battle scars.⁷⁹

⁷⁹Mel Morse, Ordeal of the Animals (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 90.

Dog fighting was most popular in the middle states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and New York, with Louisiana serving as the South's leading state in sponsoring the sport. However, New York City was the center of fighting activity during the post-bellum period. Fights were held at taverns, dance halls, boarding houses, livery stables, and professional pits.⁸⁰ The sport generally rated as an entertainment for the more debased element of society but on occasion men of high social standing were seen at the fights.⁸¹ Dog fights or "shake-ups" as they were sometimes called, were a particularly popular sport with the New York firemen after a fire.⁸² Gambling was prevalent at these fights and more often than not a variety of crimes were associated with the spectators. The New York Times⁸³ as well as other papers, printed descriptions

⁸⁰Z. Steele, Angel in Top Hat, p. 142.

⁸¹Edward Van Every, Sins of New York as "Exposed" by the Police Gazette (New York, N. Y.: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1930), p. 254.

⁸²Z. Steele, Angel in Top Hat, p. 142.

⁸³See for example, "Dog Fight; New York vs. New Jersey," December 20, 1872; "Desperate Dog Fight," December 31, 1872; "Dog-Fights; Pennsylvania vs. New Jersey," August 30, 1873; "Dog Fight at Mott Haven," February 3, 1876; "Dog Fight between Skip and Jack, for \$1,200, at Laurel Hill," December 21, 1876; "Dog-Fight Between Toby and Paddy," February 24, 1881; "Dog-Fight at Hunter's Point," October 13, 1882; "Dog-Fight: Crib and Jack; in Pittsburgh," July 10, 1883; and "Dog-Fight in Philadelphia," September 5, 1883.

and accounts of the fights and usually gave special notice to interstate matches. Rivalries developed with dog fighting much the same as they did with cock fighting and many large battles were fought in the major cities.⁸⁴ In fact, some of the men who fought cocks also fought dogs in the same pits after the cock fights were completed.

E. Gander pulling

Gander pulling or pulling the goose, did not have its inception in England as did many of the other blood sports. It was brought to America by those colonists from Netherlands and later spread throughout the colonies. The sport itself was conducted with a number of variations.

One account aptly describes these:

A goose with its head well greased was fastened to a rope that was stretched across a road, and the sport was for a man to try to catch the bird by the head and carry it off as he rode on horseback at a gallop or drove beneath the bird in a cart going at full speed. . . . A variation of the game was made by stretching the rope across a ditch or canal or stream, under which a boat was swiftly rowed, and the man, standing on a plank, tried to carry off the bird in the same way. . . .⁸⁵

⁸⁴The headlines of the New York Express of February 19, 1866, read as follows: "Chicago Invaded By New York, Boston And St. Louis Roughs, Pandemonium Let Loose, A National Dog Fight - Over \$30,000 Change Hands, Death of the Dogs After A Two-Hours Combat, Rioting, Stabbing, Etc." Quoted in Z. Steele, Angel in Top Hat, p. 141.

⁸⁵Esther Singleton, Dutch New York (New York, N. Y.: Benjamin Blom, 1968), p. 293.

The most common variation, that on horseback, was practiced in an open field with a circle about 150 feet in diameter layed out in the middle. The gander, with head and neck featherless and well greased, was hung head down from a slack rope stretched between two saplings which were about 12 feet apart on each side of the path on the perimeter of the circle. Tied only by his feet, the goose was able to move and flutter his wings which caused the rope to vibrate in an arc of 4 or 5 feet. The head hung just low enough to reach when the rider was standing in his stirrups. Each contestant paid a small fee to enter the contest and the winner, the one who successfully pulled the head off, usually received all of the money paid as entry fees and the goose as his prize. The riders sometimes rode singularly or in groups of two or three to pull the goose, but regardless of style, the sport was difficult and sometimes dangerous. As the horses got near to the goose in their circular ride, two men would whip the horses so they could not slow down for the grab. This added extra danger to the sport and added considerable difficulty. The spectators cheered each rider and bet on who would finally succeed. Gander pulling usually lasted at least an hour because of the added deterrents imposed by those conducting the sport. In fact, depending on the quality of the horse-men, the sport sometimes lasted for an entire afternoon or evening. The highest possible attainment in the sport, for

which a special prize was sometimes awarded, was to pull off the gander's head with the windpipe still screaming after separation from the body.⁸⁶

The earliest accounts of gander pulling appeared in New Netherlands and New Amsterdam during the seventeenth century in the form of laws and regulations against the sport. On February 19, 1654, two men were fined and imprisoned for pulling the goose "in order to prevent more sins, debaucheries and calamities."⁸⁷ Four years later on February 26, an order was issued refusing permission for a gander pulling by the farmers in the vicinity of New Amsterdam. Albany issued a similar proclamation in 1677, "prohibiting all misdemeanors which have occurred here on Shrove Tuesday, viz., Riding at a goose. . . ."⁸⁸ The prohibitions must have diminished interest in the sport since additional accounts of the sport in the New York area are lacking for the first three quarters of the eighteenth century.

After 1776, the South became the center for participation in the sport of gander pulling. It was used primarily as a test of horsemanship and was, therefore, a

⁸⁶E. Dick, The Dixie Frontier, pp. 141-142; Frank L. Owsley, Plain Folks of the Old South (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), pp. 123-124.

⁸⁷E. Singleton, Dutch New York, p. 293.

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 295-296.

popular event at colonial fairs and militia musters.⁸⁹ The excitement and spectator appeal also made pulling the goose a favorite activity for holidays and any occasion when the people got together.⁹⁰ If not associated with the militia drills or the celebration of a holiday, gander pulling was usually sponsored by a tavern owner. The following advertisement appeared on the market-house in Augusta, Georgia, in 1798:

Advurtysement

Thos woo wish to be inform heareof, is heareof notyfyde that edwd. Prator will giv a gander pullin, jis this side of harisburg, on Satterday of thes pressents munth to All woo mout wish to partak tharof.

e Prator, Thos wishin to purtak will cum yearly, as the pullin will begin soon.⁹¹

e.p.

⁸⁹C. Andrews, Colonial Folkways, pp. 120-121. See also E. Eggleston, "Social Life," p. 398; T. Clark, The Rampaging Frontier, pp. 184-185; Alberta R. Craig, "Old Wentworth Sketches," North Carolina Historical Review, 11 (July, 1934), p. 199; and, Helen K. Hennig (ed.), Columbia: Capital City of South Carolina, 1786-1936 (Columbia, South Carolina: R. L. Bryan Co., 1936), pp. 297-298.

⁹⁰Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon R. Fox (eds.), A History of American Life, Vol. I: The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848, by Herbert I. Priestley (New York, N. Y.: Macmillan Co., 1929), p. 340; and, Clement Eaton, The Mind of the Old South (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), p. 139.

⁹¹Augustus B. Longstreet, Georgia Scenes (New York: Sagamore Press Inc., 1957), p. 97. A very vivid description of the "gander pullin" is provided on pp. 100-105.

Georgia was one state where the sport was very popular at the beginning of the nineteenth century. One historian observed that "gander pulling was one of the favorite pastimes with the Georgia backwoodsmen in 1800, and was regularly practiced."⁹² North Carolina also had much gander pulling with Easter Monday being one of the primary days for participation. All classes attended the event but usually only those men of the lower class participated. Announcements for the event were made weeks in advance and it was anticipated with rapture by those planning to participate as well as those looking for a good time or placing bets on the eventual victor.⁹³ After 1812, the sport became more and more associated with events other than militia musters, since the latter lost their purpose following the War of 1812.

Gander pulling remained a common sport in most of the Southern states and spread to the mid-West before the Civil War. The people of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia

⁹²George G. Smith, The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People, p. 184, quoted in Holliman, American Sports . . ., p. 136.

⁹³G. Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina, pp. 109, 111-112. Johnson also provided a good description of the procedures for conducting the sport and the people who took part. In a report from Moore County, North Carolina, the author stated that gander pulling was one of the principal amusements before 1810. A. R. Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811," The North Carolina Historical Review, 6 (July, 1929), p. 293.

and South Carolina were known to use the sport for different purposes. The lower classes, mostly poor whites, participated in pulling the goose along with hunting, beef-shooting, and getting drunk, as merely a means of recreation.⁹⁴ On the other hand, the gentry, especially of South Carolina, practiced the sport as a test for their equestrian ability.⁹⁵ Gander pulling grew in popularity in the mid-West after 1835 and Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana were the states where the sport was regularly practiced.⁹⁶ The sport was still used as a test for horseback riders but was also practiced at political barbecues and county court days.⁹⁷ Pulling the goose reached its peak of popularity between 1830 and 1850 in the South, with the states of Georgia and North Carolina serving as the nucleus for

⁹⁴Henry B. Fearon, Sketches of America, p. 123, quoted in Holliman, op.cit., p. 136; J. P. Young, "Happenings in the White Haven Community, Shelby County, Tennessee, Fifty or More Years Ago," Tennessee Historical Magazine, 7, p. 97; and, D. R. Hundley, Social Relations in Our Southern States (New York, N. Y.: H. B. Price, 1860), pp. 262-263.

⁹⁵R. Taylor, "Antebellum South Carolina . . . ," p. 128.

⁹⁶E. Dick, The Dixie Frontier, p. 141; Benjamin S. Parker, "Pioneer Life," Indiana Magazine of History, 3 (June, 1907), p. 4; T. G. Onstot, Pioneers of Mason and Menard Counties (Forest City, Illinois: J. W. Franks and Co., 1902), p. 53; and, Phyllis J. Hill, "A Cultural History of Frontier Sports in Illinois, 1673-1820," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1967), p. 102.

⁹⁷T. Clark, The Rampaging Frontier, p. 37.

participation. It continued to exist after 1850 with scattered accounts of the sport in remote or isolated areas. The last account of gander pulling dates from the Civil War, when the Confederate soldiers featured the sport at dress parades.⁹⁸

F. Snatching the rooster

Snatching the rooster or chicken pulling, was very similar to gander pulling. The only difference was that the chicken was buried in the ground with only his well greased head and neck protruding. Horseback riders rode around in a circle and attempted to pull the chicken's head from the rest of the body as they passed by. When one rider was successful, the other contestants usually chased the victor while fighting over the head.

The sport had somewhat of a limited period of popularity from about 1840 to 1855 and was practiced solely in the West and Southwest. Being a geographical variation of pulling the goose, it traces its beginnings to the early pioneers in the East. One day especially popular for snatching the rooster was San Juan Day, celebrated on June 24th in Santa Fe, New Mexico. During the years 1846

⁹⁸Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Johnny Reb (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1943), p. 160, quoted in David S. Crockett, "Sports and Recreational Practices of Union and Confederate Soldiers," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1958), pp. 91-92.

through 1849, the sport reigned as primary entertainment on that festive occasion. Californians also practiced the sport but it lost appeal rapidly after 1850.⁹⁹

G. Rat baiting

The sport of rat baiting or rapping, was practiced in England as early as 1689. But, like dog fighting, rapping was conducted only as an added attraction for those who paid to see a bull or bear baited. After the baiting of bulls and bears was outlawed, rat baiting became the primary sport in many of the pits. Its peak of popularity lasted until about 1840 in England and was a popular amusement on Sunday mornings.¹⁰⁰

Rapping began in America in the 1830's around New York City and because of its sudden popularity with gamblers, saloon owners, and general lower class citizens, elaborate rules and methods of conducting the sport had to be developed. Fox terriers were used almost exclusively because of their quickness and agility. The object of the sport was for the dog to kill as many rats as possible in the shortest time. Rats were placed in a pit with walls

⁹⁹John P. Bloom, "New Mexico Viewed by Anglo-Americans 1846-1849," New Mexico Historical Review, 34 (July, 1959), pp. 185-186; Charles D. Niven, History of the Humane Movement (London: Johnson and Co., 1967), p. 126; and, H. Priestley, Coming of the White Man . . ., p. 340.

¹⁰⁰W. Boulton, Amusements of Old London . . ., p. 249.

4½ feet high and 8 feet long which were lined with either tin or zinc to keep the rodents from escaping. The usual number of rats placed in the pit at one time was one hundred. This was termed the rat baiting "classic" and a good dog usually took 30-45 minutes to kill all of his foes. Some of the best dogs who were termed champions and won large amounts of money for their owners could perform the "classic" in less than 20 minutes. Another version of the sport was the "handicap." Each dog was required to kill as many rats as he weighed in pounds. On other occasions, a weasel was used in place of the terrier. Bets were made on how long the terrier or weasel would remain in the pit.

In order for a rat baiting to take place, a number of specialists associated with the sport had to perform their duties properly. Each dog had a trainer who groomed him for the sport from the time the terrier was born. After the dog had been trained properly, a handler was hired by the owner. His responsibility was to work with the dog before, during, and after the baiting. The establishment in control of the pit hired a time-keeper and a referee to act as final judges in the outcome of the bait. Lastly, the rat catchers, usually poor aged men or young boys, combed the dumps and livery stables with bags and large tongs for the rats to be used in the sport. They usually received 5¢ for each rat but got as high as 12¢ for the larger ones.

Admission was always charged for ratting and ranged from 25¢ to \$1.50 to see a "handicap" to \$2.50 and \$5.00 to witness a "classic."¹⁰¹

Rat baitings were held at saloons, livery stables, or private pits in the larger cities during the 1860's and continued to be a popular sport until the 1880's. A famous pit was located in the "North End" section of Boston during the sixties and charged only 25¢ for admission.¹⁰² New York City had a number of ratting pits during the same time. Sportsman's Hall, owned by Kit Burns, however, was the largest pit in the city with an amphitheater seating over 250 spectators. Burn's saloon also had a reputation for the patron who would bite a rat in half for a glass of beer.¹⁰³

Men would also fight the rats either by themselves or with dogs for a variation of the sport. An early account of one man's attempt appeared in the Spirit of the Times on May 26, 1832.

¹⁰¹L. Fitz-Barnard, Fighting Sports, pp. 137-138; D. Lynch, The Wild Seventies, pp. 302-309; J. Durant and O. Bettmann, Pictorial History . . ., p. 51.

¹⁰²Edward H. Savage, Police Records and Recollections or Boston by Daylight and Gaslight for Two Hundred and Forty Years (Montclair, New Jersey: Patterson Smith, 1971), pp. 160-161. (Originally published in 1873).

¹⁰³Z. Steele, Angel in Top Hat, p. 142.

Last week a number of silk dyers at Middleton, persuaded a man named Pooly to attempt to worry six rats in ten minutes. . . . Before he commenced operations, he drank nearly a pint of rum. . . . Though Pooly had his hands tied on his back, he worried the first four rats in three minutes and ten seconds. He then began to be sick on account of the blood he lost, through the bites he received from the rats -- and eight minutes and forty-five seconds were occupied in worrying the two last.¹⁰⁴

Generally though, the custom was to match two men and two dogs against one hundred rats and wager on the time it took to kill all of the varmits.¹⁰⁵ One such contest was reported in the New York Tribune on January 27, 1855. A bag of rats were dumped into the pit and "men and dogs jumped in and kicked up a general melee."¹⁰⁶ The men usually wore heavy boots with thick heels for this version of the sport and killed the rats by kicking them against the walls of the pit or by squashing them under foot.

H. Cock throwing and badger baiting

1. Cock throwing

The sport of cock throwing was practiced in England by children at Shrove Tide as early as the seventeenth century. A cock was tied to a stake and thrown at with

¹⁰⁴"Disgraceful Sport," Spirit of the Times (May 26, 1832), p. 1.

¹⁰⁵D. Lynch, The Wild Seventies, p. 307.

¹⁰⁶Quoted in Ibid.

small sticks called coksteles. The sport was also called cock shying and was performed at a distance of about 20 yards. Sometimes the cock's feathers were greased so the sticks would glance off and extend the duration of the sport. A variation of cock throwing was accomplished by placing the cock in an earthen vessel with only his head and tail exposed to view. This was suspended over the street to throw at until someone broke the pot releasing the bird. Still another variation was practiced. The bird was buried in the ground with only his head and neck protruding to throw at. Cock throwing was practiced at wakes and fairs as well as on Shrove Tuesday and was popular until about 1776. Around this time, a child was hit and killed by a flying cokstele and the law ruled it a case of manslaughter. Attempts were made to substitute toy cocks with lead stands for the real cocks but the sport was never popular after the live cocks had been removed.¹⁰⁷

Cock throwing never became a popular sport in America. It was practiced on Shrove Tuesday in 1685 in New England and was said to have caused "great disorder in

¹⁰⁷J. Strutt, Sports and Pastimes, pp. 226ff; H. Crowe, Zoophilus, p. 124; D. Harwood, Love For Animals, p. 59; T. Thiselton-Dyer, British Popular Customs, p. 66; W. Boulton, Amusements of Old London, pp. 249-250; Ralph Fletcher, A Few Notes On Cruelty To Animals; On The Inadequacy Of Penal Law; On General Hospitals For Animals (London: Longman and Co., 1846), pp. 14-15; and, O. Paul Monckton, "Little Known Sports and Pastimes," Living Age, 271 (November 25, 1911), p. 489.

town." It was referred to as cock-skailing or cock-steling.¹⁰⁸ The sport was also popular at Christmas time during the early eighteenth century when the people threw clubs at cocks and other domestic fowl.¹⁰⁹ After the early 1700's, the sport seemed to lose its popularity in America.

2. Badger baiting

Badger baiting or badger drawing was popular in England from the late seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century. It became even more popular after the sports of bear baiting and bull baiting declined in interest. The badger was usually staked to the ground by fastening a chain through his tail. He was staked at the end of a pit two yards long, one yard wide, and four feet deep, which was covered with a board to make a tunnel just big enough for a dog to pull the badger out of. Terriers were sent in to pull the animal out and as soon as the badger appeared he was released again. The object of the sport was to see how many times the dog could pull the badger out in a specified time limit. Badgers were often starved to make them fight and sometimes their lower jaw was cut off to protect the dogs. Bets were made on the number

¹⁰⁸ Alice Morse Earle, Customs and Fashions in Old New England (New York, N. Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), p. 228.

¹⁰⁹ Horatio Smith, Festivals, Games and Amusements (New York, N. Y.: J. J. Harper, 1831), p. 322.

of times the badger would be drawn from his hole.

The sport needed no special occasion to be practiced but was most popular around Easter and Whitsuntide. Badger baiting was more economical than either bull or bear baiting and the people felt justified in baiting the animal since badgers were known to kill poultry. Some individuals earned money by going out into the fields and forests capturing badgers to be used for the sport.¹¹⁰

Badger baiting was never practiced in America but a similar sport of chucking was. The same methodology was utilized except a woodchuck was used instead of a badger. Sometimes raccoons were substituted for the chucks to add some variation to the sport. A wooden box was usually used for the "chuck game" so the sport could be conducted indoors in taverns, saloons, and pits used for the baiting and fighting of other animals. The sport never gained much popularity in America but had some interest around 1860. One contest occurred at this time in Boston. The chuck game was held at the conclusion of a rat baiting and used a woodchuck for awhile and then a raccoon.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰D. Harwood, Love For Animals, p. 270; R. Fletcher, A Few Notes, pp. 75ff; Fairholme and Pain, A Century of Work, p. 79; L. Fitz-Barnard, Fighting Sports, pp. 190-191; William Youatt, The Obligation and Extent of Humanity To Brutes, principally considered with Reference to Domesticated Animals (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1839), p. 173; and, E. Phipson, Animal Lore, p. 49.

¹¹¹E. Savage, Police Records, p. 163.

C H A P T E R III

THE ANIMAL IN ANGLO-AMERICAN THOUGHT BEFORE THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

With few exceptions, neither Englishmen nor Americans granted animals any special protection from cruel treatment. Before 1700 the role of animals in Western societies was based to an amazing extent on ignorance and superstition. Knowledge of animals before 1700 was derived from a number of varied and mostly unreliable sources: ancient bestiaries, animal fables, the Bible, treatises on natural history, mythological stories, traveler's tales, religion, and the arts. America, being separated from Europe by the Atlantic Ocean, received even more unreliable information than England. The nature of the available material pertaining to animal life and in some instances a complete lack of any information at all, fostered an environment where humans were unaware of and in most cases incapable of, showing any sympathy for the animal creation. Animals were only recognized for what they could do for mankind.

Probably the earliest information concerning animals were the Aesopic and Bidpai fables and the Greek and Roman works on natural history. Aristotle (fourth century B.C.), the most important Greek writer of natural history, wrote

Historia Animalium, a book which was used as reference material by other scholars throughout the Middle Ages. The most prominent Roman writers on natural history were Pliny the Elder (first century A.D.), Oppian, Solinus, and Aelian (third century A.D.). Pliny, the most influential of the four, wrote Naturalis Historia which had four books devoted to animals. But, much of Pliny's work was only a repetition of Aristotle. Other important works which were drawn upon by scholars and writers of the Middle Ages were the Physiologus (second century A.D.), the Vulgate translation of the Bible (fourth century), and the Etymologies of Isidore of Seville (seventh century). These works too, depended primarily on the previous work of Aristotle and Pliny.¹

Travelers' tales of those who had ventured to the Far East such as Marco Polo (end of thirteenth century) and Friar Odoric (early fourteenth century) contributed to the growing knowledge concerning animals. Voyages for exploration in the sixteenth century by the English, Dutch, and

¹William M. Carroll, Animal Conventions in English Renaissance Non-Religious Prose, 1500-1600 (New York, N. Y.: Bookman Associates, 1954), pp. 16-17; Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, "The Greek Conception of Animals," Contemporary Review, 85 (March, 1904), pp. 430-439; E. M. Cesaresco, The Place Of Animals In Human Thought (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909), Ch. 3; E. P. Evans, Animal Symbolism In Ecclesiastical Architecture (London: W. Heinemann, 1896), pp. 54-82, 161-162, and 171; and, Francis Klingender, Animals in Art and Thought To the End of the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1971).

Spanish, provided first hand knowledge of much new animal life. Conrad Gesner's Historia Animalium (1551-1558) marked the beginning of a new age in natural history. Although some new information was being gathered, the literature up to and including the sixteenth century was not much more than a continuation and outgrowth of a few works, mostly inaccurate, which had been completed many centuries before. Two works completed early in the seventeenth century which illustrate this fact clearly were Edward Topsell's The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes (1607) and The Historie of Serpents, or, The Second Book of Living Creatures (1608). His books included most of the information known about animals which had been passed along to the sixteenth century.²

In medieval England the mimicry of animals in the traditional folk dramas of mummers' performances, pageants, and masques, reflected the common ideas concerning animals. Men and women often wore costumes and heads resembling animals to celebrate holidays and similar occasions of importance. In fact, the transformation of man into a bestial form by the powers of witchcraft was one of the most

²W. M. Carroll, Animal Conventions . . ., p. 18; Henry S. Salt, Animals' Rights Considered In Relation To Social Progress (New York, N. Y.: Macmillan and Co., 1894), Ch. 1; Terence H. White (trans. and ed.), The Book of Beasts, Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), pp. 231-245.

popular stories in the folk tradition. Disguised in folk custom, these conventional ideas about animals were predominant until the mid-seventeenth century.³

The Bible and all forms of artistic ornamentation were additional methods whereby the peoples of England received information regarding animal life. Animal lore in the Bible, derived primarily from early writings on natural history, contained much animal symbolism and metaphor. Architecture, heraldry, sculpture, and painting also depicted the animals as reported in known information at the time. Early church pictures represented animals performing actions of men and sculptors of the time molded monstrous forms representing fanciful animals. Heraldry and the animal symbolism associated with it, promoted traditional ideas concerning the nature and admirable characteristics of certain animals since they were the ones chosen for the heraldic representation.⁴

In the literature of Elizabethan England, animals were almost always referred to as beasts or brutes. This reflected the traditional belief that animals were unreasonable and only man was capable of exercising reason and

³J. Strutt, Sports and Pastimes, pp. 201-204; D. G. Spicer, Yearbook of English; T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, British Popular Customs; and, W. M. Carroll, Animal Conventions, pp. 23-24.

⁴E. P. Evans, Animal Symbolism; F. Klingender, Animals in Art; and, W. M. Carroll, Animal Conventions, p. 28.

judgment. The beasts were also recognized to exemplify all types of sin, ugliness, and grossness.⁵ In reality, almost all English conceptions of the animal kingdom before the seventeenth century had survived from the Middle Ages with little or no modification.

By the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a few intellectuals in Europe had expressed an appreciation and further understanding of animals but no theory carried the importance of that of French philosopher and scientist Rene' Descartes (1596-1650). Descartes' theory was a direct rebuttal of those beginning to see something more in animals. He believed the animal was simply a machine which operated automatically and, therefore, had no ability to reason, remember, think, or experience pleasure and pain. The animal-machine theory was well received at Cambridge and lectures on it were given before 1650. There were contrasting opinions of course, but Descartes' ideas reigned until at least the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁶

⁵W. Carroll, Animal Conventions . . ., pp. 31-32, 45-46, and 88.

⁶Arthur L. Sells, Animal Poetry in French and English Literature and the Greek Tradition (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1955), pp. xviii-xxiii; Thomas Nashe, The Happy Beast In French Thought of the Sixteenth Century (New York, N. Y.: Octagon Books, 1966). (Originally published in 1933); Leonora C. Rosenfield, From Beast to Man-Machine: Animal Soul in French Thought from Descartes to La Mettrie (New York, N. Y.:

Religion and religious thought before and during the seventeenth century, with only a few notable exceptions, encouraged a neglect of animals and made the work of those professing an interest and love for animals much more difficult. Christianity attached exclusive importance to the spiritual salvation of man and the immortality of his soul was the main object of religious interest. This resulted in a drastic separation between humans and other sentient beings. Roman Catholics also viewed animals only as things and believed they existed not for themselves but only to serve man. It was common thought that animals, having no understanding, were ineligible for rights or recognition by the church.⁷

Animals were in a precarious position with the law throughout the Middle Ages and early Renaissance. They were prosecuted in courts between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries for injuries by them to humans or private property. Animals were actually brought into the courts for trial, judgement, and sentencing. Punishments, depending on the

Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. xxii-xxvii; and, H. Salt, Animal Rights . . ., pp. 10-11.

⁷A. Sells, Animal Poetry . . ., pp. xxiii-xxiv; Edward Westermarck, Christianity and Morals (New York, N. Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), pp. 387-389. (Originally published in 1939); Henry S. Salt, "Humanitarianism," Westminster Review, 132 (July-December, 1889), pp. 78-79; and, Newton M. Mann, The Evolution Of A Sentiment: Kindness To Animals In The Christian World (Omaha, Nebraska: By Author, 1898), pp. 10-12.

severity of the crime, were burning, hanging, burying alive, mutilation, or maiming. In cases where physical seizure was impossible as with insects which damaged crops, ecclesiastical courts attempted to warn the insects of their wrong and threaten expulsion from the land or excommunication. In some instances, other land was offered to the insects if they would vacate the land in question. Church related courts usually conducted these trials since it was believed the insects were sent by some demon. In such a way, medieval jurisprudence distinguished between secular animal crimes committed by animals in the service of man and ecclesiastical animal crimes committed by rodents and insects not subject to human control.⁸ There is some survival of these attitudes in the common practice of killing animals which have killed human beings.

⁸Hampton L. Carson, "The Trial Of Animals And Insects: A Little Known Chapter Of Mediaeval Jurisprudence," American Philosophical Society Proceedings, 56 (1917), pp. 410-415; Edward H. East, "Animals As Offenders And As Victims," Albany Law Journal, 21 (1891), p. 265; Edward P. Evans, "Bugs and Beasts Before The Law," Atlantic Monthly, 54 (August, 1884), pp. 235-246; Edward P. Evans, The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals (New York, N. Y.: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1906); Water W. Hyde, "The Prosecution and Punishment of Animals and Lifeless Things in the Middle Ages and Modern Times," University of Pennsylvania Law Review, 64 (May, 1916), pp. 696-730; William Jones, "Legal Prosecutions of Animals," Popular Science Monthly, 17 (September, 1880), pp. 619-625; and, Barriat-Saint-Prix, "Prosecution Against Animals," American Jurist, 1 (April, 1829), pp. 223-237.

The attitudes of the people of Europe and subsequently those of the courts at the time of these animal trials, resulted from their conception of the purpose of the law and their understanding of the place of animals in society. It was believed that all murders, whether committed by man, animal, or inanimate object, had to be properly appeased, or furies would be aroused and bring epidemics to the land. Also, it was common belief that all animals were devils in disguise. Therefore, any murder committed by them that went unpunished, would allow devils to take possession of the people involved. Another theory for explaining animal trials was based on the supposed belief of the personification of animals, but at this early period the belief that animals possessed any human characteristics was quite rare. The common superstitions of the age seem to be the best explanation: devils, divine retribution, and the like.⁹

⁹H. Carson, "The Trial of . . . ," pp. 413-414.

C H A P T E R I V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMANE THOUGHT: ANTHROPOMORPHISM

Before 1700 there was little humane thinking about man's relation to animals. Before this time a few local laws and ordinances had prohibited blood sports because of riotous behavior or wasteful amusement, but not until the eighteenth century did cruelty become an important concern in England. This early demand for more rights for animals could be termed anthropomorphic. Some of the early advocates of humane treatment argued that human beings and animals were much alike in feelings, emotions, and mental powers. They were concerned solely with the well-being of animals and until laws were enacted, relied entirely on the emotions and sympathies of the people they were attempting to reform. Their major concern was to make people aware of the suffering inflicted upon animals and then dwell upon this cruelty to persuade people that it was wrong. Poets lamented the torture of innocent animals, clergy preached sermons degrading cruel animal sports, artists painted scenes eliciting pity for animals, and educationists taught the value of being kind to all living creatures.

The reformers assumed that animals were entitled to the same rights and liberties as humans and operated under

this assumption. In their attempts to prevent cruelty to animals, they approached the problem in three different ways. First, they attracted public attention to the problem by newspapers, magazines, speeches, sermons, and handbills. Secondly, they attempted to improve the "better part" of society who were in a position to influence others. Lastly, they educated the upcoming generation to proper thinking and action regarding the treatment of animals. But all three amounted to propoganda and persuasion and gave the reformers no real leverage in eradicating the problem. The major tool for the reformers became the legislation passed against cruelty to animals in general and blood sports in particular.

A. England

1. Literature

Humane thought towards animals was slow to develop in England. In his Utopia (1516) Sir Thomas More wrote one of the earliest condemnations of cruelty to animals.¹ A second milestone in the concern for the well being of animals was the lengthy treatise by Philip Stubbes: Anatomy Of The Abuses In England In Shakespere's Youth (1583). Stubbes attacked all amusements conducted on the Sabbath and all of those sports which would damage the morals or

¹Arthur W. Moss, Valiant Crusade: The History of the R.S.P.C.A. (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1961), p. 12.

physical anatomy of the participants. Among the sports severely criticized by Stubbes was bear baiting. Interestingly enough, he was also concerned with the abuse of the animals used in sports:

For is not the baiting of a Bear, besides that it is a filthie, stinking, and lothsome game, a daungerous & perilous exercyse? Wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an houre; . . . what christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind, & seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are.²

A concern for animals was still something very new at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but as the century progressed examples of kindness became more frequent. In 1631, Gervase Markham advocated the proper care of domestic animals³ and fifteen years later the Town Clerk of Stamford, Richard Butcher, described bull running as "more beastlike than any" and "a sport of no pleasure except to such as take pleasure in beastliness and mischief."⁴ Sire Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice for Charles II from 1660 until his

² Philip Stubbes, Anatomy of The Abuses In England In Shakespere's Youth (1583). Ed. by Frederick J. Turnivall (London: New Shakespere Society, 1965), Series VI, Nos. 4, 16, 12, pp. 177-178.

³ Gervase Markham, Cheape and Good Husbandry for the Well-Ordering of All Beasts and Fowls (London, 1631).

⁴ Edward G. Fairholme and Wellesley Pain, A Century of Work for Animals, The History of the R.S.P.C.A., (1824-1924) (London: John Murray, 1924), p. 78.

death in 1676, also expressed his desire to be kind to animals. He particularly disliked blood sports:

I have abhorred those sports that consist in torturing animals and, if any noxious creatures must be destroyed, it has been my practice to do this with the least torture or cruelty. . . .⁵

In his famous work Thoughts On Education, John Locke (1632-1704), stressed the importance of educating children to be kind to animals.

Children should from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of killing and tormenting any living creature . . . and indeed, I think people from their cradles should be tender to all sensible creatures and spoil nothing.⁶

Later in the century, two of England's famous literary figures, Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn, both reported disgust with bull baiting in their diaries. In 1666, Pepys described the sport as "a very rude and nasty pleasure"⁷ and four years later, Evelyn referred to it as being a "rude and dirty pastime."⁸ By the end of the seventeenth century,

⁵Charles D. Niven, History of the Humane Movement (London: Johnson, 1967), p. 52; A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 152.

⁶E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 4; C. Niven, History of the Humane . . ., pp. 52-53; A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 196.

⁷Samuel Pepys, Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1879-1880), p. 61.

⁸John Evelyn, Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1862), quoted in Florence E. Bryant, "Sports and Diversions in the 17th

the humane concern for animals had been expressed by a few notable individuals. But it was not until eighteenth century England that an abundance of attacks on animal cruelty began to be voiced.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the sports and diversions of the English people were coming under attack by foreign representatives because of the cruelty and bloodshed common to them. The French especially, voiced disapproval of blood sports and claimed they originated and were popular because of a natural fierceness and cruelty of temper inherent in the English. Concerned with these attacks on English character and morals, Sir Richard Steele replied on February 16, 1709:

I wish I knew how to answer this reproach which is cast upon us, and excuse the death of so many innocent cocks, bulls, dogs, and bears, as have been set together by the ears, or died an untimely death, only to make us sport.⁹

The following year, the German Herr Von Uffenbach, spoke of cock fighting as the "particular delight of the English, however barbarous it may appear to strangers."¹⁰ Continued attacks by foreigners gradually led some concerned inhabi-

Century," (unpublished Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1931), p. 15.

⁹Tatler, No. 134 (February 16, 1709), quoted in Dix Harwood, Love for Animals and How It Developed in Great Britain (New York, N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1928), p. 275; and, J. Strutt, Sports and Pastimes . . ., p. xvii.

¹⁰W. Boulton, Amusements of Old London . . ., p. 179.

tants of Great Britain to act in the best interest of their country's world image.

The third Earl of Shaftesbury, a respected philosopher of his time, wrote a profound work in 1711, Characteristics, which had a widespread influence upon the humane thought in England at the time. He related his essay directly to God and believed that "to love and to be kind; to have social or natural affection, complacency, and good will, is to feel immediate satisfaction and genuine content."¹¹ The moral sense of all humans was of paramount concern and the author believed kindness to animals was the only "natural" characteristic:

. . . to delight in the Fortune and Pain of other Creatures indifferently . . . is wholly and absolutely unnatural, as it is horrid and miserable.¹²

The most important philosophic argument in Characteristics for animal protection was the Earl's emphasis on resenting cruelty to animals simply because it was cruelty and not because it could possibly lead to cruelty to humans. Alexander Pope, another of England's famous literary figures, attacked cruelty to animals in an article which appeared in the Guardian of 1713. He, too, stressed human morality:

¹¹J. M. Robertson (ed.), Shaftesbury's Characteristics (London, 1900), book ii, pt. 2, sec. III.

¹²Ibid.

1742, one of the first books was written which dealt primarily with the rights of animals. John Hildrop's book, Free Thoughts Upon the Brute Creation . . ., was an in depth examination of Father Bougeant's "Philosophical Amusement upon the Language of Beasts" (1740) in which he favored animal immortality.¹⁷ Later, in 1749, the first suggestion appeared which advocated actual legal rights for animals. An article entitled "Speech of a Hen on Shrove Tuesday" written by an anonymous person was printed in the Gentleman's Magazine. The hen was denouncing the cruel sport of cock throwing and concluded her plea by saying "Perhaps the legislature may not think it beneath them to take our sad case into consideration."¹⁸

After 1750, more and more pressure for the humane treatment of animals became evident in England. William Hogarth (1697-1764), one of the best known artists of his day, published a series of pictures entitled Four Stages of Cruelty where he depicted the transgression of children committing cruel acts to animals to adults committing murder. He published the drawings

¹⁷John Hildrop, Free Thoughts Upon the Brute Creation: or, An Examination of Father Bougeant's Philosophical Amusement & C. in two letters to a lady (London: R. Minors, 1743).

¹⁸Quoted in E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., pp. 5-6.

. . . with the hope of correcting, in some degree, that barbarous treatment of animals the very sight of which renders the streets of our metropolis so distressing to every feeling of the mind.¹⁹

The next year, Lord Kames described bear baiting as one of the chief entertainments of the English, though it was abhorred by the French and "other polite nations."²⁰ Cock fighting came under strong attack in 1756 when the following advertisement appeared in the Gloucester Journal:

This is to give notice to all lovers of cruelty and promoters of misery, that at the George Inn, on Wednesday, in the Whitsun week, will be provided for their diversion the savage sport of cock-fighting, which . . . must be greatly approved by such as have no reverence for the Deity nor benevolence for His creatures.²¹

Three years later, in 1759, Wollaston identified the slowly growing sympathy for life which was becoming a characteristic of the more benevolent individuals:

There is something in human nature, resulting from our very make and constitution, which renders us obnoxious to the pains of others, causes us to sympathize with them, and almost comprehends us in their

¹⁹Quoted in Preserved Smith, A History of Modern Culture (2 vols.) (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1957), II, p. 595. (Originally published in 1934). See also E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 5; and, A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., pp. 9-10.

²⁰Lord Kames, Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion (Edinburgh, 1751), p. 7.

²¹Quoted in Boulton, Amusements of Old London . . ., p. 205.

I cannot think it extravagant to imagine that mankind are no less in proportion accountable for the ill-use of their dominion over creatures of the lower rank of beings, than for the exercise of tyranny over their own species. The more entirely the inferior creation is submitted to our power, the more answerable we should seem for our mismanagement of it;¹³

A concern with the cruel treatment of animals continued into the 1720's and 1730's. In his The Fable of the Bees (1723), Bernard Mandeville wrote that animals had similar feelings to man and should be treated properly,¹⁴ the Universal Spectator¹⁵ carried stories pertaining to animal kindness, and the Gentleman's Magazine¹⁶ became extremely active in a vigorous protest for the proper treatment of animals.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, two more important attacks on cruelty to animals appeared. In

¹³Alexander Pope, Guardian, 61 (1713), quoted in Sir Arthur Helps, Some Talk About Animals And Their Masters (London: Strahan & Co., 1873), p. 121.

¹⁴Bernard Mandeville, The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957). (Originally published in 1723).

¹⁵One such story appeared in 1732 which told of a lady's desire to give up society and seek exclusive companionship with her husband and her family of animals. She praised the keeping of pets and their value for providing "a sense of gratitude and faithfulness." Quoted in D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 195.

¹⁶One article which appeared around 1735, stated that "Throwing at Cocks, Bull-baiting, Duck hunting, Cock-fighting, and Horse-racing are Barbarities in the highest Vogue. . . ." Quoted in D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 278.

case. It is grievous to see or hear any man, or even any animal whatever, in torture.²²

Lastly, in the same year, a short note appeared in The Daily London Advertiser of March 7th stating:

Yesterday, being Shrove Tuesday, the orders of the justices in the City and Liberty of Westminster were so well observed that few cocks were seen to be thrown at, so that it is hoped this barbarous custom will be left off . . .²³

This indicated a growing concern for the lives of innocent animals often taken in blood sports.

The brutality of cock fighting was one aspect of London's culture denounced by Richard King in The Frauds of London Detected (1770). "Cockfighting, of all games," he said,

is surely one of the most barbarous, and a scandal to the practitioners who follow it, both high and low; for, notwithstanding its antiquity as a diversion in England, it is now become a disgrace to humanity. . . .²⁴

A similar attack by Charles Graham appeared in the Sentimental Magazine five years later. He referred to cock fighting as a "barbarous and ignorant amusement" and said,

²²Wollaston, Religion of Nature (1759), quoted in H. Salt, "Humanitarianism," p. 75.

²³Quoted in T. Thiselton-Dyer, British Popular Customs . . . , p. 66.

²⁴Richard King, The Frauds of London Detected (London, 1770), pp. 29-30.

I have been thus particular in describing this kind of diversion . . . because should any person who never heard of such things, read this, he would hardly imagine that such practices could exist amongst men of sense, who live in a civilized nation, and call themselves -- 'followers of Christ.'²⁵

In 1776, thirty-four years after John Hildrop's book on animal's rights, Humphry Primatt published the second known book devoted solely to the need for kindness to animals. It was entitled A Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy and Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals and was indicative of the growing concern for more stringent observance of morals. Dr. Primatt expressed his disgust with activities which were painful to animals and which provided entertainment for humans:

He who injures that are not injurious from a wish to give himself pleasure, adds nothing to his own happiness, living or dead; while he who willingly gives no animal pain or confinement, or death, but seeketh the good of all created beings, enjoys bliss without end.²⁶

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) followed Primatt with an exceedingly strong interest in the welfare of animals. He was one of the first men to stress the importance of classifying

²⁵Charles Graham, "On the Savage Diversion of Cock-Fighting," Sentimental Magazine, (1775), pp. 220-221.

²⁶Humphry Primatt, A Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy and Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals (London: R. Hett, 1776). Quote from William Youatt, The Obligation and Extent of Humanity To Brutes, principally considered with Reference to Domesticated Animals (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1839), p. 25.

acts of cruelty to animals as crimes under the law and in his Principles of Morals and Legislation (1780), Bentham wrote:

The day may come, when the rest of the animal creation may acquire those rights which never could have been withholden from them but by the hand of tyranny. . . . It may come one day to be recognized, that the number of legs, the villosity of the skin, or the termination of the os sacrum, are reasons equally insufficient for abandoning a sensitive being to the same fate? . . . the question is not, can they reason? nor, Can they talk? but, Can they suffer?²⁷

Most of the individuals who solicited aid for animals during this period were in a minority and sometimes met with strict disapproval by their fellow citizens. In a majority of cases, the ideas expressed were about forty years ahead of their time.

After 1780, concern for the cruel treatment of animals was growing at a rapid rate. A large number of writers either discussed the fact that animals should be treated humanely or wrote entire works devoted to the animal's cause. Daines Barrington in Miscellanies (1781), reminded "the reader, lest he forget, that beasts should be humanely treated."²⁸ The next year, Soame Jenyns included

²⁷Jeremy Bentham, An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation. Ed. by J. H. Burns and H. L. A. Hart (London: Athlone Press, 1970), p. 283. (Originally published in 1789 and printed in 1780).

²⁸Daines Barrington, Miscellanies (London, 1781), p. 259.

a chapter "On Cruelty to Inferior Animals" in his Disquisitions On Several Subjects. In it, he severely chastised those who took delight in blood sports:

. . . the common people of all countries are delighted with nothing so much as bull-baitings . . . the most polished are not ashamed to be pleased with scenes of little less barbarity, and, to the disgrace of human nature, to dignify them with the name of sports.²⁹

Sarah Trimmer, a well-known literary figure popular for her children's stories, published Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature and History of the Robins in 1782 and 1786 respectively, both of which stressed the duty of being kind to all animals.³⁰ An article in the European Magazine of 1786 accused human beings of "trampling upon the rights of the inferior orders of the Creation"³¹ and around 1790, Thomas Percival's A Father's Instructions discussed the treatment of animals by children and their subsequent care as pets.³² In 1791, John Oswald published The Cry of Nature . . ., a book which had a profound effect on the growing crusade for animal protection. He was "disgusted with continual scenes of slaughter and desolation, pierced

²⁹Soame Jenyns, Disquisitions on Several Subjects (London: J. Dodsley, 1782), pp. 22-23.

³⁰E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 15.

³¹Quoted in D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 169.

³²Quoted in Ibid., p. 170.

by the incessant shrieks of suffering innocence, and shocked by the shouts of persecuting brutality . . ."³³

Oswald hoped that all humans would "learn to recognize and to respect in other animals the feelings which vibrate in ourselves. . . ."³⁴

In 1792, Thomas Taylor set out to prove that animals had reason in A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes. He too, criticized blood sports, and disliked those who indulged "in wantonness and cruelty" and who destroyed many useful animals in "theatrical sports."³⁵ During the same year, a children's book, Evenings at Home . . ., taught the young readers to treat animals with kindness and always to use them "reasonably."³⁶ John Lawrence, a prominent farmer from Essex, who wrote about land management, farming, and domestic animals, published a forceful and expertly written book pertaining to man's moral duties to animals. The book, A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses, and on the Moral Duties of Man Towards the Brute Creation

³³John Oswald, The Cry of Nature; or, An Appeal to Mercy and to Justice, on behalf of the Persecuted Animals (London: J. Johnson, 1791), pp. 80-81.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Thomas Taylor, A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes (London, 1792). (Reprinted by Gainesville, Florida: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1966), p. 29.

³⁶Barbauld and Aikin, Evenings at Home, or The Juvenile Budget Opened (London, 1792). Quoted in D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 170.

(1796), contained an important chapter "On The Rights of Beasts" where he proposed that animals be protected by the law and stated that

A law of this nature would effectually sweep away all those hellish nuisances, miscalled sports; such as the baiting and torturing animals to death, throwing at cocks . . . ; in which savage exertions, the unnatural and preposterous idea is fostered and encouraged, that one animal can derive sportive and pleasing sensations, from witnessing the lingering tortures and excruciated sensibility of another.³⁷

Lawrence was obviously opposed to blood sports but believed "no true and lawful, that is to say, rational, useful, and delightful sports, would be interrupted by this regulation . . ."³⁸ An article entitled "The Rights of Animals" appeared in the European Magazine that same year stimulated still more concern for the growing interest in animals.³⁹ Before the end of the century, two other important books for the welfare of animals were published in England. George Nicholson's, On The Conduct of Man to Inferior Animals (1797), and Thomas Young's An Essay on Humanity to Animals (1798), both had wide circulation and served as excellent summaries of thought for the rights of animals in the eighteenth century. "In our conduct to animals,"

³⁷(London: T. N. Longman, 1796), I, p. 125.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹"The Rights of Animals," European Magazine (1796), p. 52. Quoted in Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 169.

Nicholson wrote, ". . . a rule universally admitted as a foundation of moral rectitude: Treat the animal in such a manner as you would willingly be treated, were you such an animal."⁴⁰ Young, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, spoke out against all forms of animal cruelty including blood sports and probably was the first to protest the treatment of performing animals in circuses and novelty shows. Although the eighteenth century was fertile for the growth of humane thought, there were still only a minority who were actually pleading the cause of animals and they were often the center of joking and ridicule. Young's introductory statement was an example of the defensive stance necessary for the early humane writers:

In offering to the public a book on Humanity to Animals, I am sensible that I lay myself open to no small portion of ridicule; . . . To many, no doubt, the subject which I have chosen will appear whimsical and uninteresting, and the particulars into which it is about to lead me ludicrous and mean.⁴¹

Surely others aided in the development of humane thought during eighteenth century England, but the previously mentioned individuals and their works were predominant in the drive for kindness to animals. As the nineteenth

⁴⁰Quoted in Henry S. Salt, "The Rights Of Animals," International Journal of Ethics, 10 (January, 1900), p. 222.

⁴¹Quoted in Henry S. Salt, Animals' Rights Considered In Relation To Social Progress (New York, N. Y.: Macmillan and Co., 1894), p. 119.

century began, progress for animals' rights continued in the form of the printed word and England's literary figures furthered the cause.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the sport of bull baiting loomed large as a factor stimulating humane action for the benefit of animals. Bull baitings were common events throughout England and, therefore, could be seen by almost anyone who was in the immediate area. The scenes of dogs and bulls ripping and tearing at each other led a few concerned citizens to begin pressing for stoppage of the sport and other forms of general cruelty to animals. One anonymous individual published a short manuscript entitled, A Remonstrance Against Inhumanity to Animals and Particularly Against the Savage Practice of Bull-baiting in 1802⁴² and another person only known as Viator wrote a very intriguing letter to the editor of the Christian Observer concerning the nature of bull baiting. The author of the letter was attacking those who defended bull baiting on the grounds that it produced loyalty to the church and country and, therefore, would not pass a law prohibiting the sport. He sarcastically answered defenders of the sport when he said,

No; let them be taken to a Bull-Baiting;
let them see the Bull tortured with the
goad, to render him furious; let them see

⁴²Quoted in E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 20.

half a dozen gored dogs sprawling on the ground in the agonies of death; let them see the bull at length pinned by the nose, or his bleeding tongue torn out by the roots; for this exhibitions 'cherish those feelings which are the best support of loyalty, and best protection of the Church and State.'⁴³

Later, the same year, an article appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, which also referred to bull baiting and the author thought "surely diversions of this sort, if we may give them such an appellation, are not only a reproach to human nature, but a disgrace to every Christian country."⁴⁴

Another attack on bull baiting appeared in the same magazine in 1809 and this time the author said "surely few subjects in the whole compass of moral discussion can be greater than the unnecessary cruelty of man to animals. . . ."⁴⁵

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, bull baiting, moreso than any other single factor, stimulated a demand for the better treatment of animals in general and the elimination of blood sports in particular.

The literature of early nineteenth century England continued to reflect the growing concern for the protection of innocent animals and bull baiting was by far the most

⁴³Viator, "To the Editor of the Christian Observer," Christian Observer, 1 (June, 1802), p. 364.

⁴⁴Gentleman's Magazine (December, 1802), quoted in E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 76.

⁴⁵Gentleman's Magazine (June, 1809), quoted in A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 15.

dominant catalyst for articles and books written on the poor state of affairs for animals. Fuller, who wrote Worthies of England in 1811, depicted bull baiting as a popular sport for both "the gentry and the countryfolk" in Somersetshire and discussed the use of animals for man's pleasure:

1. Man must not be a barrater, to set the creatures at variance.
2. He can take no true delight in their antipathie, which was the effect of his sin.
3. Man's charter of dominion empowers him to be a prince, but no tyrant, over the creatures.
4. Though brute beasts are made to be destroyed, they are not made to be tormented.⁴⁶

Although hardly a twentieth century man in his attitude toward animals, Fuller did concede man's duty not to torture innocent animals. He also spoke out against the ancient belief that baiting a bull made its flesh more palatable: "All that I dare interpose is this, that the tough flesh of bulls is not one made more tender by baiting. . ."⁴⁷

The proper care of a variety of domesticated animals was the topic of Tusser's, Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry (1812), and the Royal Cockpit at Bridcage Walk in London was forced to close in 1816. Christ's Hospital, owners of the land, refused to renew the lease since they had become

⁴⁶J. Fuller, Worthies of England (1811), quoted in Emma Phipson, The Animal Lore of Shakespeares Time (London: Keegan Paul, French & Co., 1883), p. 136.

⁴⁷Ibid.

exposed to the crusade for animals' rights.⁴⁸ In 1820, Zoophilos; Or, Consideration on the Moral Treatment of Inferior Animals, was written by Henry Crowe. He spoke out strongly against blood sports and said of the "sportsmen" who frequented them:

. . . few of us, I believe, would hesitate from such traits to pronounce the characters utterly destitute of sensibility; to hold them in abhorrence, and shun them as blood-thirsty savages and monsters.⁴⁹

Crowe also devoted much of his book to listing and describing all of the cruel sports practiced in England and pointed out the fact that legislation had never been imposed against the cruelty involved. "But the cruelty of any one of them [sports] seems never to have been taken into consideration, or even mentioned in the Acts of Parliament!"⁵⁰ Along similar lines, a number of articles appeared in the Monthly Magazine during December, 1820, and January, 1821, calling for the formation of a society for preventing cruelty to animals. An anonymous correspondent, known only as Clericus, wrote a similar article for the issue of April, 1821. The author, expressed himself as

An individual, actuated by a compassionate regard for the sufferings of the brute species, and lamenting, in common with

⁴⁸A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., pp. 135-136.

⁴⁹H. Crowe, Zoophilus . . ., p. 20.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 60.

every feeling mind, the wanton cruelties which are so frequently exercised with impunity on this unoffending part of God's creatures, earnestly appeals to the public in their behalf.⁵¹

The pleas of those interested individuals were eventually answered in 1824 when the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was formed, but not until more pressure could be applied through England's literary channels between 1822 and the date of founding.

Late in 1822, Edward Herbert wrote a very descriptive article of "The Cockpit Royal" for the London Magazine. He dwelled in minute detail but in the end offered his opinion of the sport,

My heart sickened within me! Can this be sport? thought I!--Is satisfaction to be reaped from this pampered and profligate butchery?⁵²

In closing, Herbert said, "I have seen the sport! I have described it!--and I shall certainly never again do either the one or the other."⁵³ In the next month's issue of the same journal, an anonymous writer, angered that cart drivers were punished for mistreating their horses when sportsmen

⁵¹Quoted in E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., pp. 24-25.

⁵²Edward Herbert, "The Cockpit Royal. Edward Herbert's Letters To The Family of the Powells," London Magazine, 6 (November, 1822), p. 401.

⁵³Ibid., p. 402.

could race them until they dropped, or bait a bull, or fight cocks, expressed the hope that all

poor fellow-creatures on all fours, if they had no claims to our active care and kindness from their manifold services in our behalf, have, from their mere community with us in the great inheritance of flesh and blood and sense of pain, an undeniable title to our mercy and forbearance.⁵⁴

In 1823, a year before the founding of the S.P.C.A., Rev. Arthur Broome, the would be founder, published a second edition of Humphry Primatt's A Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy and Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals to raise funds for his proposed society.⁵⁵ The book sold very well and provided a much needed source of revenue. During the following year, the man who became secretary of the S.P.C.A., Lewis Gompertz, published Moral Inquiries On The Situation Of Man And Of Brutes . . . which served as his personal assault on the cruel treatment of animals. He dealt with man's pleasures derived from blood sports and quipped that:

Even dog's, man's favourite animals, are commonly sacrificed to his mere sport, for which purpose they are caused to fight and to mangle each other, till his entertainment becomes complete. . . .⁵⁶

⁵⁴"Of Cruelty To Animals and Mr. Martin's Act," London Magazine, 6 (December, 1822), p. 530.

⁵⁵E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 53.

⁵⁶Lewis Gompertz, Moral Inquiries On The Situation Of Man And Of Brutes. On The Crime Of Committing Cruelty On Brutes, And Of Sacrificing Them To the Purposes Of Man; With

All of the agitation finally led to action and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was formed on June 16, 1824.

2. Religion

Religious leaders in England gave almost no attention to the suffering and torture of innocent animals before the beginning of the eighteenth century. Actual religious doctrine regardless of faith, provided no protection for animals. The salvation of man's soul was of primary importance and human endeavors were considered far more important than a mere animal. In fact, except for a few individuals, all church related men saw man and animals as being separated by a wide gulf with no possible linkage to each other.

The Puritans, probably more than any other religious group, openly opposed blood sports as early as the sixteenth century. From the reign of Edward VI (1547-1553), Puritan preachers denounced the brutality of animal baiting and urged its suppression. The most important contests were held on Sunday which further accentuated the Puritan hostility.⁵⁷ Some men were drowned on a Sunday in 1551 while

Further Reflections. Observations On Mr. Martin's Act, On The Vagrant Act, And On The Tread Mills; To Which Are Added Some Improvements In Scapers, Or Substitutes For Carriage Wheels; A New Plan Of The Same, And Some Other Mechanical Subjects (London: Printed for the author, 1824), pp. 9-10.

⁵⁷S. Lee, "Bearbaiting . . . ," p. 432.

on their way to a bear baiting. Immediately following the incident, a sermon was preached by John Bradford where he showed "the tokens of God's judgement for the contempt of the Gospel, as that certain gentlemen upon the Sabbath day going in a wherry to Paris Garden to the bear-baiting were drowned."⁵⁸ In 1572, Thomas Cartwright published Admonitions to Parliament, where he lectured against the "heathenish pastimes" of "beare and bull baiting" to members of the ministry.⁵⁹ Seven years later, Edward Hake in Newes out of Powles Churchyarde (1579), expressed his disgust with baiting and its practice on the Sabbath:

What else but gaine and money gote
Maintains each Saboth day
The bayting of the Beare and Bull?
What brings this brutish play?⁶⁰

Philip Stubbes, in Anatomy of Abuses . . . (1583), already referred to above, argued that God was against all cruel sports, especially when they were held on Sunday.⁶¹ In the same year, on Sunday, January 13th, the scaffold holding spectators at a Paris Garden bear baiting collapsed killing at least eight people. The event led to "much moralizing

⁵⁸John Bradford, Two Notable Sermons. Quoted in C. L. Kingsford, "Paris Garden and the Bear-baiting," Archaeologia, 70 (1920), pp. 161-162.

⁵⁹Thomas Cartwright, Admonitions to Parliament (1572). Quoted in D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 69.

⁶⁰Edward Hake, Newes out of Powles Churchyarde (1579). Quoted in S. Lee, "Bearbaiting . . .," p. 432.

⁶¹P. Stubbes, Anatomy of the Abuses . . .

in clerical pulpits."⁶² As a result, a pamphlet entitled "A Godly Exhortation by occasion of the late Judgement of God shewed at Paris Garden, 13 January, 1583, upon divers Persons, whereof some were killed and many hurt at a Bear-baiting" was published by an anonymous writer.⁶³

Concern for cruel animal sports by the clergymen and other religious men of England was even less pronounced during the seventeenth century. Perkins, in 1632, writing in his famous treatise on the Cases of Conscience, expressed a view towards blood sports common to many Puritans of the era.

The baiting of the bear, and cockfights, are no meet recreations. The baiting of the bull hath its use, and therefore it is commanded by civil authority; and so have not these. And the antipathy, and cruelty, which one beast showeth to another, is the fruit of our rebellion against God; and should rather move us to mourn, than to rejoice.⁶⁴

He accepted bull baiting because of the belief that baiting made the meat more tender but interestingly did not object to animal fighting because of the injury inflicted upon the participants. Shortly after, however, in General Directions

⁶²E. Phipson, Animal Lore . . ., p. 83; C. Kingsford, "Paris Garden . . .," p. 162.

⁶³J. Strutt, Sports and Pastimes . . ., p. 205.

⁶⁴Perkins, Cases of Conscience (1632), p. 346. Quoted in G. Scott, History of Cockfighting, p. 147.

for a Comfortable Walking with God, Bolton decidedly demonstrated his feelings against blood sports.

We must not make God's judgements and punishments, either upon man or beasts, the matter or object of them. . . . Alas, sinful man! What a heart hast thou, that canst take delight in the cruel tormenting of a dumb creature? . . . but that thou must barbarously also press its oppressions, and make thyself merry with the bleeding miseries of that poor harmless thing. . . .⁶⁵

Lastly, before the close of the seventeenth century, Rev. Edmund Ellis (Elys) wrote and published The Opinions of Mr. Perkins and Mr. Bolton, and others, Concerning the Sport of Cockfighting . . . (1660). He was clearly against the "sport" and reported his disagreements with some hesitation for fear of being recognized as "foolhardy" by his peers.

Though it be my opinion, that the sport of Cockfighting is absolutely sinful . . . yet I am not afraid to make known to the world, that I cannot imagine how any man, whilst he is actually like unto God, the Father of mercies, can possible delight and recreate himself, in seeing his fellow-creatures (which are infinitely less inferior to us, than we to our, and their Creator) so subtle and active to wound and destroy each other. . . . I am not ignorant, that, endeavouring to destroy this common opinion, that this sport is not meet

⁶⁵Bolton, General Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God (c. 1640), p. 156. Quoted in Ibid., p. 148.

for Christians, I must necessarily expect to be counted a foolhardy and imprudent fellow.⁶⁶

At the end of the seventeenth century, humane thought had not been developed to any recognizable degree and even the clergy dealt with the subject in a haphazard and precautionary way.

More clergymen and religious leaders expressed an interest in the prevention of cruelty to animals during the later part of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century than ever before in England. The famous Methodist preacher, Rev. John Wesley (1703-1791), attacked blood sports in his work on the grounds that animals had souls. Wesley's assaults on cruelty to animals were strongest during the reign of George II (1727-1760), but it was not until 1788 in a sermon entitled "The Great Deliverance" that he stressed the fact that "something better remains after death for these poor creatures. . . ."⁶⁷ In 1761, an anonymous writer published a series of sermons pertaining to blood sports, especially throwing at cocks. The author of

⁶⁶Rev. Edmund Ellis, The Opinions of Mr. Perkins and Mr. Bolton, and others, Concerning the Sport of Cockfighting, Published formerly in their Words, and now set forth to shew, that it is not a Recreation meet for Christians, though so commonly used by those who own that Name (Oxford, 1660), quoted in Ibid., p. 145.

⁶⁷John Wesley, Works (London, 1860), VI, Sermon LX, ser. 2, quoted in D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 158.

Clemency to Brutes . . ., relied largely on Bible verse to support his case for kindness to animals. He asked, "when we are Cruel to them [animals], when we causelessly destroy or unnecessarily torment them, whom is it that we resemble?"⁶⁸ He dealt specifically with the popular sports of the people:

A great part of their public Diversions consisting in setting Animals upon worrying and goring, and rending each other, or in torturing them to Death with their own Hands, and there being hardly any one kind of Beasts, Birds, or the larger sorts of Insects pretty common amongst us, which is not wont to be tormented by them in the way of Entertainment.⁶⁹

Seven years later, the Rev. Richard Dean published An Essay on the Future Life of Brute Creatures (1768). Dean, Curate of Middleton, attempted to expose every known aspect of mistreating animals.

For a Man to torture a Brute, whose Life God has put into his Hands, is a disgraceful Thing, such a meanness of Spirit as his Honour requires him to shun. If he does it out of Wantonness, he is a Fool, and a Coward; if for Pleasure, he is a Monster. Such a Mortal is a Scandal to his Species, and ought to have no place in human Societies but as a Hangman, or a Butcher.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Clemency to Brutes; The substance of two sermons preached on a Shrove-Sunday, with a particular view to dissuade from that species of cruelty annually practiced in England, the throwing at cocks (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761), p. 15.

⁶⁹Clemency to Brutes . . ., pp. 22-23.

⁷⁰Rev. Richard Dean, An Essay on the Future Life of Brute Creatures (1768), p. 110, quoted in D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 157.

Rev. Samuel Pegge wrote "A Memoir on Cock-fighting . . .," in 1770, which he then read before the Society of Antiquaries in March, 1783. In it, Rev. Pegge said "we have no right, no power or authority, to abuse and torment any of God's creatures, or needlessly to sport with their lives. . . . Cock-fighting is an heathenish mode of diversion from the first. . . ." ⁷¹ His speech was later published in Archaeologia. Shortly after Rev. Pegge wrote his attack on cock fighting, the Vicar of Shiplake, Oxfordshire, Rev. James Granger, delivered one of the first sermons pertaining to cruelty to animals. It was later published under the title of An Apology for the Brute Creation, or Abuse of Animals Censured (1772), and was based primarily on Proverbs xii, 10, "A righteous man regardeth the life of his beasts." Granger discussed the fact that little or no previous sermons had been preached for the benefit of animals.

It is strange that beasts, especially those of the most useful kind, that do so much good for, and suffer so much from man, have never, at least to my knowledge, had an advocate from the pulpit, although they have so just and urgent a claim to it, and cannot speak for themselves.⁷²

⁷¹Rev. Samuel Pegge, "A Memoir on Cock-fighting; wherein the Antiquity of it, as a Pastime, is examined and stated; some Errors of the Moderns concerning it are corrected; and the Retention of it amongst Christians is absolutely condemned and proscribed," Archaeologia, 3 (1786), p. 149.

⁷²Rev. James Granger, An Apology for the Brute Creation, or Abuse of Animals Censured (1772), quoted in E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 91.

Although quite serious and sincere, Granger's interest in protecting animals caused him to be questioned as a minister and a sane man. A postscript told how the sermon was received:

The foregoing discourse gave almost universal disgust to two considerable congregations. The mention of dogs and horses was censured as a prostitution of the dignity of the pulpit, and considered as a proof of the author's insanity.⁷³

Work by men such as Dean, Pegge, and Granger went to no avail because by the 1790's many more clergy in England were preaching against the mistreatment of animals. Quinquagesima Sunday was used for a regular seasonal attack on the sport of cock throwing and cruelty in general⁷⁴ and an article in the European Magazine for 1796 asked all clergymen to preach against cruelty to animals since there were no laws for that purpose.⁷⁵ Rev. Henry Brindley of Lacock, followed with a sermon on "The Sin of Cruelty Towards the Brute Creation" in 1799 and instituted an annual lecture on the subject in the county of Wilts.⁷⁶ Other sermons were preached by Rev. Legh Richmond in February, 1801, and by Rev. Barry in December of the same year. Rev. Richmond's sermon which

⁷³Rev. J. Granger, "An Apology for . . .," quoted in E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., pp. 8-9.

⁷⁴D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 276.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 307.

⁷⁶H. Crowe, Zoophilus . . ., p. 7.

was later published, directly attacked those who enjoyed blood sports:

When does human nature appear in a character more hateful, more truly diabolical, more distantly removed from the likeness of God, than when man abuses his dominion over the fowls and the beasts (which once God pronounced so good after their kind) by putting them wilfully to torture and racking pains, for the express and avowed purpose of delighting himself with the fight of their struggles and agonies. Birds and beasts of the more savage and ferocious natures are brought to mutual combat, in order that the tyrants of the creation may glut their merciless appetites with (to them) the gratifying spectacle of mangled limbs, convulsed nerves, bleeding carcasses and dying groans of struggling animals.⁷⁷

Rev. Barry's sermon also attacked blood sports but specifically centered on bull baiting.

Two useful animals, the bull and the faithful dog, to be thus tormented, and for what purpose? Does it tend as some have said, (Windham) to keep alive the spirit of the English character? In answer to this we must remark, that the barbarous sport (if sport it can be called) was unknown to the ancient bravery of our ancestors, was introduced into this country in the reign of a bad king; and earnestly do I pray to Almighty God, that in the reign of a most pious and benevolent Prince, it may be for ever set aside!⁷⁸

⁷⁷Rev. Legh Richmond, "A Sermon on the Sin of Cruelty to the Brute Creation; preached in the Abbey Church at Bath, on February 15, 1801," Methodist Magazine, 30 (November, 1807), p. 498. Also published in Christian Observer, 1 (July and August, 1802).

⁷⁸Quoted in William H. Drummond, The Rights of Animals, And Man's Obligation To Treat Them With Humanity (London: John Mardon, 1838), p. 105.

As evidenced by the preceding examples, religious groups and individuals had taken an interest in the protection of animals by the early nineteenth century. The support of clergymen helped alleviate some of the poor conditions for animals and often times aided in the stoppage of blood sports. Surely the efforts of clergy helped to make the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals a reality in 1824.

3. Law

The changes in legislation pertaining to animals reflected the degree of humane thought accepted at that particular time. Laws for the protection of cruelty to animals were therefore slow in coming. The oldest statutory laws concerning animals were those for the protection of game. No principle of kindness was evident and they were enacted only to protect certain game during the breeding season for those who hunted them. In the same sense, early regulations restricting certain blood sports were not concerned with the cruelty inherent to them. Legislation was usually passed because blood sports encouraged a spirit of gambling, engrossed time and attention, led to breaches of the Sabbath, and diverted from martial exercises and pursuits.

Edward III (1327-1377) prohibited by proclamation in 1365 the sports of bull baiting and cock fighting as

"dishonest games" and "trivial and useless."⁷⁹ He also prohibited cock fighting for young boys so they could devote more time to learning the use of the bow and arrow for war.⁸⁰ The next year, cock fighting was again prohibited by public proclamation as an "idle and unlawful pastime."⁸¹ In 1647, during the reign of Charles I, the House of Commons forwarded an ordinance to the Lords requiring all law enforcement agents "speedily to suppress all publick Plays and Playhouses, and all Dancings on the Ropes and Bear-baitings."⁸² The Puritans abolished bear baiting and cock fighting the following year because those "barbarities had a bad effect on the common people."⁸³ Oliver Cromwell passed an Act in 1654 against the sport of cock fighting to prevent rebellion and public disorder. As was true for all of the preceding legislation, it possessed no humanitarian clauses.

Whereas the Publique meeting and assemblies of People together in diverse parts of this Nation, under pretence of Matches for Cock-fighting, are by experience found to tend many times to the disturbance of the publique

⁷⁹J. Strutt, Sports and Pastimes, p. li.

⁸⁰A. O'Connor, Forty Years, p. 26.

⁸¹E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work, p. 80.

⁸²J. Hotson, "Bear Gardens and Bear-Baiting," p. 279.

⁸³A. Moss, Valiant Crusade, p. 12.

Peace, and are commonly accompanied with Gaming, Drinking, Swearing, Quarrelling, and other dissolute practices . . . and that every such meeting and assembly of people for the end and purpose aforesaid is hereby declared to be an unlawful assembly. . . ."84

A law was passed by Charles II (1660-1685) against betting at public cock pits to prevent fighting and rioting. It also forbade holding the fights at public houses. Penalties were forfeiture of double the amount won and loss of license respectfully.⁸⁵

Beginning around 1749 and lasting until at least 1801, England's "Black Act" was instituted to protect animals owned for working purposes. People were convicted to capital punishment for inflicting cruelty to animals as an act of malice against the animal's owner. Malice against the animal was not sufficient to warrant conviction.⁸⁶ An announcement appeared in the Public Advertiser on February 7, 1758, which evidenced the first known instance of enforcing the protection of animals.

This day, being Shrove Tuesday, the Peace Officers . . . have been directed and are requested to use their utmost endeavours

⁸⁴Quoted in L. Fitz-Barnard, Fighting Sports, pp. 8-9. See also G. Scott, History of Cockfighting, p. 138.

⁸⁵G. Scott, History of . . ., p. 138.

⁸⁶Edward H. East, "Animals as Offenders and as Victims," Albany Law Journal, 21 (c. 1891), p. 266.

to prevent the no less barbarous than shameful custom of throwing at cocks⁸⁷

Ten years later, a similar notice appeared in the same newspaper which seemed to indicate the blood sport of cock throwing had been practically eliminated.

Yesterday the constables of Holborn Division, Westminster, etc., went round their several divisions about Tothill Fields, Mill Bank, Tottenham Court and the Long Fields and other places contiguous to apprehend any dissolute fellows that might be found throwing at cocks, but the coasts were all clear, so that it is hoped that this barbarous custom of the rabble is now entirely left off.⁸⁸

In 1786, the Knackers Act, a law which served as a base for future laws for animal protection, was enacted in England. It was an Act designed only for the purpose of enabling owners of stolen cattle and horses to identify their possessions and in no way regulated the conditions of slaughter houses. It did, however, act as a starting point for subsequent legislation for the protection of the animals themselves.⁸⁹ John Lawrence, in his book A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses . . . (1796), proposed state legislation for the protection of animals. Interestingly

⁸⁷Public Advertiser, February 7, 1758, quoted in D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 309.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹J. E. G. de Montmorency, "State Protection Of Animals At Home And Abroad," Law Quarterly Review, 18 (January, 1902), pp. 33-34.

enough, he realized the inefficiency of morals in preventing the cruelties and knew that only stringent laws could prohibit the torture of innocent animals.

Experience plainly demonstrates the inefficacy of mere morality to prevent aggression, and the necessity of coercive laws for the security of rights. I therefore propose, that the Rights of Beasts be formally acknowledged by the state, and that a law be framed upon that principle, to guard and protect them from acts of flagrant and wanton cruelty, whether committed by their owners or others.⁹⁰

This noble idea of Lawrence's was not attempted during the remainder of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the first attempt was made to pass legislation to protect animals from cruel treatment.

Blood sports played an important role in the formation of the first bills designed to prohibit cruelty to animals. The popularity and brutality of bull baiting caused Sir William Pulteney to present a bill for the elimination of the sport to the House of Commons on April 3, 1800. Although not done entirely for the protection of the dogs and bulls, the bill did refer to the cruelty involved. Pulteney attempted to include every foul aspect surrounding the sport and said,

⁹⁰J. Lawrence, A Philosophical and Practical . . ., I, p. 123.

the reasons for such a motion as this were obvious. The practice was cruel and inhuman; it drew together idle and disorderly persons; it drew from their occupations many who ought to be earning subsistence for themselves and families. It created many disorderly and mischievous proceedings and furnished scenes of profligacy and cruelty.⁹¹

The bill failed to be passed, but a final vote was not made until much discussion had ensued. Those against the measure offered rebuttal on the grounds that the sport cultivated the qualities of certain dogs, inspired courage, produced nobleness of sentiment, and elevated the mind. A second attempt to prohibit bull baiting was made on May 4, 1802, by a man named Dent. The bill was defeated that same month but was supported by the notable William Wilberforce. He commented that "wretched indeed must be the condition of the people of England if their whole happiness consisted in the practice of such barbarity!"⁹² Seven years later, in 1809, Lord Erskine, Lord High Chancellor of England, introduced a bill for "Preventing Wanton and Malicious Cruelty to Animals" to the Lords. The bill passed through the

⁹¹Quoted in A. Moss, Valiant Crusade, p. 15. Also see, E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work, p. 16; D. Harwood, Love for Animals, p. 313; J. E. G. de Montmorency, "State Protection of" and, C. D. Niven, History of the Humane Movement, p. 58.

⁹²Quoted in A. Moss, Valiant Crusade, p. 15. Also see, E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work, pp. 18-19; D. Harwood, Love for Animals, p. 315; and, J. E. G. de Montmorency, "State Protection of" p. 41.

Lords, but was met with much opposition in the Commons. It too failed to be passed, but Erskine's speech in support of the bill was published and surely influenced subsequent attempts for protective legislation. Erskine tried again the next year, but the bill was defeated once more.⁹³

The next attempt to pass legislation for the protection of animals did not come until May 17, 1821, when Richard Martin presented a bill to prevent the ill treatment of cattle. The bill passed through the Commons, but was defeated by the Lords. Not to be defeated easily, Martin persisted and introduced a revised bill in 1822. He used examples of animal fights in the Westminster Pit to support his case and the bill was finally approved on July 22, 1822. It was the first statute passed for actually prohibiting cruelty to animals and was entitled, "An Act to prevent the cruel and improper treatment of Cattle." The law had a fine of £5 attached and was levied on those who "wantonly and cruelly beat, abuse, or ill-treat any horse, mare, gelding, mule, ass, ox, cow, heifer, steer, sheep, or other cattle."⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the law did not stop bull

⁹³E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work, pp. 22-23; A. Moss, Valiant Crusade, p. 15; J. E. G. de Montmorency, "State Protection of," p. 41; and, W. Chambers, "Treatment of Animals," Popular Science Monthly-Supplement, 1 (1877), p. 570.

⁹⁴E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work, p. 29; J. E. G. de Montmorency, "State Protection of," p. 34; and, "Of Cruelty To," pp. 530-536.

baiting because it was ruled that the adult male did not fall under the description of cattle, cows, or steers.⁹⁵ Martin attempted to eradicate the problem the next year by promoting a bill to stop bull baiting and dog fights but like earlier measures save one, it met with defeat.⁹⁶

B. America

Evidence of humane thought toward animals in America before 1750 is practically non-existent. Not until late in the eighteenth century did the new British attitudes toward animals begin to influence Americans, and in fact it was only gradually, after 1800, that the British advances against cruel treatment of animals and toward a general humaneness began to penetrate American culture. Humanitarian attitudes toward animals progressed substantially during the nineteenth century, but it took a long time for reformers to muster enough support to establish a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The United States did not have its first S.P.C.A. until 1866 compared to that of England's in 1824. (Liverpool had an S.P.C.A. for a brief time in 1809). Legislation in various states and especially New York, preceded the first S.P.C.A. by a number of years and some religious leaders were instrumental in

⁹⁵A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 18.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 16.

preventing injustice to innocent animals during the first half of the nineteenth century. Examples of humane thought concerning animals in American literature were scarce until after 1750 and really had no effect on the development of any visible reform movement until after 1790.

1. Literature

One of the first instances of a concern for cruelty to animals appeared in the Virginia Gazette, on January 2, 1752. As in England and the concern for the cruelty of bull baiting, a blood sport, cock fighting, was responsible for eliciting a letter "To the Printer." The concerned citizen believed that

Domestick, or innocent Animals are not to be killed to gratify an extravagant Passion for Money, out of Wantonness, or with Circumstances of Cruelty attending such killing. . . . For even the Law of Nature forbids cruelty. It is grievous to see, or even to hear of an Animal in Torment.⁹⁷

More than twenty years later, in 1775, the prominent Thomas Paine published a poem he wrote entitled "Cruelty to Animals Exposed." The poem appeared in the Pennsylvania Magazine and depicted the perils of a helpless kitten thrown to a pack of dogs. Paine vividly described the scene of the incident.

⁹⁷"To the Printer," Virginia Gazette, No. 53 (January 2, 1752), p. 2.

Without the town, besmear'd with filth and blood,
 And foul with stench, a common butch'ry stood;
 Where sheep by scores unpitied fell a prey,
 And lordly oxen groan'd their lives away;
 Where village dogs, with half the dogs in town,
 Contention held, and quarrel'd for a bone.⁹⁸

Around the same time, a female concerned with cruelty to animals also expressed her views in the poetic form. She was disgusted with the "sport" of fox hunting and like Paine, indicated by her poetry that some sympathy for animals was apparent before the Revolution.

A fox is killed by twenty men,
 That fox perhaps had killed a hen;
 A gallant act no doubt is here!
 All wicked foxes ought to fear
 When twenty dogs and twenty men
 Can kill a fox that kill'd a hen.⁹⁹

Cock fighting again, provoked at least one individual enough to disagree entirely with the excessive cruelty involved. Baron Von Clozen, expressed his discontent with the sport in his journal in 1782. Cock fighting is

something to see once out of curiosity,
 but the spectacle is a little too cruel
 for you to enjoy; you see these poor

⁹⁸Thomas Paine, "Cruelty to Animals Exposed," Pennsylvania Magazine, (May, 1775), n.p., quoted in Frances H. Rowley, The Humane Idea--A Brief History of Man's Attitude Toward the Other Animals, And of the Development of the Humane Spirit into Organized Societies (Boston, Mass.: American Humane Education Society, 1912), p. 37.

⁹⁹Quoted in James G. Wilson (ed.), The Memorial History . . ., II, p. 459.

things knocked about, pricked, blinded,
and finally killed with their steel spurs.¹⁰⁰

Lastly, before 1790 and the rapid growth of interest in animal protection, another poem, written in 1789, proved that some sympathy for animals was possible. The poem described a dog standing over his slain master as he was attacked by wolves and panthers throughout the night.

His faithful dog, in life his firmest friend,
The first to welcome, foremost to defend,
Whose honest heart was still his master's own,
Who labor'd, fought, lived and breathed for
him alone.¹⁰¹

Some evidences of concern for the humane treatment of animals were noticeable before the last decade of the eighteenth century, but they were sporadic and lacked any forceful impetus to further stimulate action. But after 1790, a steady growth of humane literature attacked the mistreatment of domestic animals, an attack which soon expanded its target to animals in general. Blood sports were often the stimulus for reform literature, but other forms of cruelty, such as torture for pleasure, also became matters for concern.

The decade of the 1790's was the most beneficial period in American history for the rights of animals. The

¹⁰⁰"Journal of Baron Von Clozen," William and Mary Quarterly, 10 (1953), p. 215 (3rd Series).

¹⁰¹Lewis Collins, Historical Sketches of Kentucky (Maysville, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio: By the author and James Co., 1850), p. 298.

beginning of this new era was marked by the first American treatise concerning cruelty to animals. Rev. Herman Daggett, a young, invalid, Calvinist minister in Rhode Island, delivered an oration at the commencement of Providence College on September 7, 1791, entitled "The Rights of Animals." The published address was instrumental in starting a drive for the better treatment of animals. Daggett credited Thomas Paine's Rights of Man as the major influence for his work on the subject and assailed those who derived their amusement from cruel blood sports.

What ideas should we form of Superior beings, whose employment, or rather, whose Amusement, it was, by certain invisible means, to ensare, worry, fatigue, and destroy, the human race? Or should they, (as we sometimes do with gamecocks, and other animals,) furnish them with instruments of death, and then contrive means to bring them together, and excite them to action, only to make sport for themselves; would they not be execrated, and detested, by every feeling child of humanity?¹⁰²

After Rev. Daggett's initial effort, articles appeared in popular periodicals the next year pertaining to the proper treatment of animals. Each of the works were written anonymously, but their message was clear and precise. The author of "Cruelty to Animals" had the same reservations as the

¹⁰²Rev. Herman Daggett, The Rights of Animals: An oration, delivered at the commencement of Providence College, September 7, 1791 (Sagg-Harbour: Printed by David Frothingham, 1792), pp. 9-10.

first advocates of humane reform in England.

To become an advocate for brutes, while so many rational beings are destitute of the common necessities of life, may, perhaps appear ridiculous and absurd;¹⁰³

He believed that animals' "organs were affected by pleasure and pain, appetite and disease"¹⁰⁴ in the same way as man's and should not be tormented because of that fact. Another article published four months later in the same journal stressed the idea that

in the animals we are best acquainted with, and which we look upon as the more perfect of the brute creation, we see much the same instincts, or mechanical principles of action, as in the human kind . . .¹⁰⁵

Following in the same year, still another unknown author described the importance of man being kind to both other men and to animals.¹⁰⁶ Two years later, in 1794, an article entitled "On The Intelligence of Animals," was printed in the New York Magazine. The unknown author stated "that brutes possess the faculty of feeling as well as the human species; and to believe otherwise we must absolutely shut

¹⁰³"Cruelty To Animals," American Museum, Or Universal Magazine, 11 (February, 1792), p. 55.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁰⁵"Observations On The Instinct Of Animals," American Museum, Or Universal Magazine, 11 (June, 1792), p. 278.

¹⁰⁶"On the Benevolent Affections," New York Magazine; or, Literary Repository, 3 (October, 1792), pp. 583-584.

our eyes and our hearts."¹⁰⁷ Thomas Paine's Age of Reason was printed during the same year and he too stressed the importance of man's moral duty towards the animals.

The moral duty of man consists in imitating the moral goodness and beneficence of God manifested in the creation toward all his creatures. . . . Everything of persecution and revenge between man and man, and everything of cruelty to animals is a violation of moral duty.¹⁰⁸

Another important book emphasizing man's duty not to harm innocent animals, Thomas Taylor's A Vindication of the Rights of Brutes, originally published in London in 1792, was printed in Boston in 1795 and was as instrumental in furthering the cause of animals in America as it had been in England. Before this momentous decade for animal's rights had ended, the New York Magazine printed two more articles of significance in preventing animal cruelty. One appeared in 1795 and pertained to the "natural affections of animals." The author demonstrated his overwhelming desire to assist animals in the beginning of the short article. "My admiration is never excited in a more lively manner than when I contemplate the natural affection of the irrational creation."¹⁰⁹ The other article appeared in 1796 in the

¹⁰⁷"On The Intelligence of Animals," New York Magazine; or, Literary Repository, 5 (March, 1794), p. 153.

¹⁰⁸Thomas Paine, The Age of Reason (Moncure Daniel Conway, ed.), Part I, p. 83. Quoted in Francis H. Rowley, The Humane Idea . . ., p. 36.

¹⁰⁹"On The Instinctive Affection Of Animals," New York Magazine, Or Literary Repository, 6 (January, 1795), p. 46.

form of a series of articles explaining the natural history of animals.¹¹⁰ Both assisted the unfamiliar reader in identifying with and understanding often mistreated animals. A more pronounced appreciation for animal life and the growth of the belief that man and animals were similar in feelings during the eighteenth century served as the foundation for future anti-cruelty work in America.

Some progress for the protection of animals was made during the first half of the nineteenth century, but the reform of accepted beliefs and morals concerning the treatment of assumed lesser creatures than man was slow to come. No decade in the first fifty years was as productive as the last decade of the eighteenth century. Not until the 1860's did the plea for cruelty to animals reach another apex in American life.

The first ten years of the new century began with a renewed thrust for the proper treatment of animals. Books and periodicals dominated the literature which emphasized anti-cruelty measures. Samuel Pratt's Pity's Gift: A Collection of Interesting Tales, To Excite the Compassion of Youth for the Animal Creation was published in 1801 and indicated an initial attempt to teach children the proper care and respect for animals. It was composed of a collection of

¹¹⁰" . . . Natural History Of Animals . . . ," New York Magazine; or, Literary Repository, 1 (1796-New Series), n.p.

tales, poems, and short stories depicting the friendliness of animals.¹¹¹ As was true in England, the blood sport of bull baiting elicited strong disapproval from those humane individuals striving for better treatment of animals in general. The New York Spectator¹¹² and the Christian Observer¹¹³ both contained articles declaring disgust with such a cruel sport. The Christian Observer, published in London, Boston, and New York, contained two articles in consecutive months in 1802 describing some of the cruel scenes known to bull baiting. Men cut off the bull's hoofs "and enjoyed the spectacle of worrying the poor animal to death on his bleeding stumps;" dogs still attacked the bull with "their entrails trailing on the ground;" and, one bull was so tired that he fell to the ground and spectators put straw around him and set it on fire "in order to compel him to rise."¹¹⁴ Two instances recorded in the Boston police records during this time were indicative of an aversion to

¹¹¹Samuel J. Pratt, Pity's Gift: A Collection of Interesting Tales, To Excite the Compassion of Youth for the Animal Creation. Ornamented with Vignettes. From the Writings of Mr. Pratt. Selected by a Lady (London: Printed by C. Whittingham, for T. N. Longman and O. Rees, 1801).

¹¹²New York Spectator, July 8, 1801, quoted in J. Holliman, American Sports . . ., pp. 134-135.

¹¹³Viator, "To the Editor . . .," Christian Observer, 1 (June, 1802), pp. 364-366.

¹¹⁴"Anecdotes of Bull-Baiting," Christian Observer, 1 (July, 1802), p. 434.

cruelty to animals. In 1806 a bear was shaved of its fur and exhibited as a rare species from the East Indies. The officer recording the event stated that "the cheat being discovered, poor bruin attempted to escape, and got desperately hustled about."¹¹⁵ Two years later, two Boston editors argued over the cruelty of conducting a horse race. "They got warm, and accused each other of patronizing cock-fighting. A suit for libel, and a fight in the street, settled the question between them."¹¹⁶ Finally, before the close of the decade, the editor of the New York Evening Post dwelled upon the cruelty of bull baiting.¹¹⁷ He was disgusted with the torture of innocent bulls for the enjoyment of spectators and pleaded for the elimination of the sport.

Some examples of specific attempts to prevent cruelty to animals were recorded during the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, but the effort was still only viewed as important by a few dedicated individuals and no real advancement was evidenced in literary works. Much of the literature was repetitive of England's drive for anti-cruelty and sometimes was simultaneously published in both England and America. This is not to suggest that the con-

¹¹⁵E. Savage, Police Records . . ., pp. 51-52.

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷New York Evening Post, (October 10, 1810). Quoted in J. Holliman, American Sports . . ., p. 135.

stant supply of publications had no bearing on the gradual shift of thought towards sympathy and understanding of animals. The necessity of educating the younger generation for an appreciation of animal life was an important aspect of reforms to prevent cruelty to animals and was so realized by Thomas Andros in 1817. His book, Animal Creation; Or, Juvenile History of Beasts and Birds was written especially to educate children to respect and to admire all types of living creatures.¹¹⁸ Mayor Wharton of Philadelphia, personally stopped a bull bait in that city during the 1820's and kept a constant surveillance to prohibit a reoccurrence of the cruel sport.¹¹⁹ Another blood sport, cock fighting, met with abhorrence by a correspondent of Paulson's Daily Advertiser in 1822¹²⁰ and the press in the state of North Carolina refused to print any material relating to the sport around 1824.¹²¹ The correspondent of Paulson's Daily Advertiser complained of cock fighting conducted on Easter Monday and believed that the cruel sport should be banded from society. The scene for animals must have changed some-

¹¹⁸Thomas Andros, Animal Creation; Or, Juvenile History of Beasts and Birds (New York, N. Y.: S. Wood and Sons, 1817).

¹¹⁹J. Watson, Annals of Philadelphia . . ., p. 279.

¹²⁰Paulson's Daily Advertiser, (April, 1822). Quoted in J. Holliman, American Sports . . ., p. 129.

¹²¹G. Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina, p. 181.

what in Boston by July, 1824, since at that time licenses were required for cows and dogs.¹²² Although not necessarily indicating prevention of cruelty, it does mean certain animals were protected at least as the property of their owners. The following year, Oliver Goldsmith published An History of the Earth and Animated Nature. He criticized all forms of animal cruelty but especially disagreed with blood sports.¹²³ A correspondent of the New York Spectator appealed for the elimination and prevention of cruel and bloody bull baits in 1827¹²⁴ and two years later Berriat Saint-Prix discussed animals and their past prosecutions under the law in the American Jurist.¹²⁵ By 1830, animal life had become a recognizable topic in all forms of literature, but developing sympathy towards them continued to be a gradual and long enduring task for a small group of concerned citizens.

During the 1830's, books and periodical literature were still the most frequently used mediums for pleading the elimination of cruelty to animals and for educating

¹²²E. Savage, Police Records . . ., p. 63.

¹²³Oliver Goldsmith, An History of the Earth and Animated Nature (New York, N. Y.: T. Kinnersley, 1825).

¹²⁴New York Spectator, (September 7, 1827), quoted in J. Holliman, American Sports . . ., pp. 135-136.

¹²⁵Berriat Saint-Prix, "Prosecution Against Animals," American Jurist, 1 (April, 1829), pp. 223-237.

Americans on the value of humaneness to every living creature. In 1831, Samuel Woodworth, Esq., wrote a section of Horatio Smith's Festivals, Games and Amusements and referred to cock fighting as a "barbarous amusement."¹²⁶ Smith himself alluded to "the baiting of bulls and other animals, which has in all times been a disgrace to our own country . . ."¹²⁷ He also wrote of a "more humane spirit of the age"¹²⁸ which evidenced the fact that some progress was being made in attempting to eradicate blood sports. An anonymous American was visiting Paris in 1832 when he saw advertisements for "fighting animals at Barriere du Combat." He expressed his disgust with such an "amusement" and could not perceive any civilized individual attending such a brutal scene.¹²⁹ Another example of American sympathy for animals appeared in an article on "Cock-Fighting in Manilla" which was printed in the Spirit of the Times in 1832. The author claimed that "this barbarous sport is a great favorite among the natives. . . ."¹³⁰ Three years later an anonymous author

¹²⁶H. Smith, Festivals, Games and Amusements, p. 351.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 186.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹"First Impressions of Europe," Trenton Emporium and True American (March 10, 1832), quoted in Harry B. and Grace M. Weiss, Early Sports and Pastimes . . ., pp. 62-63.

¹³⁰"Cock-Fighting in Manilla," Spirit of the Times, 1 (March 24, 1832), p. 1.

printed a collection of previously published articles in a book entitled The Spirit of Humanity, and Essence of Morality; . . . Included among sections pertaining to prisons, truth, benevolence, treatment of the insane, war, slavery, conditions of the poor, and education, was a section pertaining to the harshness of cruelty to animals. The author used a description of Hogarth's "Progress of Cruelty," short stories, and poetry to influence the readers not to treat animals cruelly. He specifically denounced all blood sports.¹³¹ Samuel Pratt, already alluded to, published another popular book in 1838 which protested against the infliction of wanton pain upon animals. Humanity, or Rights of Nature included poems and stories representing a variety of animal scenes, but one line of Pratt's poetry is germane to the topic of blood sports and is representative of the author's general philosophy--"For Hunger Kill, But Never Sport With Life."¹³²

The prevention of cruelty to animals was an increasingly important topic during the 1840's and 1850's and gradually the plea for the humane treatment of animals became mandatory for anyone attempting to improve the ills of society. In a lecture by Ralph Waldo Emerson on "New

¹³¹The Spirit of Humanity

¹³²Samuel J. Pratt, Humanity, or Rights of Nature, 1838, quoted in Frances H. Rowley, The Humane Idea, p. 38.

England Reformers" in March, 1844, he referred to the "fertility of projects for the salvation of the world!" Among those was "the tyranny of man over brute nature."¹³³ Another example of the desire to show that an honest and law-abiding man did not gamble or inflict cruelties on innocent animals occurred in a lithograph of 1844 entitled "All the Morality & All the Religion, or Studio of Henry Clay." Clay attempted to explain away his favorite amusements, one of which was cock fighting that was pictured on the wall of his studio. Frelinghuysen, Clay's partner on the Whig ticket, declared that since "we represent the great Whig party which has all the morality and religion, I hope there is no harm in these pictures."¹³⁴ Sarah Trimmer's Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature published in 1782 in England, was published in America for the first time in 1846. In one of her stories, the mother called her son and warned him of the evil in cock fighting.

Oh, Henry! I hope you will never take pleasure in such barbarous sports. I could tell you many stories of the bad

¹³³Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays: Second Series (Boston, Mass.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1886), pp. 239-244, 247-254. Reprinted in Douglas T. Miller (ed.), The Nature of Jacksonian America (New York, N. Y.: John Wiley & Sons, 1972), pp. 140-141.

¹³⁴A. Schlesinger and D. Fox (eds.), A History . . ., Vol. 6: The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850, by Carl R. Fish (New York, N. Y.: Macmillan Co., 1927), cartoon in appendix.

consequences of cock-fighting, which has frequently been the ruin of those who were fond of it;¹³⁵

Cruelty to horses was the subject of a talk by Dr. John C. Warren before the Massachusetts Legislative Agricultural Society in 1847.¹³⁶ In June the next year, Henry Bergh, the future founder of the first S.P.C.A. in America, wrote a letter to the New York Mirror concerning the cruelty of bull fights held in Spain. Both acts represented a more visible concern by Americans for the humane treatment of animals.

James W. Redfield's Comparative Physiognomy, or, Resemblances between Men and Animals (1852), had a tremendous impact on the feelings of humans towards animals.¹³⁷ Redfield's drawings demonstrated a glaring likeness between man and animals which further accentuated the previous beliefs that all living creatures were capable of experiencing pain. Humans tended to respect the lives of animals more when they realized the similarities between themselves and the tortured animal. During the same year, an American physician, Pliny Earle, visited a cock fight while he was

¹³⁵Sarah K. Trimmer, Easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Nature (Philadelphia, Pa., 1846), p. 67, quoted in D. Harwood, Love for Animals . . ., p. 254.

¹³⁶George T. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches and Personal Recollections (Boston, Mass.: The American Humane Education Society, 1892), p. 43.

¹³⁷James W. Redfield, Comparative Physiognomy, or, Resemblances between Men and Animals, 1852.

in Cuba and had the following reaction: "This was the first cockfight I ever attended, and I shall never go to another." In referring further to the match, Dr. Earle mentioned the winning cock and stated that he "approved his determination, and there the matter ended."¹³⁸ A popular children's book entitled First Lessons in Gentleness and Truth was published in 1854. It was used as a pre-school text and the author 'Aunt Alice', included a section entitled "Sympathy For The Lambkin." The story attempted to explain to the children why an innocent lamb had to be killed in a cruel way by the butcher.¹³⁹ Also published in the same year, Jameson's A Common-Place Book of Thoughts, Memories, and Fancies alluded to the mistreatment of animals and placed the blame of this lack of sympathy on the Christian religion.

It should seem as if the primitive Christians, by laying so much stress upon a future life, in contradistinction to this life, and placing the lower creatures out of the pale of hope, placed them at the same time out of the pale of sympathy. . . .¹⁴⁰

In 1857, one of the most novel and effective articles to be

¹³⁸Franklin B. Sanborn, Memoirs of Pliny Earle, M.D. (Boston, Mass.: Damrell & Upham, 1898), pp. 211-212.

¹³⁹Aunt Alice, First Lessons in Gentleness and Truth (New York: American Tract Society, 1854), quoted in Douglas E. Branch, The Sentimental Years, 1836-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1965), pp. 309-311.

¹⁴⁰Quoted in H. Salt, "Humanitarianism," p. 79.

published in favor of animal's rights appeared in Harper's Magazine. Entitled "The Animal Declaration of Independence," the article developed an excellent case for the prevention of all cruelty to animals. Animals were depicted as humans and a mock court room was the setting. The anonymous author began by stating that

it has been well known for some time in certain circles that a movement was on foot for the emancipation of the brute creatures (so called) from the thralldom of man. For years a correspondence has been kept up between Africa, the Rocky Mountains, the Jungles of India, and the various Menageries throughout the world; all the beasts were unanimous for freedom.¹⁴¹

Later in the article, the animals made the following resolution:

Resolved, that it is our right, as it is our duty, to shake off the galling yoke of the human race, and to assert our paramount claims to the exclusive enjoyment of the earth; to resume our freedom in the forests, or the plains, or the swamps, as we please, and to lead the life which is best suited to our instincts.¹⁴²

In the May issue of the same journal appeared an article pertaining to cock fighting. Although somewhat contradictory to the aforementioned article, Porte Crayon, the author, did inform the reader that there was "an absurd prejudice

¹⁴¹"The Animal Declaration of Independence," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 14 (January, 1857), p. 145.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 154.

existing at the present day" against cock fighting.¹⁴³ He was very much in favor of the sport but his truthfulness made it evident that blood sports were coming under attack throughout America during the 1850's.

The decade of the 1860's was a time of paramount importance in the attempt to protect animals from unwarranted torture, pain, and general abuse. All of the literature and the individual effort that had gone into the drive for reform in the treatment of animals since the 1790's began to take a recognizable form in the mid-1860's. George Angell, a man whose name later became synonymous with the humane movement, illustrated the growing thought for animals in 1864 when he wrote his will designating money to be used to educate against cruelty to animals.¹⁴⁴ Although Angell was from Massachusetts, New York City became the hub of all organized activity for the humane treatment of animals. In 1865, a writer for Play Bill discussing the profits in cock fighting reiterated that "the owners of pits . . . have reaped rich harvests by this barbarous amusement."¹⁴⁵ James Rusling, writing of his travels in California in 1866, described the popularity of

¹⁴³Porte Crayon, "North Carolina Illustrated," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 14 (May, 1857), p. 751.

¹⁴⁴G. T. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁵Play Bill, 1 (March 4, 1865), p. 3.

cock fighting on Sunday. The great difference between the accepted practices of the West compared to those of the East was illustrated when Rusling exclaimed that cock fights "to us, Eastern-bred, they seemed cruel and barbarous."¹⁴⁶

Children's books included many moral lessons during this period and often times cruelty to animals was discussed.

McGuffey's Fourth Reader of 1866 contained such a lesson.

If you have the will, you'll find the way;
 You must work to get anywhere in life;
 Kind acts to people and animals will be repaid;
 Do not complain;
 Do not meddle;¹⁴⁷

By 1866, New York City was a center for humane thought towards animals and the Times voiced its disapproval with blood sports, especially cock fighting. One Times editorial in March, entitled "Brutal Pastimes," illustrated the great concern of many citizens.

The days of bull-baiting, bear-baiting, and kindred sports, we thought had gone by. Dogfights, though still an amusement of the 'fancy', are reprobated by decent people. But here is a number of moneyed men gathering together . . . glorying and betting over the combats of creatures whose torture and defeat

¹⁴⁶James F. Rusling, Across America: Or, the Great West and the Pacific Coast (New York, N. Y.: Sheldon & Co., 1874), quoted in Warren S. Tryon (ed.), A Mirror for Americans: Life and Manners in the United States 1790-1870 as Recorded by American Travelers. 3 vols. (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1952), III, pp. 769-770.

¹⁴⁷Quoted in Ralph Walker, "America's Schoolmaster: McGuffey and his Readers," American History Illustrated, 8 (May, 1973), p. 20.

is only accomplished by the death of one of the contestants. . . . we are assured that the practice of cock-fighting is privately carried on in many places in the city, and without any apparent effort to prevent it.¹⁴⁸

The following month, Henry Bergh a New York resident, successfully established the first Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in America. It only represented the state of New York but the idea spread rapidly to states throughout the country. With an organization dealing solely with the mistreatment of animals, cruel blood sports came under stringent restrictions.

2. Religion

A limited number of clergymen attempted to interfere with any cruel practices towards animals before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Even a smaller number of specific congregations devoted some attention to the mistreatment of animals. Instances of church support for the humane treatment of animals was scattered and no consistent doctrine of religious thought was practiced regarding man's relation to animals. Church officials were usually too concerned with man's ultimate salvation to bother looking after animals.

The two religious groups which did indicate some

¹⁴⁸"Brutal Pastimes," New York Times, (March 22, 1866), p. 71.

passing concern for blood sports were the Puritans and the Quakers. Although not only concerned with the cruelty involved but the gambling, profaneness, and waste of time, these two congregations had representative ministers who spoke out against cruelty to animals in the sports of man. One of the first recorded instances of an attack upon blood sports appeared in Increase Mather's Testimony Against Prophane Customs . . . (1687). Mather, the famous Puritan minister and one time president of Harvard College, voiced his strict disapproval of cock throwing and cock fighting.

. . . to delight in tormenting dumb Creatures, and to make a sport of their Miseries, is great inhumanity, and a scandalous Violation of the Sixth Commandment. . . . Wherefore for Men to make sport with the Griefs and Dolours of miserable Creatures, is such Barbarism, as a truly Christian Heart cannot but abhor. Such Cruelty is more suitable to be acted in the Bloody Theaters of Pagans, then to be seen in the Streets amongst men that call themselves Christains. . . . Friends, our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, never came into the World to set up such sports as these.¹⁴⁹

In 1703, the Quakers became very much opposed to cock fighting. Their opposition centered on the substitution of metal spurs for those given to the cock by nature and published their dissatisfactions in the first of many pamphlets

¹⁴⁹ Increase Mather, Testimony Against Prophane Customs; Namely Health, Drinking, Dicing, Cards, Christmas-keeping, New Year's gifts, Cock-scaling, Saints' Days, etc. (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1953), p. 47. (Reprinted from 1687 edition).

write a book devoted solely to the topic of kindness to animals.

Before the establishment of the S.P.C.A. in the state of New York in 1866, there were only scattered examples of religious influence upon the cause for the humane treatment of animals. The English minister, Rev. Legh Richmond, had his "A Sermon on the Sin of Cruelty to the Brute Creation" published in the Christian Observer in 1802 which was subsequently dispersed from New York and Boston.¹⁵⁴ To be sure, his ideas on the topic were instrumental in stimulating more thought on the subject in America. By 1811, the religious feelings of at least one county in North Carolina were against cock fighting and gander pulling because they were "cruel and barbarous and contrary to benevolence and humanity. . . ."¹⁵⁵ In 1818, the Reverend Herman Daggett wrote another book entitled American Reader, which contained many selections for young readers pertaining to the feelings and treatment of animals. One such selection was called "Cruelty to Insects."¹⁵⁶ By the 1820's, blood

¹⁵⁴ "Extract from the Appendix to the Rev. Legh Richmond's Sermon on the Sin of Cruelty to the Brute Creation," Christian Observer, 1 (July and August, 1802), pp. 452 and 504-507.

¹⁵⁵ A. R. Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties In 1810-1811," (IV, Moore County) North Carolina Historical Review, 6 (July, 1929), pp. 293-294.

¹⁵⁶ Rev. Herman Daggett, American Reader (Poughkeepsie, New York: n.p., 1818).

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¹⁵⁶Rev. Herman Daggett, American Reader (Poughkeepsie, New York: n.p., 1818).

sports such as cock fighting and dog fighting had met with religious groups in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and patrons of the amusements were forced to leave the confines of the city to successfully conduct the activity. As more religious denominations were established in the city, "gross vices and dissipation" were sacrificed.¹⁵⁷ In 1826, the Methodists became the third religious group to speak out for the humane treatment of animals. An article by A. Chalmers entitled "Cruelty to Animals" appeared in the Methodist Magazine and stated that man was "the direct agent of a wide and continual distress to the lower animals. . ."¹⁵⁸ Chalmers thought much could be done by simply bringing the attention of the public to focus on the problem.

To obtain the regards of man's heart in behalf of the lower animals, we should strive to draw the regards of his mind towards them. . . . It affords a hopeful view of our cause, that so much can be done by the mere obtrusive presentation of the object to the notice of society.¹⁵⁹

The famous Unitarian minister, Rev. William E. Channing, hinted at his disapproval with cruelty to animals in his "Remarks on Education" published in 1833. He noted the fact

¹⁵⁷Soeren S. Brynn, "Some Sports in Pittsburgh During the National Period, 1775-1860," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, 51 (October, 1968), p. 356.

¹⁵⁸A. Chalmers, "Cruelty To Animals," Methodist Magazine, 9 (July, 1826), p. 259.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 261.

that "benevolence is now directing itself very much to public objects, to the alleviation of misery on a grand scale, to the conversion of whole nations . . ." ¹⁶⁰ Rev. Channing believed that one "should study the world as God's world, and as the sphere in which he is to form interesting connections with his fellow creatures. A spirit of humanity should be breathed into him from all his studies. . . ." ¹⁶¹ In comparison to the people of other countries, Rev. Channing stated that the English "are said to be wanting in mercy to the inferior animals. . . ." ¹⁶² A minister formerly from Scotland, Rev. Robert Hunter, preached one of the first sermons recorded in America emphasizing the protection of animals. The sermon, "On Cruelty to Animals," was preached at West Troy, New York, on June 13, 1835, and was published the same year in pamphlet form. Rev. Hunter believed that "wherever a conviction of the goodness and mercy of God exists, it will invariably lead out the heart in acts of love to himself, and of mercy and beneficence to his creatures." ¹⁶³ He suggested three reasons why cruelty to

¹⁶⁰ "Remarks on Education," in William Ellery Channing, The Complete Works of William Ellery Channing, including The Perfect Life, and Containing a Copious General Index and a Table of Scripture References (New York, N. Y.: Routledge, 1884), pp. 131-132.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 132.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 133.

¹⁶³ Rev. Robert Hunter, On Cruelty to Animals, A Sermon

animals was wrong:

In the first place, then, cruelty to the inferior animals in forbidden by the fact, that they are creatures of God, and dependents upon his bounty. . . . that cruelty to the inferior animals, is condemned by the legislative provision which God has made for their safety and comfort. . . . that cruelty to inferior animals is utterly inconsistent with all those dispositions of mind the Gospel recommends, and which the experience of its power leads us to cherish.¹⁶⁴

The last major way in which religious leaders assisted the plea for the prevention of cruelty to animals before the founding of the New York S.P.C.A. in 1866 was their quest into the problem of whether animals had souls. The question, however, not really answerable, led to more searching into the lives of animals. It was agreed that animals possessed "instinct, or a number of certain ideas, that are born with them" and "intelligence--a power of acting freely under the influence of memory or training."¹⁶⁵ In an article devoted to the subject published in 1856, the anonymous author concluded by asking: "Need we finally add, that animals discern, and show both pain and joy? They all avoid the former, and seek after pleasure."¹⁶⁶ It would be dif-

Preached at West Troy, on June 13, 1835 (Troy, N. Y.: N. Tuttle, 1835), p. 5.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 15, 17, and 21.

¹⁶⁵"Have Animals Souls?" Putnam's Monthly, 7 (April, 1856), p. 363.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 370.

difficult to conclude that any recognized religious group had a profound effect upon the humane movement during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. More realistically, a number of individual ministers acting on their own accord without total support of their congregations voiced disapproval of cruelty and did whatever they could to educate humans of its inherent wrongs.

3. Law

The early American laws prohibiting blood sports were not concerned with the cruelty to animals necessary to make the sport possible. Legislation was passed to prohibit the gambling, drinking, wasting of time, riotous behavior, or disturbance of the peace which usually accompanied cruel animal sports. These laws were almost always local city, town, and county ordinances and really had little effect upon preventing the sports from taking place on a state or national level. Not until anti-cruelty legislation, which began in the 1820's, did blood sports come under state legislative attack. This occurred as soon as Americans began to oppose cruelty in principle. Preventing cruelty to animals was something most people in almost every locale could sympathize with. This humanitarian appeal could find much wider support than punitive local measures against gambling or other specific forms of misconduct.

Although not pertaining specifically to blood sports,

the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted in 1641 a number of laws called the "Body of Liberties." Article 92, "Off The Bruite Creature," pertained to the treatment of domestic animals: "No man shall exercise any Tirranny or Cruelties towards any brute Creature which are usuallie kept for man's use."¹⁶⁷ This was the first mention of anti-cruelty legislation in America and only a twisting of its language could impute an economic motive to it. Gander pulling or "Plucking the Goose" was deemed illegal in New Amsterdam and Albany by laws passed in 1654, 1658, and 1677 respectively. Stuyvesant called the sport "an unprofitable, heathenish and Popish festival and a pernicious custom" and prohibited it "in order to prevent more sins, debaucheries and calamities."¹⁶⁸ The colony of East Jersey forbade bull baiting and cock fighting as sports "which excite people to rudeness, cruelty, looseness, and irreligion" from as early as 1675.¹⁶⁹ Seven years later, when the Pennsylvania Colony adopted the Great Law on December 7, 1682, it contained a section stating:

¹⁶⁷Emily S. Leavitt, Animals And Their Legal Rights (Washington, D. C.: Animal Welfare Institute), 1968, p. 13.

¹⁶⁸Esther Singleton, Dutch New York (New York, N. Y.: Benjamin Blom, 1968), pp. 293-295. (Originally published in 1909.)

¹⁶⁹Edward Eggleston, The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 204.

that anyone introducing into the province or frequenting such riotous sports and practices as prizes, stage plays, masques, revels, bull-baiting, cockfighting, and being connected therewith, shall be reputed and fined as breakers of the peace and suffer at least ten days' imprisonment at hard labor, or forfeit twenty shillings.¹⁷⁰

Another early example of legislation prohibiting cruelty to animals besides that of the Puritans, occurred in the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut early in the eighteenth century. One historian claimed that cruelty to animals "was explicitly forbidden" and "fines were imposed for ill-treating animals . . . in Hartford, New Haven, and Fairfield counties."¹⁷¹ Blood sports were not specifically mentioned in the law but surely the legislation eliminated them from regular categories of amusement.

In 1740, the Virginia General Assembly enacted laws against horse races and cock fights because of the "excess and deceitful Gaming" associated with them.¹⁷² New Jersey passed a similar law in 1748 against "all Cockfightings, playing of Cards and Dice, Rafflings and Balloting for Lucre

¹⁷⁰H. B. and G. M. Weiss, Early Sports and Pastimes . . . , p. 64.

¹⁷¹Henry B. Parkes, "Morals and Law Enforcement in Colonial New England," New England Quarterly, 5 (July, 1932), p. 451.

¹⁷²William W. Hening (ed.), The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, 13 volumes, (Richmond, Virginia: Printed for the Editor, 1810-1823), V, p. 102.

of Gain" because such activities were "common Disturbers of the publick Peace."¹⁷³ In 1774, the Continental Congress proposed to curtail amusements on the eve of the Revolution by Article 8 of the "Articles of Association." Although it pertained somewhat to blood sports, it was aimed at stopping all sports which would divert attention from the war. It called upon the colonies to

discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all Horse Racing, and all kinds of Gaming, Cock Fighting, Exhibitions of Shows, Plays, and other expensive Diversions and Entertainments. . . .¹⁷⁴

Virginia passed another law in 1792 prohibiting wagers at cock fights¹⁷⁵ and when Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, became a borough on April 22, 1794, laws were immediately passed to prohibit cock fighting as well as other sports susceptible to gambling. A fine of three dollars was levied for participating in a cock fight.¹⁷⁶ Even colleges passed laws

¹⁷³H. B. and G. M. Weiss, Early Sports and Pastimes . . . , p. 64.

¹⁷⁴Journals of the Continental Congress, I (1774), (Washington, D. C., 1904), p. 78, quoted in John R. Betts, "Organized Sport in Industrial America," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1951, pp. 7-8.

¹⁷⁵Ruth W. Fink, "Recreational Pursuits in the Old South," Research Quarterly, 23 (March, 1952), p. 34.

¹⁷⁶By-laws and Ordinances of the City of Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Johnston & Stockton, 1828), pp. 307-308. Records of the Borough of Pittsburgh (1794-1803), II, (June, 1801), p. 66, quoted in S. Brynn, "Some Sports in Pittsburgh . . . ," pp. 351-352.

to prohibit cock fighting. The 1799 regulations of the University of North Carolina stated that "A student shall not . . . keep cocks or fowls of any kind, or for any purpose."¹⁷⁷ By the close of the eighteenth century, blood sports had come under legislative restriction in most states of the East but never for the cruel treatment of animals. It would be almost another thirty years before any state would take the initiative to protect the innocent animals used to entertain and amuse American sportsmen.

Beginning in the 1820's, anti-cruelty legislation became a reality in a few states of the Northeast. But as was the case in England blood sports were not eliminated under these first laws since it was easy for proponents of the sports to find loopholes in the legislation. The cruel treatment of animals was punishable under common law in the state of New York as early as 1822 but no blood sport was ever endangered by it. Section 28 of the New York law read as follows:

Animals III. Treatment-Preservation-Destruction of Animals. 28. Cruelty. That wanton cruelty to an animal--e.g. excessive beating of his horse by

¹⁷⁷Louis R. Wilson and Hugh T. Lefler (eds.), A Documentary History of the University of North Carolina, 1776-1799, compiled and annotated by R. D. W. Connor (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), II, p. 487, quoted in B. W. C. Roberts, "Cockfighting: An Early Entertainment In North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, 42 (July, 1965), p. 313.

a cartman, --is punishable at common law as a misdemeanor.¹⁷⁸

An anti-cock fighting bill was introduced by the legislature in North Carolina in 1824 but it failed to pass.¹⁷⁹ Then, in 1828, the state of New York enacted America's first important anti-cruelty law, of which section 26 reads:

Every person who shall maliciously kill, maim, or wound any horse, ox, or other cattle, or sheep, belonging to another, or shall maliciously and cruelly beat or torture any such animal, whether belonging to himself or another, shall, upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor. 180

The law had no effect on blood sports but was an important step in the right direction for animal's rights. Although the law pertained to specific domestic animals, it removed the animals from their previous classification as property under the law and made it possible to punish the owner who acted cruelly. This law actually provided certain animals the right to be protected by the law for the first time in America. All of the future anti-cruelty laws which would eventually attack blood sports were based on this piece of legislation.

¹⁷⁸Gen. Sess., 1822, People V. Stakes, 1 Wheeler Cr. Cases III. Also see Ross' Case, 3 City Hall Records, 191. Digest of New York Statutes and Reports, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1860. Vol. 1, p. 124. Quoted in E. S. Leavitt, Animals and Their Legal Rights, p. 15.

¹⁷⁹G. Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina, p. 181.

¹⁸⁰Revised Statutes of New York State, 1827-28, Fourth Part, Ch. 1, Title VI. Quoted in E. Leavitt, Animals and Their . . ., p. 15.

The state of Pennsylvania adopted legislation specifically restricting cock fighting in 1830 but it was clearly directed at preventing gambling and not cruelty.¹⁸¹ Ohio enacted a law prohibiting bull and bear baiting under a penalty not exceeding one hundred dollars and cock fighting not to exceed twenty dollars in 1831. It too, was concerned with riotous behavior and gambling rather than cruelty to animals.¹⁸² Massachusetts was the next state after New York to enact an anti-cruelty law. It became effective in 1834 but not fully operative until 1836. The wording of the Massachusetts law was almost identical to that of New York but contained one notable exception. Cruelty to animals was not an offense at common law on the grounds of the pain and suffering inflicted but now because of a revision, if the act was committed publicly so as to constitute a nuisance, or when committed with a malicious intent to injure the owner, it was indictable. It therefore became possible to make an arrest for cruelty to animals because of the pain and suffering inflicted upon the animal.¹⁸³ This was an important milestone in the accumulated efforts to eliminate blood sports.

¹⁸¹A. Ruport, The Art of Cockfighting, pp. 169-170.

¹⁸²"Ohio-Legislation," American Jurist, 6 (October, 1831), p. 416.

¹⁸³F. H. Rowley, The Humane Idea . . ., pp. 39-41.

Other states followed the example set by New York and Massachusetts and passed anti-cruelty laws before 1844. Connecticut and Wisconsin enacted legislation in 1838 and New Hampshire had its first state anti-cruelty law in 1842. In 1844, the state of Massachusetts took another step in eliminating blood sports when the Supreme Judicial Court ruled that the game or sport of cock fighting was unlawful as a violation of a statute against "unlawful games or sports" and "of the plain dictates of the law of humanity which is the basis of the common law and specially recognized in the Constitution which makes it the duty of the legislature to 'countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity.'"¹⁸⁴ Cock fighting was said to be torturous and cruel and "intended to deaden the feelings of humanity both in those who participate in it and those who witness it."¹⁸⁵ The following year Missouri became the next state to pass anti-cruelty legislation and was subsequently followed by: Virginia, 1848; Iowa and Minnesota, 1851; Kentucky, 1852; Vermont, 1854;¹⁸⁶ the City of Philadelphia, Pa., 1855;¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴Commonwealth V. Tilton, 49 Mass. 232, 8 Metc. 232; Massachusetts Digest Annotated, 1761 to Date (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, and Co., 1950), Vol. 10A, p. 440. Also see A. Rupert, The Art of Cockfighting, p. 170.

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

¹⁸⁶E. Leavitt, Animals and Their . . ., p. 17.

¹⁸⁷F. Rowley, The Humane Idea . . ., pp. 41-42.

Texas, 1856; Rhode Island, 1857; Tennessee, 1858; and, Kansas and Washington, 1859.¹⁸⁸ In 1859, Massachusetts passed further legislation penalizing owners of fighting animals and those being present at the exhibition.¹⁸⁹ Pennsylvania passed an anti-cruelty law in 1860.¹⁹⁰ Nevada enacted similar legislation in 1861, and Idaho and Oregon followed in 1864.¹⁹¹ By the time Henry Bergh established America's first Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1866, twenty states had passed anti-cruelty legislation and for the first time in American history the legality of most blood sports was seriously threatened.

¹⁸⁸E. Leavitt, Animals and Their, p. 17.

¹⁸⁹The General Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (Boston, Mass.: Wright and Potter Co., 1932), Ch. 271, Sects. 94 & 95, p. 3198.

¹⁹⁰R. McCrea, The Humane Movement, pp. 32-33.

¹⁹¹E. Leavitt, Animals and Their, p. 17.

C H A P T E R V

ACTION: THE FORMATION OF ANIMAL PROTECTION SOCIETIES, 1809-1889

The growth of humane thought in England and America finally led to the formation of societies devoted solely to the protection of animals from cruel treatment. Both countries had enacted legislation to curb cruelty to animals before the mid nineteenth century but it was almost useless without an organization of concerned individuals who would enforce the laws and report infractions to the proper authorities. Blood sports were among the most obvious cases of wanton cruelty and therefore came under attack almost as soon as these societies were organized.

Animal protection societies approached the problem of animals' rights from every conceivable angle. They published books and periodicals to spread the word to as many people as possible, conducted classes to educate adults and children, hired law enforcement personnel, and held contests for the best written statement pertaining to man's duty to protect innocent animals. Much of their work centered on educating youth to the proper relationship between themselves and animals. In fact, probably as much as fifty percent of the annual funds for the societies in England

and America were used in schools and children's homes to inculcate the humane treatment of animals in the future generation.

A. England

The first animal protection society in the world was formed in Liverpool, England, in 1809. The "Society for the Suppression and Prevention of Wanton Cruelty to Animals" was composed of a few interested persons who met on the evening of October 22nd to establish a society to better protect animals from man's cruelty. But the society remained in existence only until late November or December that same year. It soon became evident to the founders that without laws or legal support it was impossible to suppress any type of cruelty.¹

No further attempts were made to form a similar society until after the passage of Richard Martin's "Act to prevent the cruel and improper treatment of cattle" into law on July 22, 1822. In October of the same year, Rev. Arthur Broome (1780-1837), a professed friend of animals, held meetings in London to discuss plans to establish another animal protection society. The following report appeared in John Bull on November 3, 1822:

At a meeting of Gentlemen. . . . the Rev. Mr. Broome in the Chair, it was resolved,

¹E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 23; A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., pp. 20-21.

1. That a Society be formed for the purpose of preventing, as far as possible, the cruel treatment of brute animals.
2. That a Committee, consisting of Twelve Members, be appointed to prepare the outline of a plan for the establishment of such a society. . . .
3. That the Rev. Mr. Broome be requested to accept the office of honorary Treasurer and Secretary. . . .
4. That the cordial thanks of this meeting are given to Richard Martin, Esq., M.P. . . .²

Although the society was not yet officially established, Rev. Broome employed an inspector named Wheeler before the end of the year. Inspector Wheeler was evidently paid directly by Rev. Broome and as a result of Martin's Act, arrested sixty-three offenders of animal cruelty between December, 1823, and June, 1824.³ On June 16, 1824, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was officially established.⁴ Because of the Society, the Bill of 1822 became more enforceable and instances of cruelty were reported in large numbers to the members. Measures were taken to eliminate bull baiting immediately, but the wording of Martin's Act allowed participants and sponsors of the sport to escape without prosecution.

²Quoted in E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 52.

³A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 60.

⁴E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., pp. 54-57; A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 22, 33-34; and C. Niven, History of the Humane . . ., pp. 65-66.

After the formation of England's S.P.C.A., the committee and Rev. Broome began coordinated efforts to rid England of cruelty to animals. Four days after its inception, the Rev. Dr. Heslop, Rector of Marylebone, volunteered to preach a sermon in support of the S.P.C.A.⁵ and three days after that Rev. Broome wrote in the minutes that "certain resolutions were agreed to and ordered to be inserted in the daily papers."⁶ The Society printed and distributed "a sermon on the duty of treating brute animals with compassion and lenity, a tract on cruelty . . . , and Lord Erskine's speech in the House of Lords. . . ."⁷ By late 1824, the S.P.C.A. was firmly established and received considerable support from its patrons and membership. The Society's members included notable reformers from other areas such as: Sir James Mackintosh--criminal code reform; William Wilberforce--abolition movement; T. F. Buxton--prison reform and anti-slavery; and, Basil Montagu--bankruptcy laws.⁸

In February of 1825, Richard Martin tried again to pass a law to stop bull and bear baiting but it was defeated once again on the grounds that it only attacked the sports

⁵A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 22.

⁶Ibid., p. 34.

⁷Ibid., p. 22.

⁸C. Niven, History of the Humane . . ., pp. 66-67.

of the poorer classes and left unmolested the sports of the chase frequented by supposed upper class individuals. A rebuttal to the House of Commons for dismissing the bill was printed in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in May. The author, known only as Titus, disagreed with the argument that only the lower classes sponsored blood sports.

On the contrary, at least a large proportion of the money which supports the 'dog' and 'monkey' fighting, and encourages the horse-chaunters, minor pugilists, brothel-keepers, and other miscreants who trade in it, comes from the pockets of persons who certainly, as to means, cannot be ranked among the lower classes of society;⁹

Titus, disgusted with the popularity of blood sports, stated that

it is not possible to imagine a spectacle during which all the damnable passions of the human heart are called into more venomous activity, than during one of these 'pit matches', as they are called--say, for instance, between two bull-dogs--at which, from two to three hundred persons, of all classes, will assemble to deprave themselves.¹⁰

Martin reintroduced a bill to end bear and bull baiting and dog fighting in February, 1826, but it was rejected again.¹¹ Frustrated by another defeat of needed legislation, the S.P.C.A. submitted its first Parliamentary Petition to the

⁹Titus, "Bear-Baiting and Mr. Martin's Bill," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 17 (May, 1825), pp. 600-601.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 602.

¹¹A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 18.

House of Commons the same year. The Petition, pertaining directly to bull baiting, stated in part that

the petitioners have observed with the deepest concern since the later opinion given by two judges that the bull was not included in the statute to prevent the ill-treatment of cattle, that Bull-baiting, which had in consequence of that Act been nearly abolished, has been resumed to an unprecedented extent with unexampled barbarity; and prayed that the same protection afforded to other cattle may be extended to the bull in order that the animal may be no longer baited nor otherwise ill-treated.¹²

Nothing ever came of the Petition and the Society continued to exert as much effort as possible to prohibit the cruel exhibitions of blood sports during the remainder of the decade.

With one notable exception, the decade of the 1830's was a period of rapid and well-planned growth for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. A bequest for a sermon to be preached yearly on animal welfare in the Borough of Camberwell was left by Rev. T. J. Smith, a Fellow of Dulwich College, in 1830.¹³ Later the same year, the first and only split occurred within the S.P.C.A. Lewis Gompertz, the second Honorable Secretary of the S.P.C.A. and of Jewish faith, broke away from the S.P.C.A. which operated on Christian principles, and formed the Animal Friends'

¹²Quoted in A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., pp. 18-19.

¹³Ibid., p. 205.

Society, also called the Association for the Promotion of Rational Humanity to the Animal Creation.¹⁴ Gompertz remained the leader of the Association until at least 1846 and did excellent work for the rights of animals. The Association began publishing their own periodical entitled Voice of Humanity as early as May, 1832, and cooperated with the S.P.C.A. on joint endeavors.¹⁵ Also in 1832, William A. Mackinnon, a member of the Society's committee, introduced a bill into Parliament "for consolidating and amending the laws relating to the cruel and improper treatment of animals."¹⁶ The bill failed, but a Select Committee with Society members as witnesses, was appointed to study the problem. The Committee reported that numerous wanton cruelties were practiced "to the great and needless sufferings of dumb animals, and to the demoralization of the people."¹⁷ The following year Joseph Pease, a member of Parliament from South Durham and a member of the Society as

¹⁴C. Niven, History of the Humane . . ., p. 70; A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 28; and, Lewis Gompertz, Fragments in Defence of Animals, and Essays on Morals, Soul, and Future State; From the Author's Contributions to the Animals' Friend Society's Periodical, and His Letters to Dr. Forster; With a Sketch of the Society; and Original Matter; Illustrated by Engravings, With a Portrait of the Author, Lewis Gompertz, Esq. (London: W. Horsell, 1852), pp. 176-177.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 70.

¹⁷Ibid.

well, succeeded in adding two additional clauses to an Act already in force regulating cattle driving in London and Westminster. One clause extended the powers of the Act to a distance of five miles from Temple Bar and the other, a most important step for anti-blood sport reformers, suppressed pits where dog and cock fighting took place within five miles of Temple Bar.¹⁸ The Society members also influenced individual towns to establish their own animal protection societies. One such example was the Liverpool Society For The Suppression of Wanton Cruelty To Animals, formed on January 10, 1834.¹⁹

One of the most important laws to be enacted against blood sports was given the Royal Assent on September 9, 1835. Mr. Joseph Pease was again responsible for the new law which basically did two things. First, the new legislation increased the protection of Martin's Act to include bulls and other domestic animals and second, it further made it "an offence to use any house, pit, room, ground or other place for running, baiting, or fighting any bull, bear, badger, dog or other animal, whether wild or domestic, or using any such places for cock-fighting."²⁰ Later that year, the

¹⁸Ibid., p. 71; J. E. G. de Montmorency, "State Protection of . . .," p. 34.

¹⁹A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 21.

²⁰Ibid., p. 49; E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 74; J. E. G. de Montmorency, "State

S.P.C.A. attempted to put the new law to test by stopping the traditional Stamford bull running but met with so much opposition that they had to give up efforts to protect their lives. By 1837, the Society was reaching more and more youth. They formed a special school committee to educate children to humane principles²¹ and the Philanthropic Society of London offered an annual prize of thirty pounds for the best statement of moral reasons against torturing animals.²² The S.P.C.A. finally succeeded in stopping the Stamford bull running in 1837. But, they needed the assistance of the government which sent the 14th Light Dragoons and twelve police officers from London to help enforce the law.²³ S.P.C.A. inspectors also had trouble stopping a proposed cock fight in 1838 in Hanworth, Middlesex, and in fact, were severally beaten to the point that one inspector lost his life. Some individuals did not tolerate "do-gooders" interfering with their traditional sports and went to the furthest degree to prevent giving up an important

Protection of . . . ,” p. 34; Edward B. Nicholson, The Rights of an Animal: A New Essay in Ethics (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1879), pp. 12-13.

²¹E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., p. 162.

²²Arthur Schopenhauer, On The Basis of Morality (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), p. 181. (Originally published in 1841).

²³A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 133.

aspect of their heritage.

The Act of 1835 and the work of the S.P.C.A. promoted an unprecedented interest in the subject of cruelty to animals and as a result, a number of books and articles referring to the topic were published in 1838 and 1839. William H. Drummond's The Rights of Animals . . . (1838), included a section entitled "Brutal Passions And The Love Of Sport" and referred to the popular quote from Aesop's Frogs: "Sport to you is death to us."²⁴ In 1839, Dr. Thomas Forster published Philozoa, or Moral Reflections on the Actual Condition of the Animal Kingdom and the Means of Improving the Same in which he suggested that the Society should educate children:

. . . one of the surest means of bettering the condition of animals, will be to improve the character of man, by giving to children a humane rational education, and above all, setting before them examples of kindness. . . . I should propose to your Society to procure the delivery of lectures on the subject at the various Mechanics Institutes in England.²⁵

William Youatt wrote The Obligation and Extent of Humanity To Brutes . . . (1839) especially for the Society and also included a section where he applied humane thought to a variety of sports. A prize of one hundred pounds was won

²⁴W. Drummond, The Rights of Animals . . ., p. 104.

²⁵Quoted in L. Gompertz, Fragments in Defence . . ., p. 93.

by the Rev. John Styles for his essay entitled The Moral Obligation of Man Towards the Brute Creation (1839). He credited the Society for its work to prohibit blood sports:

By its numerous prosecutions relieved our streets and markets from a mass of cruelty; it has in a great degree abolished bull-baiting, dog-fighting, and similar barbarous sports in our villages; . . .²⁶

Immediately following the publication of Rev. Styles' book, the Honorable G. F. Berkeley, writing in Monthly Review, objected to blood sports in a similar manner:

We, ourselves, could never look upon a dog-fight or a cock-fight, when we may unwarily have come upon such combats, without shuddering and without making off as quickly as possible; and we know that the multitude, the entire community of those, we may say, whose feelings are worthy of being participated in, and whose characters deserve imitation, act and are moved in a similar manner.²⁷

Finally, later in 1839, the S.P.C.A. began selling their new quarterly journal, the Advocate of Humanity.²⁸ By the close of the 1830's, the Society was well on its way in the fight to rid England of cruel animal sports and was rapidly gaining the support of clergy, government officials, educators, and newspaper editors, to name a few.

²⁶Quoted in G. F. Berkeley, "The Animals' Friends; or The Progress of Humanity," Monthly Review, 150 (1830), p. 84.

²⁷Quoted in G. F. Berkeley, "The Animals' Friends; . . .," p. 85.

²⁸A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . . , p. 203.

In 1840, it was reported that the first sermon ever preached in aid of the Society was preached in the Church of Grendon, near Atherstone, Warwickshire. Previous sermons had been preached stressing the necessity for the humane treatment of animals but this particular sermon was followed by a collection to aid the Society in its humanitarian efforts.²⁹ Later that year, Queen Victoria, a friend of all animals and the owner of several pets, agreed to permit the Society to add the prefix "Royal" to its name.³⁰ The Queen felt strongly about preventing cruelty to animals and believed

. . . no civilization[was]complete which does not include the dumb and defenceless of God's creatures within the sphere of charity and mercy.³¹

Her support added a tremendous inspiration to those working with the Society and rejuvenated new interest in the campaign to eliminate all forms of cruelty to animals. The Society gained the cooperation of the National Schools Society in 1845 and the teachers agreed to deal with kindness to animals in their lessons and to place books on the subject in school libraries.³² The following year, Ralph

²⁹E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work, p. 91.

³⁰Ibid., p. 89.

³¹A. W. Moss, Valiant Crusade, p. 20.

³²Ibid., p. 197.

Fletcher, an advocate of animal hospitals and anti-blood sport legislation, published A Few Notes on Cruelty to Animals He included a large chapter devoted to the immorality of blood sports and praised the animal protection societies for their great work.

For without these Societies there would be few convictions to enable us to stop a moral disease that is rooted in the feelings and habits of the more demoralized portion of society, and which occupies every large town and village, and even our stables and dwelling-houses.³³

Lastly, in August, 1849, largely through efforts of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, "An Act for the More Effectual Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" was passed to augment the Act of 1835. It added substantially more legal power to the Society's efforts and Section 3 dealt directly with the prevention of blood sports.³⁴

The establishment of the Brown Institution in London by the bequest of Mr. Thomas Brown in 1851, represented the first institution of its kind in the world. "Its design was the advancement of knowledge concerning the diseases of animals, the best mode of treating them for the purpose of

³³Ralph Fletcher, A Few Notes on Cruelty to Animals; On the Inadequacy of Penal Law; On General Hospitals for Animals (London: Longman and Co., 1846), p. 42.

³⁴J. B. Austin, The Duties and the Rights of Man. A Treatise on Deontology in Which are Demonstrated the Individual, Social, and International Duties of Man, and His Indirect Duties Towards Animals (London: Trubner and Co., 1887), p. 472.

care, and the encouragement of humane conduct toward animals generally."³⁵ The next year, Lewis Gompertz, the founder of the Animal Friends' Society, published Fragments in Defence of Animals . . .³⁶ and Rev. Henry Cole expressed his disgust with the inhumane way animals were exhibited at fairs in A Reflective Letter Addressed to the Noblemen and Gentlemen Constituting the Presidency and Committee of the 'Royal Agricultural Society of England.'³⁷ In 1853, Charles Bindley provided a concise description of the state of blood sports at that time in his book Bipeds and Quadrupeds.

Formerly, what were termed sports, were of a different character to what are recognized as such at the present day; bull-baiting was a monstrous, barbarous, and demoralising pursuit, then permitted in some places by actual charter. Such charter a better feeling and a wiser legislation set at nought, and very properly stopped. Cock-fighting, once patronised by the aristocracy, has, to our credit, got in disuse; dog-fighting, bear and badger-baiting are now only encouraged by the low and profligate; . . .³⁸

The abolition of the cruel animal sports was a direct result of the Society's enforcement of the Act of 1849. The R.S.P.C.A. attempted to reach the school children as part

³⁵W. Chambers, "Treatment of Animals," Popular Science Monthly - Supplement, 1 (1877), p. 571.

³⁶L. Gompertz, Fragments in Defence . . .

³⁷(London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1852).

³⁸Charles Bindley, Bipeds and Quadrupeds (London: T. C. Newby, 1853), pp. 146-147.

of their educative work in 1853 and 1860, when they distributed leaflets to workhouses and Ragged Schools and invited over one thousand to sit in on their annual meeting.³⁹ Another animal care institution similar in origin to the Brown Institute, was established in London in October, 1860. The Home for Lost and Starving Dogs, exemplified the humane concern for animals at the time and their motto was indicative of the great work done by the R.S.P.C.A: "I cannot understand that morality which excludes animals from human sympathy, or releases man from the debt and obligation he owes to them."⁴⁰

During the 1860's and 1870's, the R.S.P.C.A. expanded its protection over animals and grew considerably with the additional support from royalty, educators, and ministers. On May 6, 1863, King Edward and Queen Alexandra, Prince and Princess of Wales, became patrons of the Society. They were especially concerned with blood sports and aided the work of the Society by speaking out against dubbing cocks for fighting, cropping dog's ears for fighting, and docking the tails of horses for steeplechasing. King Edward abolished the Royal Buckhounds, which had been in existence for nearly seven hundred years, and the Queen led a movement to

³⁹A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 197.

⁴⁰Lennie Orme, "Humanity to the Dogs," Good Words, 2 (1861), p. 486.

stop pigeon shooting out of live traps.⁴¹ Later in 1863, Frances Power Cobbe, attempted to arrive "at some answer to the fundamental question, 'What is cruelty to animals? What are the duties of man as regards the welfare of brutes . . .?'" in an article published in Fraser's Magazine entitled "The Rights of Man and the Claims of Brutes."⁴² In May 1864, Dr. Adler, the Chief Rabbi in the Great Synagogue of London, preached a sermon on the kindness to animals.⁴³ The following year, Reverend Dean Stanley preached a similar sermon in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, which initiated the movement known as "Animal Sunday."⁴⁴ The R.S.P.C.A. took up the idea in 1866 and in that year six hundred and ten clergymen preached sermons on cruelty to animals. "Animal Sunday" has been traditionally observed on October 4th.⁴⁵ By the influence of George Angell, an American worker for animals' rights, Miss Burdett-Coutts, one of the most wealthy and highly respected women in Great Britain, began to work for the humane treatment of animals. She called "upon all teachers, the Council of Education, and the National

⁴¹E. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work . . ., pp. 97-100.

⁴²Frances P. Cobbe, "The Rights of Man and the Claims of Brutes," Fraser's Magazine, 68 (November, 1863), p. 589.

⁴³A. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 205.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 205-206.

Society's Board of Education, to introduce humane teachings into the schools" in a letter which appeared in the London Times on September 14, 1869.⁴⁶ The next month, the R.S.P.C.A. began to publish Animal World, also on a suggestion from George Angell of Massachusetts.⁴⁷ The aim of the journal was "to protect animals from torture and ameliorate their condition, and to awaken in the minds of men a proper sense of the claims of creatures placed under their dominion."⁴⁸

The R.S.P.C.A. Ladies' Education Committee was founded on July 12, 1870, and attempted to educate young and old on the proper treatment of animals. They circulated papers among cattle owners, introduced books to schools, made frequent appeals to the public by means of the press, and sponsored periodical sermons from the pulpit.⁴⁹ Finally, five years later, in December, Catharine Smithies established England's first "Band of Mercy." This society was known as the "Wood Green Band of Mercy for Promoting Kindness to Animals" and was composed of children of all ages. In 1879, the same group began printing a little magazine for children

⁴⁶G. T. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches, p. 23.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 28.

⁴⁸A. W. Moss, Valiant Crusade, p. 204.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 199.

called the Band of Mercy Advocates.⁵⁰ By 1880, the R.S.P.C.A. had educated most of the population in England to the proper treatment of animals. As a result, the popularity of blood sports decreased drastically and the humane concern for all animals increased to a point whereby one who did not sympathize and pity an animal in pain was looked upon as an outcast from society. It was proper to show concern for the weak and mistreated animals of the world.

B. America

The two individuals in the United States who did the most for the humane treatment of animals were Henry Bergh of New York and George Angell of Massachusetts. Both states were forerunners in the establishment of anti-cruelty laws and accordingly became the first two states to form animal protection societies in America. By the 1880's, the names of Bergh and Angell had become synonymous with animals' rights and the elimination of American blood sports. From 1866 to at least 1884, the two men worked tirelessly to stop cruel animal sports and to educate Americans to the proper treatment of animals.

An editorial in the New York Times on January 10, 1866, entitled "Work for the Idle," made a plea for the es-

⁵⁰G. T. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches, p. 36; E. G. Fairholme and W. Pain, A Century of Work, pp. 166-167.

establishment of a society to punish people for cruelty to animals. The editor asked, "who will make the first move?"⁵¹ On the night of February 8, 1866, Henry Bergh made the first move.⁵² He delivered a lecture at Clinton Hall in New York City which included statistics relating to cruelties and a discussion of the blood sports of dog fighting and cock fighting. At the close of his address Bergh cried: "This gentlemen, is the verdict you have this day rendered, that the blood-red hand of cruelty shall no longer torture dumb beasts with impunity."⁵³ The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was incorporated by the New York State legislature on April 10, 1866, and nine days later Bergh succeeded in passing a new anti-cruelty law to augment the old New York law of 1828. The previous law had seldom been used to prosecute offenders so Bergh drafted "An Act Better to Prevent Cruelty to Animals":

⁵¹"Work for the Idle," New York Times, (January 10, 1866), p. 7.

⁵²Born in 1823, Bergh had always disliked cruelty to animals. But, it was not until 1862 that he declared the protection of animals as his true mission in life. He decided to devote the remainder of his life to the interests of "dumb" animals. In 1863, Bergh and his wife visited Lord Harrowby, president of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Bergh secured some ideas for a similar society in America and was therefore well prepared for his first public address in 1866.

⁵³"Henry Bergh and His Work," Scribner's Monthly, 17 (April, 1879), p. 879; Allen Johnson, (ed.) Dictionary of American Biography (New York, N. Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), p. 215.

Every person who shall by his act or neglect, maliciously kill, maim, wound, injure, torture, or cruelly beat any horse, mule, ox, cattle, sheep, or other animal belonging to himself or another, shall upon conviction, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor.⁵⁴

Later in the same year, Henry J. Raymond, the editor of the New York Times, wrote an editorial stressing the importance of the S.P.C.A. and praising the Society's work.

We hope that the general subject will receive more attention than it does. The young men and children who are to be intrusted with so great an inheritance as our Republic should not be rendered familiar with and indifferent to the torturing of poor creatures that are at the mercy of us who call ourselves a superior order of beings.⁵⁵

With a more powerful law and some support from local citizens, Henry Bergh began an attack on all forms of animal cruelty in the New York City area.

Bergh wasted no time in putting the new law into practice. A Times article of March 7, 1867, made reference to the progress made by Bergh and his S.P.C.A. officials in driving dog fighting from the city of New York.

It seems that our vigilant police and the argus-eyed agents of Mr. Bergh have made the barbarous pastime dangerous on this side of the river, and it has found a more congenial locale in New Jersey. . . . We believe

⁵⁴ Statutes at Large of the State of New York. Ch. 682. Twenty-sixth section of title six, chapter first, part four of the Revised Statutes. Quoted in E. S. Leavitt, Animals And Their . . ., p. 18.

⁵⁵ New York Times, (October 2, 1866), p. 4.

that there is a statute against this vicious sport in New-Jersey, and we present this instance of its open violation, that the proper authorities of that state may take measures looking to its enforcement.⁵⁶

Although the law of 1866 enabled Bergh and the S.P.C.A. to attack blood sports, a more concise and inclusive law was still needed. As a result of Bergh's untiring efforts, "An Act for the More Effectual Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" was passed on April 12, 1867. It contained a special section prohibiting the baiting and fighting of animals which directly aided the S.P.C.A.'s plight to abolish blood sports.

Section 2. Any person who shall keep or use, or in any way be connected with, or interested in the management of, or shall receive money for the admission of any person to any place kept or used for the purpose of fighting or baiting any bull, bear, dog, cock or other creature, and every person who shall encourage, aid or assist therein, or who shall permit or suffer any place to be so kept or used, shall, upon conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of a misdemeanor.⁵⁷

The city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, was the next large city after New York to have a Society for animal protection. Mrs. Caroline Earle White founded the Society in 1867⁵⁸ and

⁵⁶"A Debasing Pastime," New York Times, (March 7, 1867), p. 5.

⁵⁷John W. Edmonds (ed.) Statutes at Large of the State of New York Passed in the Years 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870 (1870), Vol. 7, Ch. 375. Quoted in E. S. Leavitt, Animals and Their . . ., pp. 19-21.

⁵⁸F. H. Rowley, The Humane Idea . . ., pp. 45-46.

they assisted the work of the A.S.P.C.A. by publishing such pamphlets as Mr. Townsend's Walk and Conversation With His Children. In reference to the evils of using cocks for cock fighting, Mr. Townsend said:

Would you believe, my dear children, that this graceful and magnanimous bird is an instrument in the hands of bad men to degrade our human natures and reduce us to a level with the brute? 'Oh shame!' exclaimed all the children.⁵⁹

By the end of 1867, as a result of the work of the A.S.P.C.A. and its affiliates, Henry Bergh noted that "It is becoming fashionable and popular to be merciful."⁶⁰

George Angell, who would become one of the most respected advocates of the American humane movement, began his work for animals in 1868. On February 25th, a letter from Angell stating his disgust with the death of horses in a race, appeared in the Boston Daily Advertiser. He also proposed to establish a society for the protection of animals in the same article⁶¹ and accomplished his proposal on March 31st when the Massachusetts S.P.C.A. was officially approved.⁶² New Jersey followed the New York and Massachu-

⁵⁹Mr. Townsend's Walk and Conversation With His Children (Philadelphia, Pa.: Pennsylvania S.P.C.A., 1867), pp. 10-11. Although the S.P.C.A. is referred to as the Pennsylvania S.P.C.A., it only represented the city of Philadelphia.

⁶⁰Z. Steele, Angel in Top Hat, p. 50.

⁶¹G. T. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., p. 9.

⁶²F. H. Rowley, The Humane Idea . . ., p. 46.

setts examples and established their S.P.C.A. on April 3, 1868. Pennsylvania followed the next day with the formation of their S.P.C.A.⁶³ On April 15th, seventeen members of the Boston police department were assigned to Angell for three weeks for the purpose of canvassing the city to raise funds for the new state Society.⁶⁴ In June, Angell and the Massachusetts S.P.C.A. published two hundred thousand copies of Our Dumb Animals, the first paper of its kind in the world. Over thirty thousand copies were distributed within Boston and the remainder were dispersed by the police in most of the other towns in the state.⁶⁵ Every month, the paper was sent to nearly every newspaper office in the United States, to all of the professional men in Massachusetts, and to members of Congress and officers in other states.⁶⁶ The work of the various new S.P.C.A.'s and their lesson of kindness was evident in an article entitled "Our Speechless Friends," published in Overland Monthly in September, 1868.

⁶³E. Leavitt, Animals and Their . . ., p. 143.

⁶⁴G. T. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., p. 13. E. Savage, Police Records and Recollections . . ., p. 106.

⁶⁵G. T. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., pp. 14-15.

⁶⁶"George Angell," The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York, N. Y.: James T. White and Co., 1891), Vol. 7, p. 477.

It is quite characteristic of modern civilization to have incorporated this lesson into statute law, and to have made it the motive of special police associations in several large cities.⁶⁷

The tendency "to substitute love as the ruling motive" in customs and laws was also discussed in the same article.

. . . besides its organized forms, we see it in the disposition to cultivate tenderness and delicate consideration in all personal relations; in the enhanced regard for life; in the amelioration of punishments; in the abolition of prison torture; in the avoidance of cruel sports; in the enactment of laws to protect the brute creation.⁶⁸

Angell continued to try new methods of encouraging kindness to animals and even took the idea personally on trips to foreign countries. He was instrumental in spreading the idea of the humane treatment of animals to France, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Bavaria, Austria, and Prussia.⁶⁹

After the state of Pennsylvania formed their S.P.C.A. in 1868, the Society attempted to get better protection for animals into the laws. Finally, on March 29, 1869, a new law pertaining to cruelty to animals was passed by the state legislature. Like the New York law, it contained a special section devoted to the prohibition of blood sports.

⁶⁷B. Avery, "Our Speechless Friends," Overland Monthly, 1 (September, 1868), p. 239.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 235.

⁶⁹G. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., pp. 26-29.

. . . or shall keep or use, or in any way be connected with, or interested in the management of, or shall receive money for the admission of any person to any place kept or used for the purpose of fighting or baiting any bull, bear, dog, cock, or other creature, and every person who shall encourage, aid or assist therein, or who shall permit, or suffer any place to be so kept or used, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. . . .⁷⁰

When the bill was still being considered before the Legislature in early March, one member of the group, Mr. Beans, spoke out strongly for the necessity of such a law:

. . . this is the best bill every offered for the consideration of any law making power. It is a step in the right direction, which should have been taken long ago, and in the name of humanity let us make it so certain, positive and stringent that its provisions, under no circumstances, can be evaded with impunity. To protect poor, dumb animals from cruelty by brutes in human form, is a duty we owe to our God, our people, and our own consciences.⁷¹

Pennsylvania was only one example of many states that responded to pressures by S.P.C.A.'s to institute laws for the further protection of animals. Blood sports almost always played some role in the formation of more inclusive laws for protecting innocent animals.

Henry Bergh and the A.S.P.C.A. exerted a tremendous force in the New York City area and during 1869 attempted

⁷⁰No. 22, "An Act For the punishment of cruelty to animals in this Commonwealth," Laws Of Pennsylvania, Of The Session Of 1869, pp. 22-23.

⁷¹Daily Legislative Record For The Session Of 1869, (March 11, 1869), p. 570.

to stop such cruel sports as pigeon shooting, dog fighting, cock fighting, and rapping. But, Bergh was not always met with an over abundance of cooperation, especially from those who enjoyed these blood sports or earned their living from them. When Bergh stopped a pigeon match and forced it to New Jersey, the Spirit of the Times printed an article entitled "More Nonsense" and criticized Bergh for his work.

The assumption that Mr. Bergh should suppress the lawful amusements and sports of a million people is enough to make a man of sense wish to shoot a fool or two and so get rid of some of the surplus of that family.⁷²

A similar article entitled "An Ass that Should Have His Ears Cropped," appeared in the New York Mercury on December 26, 1869, and complained about Bergh's efforts to stop blood sports: "It is time that we were rid of this humbug, Bergh, that legitimate sport may flourish without his petty annoyance."⁷³ George Angell never came under attack as frequently as Bergh although he, too, criticized sports which were cruel to animals.

During the first six years of the 1870's, Bergh and Angell spread the idea of the humane treatment of animals throughout the United States by almost every conceivable means. At the request of a member of the Illinois Legisla-

⁷²Quoted in Z. Steele, Angel in Top Hat, p. 220.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 152-153.

ture, Angell visited Chicago on October 1, 1870, and the next month a letter written by Angell appeared in all of the daily newspapers in the city. He described the progress of work for animals in other states and stressed the need for similar Societies in Chicago and Illinois. As a result, the Illinois Humane Society was formed that same year.⁷⁴ Bergh attacked pigeon shooting again in 1871 and said it was a "cruel and demoralizing pastime which employes a living creature--and that, too, a representative of a heavenly emblem--as a target to verify the aim of the marksman."⁷⁵ Angell lectured at Mercantile Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in April, 1871, and repeated the lecture in the Church of the Unity in Boston, the next month. The newspapers of both cities contained vivid accounts and sometimes printed the entire lecture.⁷⁶ Just about one year later, in June, 1872, Bergh sent letters to the governors of thirty-two states and territories requesting their support for his work.⁷⁷ The following year, the New York S.P.C.A. under the leadership of Bergh, began publishing The Animal Kingdom. It was originally a "moral and refining family journal" but changed

⁷⁴G. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., pp. 37-39.

⁷⁵Quoted in Z. Steele, Angel in Top Hat, p. 221.

⁷⁶G. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., p. 37.

⁷⁷"Mr. Bergh's Work," New York Times, (June 7, 1872), p. 1.

its title to Our Animal Friends and devoted its efforts to juvenile readers.⁷⁸ In the same year, Bergh made a lecturing tour throughout the principal cities in the West, which resulted in the formation of several societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals. He also spoke before the Evangelical Alliance and Episcopal Convention and was the means of having a new canon confirmed to the effect that Protestant Episcopal ministers should at least once a year preach a sermon on cruelty and mercy to animals.⁷⁹ Between 1873 and 1875, George Angell lectured to many important and prestigious groups throughout the United States. One of the most notable was the reading of his paper entitled "Protection of Animals" before the American Social Science Association in May, 1874.⁸⁰ He also wrote a weekly animal protection column for the Boston Daily Evening Transcript in 1875 and in the same year published an article entitled "New Gospel of Humanity: the Teacher's Opportunity" in the New England Journal of Education.⁸¹ By 1876, Bergh and Angell had done such a thorough job in influencing people to treat

⁷⁸Z. Steele, Angel in Top Hat, p. 170.

⁷⁹"Henry Bergh and His Work," Scribner's Monthly, 17 (April, 1879), p. 883; "Death of Henry Bergh--Helpless Animals Losing Their Protector," New York Times (March 13, 1888), p. 4.

⁸⁰G. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., pp. 41-44.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 45.

animals with kindness that the S.P.C.A. exhibit at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition displayed a banner inscribed with the names of thirty two states of the Union and six cities in Canada that had organized units of the Society.⁸²

The large number of Societies for preventing cruelty to animals in the United States thought it would be to their advantage to federate and have one unified voice of national importance. Representatives from various Societies met in Cleveland, Ohio, on October 9, 1877, and established the American Humane Association. The purpose of the Association was outlined in one of its earlier pamphlets:

The owning, manufacturing, making, publishing, buying, distributing and giving away of humane books, papers, periodicals, tracts, pictures, lantern slides, medals and other things conducive to humane education.⁸³

The new Association was organized as only an educational and missionary group and therefore could not enforce laws. But, the group did a tremendous service by distributing thousands of copies of humane literature throughout America.

On July 28, 1882, the "Band of Mercy" idea, formerly started in England in 1875, was begun in Massachusetts by George Angell. The Rev. Thomas Timmins of England came to

⁸²Alvin F. Harlow, Henry Bergh, Founder of the ASPCA (New York, N. Y.: Julian Messner, Inc., 1957), p. 109.

⁸³Quoted in F. Rowley, The Humane Idea . . ., p. 53.

the United States and assisted with the development of the project. Aimed directly at children, the "Bands of Mercy" spread to all other states and each member had a badge and membership card. The badge was in the shape of a five pointed star and was inscribed with the following motto: "Glory to God, Peace on Earth, Good Will to All, Kindness to all Living Creatures." The pledge learned by all members was, "I will try to be kind to all harmless living creatures, and try to protect them from cruel usage."⁸⁴ The "American Teacher's Bands," a part of the original "Bands of Mercy," gained affiliation with the National Education Association in August, 1884. This was an important aspect of the project and at the time the organization had 3,403 Bands and around 234,000 members.⁸⁵

The culmination of the era involving a concern for the cruelty of animals was reached when the American Humane Education Society was incorporated by the state of Massachusetts in 1889. The Society was the outgrowth of a "Missionary Fund" kept by George Angell for the promotion of humane education.⁸⁶ This organization published hundreds of thousands of pages pertaining to the proper treatment of animals, offered prizes for essays, employed missionaries,

⁸⁴Quoted in F. Rowley, The Humane Idea . . ., p. 50; G. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., pp. 78-79.

⁸⁵E. Leavitt, Animals and Their . . ., p. 136.

⁸⁶G. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., p. 35.

formed other "humane societies," and started more "Bands of Mercy" in various Southern and Western states.⁸⁷ By 1889, most of the American people had come into contact with one or more of the organizations for the humane treatment of animals established by either Henry Bergh or George Angell. As a result of their work the cruel treatment of animals came to be considered wrong, and in large part the decline of blood sports can be attributed to the pressures exerted by the animal protection societies.

⁸⁷G. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches . . ., p. 36.

C H A P T E R VI

THE CONCERN FOR THE WELL-BEING OF MAN AND THE DECLINE OF BLOOD SPORTS: ANTHROPOCENTRISM

The decline of blood sports in England and America can be attributed to more than the efforts of individuals who held an anthropomorphic philosophy and who established animal protection societies or petitioned for more inclusive anti-cruelty laws. Another group who held what could be called an anthropocentric philosophy, saw man and animal as completely different living organisms. They were primarily concerned with the well-being of man and therefore attempted to eliminate blood sports because of their inherently damaging influence on man's virtuous life--gambling, hardening of feelings, brutalization of the mind, profaneness and drinking. This group of reformers were not concerned with the fighting, baiting, or torturing of animals because it caused them pain, agony, or discomfort. Their only concern was that the witnessing of such scenes might lead humans to practice similar acts on each other--cruelty to animals would lead to cruelty to man. The same group supported societies and organizations to educate adults and children in the proper treatment of animals on the premise that kindness to animals led automatically to kindness to man.

The general American belief that everyone was capable of moral redemption was at a peak of popularity during the 1840's. Of the institutions holding to the notion that society could be improved and man could achieve ultimate perfection, none were more influential than religion. The religious emphasis on moral reform included the adoption of good works, humanitarianism, and benevolence as part of accepted doctrine. The priorities of the church moved from the once prominent spiritual salvation of man to the "view of life as a period of healthful development in Christian experience, with personal conviction rather than dogmatic authority as its inspiration."¹

Ministers worked diligently to rid society of its evils and did not overlook the degrading scenes common to blood sports. All Christians were expected to treat animals with kindness, but this was not a major motive for religious opposition. Religious leaders were more concerned with stopping blood sports because of the gambling, drinking, profanity, and general damage to man's sensibilities. It was assumed "that man was a base creature with a constant inclination to evil;" and "that the elect had a responsibility to do something about this evil in man and society."² As a

¹Douglas E. Branch, The Sentimental Years, 1836-1860 (New York, N. Y.: Hill and Wang, 1965), p. 326.

²Charles C. Cole, The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860 (New York, N. Y.: Octagon Books, 1966), p. 130.

result, religious leaders dwelled on perfecting man and guarding him against outside influences which might prevent his moral redemption. They viewed blood sports as damaging to a good Christian heart and soul.

Many of the early laws prohibiting different blood sports referred to in Chapter IV are examples of the concern for the well-being of man. No interest was taken in the animals who usually were injured or killed in the sports. One good example of this type of opposition appeared in the Pittsburgh Gazette in 1788. In a letter to the editor, the author known only as "Z", called horse racing and cock fighting ". . . unfriendly to morals and . . . the liberties of our country"³ "because they occasioned idleness, fraud, gaming, profane swearing and hardened the heart against all feelings of humanity."⁴ A similar complaint was entered in the New York Magazine three years later. The author of "Remarks On Cockfighting," who called himself Atticus, believed that to "derive the least satisfaction from such wanton amusements" would

lead us gradually into habits of intemperance, and reduce us in the end to poverty and disgrace. By being spectators of these scenes of cruelty, the mind is imperceptibly hardened,

³Pittsburgh Gazette, August 16, 1788, quoted in S. S. Brynn, "Some Sports In Pittsburgh . . .," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, 51 (October, 1968), p. 351.

⁴Ibid.

and prepared for beholding, without disgust, scenes at which humanity must recoil.⁵

Friends of "humanity and correct morals"⁶ believed that witnessing blood sports caused brutality, ferociousness, and cruelty in human beings.

Henry Bergh and George Angell, professed friends of animals and leaders of the American humane movement, possessed some anthropocentric characteristics as well. Although Bergh was against the cruelty inflicted on animals, he was also concerned with the effects such treatment would have on man. He developed as his own motto: "Men will be just towards men when they have learned to be charitable towards animals." Another version was: "Humanity to Animals Means Humanity to Our Own Race."⁷ Angell, who also fought for laws to protect animals from being maimed and tortured, believed that if wrongs were corrected against animals it would then correct man's wrongs.

When the rights of dumb animals shall be protected, the rights of human beings will be safe. When the children in every home shall learn to spare the useful bird, nor plunder its little nest, systems of State-prison discipline will become less important."⁸

⁵Atticus, "Remarks On Cockfighting," New York Magazine; or, Literary Repository, 2 (March, 1791), pp. 157-158.

⁶New York Spectator, September 7, 1827, quoted in J. Holliman, American Sports . . ., pp. 135-136.

⁷Z. Steele, Angel In Top Hat, p. 171.

⁸G. T. Angell, Autobiographical Sketches, appendix, p. 5.

In a sense, both seemed to be working for the rights of animals mainly to better mankind.

C H A P T E R VII

THE DECLINE OF BLOOD SPORTS AND THE RISE OF "SPORTS WITH A PURPOSE," 1850-1879

Two other expressions contributed as much to the decline of blood sports, in both England and America, as the desire to protect man's morals from bloody scenes of animal torture: nationalism and health.

Reformers were just as much concerned with the national image of their country and overall health of the inhabitants. In the early 1800's, travelers from other countries commented on the "blood-thirsty" English and visitors to America in the 1840's and 50's remarked on the poor state of health and general lack of physically invigorating sports. As a result, blood sports came under attack because they were viewed by foreigners as a reflection of a particular society's life style and because they were geared to spectator appeal which did not allow for any active participation by those witnessing the sport. Blood sports were bad for the national image in a time when good will was necessary for good foreign relations, and they lacked the necessary physical exertion demanded for good health.

During the 1850's and 60's in America, increased em-

phasis was placed upon participant sports as being morally sound, physically invigorating, and generally healthful in nature. Sports which could not serve as a suitable reflection of national identity or be termed "character building" died out. To survive the 1860's and early 1870's, certain sports had to possess some redeeming value for the participant and in some cases the spectator or serve some useful purpose. Blood sports could not satisfy any of these requirements and declined rapidly.

Americans were persuaded to abandon the blood sports of ante-bellum times because of a practical, materialistic reward. They were convinced that participant sports would lead to a better life and blood sports were unfit for their attention. The people of America would not only improve their health, morals, and personal image, but would also upgrade the all important image of their country by reforming their sporting pursuits.

One of the earliest accounts recommending the usefulness of physically invigorating sports and downgrading blood sports appeared in England in 1796. John Lawrence, in his A Philosophical and Practical Treatise . . ., referred to the cruel "sports in vogue" which included "the brute creation"¹ and recommended the use of "gymnastic exercises,

¹J. Lawrence, A Philosophical and Practical . . ., II, p. 6.

wrestling, sparring, foot-ball, and cricket"² which would alleviate the crime associated with sport and at the same time would be manly and invigorating. Lawrence saw the following values in "manly athletic sports":

invigorate and harden the constitution; they supersede in the mind the itch for sedentary and destructive games of chance; they serve as an antidote to the insalubrious effects of confinement in the manufacturer; above all, they conduce materially to the procreation of a vigorous and healthy offspring;"³

A similar reference to distinctions between sports was made by Mr. Sheridan, a member of the House of Commons, during the debate over a Bill to prevent bull baiting in April, 1800. Sheridan contended that "there was surely a mighty difference between that cowardly, beastly, execrable practice and the noble amusement of cricket."⁴ Methodist minister Legh Richmond, in his famous sermon "On The Sin Of Cruelty Towards the Brute Creation" (1801), stated that "recreations should be really proved to be harmless in a conscientious and Christian point of view" and should not "excite or cherish the worst and most dangerous passions of the mind."⁵ Finally, in 1824, in conjunction with attempts

²J. Lawrence, A Philosophical and Practical . . ., II, p. 8.

³Ibid., p. 9.

⁴Quoted in A. W. Moss, Valiant Crusade . . ., p. 14.

⁵Rev. L. Richmond, "On The Sin . . .," Methodist Magazine, 30 (November, 1807), p. 518.

to pass legislation prohibiting blood sports, Richard Martin moved that a committee be appointed to inquire "how far cruel sports, if persevered in, tended to deteriorate and corrupt the morals of the people."⁶

The belief that sport should be healthful, invigorating, and morally acceptable for the participants was evident in America as early as the 1830's. The owners of a new "Ten-pin Alley" announced in the Spirit of the Times in 1832 that their establishment was a place

where gentlemen of the most scrupulous morality may freely enjoy the healthiest and most invigorating exercise, apart from certain pernicious practices which are too common in houses of public entertainment.⁷

In 1835, the Rev. William E. Channing suggested that society should provide proper means of escape for individuals instead of "debasement gratifications."⁸ In additional speeches delivered in 1837 and 1838, Channing linked poor habits of drinking to a poor body state, declared that God favored active sports with physical vigor,⁹ and hoped that progress

⁶Quoted in A. W. Moss, Valiant Crusade, p. 17.

⁷"Watering Place," Spirit of the Times, 1 (June 9, 1832), p. 3.

⁸William E. Channing, "Ministry For The Poor," (April 9, 1835), in The Complete Works of William E. Channing, Including The Perfect Life, and Containing a Copious General Index and a Table of Scripture References (New York: Routledge, 1884), p. 105.

⁹W. E. Channing, "Address On Temperance," (February 28, 1837), quoted in ibid., pp. 126-127.

in intelligence, taste and morals would provide a better class of public amusements.¹⁰ A similar plea for more healthful exercise appeared as an editorial in the Daily Pittsburgher on August 6, 1840:

Throughout all nature, want of motion indicates weakness, corruption, inanimation, and death. . . . An illustrious physician observes, 'I know not which is the most necessary to the human frame, food or motion.' . . . were the exercise of the body to be attended to in a corresponding degree, with that of the mind, men of great learning would be more vigorous and healthy . . . the highest refinement of the mind, without improvement of the body, can never present anything more than half a human being.¹¹

Ralph Fletcher, in A Few Notes On Cruelty to Animals . . . (1846), recommended substituting "a course of gymnastic games better adapted to sustain the manly habits . . . and able to furnish a powerful and interesting amusement" for sports which bred "gambling," "vicious habits," "grossness," and "intemperance."¹² He believed that "these gymnastic exercises would greatly improve the individual and national character."¹³ Fletcher concluded by stressing that man "has no right to encourage helpless creatures under his protection

¹⁰W. E. Channing, "Self-Culture," (September, 1838), quoted in ibid., p. 78.

¹¹Daily Pittsburgher, August 6, 1840, Vol. II, No. 73, quoted in S. S. Brynn, "Some Sports In Pittsburgh . . . ," p. 358.

¹²R. Fletcher, A Few Notes . . ., p. 57.

¹³Ibid., p. 58.

in being worried, lashed, and tortured, or to the slaughter of each other, for his sport or profit."¹⁴

By the beginning of the 1840's, Americans had not yet accepted physically active sports as a recommended exercise for health purposes. The reformers of the 1830's attempted to introduce the idea but it was not until the 1840's and 1850's when more evidence was put forth by men attempting to improve the standards of health and morality that sport became popular for reasons other than having fun. When it was clearly shown by the examples of government leaders, churchmen, medical doctors, and educators, among others, that active participant sports were "good for everyone" who participated, the cruel and debasing blood sports were rapidly given up as producers of unworthy morals and sedentary habits.

Representatives from foreign countries, religious men, and concerned individuals within the United States lamented the poor physical state of Americans and recommended involvement in active sporting pursuits to improve and perfect society's ills. The British consul to Boston from 1839 to 1846, Thomas C. Grattan, wrote of the poor health of Boston's youth and the lack of athletic sports.

A Boston boy is a picture of prematurity . . .
The interval between their leaving school and
commencing their business career offers no

¹⁴R. Fletcher, A Few Notes . . ., p. 58.

occupation to give either gracefulness or strength to body or mind. Athletic games and the bolder field sports being unknown . . . all that is left is chewing, smoking and drinking They have no breadth either of shoulders, information or ambition. Their physical powers are subdued, and their mental capability cribbed into narrow limits.¹⁵

In 1847, Frederick W. Sawyer attempted to place the importance of participant sports as producers of good health in proper perspective. His book, aptly entitled A Plea for Amusements, advocated building athletic institutes for gymnastic exercises in all towns and cities which

would contribute more towards raising us up a healthy, brave, manly, and handsome race of men and women, than all of the 'doctor's arts and opiates' this side of the moon.¹⁶

Sawyer held the possible values of sport to society in high esteem and believed that

the moral, social, and religious advancement of the people of this country, for the next half century, depends more upon the principles that are adopted with regard to amusements generally, and how those principles are carried out, than to a great many other things of apparently greater moment. . . . We shall then see to it, that we have enough healthy sources of recreation to empty the gambling-rooms, the tippling-shops, and the brothels; and we shall

¹⁵Thomas C. Grattan, Observations of a British Consul, 1839-46 (London: 1859), reprinted in Allan Nevins (ed.) American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers (New York: Henry Holt, 1923), pp. 250-251.

¹⁶Frederick W. Sawyer, A Plea for Amusements (New York, N. Y. and Philadelphia, Pa.: D. Appleton & G. S. Appleton, 1847), p. 288.

see to it, too, that our amusements are not only healthy now, but that they are kept so.¹⁷

Writers of children's literature tried to influence the younger generation to be selective in their sports and games. One author, writing in the Youth's Companion in 1848, exhibited the importance placed on benevolence at the time when he declared that

at the present time, when the true policy of our country is peace and there is no necessity for war, all sports which foster the military spirit should be discouraged.¹⁸

By the end of the 1840's, Americans had experienced an overt view of their national character and had taken stock of the deficiencies and weaknesses of their culture. In searching out the faults in American habits and manners, the reformers found a need for physically invigorating participant sports which were both health producing and morally sound. Participant sports were also suggested in order to replace the pain and torture dominated blood sports which were ruining the American image by eliciting gambling, profaneness, savagery, and everything contrary to the beliefs of those individuals concerned with reforming the national character.

¹⁷Frederick W. Sawyer, A Plea for Amusements (New York, N. Y. and Philadelphia, Pa.: D. Appleton & G. S. Appleton, 1847), p. 291.

¹⁸Youth's Companion, 22 (May 4, 1848), p. 3, quoted in John C. Crandall, "Patriotism and Humanitarian Reform in Children's Literature, 1825-1860," American Quarterly, 21 (Spring, 1969), p. 11.

The decade of the 1850's was one of the most important periods of time for transforming America into a sporting nation. It was during this decade that a few intellectually oriented reformers finally convinced Americans that active participation in sports could solve problems of poor health and would provide wholesome leisure for the rapidly growing population. Sports participation subsequently became more and more the recommended item for children because of its capabilities to produce physical fitness and occupy youth in an activity deemed worthy of producing reputable morals. Blood sports were not recommended because they were bad for ones' morals and offered no health-giving physical exertion for the spectators or participants.

An article in the Youth's Companion in 1851, stressed the atmosphere of the decade which called for children not to imitate heroes of the past who relished bloodshed but to pattern themselves after kind and benevolent individuals. The era had passed "when the great must be those whose hands are crimsoned with poor soldiers' blood. Now we esteem the truly great, who are great in patriotism, humanity, learning and benevolence."¹⁹ Individuals who relished blood sports were obviously not highly respected. Rev. Henry Ward Beecher made a distinction between sports that were harmful and those

¹⁹Arthur Lee, "Eclipses," Youth's Companion, 24 (April 17, 1851), pp. 201-202, quoted in J. Crandall, "Patriotism and Humanitarian . . .," p. 11.

that would provide some value for the participant, Reverend Beecher warned:

Don't be tempted to give up a wholesome air-bath, a good walk, or a skate or ride every day as it will pay you back . . . by freshness, elasticity, and clearness of mind.²⁰

The publication of Thomas Hughes's Tom Brown's Schooldays in 1857 introduced to Americans the popularity of vigorous participant sports in the best schools in England. The importance of sports at Rugby School had a profound influence on Americans who wished to provide similar opportunities for youths in their own country. Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a lover of active sports, spoke out strongly for the values inherent to sports and his article "Saints and Their Bodies," stimulated additional interest in the movement to introduce wholesome athletics to Americans.²¹ The famous orator, Oliver Wendell Holmes, joined the chorus of concerned individuals in May, 1858, two months after Higginson's article appeared, when he attempted to shame the citizens of the United States into being more receptive to healthy sports.

I am satisfied that such a set of black-coated, stiff-jointed, soft-muscled, paste complexioned youth as we can boast in our Atlantic cities never before sprang from the loins of Anglo-

²⁰William C. Beecher and Samuel Scoville, A Biography of the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher (New York, N. Y.: Charles L. Webster, 1888), p. 643, quoted in Guy Lewis, "The Muscular Christianity Movement," Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 37 (May, 1966), p. 28.

²¹Atlantic Monthly, 1 (March, 1858), pp. 582-595.

Saxon lineage. . . . We have a few good boatmen, no good horsemen that I hear of, nothing remarkable, I believe, in cricketing, and as for any great athletic feat performed by a gentleman in these latitudes, society would drop a man who ran around the Common in five minutes.²²

In October of the same year, the Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler delivered a "Sermon on Christian Recreation and Unchristian Amusement" and in agreement with those before him who were advocates of the "Muscular Christianity Movement," he said that "whatever makes your body healthier, your mind happier, and your immortal soul purer, is Christian recreation."²³ Cuyler cautioned those seeking acceptable sports not to

frequent any place which Jesus Christ would forbid if he were personally on earth; nor should he be seen in places so questionable that irreligious persons would be startled in finding him there.²⁴

The baiting and fighting pits as well as the saloons where many blood sports were conducted were certainly off limits. Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson continued to advocate the values of sports for all Americans during the late 1850's and gave special attention to athletic competition for chil-

²²Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," Atlantic Monthly, 1 (May, 1858), p. 881, quoted in G. Lewis, "The Muscular Christianity . . . ," p. 28.

²³Rev. Theodore L. Cuyler, "Sermon on Christian Recreation and Unchristian Amusement," The Pulpit and Rostrum, 1 (November 15, 1858), p. 11.

²⁴Ibid., p. 19.

dren.²⁵ Lastly, at the peak of the movement for more vigorous sports, another minister, the Rev. James L. Corning of Buffalo, New York, added his support by publishing The Christian Law of Amusement in 1859. Rev. Corning believed a model sport

would be one which, in the shortest possible space of time, should improve the whole man; refresh, invigorate and build up the whole organism, physical and mental.²⁶

He also believed sport aided the intellectual in his work and expressed the idea that sport was capable of promoting good morals.

Amusements, then, are ennobled when they are used to promote intellectual culture. And now I wish to advance a step farther and say that when they are used to promote moral culture, they are more than ennobled,--they are sanctified.²⁷

At the close of the 1850's, participant sports, aided by the efforts of a few concerned Americans, were firmly established in the culture of the United States. The goodness of active sports had caught on and blood sports, when practiced, were usually conducted surreptitiously by the lower classes. Blood sports could offer nothing to the spectator or the partici-

²⁵Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Physical Courage," Atlantic Monthly, 2 (November, 1858), pp. 728-737, and, "The Murder of Innocents," Atlantic Monthly, 4 (September, 1859), p. 353.

²⁶Rev. James L. Corning, The Christian Law Of Amusement (Buffalo, New York: Phinney & Co., 1859), p. 45.

²⁷Ibid., p. 71.

pant in the way of redeeming values and obviously served no useful purpose to society in general.

Although the 1860's was a decade marked by the tragedy of the Civil War, it still lent itself to the continued development and growth of organized participant sports. Physically invigorating sports such as rowing, swimming, skating, baseball, football, bowling, riding, and gymnastics grew in interest and gradually assisted in the generation of favorable American attitudes towards exercise and the purposeful use of leisure time through sports.²⁸ Charles L. Brace, writing about the lower classes of New York and their problems during this decade, relied heavily on the "more refined amusements of the masses" to prevent evils within society such as intoxication.²⁹ He also described various experiments in "virtuous amusement" conducted to aid the working classes.³⁰ Particularly dangerous to the lower classes as seen by reformers were the evil producing blood sports which often led normally calm workers into fits of rage, rampant fighting, profanity, gambling, and excessive intoxication.

²⁸ Arthur C. Cole, "Our Sporting Grandfathers: The Cult of Athletics at Its Source," Atlantic Monthly, 150 (July, 1932), pp. 88-96.

²⁹ Charles L. Brace, The Dangerous Classes of New York, and Twenty Years Work Among Them (New York, N. Y.: Wynkoop and Hallenbeck, 1880), pp. 68 and 73.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 293.

The rapid growth of organized sports in America and the realization of their potential as leisure time healthful activities led the leaders of society to campaign for active participation. Church leaders, politicians and educators were among those in the forefront advocating the usefulness of morally sound sports to American society. During the 1870's, Henry Bergh praised the editor of the Metropolitan for endorsing ball games as a substitute for blood sports. The President of the S.P.C.A. knew the benefits to be derived from "Sports with a purpose" and suggested:

That one of the significations of the word 'Sport' should be the enjoyment of spectacles of cruelty and bloodshed demonstrates what an unsatisfactory distance we have succeeded, as yet, in placing between ourselves and barbarism. Let us have healthful and invigorating sport to supersede our cocking mains, dog-and bull-fights, bear baits and gladiatorial shows.³¹

Bergh's ideas, although somewhat biased towards the protection of animals, were indicative of many Americans by the end of the 1870's. By 1879, the sporting tradition was firmly established in America and a belief in the health producing qualities of recommended active sports was inculcated in the minds of most individuals. But, no where in the scheme of sporting tradition did there appear an accepted place for the participation in or observance of cruel blood sports. Blood sports, long associated with Anglo-Saxon heritage, failed to gain favorable admittance to the sporting scene of the 1880's.

³¹Quoted in Z. Steele, Angel In Top Hat, p. 160.

C H A P T E R V I I I
S U M M A R Y A N D C O N C L U S I O N S

Cruel animal sports popular in England and America during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and parts of the nineteenth century, were met with strong disapproval in England after the first decade of the nineteenth century and had a similar fate in America during the post Civil War era. These sports, which came to be known as "blood sports" because of the death, cruelty, and bloodshed involved, were significant segments of the Anglo-American sporting heritage. But, by the 1870's, in both England and America, these favorite sporting pursuits had been banned from public use by legislation designed specifically for their demise. Some of the sports continued to be engaged in surreptitiously but others were completely eliminated from the annals of sport.

The alteration of sporting custom and tradition is significant in two major ways. First, the identification of changing sporting practices is paramount for the historian attempting to account for the overall development of sport in society. Secondly, and more important, to diagnose and account for the modification of sporting activities reflects the mores and social behavior of the people re-

sponsible for the change. More specifically, the altered patterns of sport participation mirrored an overall change in the morals of the Anglo-Americans--disgust with the torture and fighting of innocent animals, protection of national image, interest for the health and physical fitness of man, abhorrence of gambling, concern for the mental and moral development of man, kindness and benevolence to all living creatures, religious consciousness and humanitarianism, and, general discontent with all forms of violence.

Practically all of the blood sports practiced in America had their origins in England. The sports of cock fighting, bear baiting, bull baiting, dog fighting, rat baiting, and cock throwing all were developed by the British and were deposited in America. Gander pulling, having originated in Holland, was the major exception. Blood sports were conducted at a variety of special events and were patronized by all classes represented by both sexes. Large crowds gathered to watch the animals face death, reach their utmost limits of physical endurance, or display feats of strength, dexterity, and cunning. Spectators also enjoyed gambling on the outcome of the event since it was difficult to "fix" a fight and the life or death battles almost always determined a sure winner.

The observers and sponsors of blood sports enjoyed watching animals being tortured and loved to see pain inflicted upon any living thing. All concerned were quite

conscious of testing themselves, or preferably their dogs, against the strongest and fiercest creatures of the animal world. The use of dogs and cocks, which were products of man's training and breeding skills, served to reinforce his lofty position above animals in the order of the universe. As entertaining spectator sports, as socially acceptable outlets for aggression, and as money-making devices, blood sports were the forerunners of professionalized twentieth century sports and the stadium age.

The growth and development of the humane movement in England and America was by far the most important development which eventually led to the decline of blood sports. Those who began to demand more rights for animals can be said to have maintained an anthropomorphic view whereby they believed human beings and animals were much alike in feelings, emotions, and mental powers. Poets lamented the torture of innocent animals, clergy preached sermons degrading cruel animal sports, artists painted scenes eliciting pity for animals, and educationists taught the value of being kind to all living creatures.

It was assumed by the reformers that animals were entitled to the same rights and liberties as humans. Humane thought was brought to the public's attention by three major methods in both England and America. First, the literature of the age included books, short stories, poetry and sonnetts which treated their animal subjects with kind-

ness and sympathy. Second, religious leaders expressed a concern for the cruel treatment of animals and preached sermons relating to man's duty to be kind to God's creatures. Lastly, legislation was passed to prohibit acts of cruelty to animals and blood sports in particular.

Societies devoted solely to the protection of animals from cruel treatment were eventually formed in England and America. Although humane thought had preceded the formation of animal protection societies by a number of years, all of the books, sermons, and laws were practically useless without an organization of concerned individuals who would enforce the laws and report infractions to the proper authorities. Among the most obvious cases of wanton cruelty were blood sports and they therefore came under attack almost immediately after the societies were organized.

The English Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was officially established on June 16, 1824, and its American counterpart was formed on April 10, 1866. These organizations approached the problem of animal protection from every conceivable angle. They published books and periodicals, conducted classes to educate adults and children, hired law enforcement personnell, and held contests for the best written essay pertaining to man's duty to protect innocent animals. Richard Martin was the primary figure in the S.P.C.A. of England and two men, Henry Bergh and George Angell, were the principal leaders of the S.P.C.A.

in America. All three men were extremely persistent individuals and had an overt hate for blood sports. Much of their individual attention was subsequently devoted to eliminating cruel animal sports from society.

The decline of blood sports in England and America was also attributed to another group of individuals, who could be said to have maintained an anthropocentric philosophy. Unlike those who identified with anthropomorphic thought, these individuals saw man and animal as completely different organisms. They were primarily concerned with the well-being of man and therefore attempted to eliminate blood sports because of their inherent factors damaging to man's fruitful life--gambling, hardening of feelings, brutalization of the mind, profaneness, and drunkenness. The reformers identifying with this group were not concerned with the life of animals. Their only concern was that the witnessing of such harsh scenes known to blood sports might lead to cruelty to man.

Another factor was also partially responsible for the decline of blood sports. Reformers were concerned with the national image of their country and the overall health of the inhabitants. Blood sports put forth an unacceptable image of America and this type of sport was deemed incapable of producing a healthy American individual. It was believed after the 1850's that active participant sports were morally sound, physically invigorating, and generally healthful in

nature. Sports died out which could not serve as a suitable reflection of national identity or be termed "character building." They had to possess some redeeming value for the participant and in some cases the spectator; serve some useful purpose. Blood sports did not satisfy any of these requirements and declined rapidly.

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