Visualizing Heterochrony:
Evolution, Spectacle, and the Victorian Representation of Time

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Introduction

The first edition of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* was published in London on 24 November 1859, but it was not until 30 June 1860, when the British Association for the Advancement of Science met in Oxford's Zoological Museum, that the first public debate on the topic of natural selection took place. It was at this meeting that the young and eager proponent of evolutionary theory, Thomas Henry Huxley, famously retorted to the Bishop of Winchester, Samuel Wilberforce's, snarky inquiry as to whether he, Huxley, claimed descent from an ape on his grandfather or his grandmother's side by stating that he would find no shame in having an ape for an ancestor.[1] One cannot be entirely sure as to what Wilberforce's or Huxley's precise statements were, as unofficial accounts of the exchange are as plentiful as they are conflicting, but one thing is certain: even though Darwin did not directly address human evolution in his *On the Origin of Species* (and would not officially broach this topic until 1871's *The Descent of Man*), from the outset, much of the controversy surrounding Darwin's theory of evolution stemmed from his conviction that all living beings shared in a common progenitor, and it did not take much guesswork for Darwin's contemporaries to deduce who our closest relatives might be.[2]

The emergence of evolutionary theory within Victorian society coincided with the development of the modern printing press and the rise of mass entertainment. Not surprisingly, the contentious topic of evolution quickly became entangled with the Victorian worlds of

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[1] Stephen Jay Gould, *Bully for Brontosaurus: Reflections in Natural History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company), 385-388.

[2] See Janet Browne, "The Charles Darwin-Joseph Hooker correspondence: An analysis of manuscript resources and their use in biography," *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History*, no.8 (1978), 351-366; Sheridan Gilley, "The Huxley-Wilberforce debate: A reconsideration," in *Religion and Humanism*, vol. 17, ed. Keith Robbins, (Cambridge University Press: Oxford, 1981), 325-340; J.R. Lucas, "Wilberforce and Huxley: A legendary encounter," *The Historical Journal*, no. 22 (1979): 313-330; Stephen Jay Gould, *Bully for Brontosaurus*, 385-401.

spectacle and popular visual media – the various debates springing up around the subject providing seemingly endless fodder for cartoonists and caricaturists, as well as showmen and impresarios looking to profit from the public's interest in evolution, prehistory, and controversy.[3]

Darwin's theory of evolution by means of natural selection not only had paradigm shifting consequences for how Victorian audiences understood the innerworkings of the natural world and comprehended their relationship to other species, but it also had an impact on how audiences perceived time and their place within its trajectory. As Daniel C. Dennett, a philosopher of mind and biology, has argued, the cultural shift often referred to as the "Darwinian Revolution" is both a scientific as well as a philosophical revolution, neither of which could have occurred in the absence of the other.[4]

This thesis examines how the interwoven relationship between evolutionary theory, spectacle, and temporal perception found expression in British visual culture during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In my first chapter, an editorial cartoon completed by Charles H. Bennett in 1863 will provide the basis for an analysis of how the Victorian public responded to traditional Judeo-Christian conceptions of both time and the human-animal divide being thrown into flux by Darwin's theory of evolution. My second chapter focuses on various examples of promotional imagery for the exhibition of Krao Farini, a Laotian girl born with hypertrichosis who was publicly exhibited throughout Europe as the "Missing Link" from 1883 until her death in 1926. Through an analysis of these images, I will explore how asynchronous temporalities

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[3] Janet Browne, "Darwin in Caricature: A Study in the Popularisation and Dissemination of Evolution," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145, no. 4 (2001): 499-500; G. Bruce Retallack, "The Mocking Meme: Popular Darwinism, Illustrative Graphics, and Editorial Cartooning," in *Darwin in Atlantic Cultures: Evolutionary Visions of Race, Gender, and Sexuality*, eds. Jeannette Eileen Jones, and Patrick B Sharp, (Routledge Research in Atlantic Studies, 3. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2010), 147; Martin Hewitt, *The Victorian World* (London: Routledge, 2012), 12; Bernard V. Lightman, *Victorian Popularizers of Science: Designing Nature for New Audiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 18.

[4] Daniel C. Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meanings of Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 21.

were mobilized for the purposes of entertainment and how such spectacles influenced Victorian constructions of Self and Other. In both chapters, attention is given to unpacking how the Foucauldian concept of "heterochronicity" – the experience of multiple temporalities simultaneously in one space – can aid in understanding the spatial and temporal dimensions of post-Darwinian Victorian society.[5] I argue that the anxieties sparked by Darwin's assertion that our species is descendent from "some lower form" are inextricably linked to how time was experienced, interpreted, and represented by Darwin's contemporaries.[6]

The publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was a watershed moment for the natural sciences. Prior to 1859, the British scientific community subscribed almost exclusively to models of creation and speciation which privileged "mind first" perspectives, the most influential being William Paley's argument for design.[7] In his *Natural Theology or Evidence of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity* from 1802, Paley argues that the complexity found in the natural world can only mean that there is a unified purpose to everything. Paley contends that, not only did an intelligent God create the natural world, He also guides its development. To illustrate his point, Paley employs the analogy of a watch which requires a watchmaker.[8] Until 1859, Paley's thesis was widely undisputed. After all, how could such complexity have emerged out of nothing?[9] How could the existence of life not have a unified purpose?

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[5] The concept of "heterochronic genes" was first discussed by the German evolutionary anthropologist Ernst Haeckel in 1875 to describe the varied rates at which cells or tissues develop within an organism; Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," trans. Jay Miskowiec. *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité* (October 1984): 6.

[6] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: Penguin Random House, 2004), 172.

[7] Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*, 33-34.

[8] William Paley, Matthew Eddy, and David M Knight. *Natural Theology: Or, Evidence of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Collected from the Appearances of Nature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 8*;* Eve-Marie Engels, "Darwin's Philosophical Revolution: Evolutionary Naturalism and First Reactions to his Theory," in *The Reception of Charles Darwin in Europe*, eds. Eve-Marie Engels, and Thomas F Glick, (London: Continuum, 2008), 28.

[9] Eve-Marie Engels, "Darwin's Philosophical Revolution," 28.

Darwin's claim that species are not the product of special creation or intelligent design, but rather a long trial and error process devoid of a definite outcome or purpose, upended longstanding beliefs in the role played by God in the formation of life on Earth. It is a common misconception that Darwin set out to disrupt belief in an omnipresent creator, but this is not the case; Darwin initially began his inquiry into the origin of species intending to substitute the biblical idea of divine creation with a theory that explained that speciation was the result of laws which had been established by God. However, Darwin's observations eventually led him to formulate a theory that rendered God's role in the creation of biological laws as entirely dispensable.[10]

While the biological affinity between people and animals had grown increasingly evident since the end of the eighteenth century, what set Darwin's theory apart from earlier theories – such as those proffered by Jean-Baptiste Lamarck or Robert Chambers – was its uncompromising materialism.[11] Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection made clear that there was no pre-ordained direction or purpose to evolutionary change – no telos, no objective, no order to the natural order.[12] Darwin argued that every species is in a constant struggle for existence, a competition the naturalist stressed had only the highest of stakes, reiterating that "[t]he theory of natural selection is grounded on the belief that each new variety, and ultimately each new species, is produced and maintained by having some advantage over those with which it comes into competition; and the consequent extinction of less-favoured forms almost inevitably follows."[13]

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[10] Engels, "Darwin's Philosophical Revolution," 36-39.
[11] James Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain, and Humanity in the Victorian Mind*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1980), 60; Stephen Jay Gould, *Ever Since Darwin: Reflections in Natural History* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1977), 13.
[12] Turner, *Reckoning With the Beast,* 66.
[13] Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (New York: Avenel Books, 1976), 323.

The supposition that man shares a common ancestor with all other living beings, compounded by the assertion that God has no part to play in the evolutionary process, raised concerns for many of Darwin's contemporaries about humanity's status within the natural world. Virginia Richter, a professor of modern English literature, terms the agitation that resulted from humanity's place in nature being called into question as "anthropological anxiety," noting that the fear that humans may return to the primitive forms from which we evolved ran rampant in the second half of the nineteenth century.[14] Richter notes that "[f]or Darwin's contemporaries… it was rather the idea of conjunction – the claim that all living beings, including man, were descended from the same primitive species – that was deeply disturbing."[15] Richter claims that anthropological anxiety emerged within Victorian society for two reasons:

> First, because man's singular status as a superior being, lifted above his animal nature by his reason, was fundamentally called into question, since even reason and the other higher faculties were no longer considered the unique, divine gift of man; secondly, because man's dominant position was not the result of a divine plan or even the necessary outcome of natural laws, but the contingent result of a messy trial and error procedure.[16]

Anthropological anxiety, Richter observes, inspired various literary narratives featuring human-animal hybrids, cannibals, and missing links in the years following the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*.[17] However, these concerns did more than merely influence the direction of popular Victorian fiction. As I will show in this thesis, anthropological anxiety and fears of degeneration also inspired the form and content of various images and exhibitions, including Bennett's 1863 drawing and Krao Farini's public display.

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[14] Virginia Richter, *Literature After Darwin: Human Beasts in Western Fiction, 1859-1939*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 7.
[15] Richter, *Literature After Darwin,* 7.
[16] Richter, *Literature After Darwin,* 7.
[17] Richter, *Literature After Darwin*, 6-16.

Besides situating human beings within the animal kingdom and pronouncing God's role in speciation superfluous, Darwin's theory also served to push the presence of life on Earth further into the depths of the past than had hitherto been accepted by many religious and scientific authorities. In the decades leading up to 1859, advancements in the field of geology had begun to challenge the Biblical narrative that placed the age of the Earth around 6,000 years.[18] One of the most influential theories to emerge at this time was that of the geologist Charles Lyell, who introduced the concepts of "uniformitarianism" and "deep time" into scientific discourse when he argued in his *Principles of Geology* (published between 1830 and 1833) that the Earth's geological features are attributable to the same slow-working processes that could be witnessed in the modern era, such as erosion, deposition, compaction, and uplift.[19] The concept of "deep time" was thus borne of the notion that the Earth's geologic layers are representative of extensive periods of time. Time was given a distinct spatial dimension and was shown to extend far beyond what historical or biblical sources could account for, thus opening onto a vast expanse of "prehistory." Darwin (who drew inspiration from Lyell when developing his theory) went even further by placing humanity within this prehistoric space of deep time.

Three scholars devoted to the study of deep time and prehistory, Andrew Shryock, Thomas Trautmann, and Clive Gamble, argue in their 2011 chapter, "Imagining the Human in Deep Time," that Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* was not the only catalyst for shifting Victorian perceptions of time in the year of its publication. The authors note that 1859 also marked the completion of Big Ben which connected a modern and regulated urban temporality with a manufactured past by way of the architects Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin designing

[18] Hewitt, *The Victorian World*, 8.
[19] Charles Lyell and M. J. S Rudwick, *Principles of Geology*. First ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Michael Rampino, "Reexamining Lyell's Laws." *American Scientist* 105, no. 4 (2017): 224–26.

the timepiece in the style of Gothic revival.[20] While the clock's form maintained a connection to an imagined past, its function served the needs of a modern and increasingly regimented society.

The majority of Great Britain had been operating on a standardized time system for several years by the time Big Ben was completed. British railways first introduced a standardized time system known as Greenwich Mean Time to facilitate more precise railway scheduling in 1847, and by 1855, most public clocks were set to the same standard time, and Big Ben was no exception.[21] This new system for ordering modern life regulated patterns of labour, leisure, and travel. The daily experience of modern life in London was thus overseen by a monumental manifestation of standardized time that remained superficially connected to the past.

Shryock, Trautman, and Gamble also note that 1859 was the year that Joseph Preswich and John Evans discovered a prehistoric axe head known as the Amiens biface in northern France. The discovery of the biface, these scholars observe, confirmed the existence of pre-Adamite humans and situated hominin activity alongside the fossilized remains of long-extinct species, effectively positioning humanity within the imaginary space of prehistory.[22] While the geologic layers that demarcated the various ages of the Earth were physically tangible, the events, objects, and lifeforms that occupied these prehistoric ages largely remained a mystery to Victorians. For the Victorian public, prehistory was less a period of time than it was a narrative space inhabited by fragments of "temporal Otherness" – objects and entities both real and imagined that were antecedent to recorded history and out-of-sync with modern life.[23] The

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[20] Andrew Shryock, Thomas R. Trautmann, Clive Gamble, "Imagining the Human in Deep Time," in *Deep History: The Architecture of Past and Present*, eds. Andrew Shryock, Daniel Lord Smail, and Timothy K Earle (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 26.
[21] Derek Howse, *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of the Longitude*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 114.
[22] Daniel Lord Smail and Andrew Shryock, "History and the 'Pre'," *The American Historical Review* 118 no. 3 (October 2013): 713.
[23] Smail and Shryock, "History and the 'Pre'," 713.

dichotomy between what was conceived as regulated, modern time and what was understood as mysterious, prehistoric, deep time is a central theme discussed in my second chapter wherein I examine how Krao Farini's promotional imagery invited Victorian audiences into a manufactured heterochrony.

The dominant nineteenth-century British response to evolutionary theory's implication that humanity is not above, but part of, the animal kingdom was to point to humans' moral capabilities and capacity for reason. These characteristics were believed to reaffirm humanity's uniqueness and rightful dominion over the natural world. Unfortunately, the lasting impact of our species' desire to assert its dominance – despite being just one branch on the "tree of life," sharing a common ancestor with all other life forms, and requiring the interconnected ecosystems we inhabit to survive for us to survive – cannot be clearer than during the present pandemic of COVID-19 (the disease caused by the novel coronavirus 2019 or SARS-CoV-2).[24]

Much of the research for and writing of this thesis took place during the COVID-19 pandemic. Given that the virus presently infecting and killing our species is likely zoonotic in origin, the situation in which we find ourselves has endowed my work with a sense of urgency. Such practices as factory farming, deforestation, and urbanization have all been causally linked to an increased prevalence of zoonotic viruses in the past two decades.[25] By damaging animal habitats, these commercial endeavours have the potential to force animals and humans into closer proximity to one another, creating environments that can allow for pathogens to spread more easily from animals to humans.[26] I believe it to be of the utmost importance to actively work to

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[24] OK Lawler, HL Allan, PWJ Baxter, R Castagnino, MC Tor, LE Dann, J Hungerford , et al. "The Covid-19 Pandemic Is Intricately Linked to Biodiversity Loss and Ecosystem Health," *The Lancet, Planetary Health* 5, no. 11 (2021): 840.

[25] Stephanie J. Salyer, *et al.*,"Prioritizing Zoonoses for Global Health Capacity Building-Themes from One Health Zoonotic Disease Workshops in 7 Countries, 2014-2016." *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 23, no. 13 (2017): S57

[26] Lawler et al., The Covid-19 Pandemic Is Intricately Linked to Biodiversity Loss and Ecosystem Health, 840.

understand why, despite evolutionary theory's attempt to confront our species' veiled narcissism (and regardless of whether the theory is now widely accepted), we continue to engage with the natural world in ways that fail to account for the value and interconnectedness of all forms of life. Whereas today we are rushing to come to terms with our global pandemic situation and the role that humans have played in shaping our environment on a biological level, Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" exhibits how Darwin's contemporaries were grappling with evolutionary theory on a philosophical basis. In my first chapter, I thus bring our present pandemic moment into dialogue with the Victorian past by exploring how Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" gave visual expression to the anxieties which stemmed from the temporal and ontological implications of Darwin's theory of evolution and how these anxieties have impacted the course of history.

The content of the subsequent two chapters corresponds loosely with the time periods following the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859 and *The Descent of Man* in 1871, respectively. Chapter One focuses primarily on the impact evolutionary theory had on how the Victorian public regarded their relationship to animals in the years after 1859 and the ways in which this was communicated through Bennett's drawing. Chapter Two examines the impact that *The Descent of Man* had on how Victorians understood their relationship to other people and cultures based on what they believed to be evolutionary progress and how this informed popular spectacles like the exhibition of Krao Farini's body. In both chapters, emphasis is placed on exploring how Victorian conceptions of time (the progress of existence through past, present, and future) and temporality (the state of existing in relationship to time) were shaped or distorted by Darwinian evolutionary theory and associated discourses in the nineteenth century.

Chapter 1

"Your Disobliged and Grumbling Servant"
Satire, Anxiety & C.H. Bennett's "The Origin of Species"

It is easy to draw parallels between the reactions of certain individuals to the reality of the COVID-19 pandemic from the past few years and responses to evolutionary theory seen during the Victorian era. For instance, today we have seen an unwillingness amongst certain factions of the population to accept the material reality with which we are collectively faced, the scientific and religious communities have frequently been pitted against one another, and many have sought to profit from the situation or discredit those responsible for researching the virus and its effects. Similarly, in the past, many of Darwin's contemporaries either outrightly rejected or had difficulty accepting the worldview presented by his theory of evolution, others saw a financial opportunity and capitalized off the public's interest in the topic, and religious and scientific authorities were engaged in almost constant debate in the years following 1859.

Having said that, my aim in this chapter is not to perseverate over such things as the similarities between nineteenth-century opposition to evolutionary theory and the thoughts of COVID deniers and conspiracy theorists today. Rather, this chapter explores how a satirical drawing completed in 1863 by the prolific Victorian cartoonist Charles Henry Bennett, titled "A Monkey Trick" (fig.1), can provide insight into the impact that evolutionary theory had on how human beings perceived their relationship to the natural world, other species, and time. Through an analysis of the work's engagement with evolutionary theory and associated anxieties within Victorian society, we might better understand what attitudes and beliefs have led humanity to a moment in time in which we are forced to reckon with the overwhelming evidence that our

species' actions are causally linked to the increased prevalence of zoonotic diseases such as COVID-19.

Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" was the fifth instalment in a series of twenty drawings published in the pages of the *Illustrated Times* throughout the summer and fall of 1863 under the heading: *The Origin of Species, Dedicated by Natural Selection to Dr. Charles Darwin*.[27] "A Monkey Trick" features a well-put-together and wild-eyed bourgeois boy who kneels atop a cushioned stool while in the process of tormenting a caged parrot with a thin cane. Above the central action loom a series of spectral figures rendered with less-pronounced lines that are organized in a semi-circular synoptic narrative; we see the boy incrementally transform into a monkey as the caged parrot he harasses progressively ascends a series of steps to become a frock coat-sporting parrot-commodore hybrid who grabs onto the tail of the monkey into which the boy has regressed, forming a continuous arc. At the centre of the image, the parrot's cage transforms into a hot-air balloon that comes to suspend yet another monkey who gazes down at the mischievous youth.

When "A Monkey Trick" was first published in the *Illustrated Times* on Saturday, 30 May 1863, the drawing was accompanied by a brief narrative explaining the anxious fantasy that Bennett had depicted:

> Good little boys, and boys who wish to be good, behold in our picture the sad fate of a young Monkey who played tricks with the Parrot.
> See how the poor bird, tortured with a stick till he could bear it no longer, pushed himself Out of his cage, Out of his feathers, Out of his beak and claws, and Into a pair of breeches and a coat: how he changed into a stern old Commodore, or potbellied Fate.
> Behold the Boy, with every thrust he made at the parrot, how he pushed out his Jaws and his Hippocampus major – how he Pushed out the bend of his back and the length of his tail, until he fell into the unrelenting hand of his Destiny in knee-shorts. See how even the Cage in which the parrot had lived, from sheer sympathy, went up – and up – and up, till it grew into an air Balloon, from which the young monkey is hanging; but how he will get down it is impossible to tell.

[27] Charles H. Bennett, "A Monkey Trick," *Illustrated Times*, May 30, 1863, 381-82.

> Let this be a warning to you never to tease Parrots or any other bird, or beast, or brother; and mind what Mr. Huxley says about Professor Owen, and be careful of the bend of your back.[28]

Equal parts satire and fever dream, parable and mockery, Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" offers a unique perspective into how the intersection of culture and evolutionary theory was expressed in visual media during the mid-nineteenth century in Britain.

Before entering into an analysis of Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" and the series in which it was featured, I will begin by situating my inquiry in the present moment, outlining a selection of recent findings that indicate a strong correlation between human behaviours and the emergence of novel infectious diseases. I will then discuss how the Victorian public responded to their privileged status within the natural order being thrown into flux by Darwin's theory of evolution. In turn, I will analyze the ways in which Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" is representative of such responses. By expanding on the previous sections, I will examine how the synoptic narrative of Bennett's drawing visually compresses time, thus rendering the human body as an archive of evolutionary history. I will conclude my analysis by addressing how a knowledge of our species' past responses to ontological change might inform our next steps.

Our Present Pandemic: COVID-19 and the Rise of Zoonotic Pathogens

At the time of writing this thesis (8 April 2022), COVID-19 has infected an estimated 497,087,640 people worldwide, of which 432,739,223 have recovered, and roughly 6,197,556 have died.[29] Over the past three decades, it has become increasingly evident that the majority of novel, emergent infectious diseases and viruses, such as COVID-19, have originated in animals. An article featured in the 2017 Supplement issue of *Emerging Infectious Disease Journal*

[28] Bennett, "A Monkey Trick," 381-82.
[29] Worldometer, "Coronavirus Cases."

concerning zoonotic pathogens reiterated that approximately "60% of known infectious diseases and up to 75% of new or emerging infectious diseases are zoonotic in origin."[30] In just the past two decades, we have witnessed several epidemics – SARS in 2003, H1N1 influenza in 2009, numerous Ebola outbreaks (including the highly publicized outbreak of 2014), as well as outbreaks of Zika and MERs in 2015 – all of which were caused by zoonotic pathogens.[31]

For some time now, epidemiologists have warned that the ways in which our species interacts with the natural world is creating a global environment wherein zoonotic disease outbreaks are not just possible, but seemingly inevitable. In 2019, a report published by the World Economic Forum and the Harvard Global Health Institute warned of the possibility of an outbreak similar to COVID-19 and advised businesses to step up to the increasing risk of pandemics. In their report, the authors site five global trends which explain the increased frequency of disease outbreaks: "growth in travel, trade and connectivity," "growth of urbanization and associated high-density living," "increases in deforestation," "growing displacement of people, driven by persecution, conflict, emergencies or civil unrest," as well as "climate change," which can cause changes in the transmission patterns of disease pathogens.[32]

When the findings of the WHO-China joint mission into COVID-19 were published in late February of 2021, the report confirmed that COVID-19 is a zoonotic virus.[33] The

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[30] Stephanie J. Salyer, *et al.*, "Prioritizing Zoonoses for Global Health Capacity Building," S57.
[31] Muralikrishna Konda, *et al.,* "Potential Zoonotic Origins of SARS-CoV-2 and Insights for Preventing Future Pandemics Through One Health Approach," *Cureus,* (June 2020): 1-9; Alexandra P. Newman, *et al,.* "Human Case of Swine Influenza (H1N1) Triple Reassortant Virus Infection, Wisconsin," *Emerging Infectious Diseases,* (September 2008): 1470-1472; Marina Galvão Bueno, "Animals in the Zika Virus Life Cycle: What to Expect from Megadiverse Latin American Countries," *PLOS*, (December 2016): 1-13; "Middle East respiratory syndrome coronavirus (MERS-CoV)," World Health Organization, March 11, 2019; Aguirre AA, Catherina R, Frye H, and Shelley L. "Illicit Wildlife Trade, Wet Markets, and Covid-19: Preventing Future Pandemics." *World Medical & Health Policy* 2020 Jul 05 (2020): 256-265.
[32] Peter Sands, *et al.,* "Outbreak Readiness and Business Impact: Protecting Lives and Livelihoods across the Global Economy," *World Economic Forum* (January 2019): 5-18.
[33] "Report of the WHO-China Joint Mission on Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)," *World Health Organization* (February 2020): 10.

commission also noted that "[f]rom phylogenetics analyses undertaken with available full genome sequences, bats appear to be the reservoir of COVID-19 virus, but the intermediate host or hosts has not yet been identified."[34] The most likely narrative is that the virus was transmitted to humans from an animal sold at the Huanan Wholesale Seafood market where the first cluster of cases was detected in December of 2019.[35]

Since the early days of the pandemic, wet markets have been shoved into the spotlight whenever the discussion of COVID-19, sanitary work environments, or the ill-treatment of animals is brought up in public discourse. Despite the controversy surrounding wet markets, we must be cognizant that they provide affordable options for produce, meat, and seafood to millions of people across the globe.[36] However, we cannot overlook the fact that in some cases these markets (such as the one in Wuhan) sell live animals which originate from various parts of the world which can create an environment in which pathogens can more easily spread amongst animals or be transmitted from animals to humans.[37]

But wet markets are by no means the sole contributor to a global environment that is at risk of disease outbreaks.[38] We might also consider factory farming, a practice which places thousands of animals with similar genetic makeups into confined spaces – creating an environment more conducive to a disease outbreak (not to mention that the waste produced by

[34] "Report of the WHO-China Joint Mission on Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)," 10.
[35] "Report of the WHO-China Joint Mission on Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)," 10.
[36] Ivica Petrikova, Jennifer Cole, and Andrew Farlow. 2020. "Covid-19, Wet Markets, and Planetary Health." *The Lancet Planetary Health* 4 (6): 213.
[37] Kenji Mizumoto, Katsushi Kagaya, and Gerardo Chowell. "Effect of a Wet Market on Coronavirus Disease (Covid-19) Transmission Dynamics in China, 2019-2020." *International Journal of Infectious Diseases* 97 (2020): 96.
[38] Tom Burroughs, Stacey Knobler, Joshua Lederberg, and Institute of Medicine (U.S.). Forum on Emerging Infections. *The Emergence of Zoonotic Diseases: Understanding the Impact on Animal and Human Health: Workshop Summary*. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press, 2002.

factory farming is one of the major contributors to climate change).[39] Furthermore, factory farming and agricultural production account for just over a quarter of global deforestation.[40] The loss of biodiversity and the destruction of entire ecosystems for the purpose of providing food for our species is creating a global environment that will continue to come back to bite us if we do not enact sweeping change.

Throughout the COVID-19 crisis, we have questioned our proximity to one another on a daily basis because of the risk of person-to-person contagion. Yet given that COVID-19 likely has animal origins, we have also reflected upon our physical and biological proximity to other species. Numerous epidemiologists have argued that bats are the most probable source of the SARS-CoV-2 virus, but results are inconclusive. Pangolins were initially cited as being the most likely intermediate host between bats and humans, but recent evidence has suggested a wide range of other potential animal hosts including (but not limited to) rabbits, snakes, and domesticated cats.[41]

While today we may take the connection between humans and animals for granted, particularly given widespread belief in evolutionary theory, this was certainly not the case when Darwin's theory of evolution first began to circulate. Darwin's theory of evolution by means of natural selection drove something of a battering ram into the divinely sanctioned (and thus man-made) barrier which had separated humans from animals for millennia.[42] Darwin's theory had an

[39] Philip Lymbery. "Covid-19: How Industrial Animal Agriculture Fuels Pandemics." *Derecho Animal* 11, no. 4 (2020): 141–49.
[40] Philip G. Curtis, *et al*., "Classifying drivers of global forest loss," *Science* 361 no.6407 (September, 2018): 1108.
[41] Lawler et al., The Covid-19 Pandemic Is Intricately Linked to Biodiversity Loss and Ecosystem Health, 840.
[42] Virginia Richter, *Literature After Darwin: Human Beasts in Western Fiction, 1859-1939* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 20-29.

unprecedented impact on the Western world, launching one of the first international scientific debates to take place both inside and beyond the walls of the academy.[43]

A Satirical Response to an Ontological Crisis: Darwin's Materialism and Anthropological Anxiety

In the ten years following the publication of *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, at least sixteen different editions of the text were published in America and England, along with translations in French, Dutch, Italian, Russian, and Swedish.[44] Given its markedly controversial subject matter, Darwin's seminal text instigated a wave of commentaries and criticisms published by intellectuals who both adhered and objected to what Darwin had theorized, particularly his view that all living beings shared in a common progenitor and species of organisms are not immutable. For instance, Darwin's former mentor, John Herschel, rejected his theory outright, denouncing natural selection as "the law of higgledy-piggledy," while William Whewell, another mentor of Darwin's, refused to even allow a copy of *On the Origin of Species* to be placed in the library at Trinity College where he was Master. For these men, Darwin had formulated a law that was altogether unworthy of God. [45] Although much of the scientific establishment criticized and rejected the theory of natural selection, a group of up-and-coming scientists including Charles Lyell and Thomas Huxley went to considerable lengths to defend Darwin's theory, while figures like Asa Gray worked tirelessly to reconcile evolutionary theory with their own theistic beliefs.[46] But discussions regarding evolutionary theory were not limited

[43] Janet Browne, "Darwin in Caricature: A Study in the Popularisation and Dissemination of Evolution," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145, no. 4 (2001): 496.
[44] Browne, "Darwin in Caricature," 496.
[45] Engels, "Darwin's Philosophical Revolution," 46.
[46] Engels, "Darwin's Philosophical Revolution," 45-49.

to academic circles, and as the scientific establishment debated the big issue of the day, individuals of various social standing also weighed in, offering their own perspectives on the theory.[47]

Victorian literature scholars Deborah Morse and Martin Danahay note that "the effect of Darwin's ideas was both to make the human more animal and the animal more human, destabilizing boundaries in both directions."[48] This destabilization of the human-animal divide inspired a wide range of popular responses throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, which saw the publication of literary tomes involving monstrous human and animal hybrids, newspapers and magazines featuring caricatures of Darwin as a monkey-human hybrid, human exhibitions of so-called "missing links" and "nondescripts," and even satirical cartoons that took aim at the very principles of evolutionary theory. One such example of this popular response is Bennett's series of satirical drawings.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1863, beginning a few months after the February release of Charles Lyell's *The Antiquity of Man,* which was promptly followed by the publication of Thomas Huxley's *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, *The Illustrated Times* featured weekly instalments of a series of twenty drawings produced by Bennett which satirized the theory of evolution. Although *On the Origin of Species* had come out some four years prior and, unlike Huxley's *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature* (in which Huxley argues that humans and apes share a common ancestor, noting that man should not be classified in an order separate from apes but rather as primates), had not explicitly addressed the issue of human evolution, by 1863

[47] Browne, "Darwin in Caricature," 497-98.
[48] Martin A. Danahay and Deborah Denenholz Morse, *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture*. (The Nineteenth Century Series. Routledge, 2017), 2.

Darwin's name had become synonymous with evolutionary theory and bore the brunt of public scrutiny directed at the study of evolutionary anthropology.[49]

All twenty synoptic narratives in Bennett's series are structured in a circular format. The drawings feature animals morphing into people, people morphing into animals, animals mutating into other animals, inanimate objects transforming into animals, and combinations of all of the above. They satirize the claim that humans and animals share a common progenitor by depicting seemingly immoral, incompetent, or overtly docile human beings transforming into the very animals that their behaviours were stereotypically associated with. For example, in "Catch him Asleep" a "not overly-responsible money-lender" transforms into a weasel;[50] "What Makes His Ears So Long" features a self-proclaimed intellectual named "Bray" transforming into a donkey; and "Good Dog" represents a butler mutating into a dog.

Each installment was accompanied by text which contextualized each image. These textual aids came in the form of satirical poetry, explanatory narratives often peppered with spirited mockery of Darwin, and some even made reference to contemporaneous debates regarding evolutionary theory. Taken together, all of the written text, when paired with their corresponding visuals, share in expounding moralizing sentiments by drawing connections between human vice and animal characteristics. For the purposes of this chapter, I have chosen to focus primarily on Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" as it engages most directly with nineteenth-century debates regarding the affinity between humans and apes.

Bennett was an active member of the London bohemian scene and produced a vast array of drawings and cartoons for magazines, newspapers, and children's books before he passed

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[49] Nadja Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle: Krao and the Victorian Discourses of Evolution, Imperialism, and Primitive Sexuality," 137.
[50] Charles H. Bennett, "Catch Him Asleep," *Illustrated Times*, July 4, 1863, 13.

away at the age of 39 in April of 1867.[51] Five years after his passing, a number of selections from *The Origin of Species, Dedicated by Natural Selection to Dr. Charles Darwin* were posthumously republished as part of a collection of the artist's work titled *Character Sketches, Developmental Drawings, and Original Pictures of Wit and Humour*. The first section of this 1872 book (which features the *Origin* drawings) is introduced by a bizarre dedicatory note to Darwin written by the artist who used the opportunity to make clear his disdain (however comical) for the naturalist. Poking fun at Darwin's supposed elitism and calling out his cowardice for having not discussed human evolution in his *On the Origin of Species*, the dedication helps illuminate how the artist felt about Darwin and evolutionary theory.

Characteristically outlandish in both content and tone, Bennett's dedication details a brief narrative that starts off with Darwin being described as "a many-coloured Madrepore" that one morning sprouts "improved suckers and developed intellect" before starting "off after the new species of Medusae," while Bennett, who finds himself in the form of an Oyster, searches for "legs and arms," but unfortunately for him, he leaves his "bivalves in an obscure corner of the rocks, neatly tied up with sea weed, directed in a running hand to Sir Charles Lyell." Bennett laments the imaginary predicament, saying, "what we have had to put up with no mortal can relate!"[52] The artist then assumes a more polemical stance, stating:

> Even now I am forced to work for my living, and support my own family; while you, after sailing round the world, have returned home – to rest? Oh, no, indeed, but to breed pigeons, for the utter confusion of the Bishop of Winchester; to gather facts and draw conclusions, till Huxley defies Owen to disprove one-thousandth part of the pretty theories of which your eager disciples (but not yourself) have dared to invent.[53]

[51] "Pickings From Punch. Charles H. Bennett. April 2nd, 1867," *The Caledonian Mercury*, April 11, 1867.
[52] Charles H. Bennett and Robert B. Brough, *Character Sketches, Development Drawings, and Original Pictures of Wit and Humour* (London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, 1872), v-vi.
[53] Bennett and Brough, *Character Sketches,* v-vi.

Bennett's tirade draws reference to a number of instances in the then-recent history of the evolutionary debate after taking a shot at Darwin for having travelled on the HMS Beagle as the vessel's naturalist between 1831 and 1836 and later breeding pigeons for the purpose of research.[54] Such a practice, Bennett suggests, was "for the utter confusion of the Bishop of Winchester" – the Bishop of Winchester, Samuel Wilberforce, was who Huxley had traded barbs with over which of Huxley's grandparents were descended from apes during the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science on 30 June 1860. Bennett also splices in a brief reference to the rather public debate between Huxley and Richard Owen (a comparative anatomist, paleontologist, and leading antievolutionist) regarding the structural similarities between the brains of humans and the great apes. This debate came to be known as 'The Great Hippocampus Question.'

The sarcastic tone and blatant mockery of Darwin's choice of how to occupy his time, along with the fact that Bennett signed off as "your disobliged and grumbling servant," suggests that the artist cared not for what Darwin and his theories represented. As a bohemian artist of humble origins who was "forced to work for his living, and support [his] family," Bennett clearly saw Darwin as an elitist whose decision to shy away from the public eye was indicative of his cowardice. Granted, given that the majority of Bennett's artistic output came in the form of satirical and humorous cartoons and illustrations, one cannot be entirely certain as to whether he fervently rejected the theory of evolution or was simply trying to capitalize off the controversy to which the theory had given rise.[55]

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[54] Pigeons are mentioned some 112 times throughout *On the Origin of Species*.
[55] Henry Vizetelly, *Glances Back through Seventy Years: Autobiographical and Other Reminiscences* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, 1893), 389.

With their fevered depiction of animals becoming humans and humans becoming animals, the drawings in Bennett's *Origin of Species* engage with Victorian anxieties of degeneration and regression – anxieties rooted in the fear that human beings might return to primitive forms, assume the brutish qualities of animals, and thus cause a large-scale breakdown of civilization. This is evident in Bennett's drawings that display human figures transforming progressively into animals as their vices overtake them. For instance, in the seventh installment in his series, titled "Piggish," Bennett depicts a rather plump man, who, as he sits down to a meal to gorge himself, progressively transforms into a pig (fig. 2). Clearly, the pig is intended to represent gluttony, and the man's regression into the animal is shown to be driven by his overindulgent appetite.

These fears of degeneration and regression were part and parcel of what Virginia Richter describes as "anthropological anxiety" – the uneasiness regarding humanity's place in the natural world that was instigated by Darwin's assertion that all forms of life share in a common progenitor and are in a constant struggle for existence.[56] Darwin's ostensibly riotous rendering of the natural world was a "sickening contemplation" for the zoologist and philosopher John Howard Moore, who wrote in 1906 that "[l]ife riots on life – tooth and talon, beak and paw. It is a sickening contemplation, but life everywhere, in its aspect of activity, is largely made up by one being against another for existence."[57] Darwin's materialist worldview held a mirror up to our species' collective narcissism, challenging the view that human beings are elevated above the animal kingdom – not surprisingly, anxieties arose when beings with reason were told that there was no clear reason for their being beyond struggling to survive.

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[56] Richter, *Literature After Darwin*, 7.
[57] John Howard Moore, *Better-World Philosophy: A Sociological Synthesis* (Chicago, 1906), 124-25.

Faced with the troubling prospect that within a materialist worldview in which environmental scientist Brian Snyder notes "objective good and evil do not exist, only subjective good and evil which are defined by any subject,"[58] various individuals and organizations, such as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), directed their efforts at encouraging the Victorian public to elevate what were believed to be the "higher" human qualities in order to suppress our species' "lower" animal qualities.[59] The principal answer to putting the beast within man to rest was in exercising self-control.[60] Founded in England in 1824, the SPCA was instrumental in promoting this sentiment, educating the masses on the virtuousness of self-restraint, mildness, and prudence.[61]

Kindness towards animals and exercising what were perceived as being uniquely human virtues were not only advertised as the best defence against our species regressing into beasts but such behaviours were also considered to be beneficial for society as a whole. As Henry Bergh asserted in a letter to George Angell in 1868, "the man is even a greater gainer than the animal, by being made to realize the possibility of self-control; and society are greater gainers still, by the subjugation of the demons of passion and violence in their midst."[62] While self-restraint and kindness may well have prevented humanity from descending into brutish chaos, by suggesting that human beings could control the fate of our species and the natural world with our capacity for moral decency, the human-animal divide was effectually reasserted.

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[58] Brian F. Snyder, "The Darwinian Nihilist Critique of Environmental Ethics," *Ethics & the Environment* 22, no. 2 (2017): 64.
[59] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Animal World* 5 (1874): 6.
[60] Turner, *Reckoning With the Beast,* 69.
[61] Anna Feuerstein, *The Political Lives of Victorian Animals: Liberal Creatures in Literature and Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 5.
[62] Henry Bergh to George Angell, March 1868, in *Letter Book* No. 3 (ASPCA archives), 334-37.

Taming the Beast with Kindness: "A Monkey Trick" and the Human-Animal Divide

In the summer and fall of 1863, as debates over Lyell and Huxley's recent publications regarding human evolution circulated through the British public, Bennett manipulated the tenets of evolutionary theory to critique the moral degradation he saw in contemporary society by satirizing the fragile barrier between humans and animals. The fifth installation in the series, Bennett's "A Monkey Trick," is most directly engaged with contemporary debates regarding evolutionary theory and human cruelty. As the accompanying text outlines: "with every thrust the boy made at the parrot, how he pushed out his Jaws and his Hippocampus major – how he pushed out the bend of his back and the length of his tail, until he fell into the unrelenting hand of his destiny in knee-shorts."[63] Bennett's bizarre narrative suggests that with every pitiless poke the boy levels at the parrot, his ape-ish, animal nature becomes increasingly evident – a brutish specter that is contained within every man, or boy, becomes visible. It is only when the boy is chastised by the parrot, who transforms into a "stern old commodore," that the regressive transformation halts.[64]

In his highly influential *Reckoning with the Beast,* historian James Turner notes that "Darwinism struck a particularly troubling note because human descent from such brutes implied that even Victorians could literally have inherited their ferocious nature. Did the thin veneer of civilization cloak a ravening beast raging at its flimsy chains?"[65] Bennett's drawing suggests just that. However, by asserting that it was the boy's cruelty that forced out his jaws and forehead while bending his back and causing him to grow a tail, Bennett implies that what separates

[63] Bennett, "A Monkey Trick," 381-82.
[64] Bennett, "A Monkey Trick," 381-82.
[65] Turner, *Reckoning With the Beast*, 67.

humans from our animal brethren is our ability to differentiate between right and wrong – human exceptionalism stems from our social constructions of morality.

This sentiment is driven home as the text concludes with some counselling for the reader: "Let this be a warning to you never to tease Parrots or any other bird, or beast, or brother; and mind what Mr. Huxley says about Professor Owen, and be careful of the bend of your back."[66] Beyond providing a fear-inducing lecture about the consequences of nastiness, the text also makes reference the "Great Hippocampus Question," the drawn out and rather public debate between Huxley and Owen regarding the brain structure of humans and the great apes.

The Great Hippocampus Question was brought to the public's attention when Owen took to the floor at the 1860 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science to make the claim that "the brain of the gorilla was more different from that of man than from that of the lowest primate particularly because only man has a posterior lobe, a posterior horn, and a hippocampus minor."[67] The statement did not go unnoticed by the proponents of evolution who were in attendance. One such attendee was the young Huxley, who rose up in defiance and denied that the difference between the brain of the gorilla and man was so great, citing previous studies and promising to provide conclusive evidence in due time.[68]

Over the next three years, Huxley conducted extensive dissections of primate brains, eventually concluding that all apes had a hippocampus, and that any discontinuity in the structure of primate brains lay between prosimians and all other primates, not between man and the great apes.[69] Huxley's findings were compiled in the highly anticipated *Evidence as to Man's Place in*

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[66] Bennett, "A Monkey Trick," 381-82.
[67] Charles G. Gross, "Hippocampus Minor and Man's Place in Nature: A Case Study in the Social Construction of Neuroanatomy," *Hippocampus* 3, no. 4 (1993): 407.
[68] Gross, "Hippocampus Minor and Man's Place in Nature," 407.
[69] Gould, *Ever Since Darwin*, 49.

Nature of 1863. The majority of the scientific community would go on to side with Huxley, while the very public nature of the affair – which had been fueled by the popular press repeatedly satirizing the two men's uninhibited rivalry – along with Owen's rather pitiable refusal to concede, tarnished Owen's reputation.[70]

Bennett's illustrations show that he was aware of debates that were floating around the scientific community during the early 1860s. However, I would argue that the satirist was somewhat confused about what these debates actually entailed – the most obvious reason being that he refers to the "Hippocampus *major* [emphasis added]" rather than the hippocampus *minor* in his accompanying narrative to "A Monkey Trick." Of course, Bennett may have been operating under the impression that, if the hippocampus *minor* is to be credited for humans' greater mental capacity (as Owen argued) then the increase in the size of the hippocampus *major* would perhaps diminish one's human uniqueness. Another possibility is that Bennett refers to the hippocampus *major* as a result of being more familiar with Charles Kingsley's extremely popular children's novel, *The Water-Babies, A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby* (originally published as a serial in *Macmillan's Magazine* between 1862-1863), which satirizes the debate between Huxley and Owen by replacing the term "hippocampus minor" with "hippopotamus major" in a section detailing what Kingsley flippantly dubbed the "hippopotamus test."[71] Bennett may well have been making a clever play on the dispute between Huxley and Owen, however, it was not unlike the artist to confuse the particulars of scientific debates. We might recall the dedicatory note from the posthumously published collection of his drawings wherein Bennett ridicules Darwin for breeding pigeons and compiling evidence "till *Huxley defies Owen* to disprove one-

[70] Gross, "Hippocampus Minor and Man's Place in Nature," 412-413.
[71] Charles Kingsley, *The Water-Babies*. Classics of Children's Literature, 1621-1932. (New York: Garland Pub, 1976), 172.

thousandth part of the pretty theories of which your eager disciples (but not yourself) have dared to invent [emphasis added]" which also would suggest that Bennett was not as brushed up on his gossip as one might think – for to defy Owen would do anything but disprove the theories of Darwin's "eager disciples" since Huxley was very much one of them.[72] Perhaps this was all part of the joke, but it seems to be coming at the artist's expense.

Regardless of these possible mistakes or misunderstandings, Bennett invoked a reference to the Great Hippocampus Question to warn against the ill-treatment of animals and other sentient beings, in turn capturing the fear that man's brutality may reveal the beast within. Such a concern seemed a viable threat to those Victorians who had faced their animal nature and feared that Western civilization was at risk of crumbling at the hands of its most immoral members. Bennett's *"*A Monkey Trick" thus embodies the sentiment expressed by the SPCA in 1874 that "[n]owhere are the brutish passions of man more displayed than in cruelty. Just so far as a man is cruel does he show less of the human nature and more of the animal nature which exist together in him – just so far does he show that he has forgotten that it is the glory of the human to control the animal nature."[73] Whether or not Bennett held these beliefs or was simply mocking those that did, the message that is communicated by his "A Monkey Trick" is aligned with the belief that humans are distinct from animals by way of our ability to exercise self-control.

Although the work's primary narrative revolves around the transformation of the boy and the parrot, one cannot fail to notice how the parrot's cage transforms into a hot-air balloon that eventually arrives at a point where a small monkey hangs suspended beneath it. The accompanying text cryptically explains: "[s]ee how even the Cage in which the parrot had lived, from sheer sympathy, went up – and up – and up, till it grew into an air Balloon from which the

[72] Bennett and Brough, *Character Sketches,* v-vi.
[73] Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *Animal World* 5 (1874): 6.

young monkey is hanging; but how he will get down it is impossible to tell."[74] The inclusion of the hot-air balloon with a monkey in tow is perplexing, and I do not doubt that it was intended to be.

That being said, one might venture a guess as to why Bennett would depict an object that had been used to confine an exotic animal (the cage) who was tortured at the hands of a human being progressively transform into a man-made technology (a hot-air balloon) which was known to have allowed people to rise to physical heights previously unattainable. Given the overarching moralizing tone of "A Monkey Trick," perhaps Bennett is suggesting that our species' potential and penchant for cruelty, combined with our ability to dominate other species with the use of technology, might facilitate a scenario in which our own species' inventions rebel against their inventors should we fail to exhibit self-restraint when engaging with the natural world – translating into our brutish qualities being elevated until we arrive at a point of no return. The imagery may also be symbolic of how, regardless of what heights humans may climb to, we cannot rid ourselves of our animal impulses.

Synoptic Narrative and Temporal Compression

Despite the work's moralizing assertions that one should "never tease Parrots or any other bird, or beast, or brother," Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" remains bound to the belief that evolution operates in a teleological progression toward increased complexity which eventually arrives at *Homo sapiens*.[75] The way in which Bennett depicts the evolution from beast to human and the regression from human to beast affirms humanity's status at the top of the evolutionary hierarchy – his narrative implies that the transformation from human into anything non-human is

[74] Bennett, "A Monkey Trick," 381-82.
[75] Gould, *Ever Since Darwin*, 37.

indicative of decline. For example, we see that in "A Monkey Trick," the boy's mutation into a monkey is to be regarded as a regression from his human form, whilst the parrot's ascension into a "stern old commodore" places the animal in a position in which he is capable of defending himself – the parrot's anthropomorphic status is preferable to his situation as a caged pet subjected to torment.

Now, whether or not one believes that humans can slide back down the path we took to arrive at where we are in our evolutionary development – as those fearing regression might – most Victorians who had been introduced to the works of Huxley, Darwin, or Lyell would have understood that the planet is far older than most people had previously believed. Even the most basic knowledge of this reality would have allowed one to deduce that evolutionary change is enacted over extensive periods of time.

I thus propose that the synoptic narrative of Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" serves to visually compress evolutionary history (however confused it may have been at the time) into *one single moment in the present* by representing the belief that human beings' "animal impulses" are remnants of previous evolutionary moments in time which remain hidden, yet are nonetheless embedded, in human genetic makeup. In the wake of evolutionary theory, I would argue, the corporeal human was tantamount to an archive of all things that had led to humankind in any present moment. Granted, the way that this is represented in Bennett's illustration is by no means accurate, particularly given that *Homo sapiens* did not evolve from existing species of apes – while humans and apes share a common ape-like progenitor, humans are not descendent from any living species.[76]

[76] Richter, *Literature After Darwin*, 14.

If one is operating under the assumption that all animals will eventually develop into *Homo sapiens* should they continue to evolve, every constituent element of the natural world is cast as being perpetually heterochronic – every living being is plotted at a different stage within the evolutionary trajectory while existing simultaneously in the present.[77] For those familiar with Darwin's theory, but were uncertain as to how evolution operates, heterochrony became the very temporal structure by which Victorians were composing and negotiating the anthropological anxiety generated by evolutionary theory. Such a worldview (that all terrestrial entities are heterochronic) found expression during the nineteenth century in what came to be regarded as "ape-theory," which was an off-shoot of evolutionary theory that posited that human beings are lineally descended from existing species of apes.[78] This distorted view of Darwinian evolutionary theory gave rise to the common misconception that if a "missing link" in the evolutionary chain (an intermediary species between man and ape) could be discovered, then Darwin's theory of evolution would be vindicated. Although Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" may not engage directly with ape-theory or the concept of the "missing link," by representing a human boy transform into a monkey as a result of his wicked behaviour, the print plays upon the anxiety that humans and monkeys are more closely related than many civilized Victorians (such as Richard Owen) would have liked to believe. Since heterochrony both secured and dissolved the difference between the human and the nonhuman animal, modernity and prehistory, one might even have surmised that, if humans evolved from apes, to look at a monkey was to gaze into the past.

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[77] Stephen Jay Gould, *Ontogeny and Phylogeny*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), 82; Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias." 1967 lecture translated by Jay Miskowiec. *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*. (October 1984): 6.
[78] Edward Caudill, "Victorian Satire of Evolution," *Journalism History* 20, nos. 3/4 (1994): 107-15.

Conclusion

Over the course of the past fifty years, the development of "post-human" perspectives in the fields of sociology and philosophy, influenced by the work of Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Donna Haraway, has led thinkers such as Morse and Danahay to conclude that "the distinction between human and animal has been eradicated."[79] While Haraway's *Cyborg Manifesto* and Derrida's *The Animal That Therefore I Am* push the traditional boundaries of what it means to be human, our species' collective behaviour towards animals and our environment suggests that such "post-human" perspectives have not had a paradigm shifting effect on how we perceive our place within the natural world.[80] As our species continues to assert its dominance in ways that are inherently destructive and threatening to not only the well-being of animals and the planet, but also present and future generations of people, it is of paramount importance that we reconsider how we perceive ourselves as components of an interconnected global ecosystem.

Since the nineteenth century, humans have frequently opted to reassert an assumedly unique superiority rather than address the interconnectedness of human, animal, and environmental health. This is particularly evident when making decisions on environmental policy, public health legislation, or investing in environmentally unfriendly industry. Ironically, our failure to fully acknowledge the interconnectedness of all life and adapt accordingly has resulted in a global pandemic. Bennett's "A Monkey Trick" provides a new perspective on how human beings have struggled to reckon with our existence in a post-Darwinian world. As we have seen, in its outright mockery of Darwinian evolutionary theory, "A Monkey Trick" is

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[79] Danahay and Morse, *Victorian Animal Dreams,* 3.
[80]Donna Haraway, "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," in *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York; Routledge, 1991), 149-181; Jacques Derrida and Marie-Louise Mallet, *The Animal That Therefore I Am*, Perspectives in Continental Philosophy (New York: Fordham University Press 2008).

representative of the mistaken belief that evolution operates linearly and that *Homo sapiens* have steadily evolved from lower species in order to eventually arrive at our present evolutionary moment.

Stephen Jay Gould, perhaps the most influential popularizer of evolutionary science during the twentieth century, offers an insightful metaphor to better understand how evolution operates. Gould notes that, while many individuals tend to perceive evolution as being like a ladder on which *Homo sapiens* are the highest rung, a more accurate metaphor for evolution is that the process reflects the form of a bush, wherein *Homo sapiens* are situated at the tip of just one branch.[81] Although Gould invokes this metaphor to aid in understanding how not all of the extinct hominid species contained in the fossil record are directly linked to modern humans, his bush metaphor can also provide a model for the structure of life on Earth. If we are to regard ourselves as just one branch in the bush of life (or the "tree of life" that Darwin describes in *On the Origin of Species*), we might better apprehend our interconnectedness with other species.[82]

[81] Gould, *Ever Since Darwin*, 57-58.
[82] Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*, 159-69.

Chapter 2

The Allure of Heterochrony
The Exhibition of Krao Farini and the Colonization of Prehistory

At the centre of a souvenir card printed in Liverpool around 1884 is a lithograph of a young girl in a jungle setting whose naked body is covered with a dense layer of dark hair (fig.3). The hirsute girl clutches to the side of a geologic formation with her foot raised on a moss-covered rock. The hair atop her head forms a thick mane that resembles that of a male lion. Her face is mustachioed, and her nose is broad and flat, while her forehead, adorned with dense eyebrows, protrudes excessively. She is pictured looking off into the distance, seemingly unaware, as if being gazed upon by a voyeuristic adventurer. The image represents Krao Farini, a Laotian girl born with hypertrichosis (a disease which causes abnormal hair growth), who was exhibited throughout Europe and North America as the "Missing Link" from 1883 until her death in 1926. Some twenty-four years after Charles Darwin published *On the Origin of Species*, a dozen years following the publication of *The Descent of Man*, and mere months after Darwin's passing, the Canadian impresario responsible for first promoting Krao, Signor Guillermo Antonio Farini (born William Leonard Hunt), was profiting off the false claim that he had discovered living proof of a species that harkened back to a critical evolutionary juncture in the distant past.

Following her first public showing in January of 1883 at London's Westminster Aquarium, a locale famous for its variety shows, concerts, 'freak' acts, and displays of aquatic animals, Krao quickly became one of the most popular displays on the European and North American 'freak show' circuit, eventually touring with the likes of Barnum and Bailey, the

Ringling Brothers, as well as the two companies' combined circus.[83] As the popularity of the exhibition of Krao's body demonstrated, a fascination with evolutionary anthropology and the concept of the missing link had pervaded all levels of British society, from its academies to its circus tents.

In this chapter, I will probe the relationship between visual cultural, spectacle, and evolutionary anthropology by analyzing the visual and linguistic codes that were employed to promote the exhibition of Krao Farini's body. What did her performance promise to her audiences and why was the display of her body so popular amongst the Victorian public? I will argue that promotional imagery displaying Krao's body, particularly her naked figure, marketed her as a living relic of prehistory.[84] I maintain that public displays of Krao's body for the purpose of entertainment gave spectators an opportunity to be transported into an imagined past while simultaneously maintaining their presence in the present. I contend that this experience of spectatorship evoked asynchronous temporalities as Victorian conceptions of modern and prehistoric were put in direct contact with one another. Such an experience can be understood through Michel Foucault's conception of heterochrony, first discussed in his 1967 lecture "Of Other Spaces: "Utopias and Heterotopias," in which he argued that there exists within modern society certain spaces where multiple temporalities are experienced simultaneously.[85]

It is worth noting that most audience members left Krao's showings unconvinced; they went to see the missing link and left having seen a hairy girl. Most spectators were sceptical of her being a genuine missing link, as is evident by the sheer number of satirical cartoons, poems,

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[83] Nadja Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle: Krao and the Victorian Discourses of Evolution, Imperialism, and Primitive Sexuality," in *Victorian Freaks: The Social Context of Freakery in Britain,* ed. Marlene Tromp (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2008), 134-35.
[84] Ann Garascia, "The Freak Show's 'Missing Links': Krao Farini and the Pleasures of Archiving Prehistory," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 21, no. 4 (2016): 435.
[85] Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias." 1967 lecture translated by Jay Miskowiec. *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité*. (October 1984): 6.

and songs that she inspired, as well as from first-hand accounts in which visitors expressed their scepticism.[86] For instance, one reporter for *Land and Water* recalled in January of 1883 how they "had steeled [them]self to behold something very Darwinian…picturing a gorilla-like half-human being" but was surprised to find "a bright little girl."[87] Although many viewers doubted her authenticity, the promotional imagery marketing Krao's body nonetheless promised viewers an experience that would allow them access to the prehistoric past embodied in the figure of Krao. Audiences were not simply reading a story about a lost world or viewing fossilized remains, they were invited to physically share a space with a living prehistoric being. Through an analysis of various promotional images of Krao that were produced in Britain during the 1880s, this chapter will investigate how the Victorian preoccupation with prehistory was exploited to the benefit of impresarios like Farini, and to the detriment of the young girl, Krao, and many more racial and cultural Others deemed to be 'primitive.'

The origins of European constructions of the 'primitive Other' date back to the fifteenth century when Europeans first encountered peoples and cultures who appeared to them to represent earlier stages in human development. Discussing the hypothesis of "cultural anachronism" during the early modern period, two historians of early modern art and culture, Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, argue that "[t]he commercial and colonial networks that were closing the globe… offered evidence of otherness across gaps of space rather than time. The remotenesses, temporal and spatial, were confused, and from that moment onwards non-Europeans were condemned as non-synchronic, out of sync, trapped in states of incomplete development."[88] In nineteenth-century Britain, beliefs about the 'primitive Other' were heavily

[86] Andrew Horrall, *Inventing the Cave Man: From Darwin to the Flintstones*. Studies in Popular Culture. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017): 70-71.
[87] *Land and Water*, January 6, 1883, 14.
[88] Alexander Nagel and Christopher S Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 10.

informed by the needs of Britain's so-called "civilizing mission" and associated colonial discourses. The construction of the 'primitive Other' as less developed and inferior justified the exploitation of colonized peoples and validated the British colonizers' perception of themselves as superior.[89] Darwin's theory of evolution not only vindicated the popular belief that 'primitive' cultures were less developed than Europeans, it also introduced a distinct temporal dimension to the discourse.[90] Since the 'primitive' was defined largely in terms of what it was not – for instance, that which was characterized as 'primitive' was believed to be not modern, not civilized, and less evolved – the 'primitive' was cast as both culturally and temporally Other to modern European society.

I will begin the chapter by outlining the events which led to Krao being put on display and the nature of her exhibition at the Westminster Aquarium. I will then explore how the related promotional imagery engaged with Victorian fantasies about prehistory and so-called 'primitive' sexuality before discussing how said images promised a fantastical temporal experience for her audience. I will conclude by analyzing how a portrait of Krao and G.A. Farini from 1885 advertising her assimilation into British society played upon fears of degeneration through its staged conflation of the prehistoric and 'primitive' with the 'modern' and 'civilized.'

"All Should See Her": Krao's Discovery and Early Exhibition

Charles Darwin passed away on 19 April 1882. Despite being reclusive for much of his later life, Darwin's theories and writings on the natural world impacted the Victorian public

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[89] Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 19-20.

[90] Throughout *The Descent of Man*, Darwin describes "savage" races as being underdeveloped and less advanced than "civilized races." Darwin also notes that "our" ancestors were likely very similar in attitude and social structure to Indigenous peoples (namely the Fuegians) he had seen during his travels. Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex,* (London: Penguin Classic, 2004): 689.

unlike those of any other scientific personality of his day. Darwin's death proved fortuitous for G.A. Farini, whose scouts had recently 'acquired' an individual with hypertrichosis while on expedition to the region then-known as Indochina.[91] As debate over Darwin's life's work was re-stoked by the naturalist's decease, Farini began publicly exhibiting the child as the "Missing Link" in January of 1883. The girl was known as "Krao." [92] She was believed to be about seven years old.[93]

Krao was captured along with her mother and father in Laos through a process of "bribes and strategy" carried out by two of Farini's scouts, Professor Carl Bock and Dr. George Shelley, during an expedition in 1881.[94] Difficulties arose while trying to export the family out of the country, for the superstitious King of Laos allegedly believed that letting the mother leave would bring him bad luck. The mother was detained in Siam, presumably to "be kept in [the King's] court and treated with high consideration."[95] The father perished from cholera during an outbreak that claimed the lives of three others from the expedition during the return voyage to England. Of the three captured "specimens," only Krao would go on to be displayed. She arrived in Europe on 4 October 1882.[96]

The "civilized" and "adventurous" scouts (as they were described by contemporaneous accounts) alleged that Krao came from a tribe of unclothed, arboreal dwellers who had yet to discover fire. They claimed that the "Krao-monink," as they were known to the Siamese,

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[91] Darwin himself discusses rumours of hairy people in *The Descent of Man*. He writes, "[a]ll who have seen photographs of the Siamese hairy family will admit how ludicrously hideous is the opposite extreme of excessive hairiness. And the king of Siam had to bribe a man to marry the first hairy woman in the family; and she transmitted this character to her young offspring of both sexes." Darwin, *The Descent of Man,* 670.
[92] Andrew Horrall, *Inventing the Cave Man: From Darwin to the Flintstones*. Studies in Popular Culture. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017): 67; Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle," 142.
[93] Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle," 134.
[94] "Homo Sylvestris," *The Eclectic Medical Journal* 44, no. 1 (January 1884): 611.
[95] "Men Living in Trees," *Timaru Herald*, December 26, 1884.
[96] "Men Living in Trees," *Timaru Herald*, December 26, 1884.

migrated frequently in search of food, and survived on a diet of fruit, nuts, and dried fish. They also claimed that this group's language was restricted to a few hundred monosyllables, and all the "monkey-men" in the tribe shared the same physical abnormality as Krao.[97] These racist claims were crucial in the formation of an origin story that was constructed to bolster and scientifically justify the supposedly unique exhibition of the young girl's body. Within this context, she was no mere oddity or aberration: she was living proof of a species in a transmission state between man and monkey.

The narrative peddled by Krao's promoters regarding her discovery is reminiscent of those found in Victorian adventure novels which figure around European protagonists traveling to far-off places or "lost worlds" where they encounter strange otherworldly beings.[98] Popular novels like H. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines*, Jules Verne's *Journey to the Center of the Earth*, and Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* all see their protagonists leaving Europe and seemingly going back in time as they move further from their place of origin. Ann Garascia, a scholar of Victorian literature and culture, notes that stories of this ilk produced a vision of 'spatialized time' wherein the act of "moving further away from the modern centre of the empire was represented as moving back further in time."[99] The concept of spatialized time was first discussed in 1983 by the cultural anthropologist Johannes Fabian in his highly influential *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object,* in which he challenges the notion that Western anthropologists live in the 'here and now' and their subjects of analysis exist in the 'there and then.' Fabian argues that, historically, cultural anthropologists regarded their subjects

[97] "Homo Sylvestris," *The Eclectic Medical Journal* 44, no. 1 (January 1884): 611.
[98] John Miller, *Empire and the Animal Body: Violence, Identity and Ecology in Victorian Adventure Fiction*, Anthem Nineteenth-Century Series (London: Anthem Press, 2012): 29.
[99] Garascia, "The Freak Show's 'Missing Links'," 435.

of study as occupying temporal realities that were diachronic to their own, thus denying the coevalness of the racial and cultural Other.[100]

Such a phenomenon of positioning the Other as spatially and temporally distant was not limited to works of fiction in the nineteenth century. Darwin himself wrote in the closing paragraphs of *The Descent Man* that when he first encountered the Fuegians of Tierra del Fuego it was as if he was looking into the past, stating, "[t]he astonishment which I felt on first seeing a party of Fuegians on a wild and broken shore will never be forgotten by me, for the reflection at once rushed into my mind – such were our ancestors."[101] These visions of spatialized time positioned the Other as temporally antecedent to Europe, thus elevating white Europeans in terms of evolutionary progress whilst demeaning those regarded as inferior.

Shortly after Krao's arrival in England, she was legally adopted by G.A. Farini who, during the Christmas season of 1882, showcased her to members of the press to drum up excitement about what would prove to be one of his most popular human exhibitions.[102] Since many members of the middle class had begun to view the showcasing of so-called 'freaks of nature' as an indecent and prurient form of entertainment by the 1880s, Farini encouraged the press to describe her as an anthropological and thus educationally valuable exhibit in the hopes of drawing an affluent audience.[103] On 1 January 1883, the *Morning Post* reported that "there are many who condemn, perhaps with justice, the taste which takes the form of looking upon 'freaks of nature' [but Krao] does not come within that unwholesome category, because her peculiarities are hereditary."[104] Other reports described Krao as "the little creature who now makes her

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[100] Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 50.
[101] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex,* (London: Penguin Classic, 2004): 689.
[102] Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle," 134.
[103] Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle," 136.
[104] *Morning Post,* January 1, 1883, 2.

appearance before the civilized world… a human monkey, Krao is accredited with a whole tribe of relatives, all hairy and ape-like, in the far-off and unfamiliar region of Laos."[105] Many of the publications were sure to solicit the curiosity of the audience by drawing attention to Krao's foreign origins, emphasizing not only her ostensibly ape-like qualities, but her 'uncivilized' and 'primitive' heritage.

When Farini lectured to the popular press in late 1882 and early 1883 he played up what he believed were Krao's simian qualities while downplaying her humanity.[106] A report by the *Standard* parroted Farini's deceit and wrote that Krao: "has a double row of teeth on the upper jaw that she can, in the hollow of her cheeks, stow away food to be eaten when required as the monkey does in his 'pouches,' and that the fingers and toes bend backwards and forwards to the same extent with equal ease."[107] Press reports that echoed Farini's claims (like the one found in the *Standard*) were quoted in the promotional pamphlets for Krao's 1883 exhibition.[108]

This early pamphlet did not include any visual representations of Krao, likely to encourage potential visitors to come see for themselves rather than rely on drawings or photographs. However, it did feature a sketch of Krao's father seated in a tree and looking into the distance (fig. 4). The father was reported to have also had hypertrichosis and the inclusion of the sketch was intended to bolster Farini's claim that Krao's features were hereditary. The image recalls zoological diagrams of exotic animals; the father is nude, and his face and body are covered in a coat of thick dark hair.

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[105] *Illustrated Police News,* January 15, 1883, 2.
[106] Horrall, *Inventing the Cave Man,* 67. Farini was known to describe Krao with the impersonal pronoun "it" to downplay her humanity and exaggerate her animal qualities.
[107] *Krao, The Missing Link. A Living Proof of Darwin's Theory of the Descent of Man*, c. 1883. British Library, Evanion Collection, item 2474.
[108] Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle," 138.

Although the 1883 pamphlets lacked images of Krao, later advertisements, such as one of the designs for the handbills announcing her 1887 return to the Aquarium, often featured portrayals of Krao that shamelessly accentuated her simianesque appearance. In the 1887 handbill image, Krao appears to be younger than she would have been at the time of the exhibition (she looks more like she had four years prior in 1883) and is seated on a surface with a cloth covering to underscore her status as a spectacle of science and not a mere sideshow act (fig. 5).The text on the advertisement drives home this sentiment by noting that showings were to be held in the "New Lecture Room" and would be accompanied by "Special Lectures." Krao is rendered fully nude, and her body is covered with more hair than contemporary photographs suggest she had. Her mouth and cheeks imply a prognathous jaw, while her hands and feet are positioned in a way that draws attention to their prehensile nature with the fingers on her right hand bent slightly backwards. The handbill touts her as "a perfect specimen of the step between man and monkey" and "A Living Proof of Darwin's Theory of the Descent of Man" – the notable visual features of prehensile digits, prognathous jaw, and a full covering of body hair are a direct reference to Darwin's hypothesis of what our distant ancestors might well have looked like.

In *The Descent of Man*, Darwin notes that the prehensility of *Homo sapiens*' feet was lost over long periods of time as our ancestors began walking upright.[109] Darwin conjectures that our progenitors were hairy all over, noting that our species has become largely divested of hair through a process of sexual selection since the absence of hair on the body has little to no functional benefits.[110] He also notes that the occasional presence of prognathous jaws in modern

[109] Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 71.
[110] Darwin, *The Descent of Man,* 78.

humans (primarily "idiots") is likely a rudiment from an earlier phase in our evolution.[111] Near the close of *The Descent of Man*, Darwin summarizes his vision of our ancestors thus:

> The early progenitors of man must have been once covered with hair, both sexes having beards; their ears were probably pointed, and capable of movement; and their bodies were provided with a tail, having the proper muscles… The foot was then prehensile, judging from the condition of the great toe in the foetus; and our progenitors, no doubt, were arboreal in their habits, and frequented some warm, forest-clad land.[112]

Krao may not have had a tail or pointed ears, but she certainly appeared to check-off many of Darwin's other hypothesized characteristics of an evolutionary forebearer of *Homo sapiens*, right down to her place of origin.

Skeptics of Farini's claims were plenty, and the impresario was ready to exploit and manipulate any sign of support shown by the scientific community.[113] For instance, in January 1883, the English traveler and anthropologist A.H. Keane was granted an audience with Krao and, following his encounter, published an article in the scientific journal *Nature* titled "Krao, The Human Monkey." In his article, Keane draws attention to Krao's prehensile feet, her prognathism and protruding lips (which he notes give her "quite a chimpanzee look"), as well as some of the other ape-like features Farini emphasized.[114] Despite supporting some of Farini's claims, Keane concluded that Krao should not be regarded with any particular anthropological interest unless the story of her origins was indeed true, in which case, he noted, she was "of exceptional scientific importance."[115] Of course, Krao's origin story was largely fabricated, but Farini manipulated Keane's findings and included excerpts of the article that corroborated his assertions in Krao's promotional literature. Other publications, such as the *British Medical*

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[111] Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 54.
[112] Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 188.
[113] Horrall, *Inventing the Cave Man,* 68-72.
[114] A.H. Keane, "Krao at the Aquarium," *British Periodicals* (January 13, 1883): 27.
[115] Keane, "Krao at the Aquarium," 27.

Journal and *Scientific American*, argued that Farini's conclusions were entirely unfounded and Krao was merely a girl suffering from hypertrichosis. These observations were excluded from Farini's narrative, as were negative newspaper reports.[116]

Krao's early exhibitions at the Westminster Aquarium were typical of pseudo-scientific spectacles of the day that combined 'high' and 'low' entertainment to both amuse and educate audiences. Farini's practice of lecturing to the audience with Krao displayed alongside him further blurred the boundaries between legitimate science and popular showmanship. Farini was no stranger to such strategies, nor was it the first time he had promoted a 'missing link' at the Aquarium. In July 1877, Farini acquired the rights to display Pongo, the first scientifically authenticated live gorilla to be seen in Europe who had been captured in Africa by a team of German explorers in 1876. Throughout the summer of 1877, Farini displayed Pongo as "the missing link between the human and brute creation."[117] Unlike Pongo, an animal who had been so sedated by sherry he could hardly perform the human tasks audiences had been promised he was capable, Krao – a young human girl despite Farini's claim of her animal origins – had been coached to respond to visitors' greetings in a polite manner with a "how d'you do sir?" Audience members were not only encouraged to verbally engage with Krao during her shows, they were also permitted to approach and touch her body.[118]

Krao's early performances were unlike those of other 'freaks of nature' or Indigenous peoples whom Farini had previously put on display. She did not perform dances or rituals, nor did she pretend to behave or sound like a monkey – her physical appearance was sufficient for Farini's ruse. Regardless of Farini's efforts, most audience members were hesitant to buy into his

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[116] Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle," 140.
[117] Horrall, *Inventing the Cave Man,* 61.
[118] Ernst O. Ploeger IV, "Otherness as Entertainment: The Victorian-Era Freak Show and its Legacy in Contemporary Popular Culture" (PhD Diss., Southern New Hampshire University, 2018), 27.

story. Andrew Horrall, a historian of nineteenth-century British popular culture, observes that the public felt her exhibition to be innocuous and amusing if not entirely legitimate, and popular responses to Krao were predominantly satirical in nature.[119] Her exhibition was not outrightly dismissed by the public, and the *illusion* of seeing the missing link was clearly enough to entertain visitors.[120]

Following her seven-month stint at the Aquarium in 1883, Krao made appearances in Germany, France, and the United States.[121] She was paid well. According to one American newspaper reporting in 1885, she was given a weekly stipend of 700 dollars and her shows were booked a year in advance.[122] Despite a 40-year career being displayed as a sub-human missing link, Krao was a remarkably intelligent woman: she was fluent in five languages; known to be an articulate conversationalist; played the violin and piano; and was notably kindhearted.[123] On 16 April 1926, at the age of 50, Krao Farini passed away due to complications from influenza. On her deathbed, she requested to be cremated so that her body could not be exhibited posthumously.[124]

Spaces of Imagination: Prehistory and 'Primitive' Sexuality

My primary objective in the remainder of this chapter is to explore the types of experiences and responses Krao's promotional imagery invoked in its viewers, as well as what drew audiences to the display of her body. In 1894, Farini stated in an interview "who would

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[119] Horrall, *Inventing the Cave Man*, 70-71.
[120] Horrall, *Inventing the Cave Man,* 68.
[121] Ploeger, "Otherness as Entertainment," 134.
[122] "Dime Store Business," *Bismarck Tribune*, January 2, 1885, 3.
[123] Lindsey B. Churchill, "What Is It? Difference, Darwin, and the Victorian Freak Show," in *Darwin in Atlantic Cultures: Evolutionary Visions of Race, Gender, and Sexuality*, ed. Jeanette Eileen Jones and Patrick B. Sharp, (New York: Routledge, 2010): 136.
[124] "Circus Folk Mourn 'Best-Liked Freak': Krao, the 'Missing Link,' Buried With Tribute of Tears From Side-Show Associates," *New York Times,* April 19, 1926.

have gone to see "the hairy girl?" But the "missing link" was quite a different matter."[125] The impresario's subtle admission to have taken advantage of the public's interest in evolution to sell Krao's story is crucial to understanding what her popularity rested upon: her performance was less about her appearance per se, and more about what her appearance represented and signified at the time. Ultimately, Krao's physical abnormalities were representative of a space and time that was deemed temporally incomprehensible to her audiences and spatially distant from the modern European present. The promotional imagery and associated texts advertising the exhibition of her body frequently played upon this ostensible spatial-temporal alterity from the present to attract European spectators.

The image with which I opened this chapter (a souvenir card from 1884 featuring Krao in a jungle setting) is a perfect example of how imaginary spaces were imbued with a fantastic temporal dimension when Krao was situated within them (fig. 3). The space in which Krao is pictured in the lithograph – a jungle with diverse and exotic vegetation, misty atmosphere, and mossy rocks – certainly appears well suited for a prehistoric being based on the hypotheses of Darwin and the ruminations of Victorian fiction writers. The jungle setting is seemingly primordial and virginal, and just as Krao's naked body is unfettered by decency or shame, the space is devoid of any signs of modernity.[126] Krao almost appears to be one with the landscape, as is shown through the exaggerated growth of hair on her left arm that is practically indecipherable from the moss hanging from the rock she leans on for support. The image suggests that Krao shares the same characteristics as the primordial jungle as both are represented as spatially and temporally Other from modern Europe. They are portrayed as wild,

[125] "A chat with G.A. Farini," *Era*, June 30, 1894, 14.

untamed, and uncivilized. However, in contrast to this image, Krao was viewed, taxonomized, and, ultimately, eroticized in European show spaces, primarily in busy, industrialized cities.

The 1884 lithograph would serve as a template for numerous subsequent representations of Krao, particularly those bearing sexual undertones. One such example is a woodcut image used as the centrepiece of a handbill promoting a showing at the Westminster Aquarium in 1887 (fig. 6). Here we see that Krao's stance and expression are similar to in the 1884 lithograph, but here her gaze engages the viewer, she has less prominent facial hair, and a beaded loincloth has been added to cover her genitals, although her upper body remains exposed. The addition of the loincloth, supposedly for the sake of decency, invited Victorian viewers to fantasize about what lies beneath. Promotions for the event encouraged this behavior despite the fact that Krao was no more than eleven years old. Most notably, the Aquarium program advertising the exhibition stated that "old friends will be astonished at her development," hinting towards her body's sexual maturation.[127] Ultimately, the event's status as a scientific exhibition authorized the observation of a scantily clad child, and in doing so, Krao's promoters encouraged audiences to fantasize about Victorian conceptions of 'primitive' sexuality.

Nineteenth-century fantasies of 'primitive' sexuality were founded on prejudiced perceptions of how racialized peoples' bodies occupied space and time. For such fantasies of 'primitive' sexuality to operate, an illusion of temporal disjunction between 'modern observer' and their object of desire needed to exist. Unlike the modern European, heterosexual male gaze – which was understood as occupying the modern present – the object of this gaze was regarded as temporally antecedent and thus not-modern and uncivilized. Anthropologists Andrew and Harriet Lyons argue that

[127] Royal Aquarium Programme, April 30, 1887.

> [i]n both the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, discourses that were otherwise at odds, like science and theology or conservatism and social reform, often intertwined in their encounter with unfamiliar sexualities. Primitives were usually portrayed as lacking in emotional control and rationality and were seen to be sexually more excitable (and more physical generally) than Europeans.[128]

Untethered by the strictures of European morality and 'civilized' customs, those who were categorized as 'primitive' were presumed to have unbridled sexual temperaments. This contrasted with the understanding of European sexuality which was believed to be tempered by societal norms and customs. Andrew and Harriet Lyons also note that 'primitive' sexuality was not only understood in terms of societal norms, but in relation to evolutionary development – the sexual proclivities of 'primitive' peoples were regarded as unevolved and degenerative.[129] Nadja Durbach, a historian of modern Britain, notes that,

> in the late nineteenth century the discourses of evolution, imperialism, and primitive sexuality were deeply imbricated as Britain justified colonialism by promoting it as a civilizing mission. [Krao's] long-term success… was thus due to her ability literally to embody the relationship between primitive sexuality, imperial ideology, and Darwinian theory…Her hirsuteness, and thus essential savagery, reassured the British public, across the class spectrum, of its racial, national, and imperial superiority.[130]

Looking to the 1884 lithograph, one can see that the construction of what constituted the 'primitive' was projected onto the body of Krao to legitimize the British public's perception of itself. The rendering is less a representation of Krao than it is a representation of what the artist wanted to see in her. The animalistic appearance of the face, the overabundance of body hair, the nudity, the unsuspecting demeanor, along with the setting in which she is rendered, all play into a voyeuristic fantasy of 'primitive' sexuality that was predicated on denying the coevalness of racial and cultural Others.[131] By repudiating Krao's temporal synchronicity with Europe, the

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[128] Andrew P Lyons and Harriet Lyons, *Irregular Connections: A History of Anthropology and Sexuality*. Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 7.
[129] AP Lyons and H Lyons, *Irregular Connections*, 7.
[130] Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle," 150.
[131] Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 50.

British audience was placed in a position of moral, cultural, and evolutionary superiority. Her exhibition within the Western show space, where she was to be gazed upon by modern subjects who were encouraged to both look at and touch her body, thus produced an experience of heterochrony – wherein agents of modernity (the British audience members) were ostensibly brought into direct contact with prehistory (personified by Krao).

Heterochronicity: The Confluence of Conflicting Temporalities

The concept of heterochronicity is one of six principles of heterotopias outlined by Foucault in his 1967 lecture *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias*. In the lecture, Foucault discusses how there exists within modern society certain sites that are unlike most spaces (which "are irreducible to one another") in that they are effectively related to all other sites "but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invent the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect."[132] Foucault notes that such spaces are separated into two categories: utopias and heterotopias. Utopias are defined by Foucault as "sites with no real place."[133] Heterotopias, on the other hand, are real places that act as "counter-sites" in which all of a society's real sites "are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."[134] Put simply, heterotopias are sites which are spatially and temporally Other.

Discussing the temporal aspects of heterotopias, Foucault notes that "heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time," and open onto "heterochronies."[135] Foucault claims that some heterotopias accumulate time – such as museums or libraries – while others are linked to the flow of time and its transitory nature – such as festivals. However, Foucault observes that

[132] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 3.
[133] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 3.
[134] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 3.
[135] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 6.

sometimes these two forms come together, such as in "vacation villages" in Polynesia which offer "primitive" experiences to the visitor, thus combining the transitoriness of the festival with the accumulative qualities of the museum.[136] Heterochrony is thus experienced when conflicting temporal realities are juxtaposed within a space. In the case of Krao, the heterochrony which was displayed and experienced by viewers at her showings exemplifies Foucault's third instance wherein the transitory and accumulative qualities of heterotopias are combined.

The two handbills for Krao's 1887 exhibition at the Westminster Aquarium demonstrate how Krao's performance provided an experience of heterochronic time. The advertised showtimes, in concert with the handbills' respective images of Krao, signal the merging of temporalities within the show space, and the Aquarium was an apt location for Krao's brand of spectacle. Constructed in 1876 as part of London's burgeoning entertainment industry, the Aquarium boasted a mixture of concerts, freak acts, and scientific exhibits. The venue was conveniently located near Charing Cross and less than a kilometer from Big Ben – the west clockface of Barry and Pugin's symbol of regulated time was visible from the east entrance to the Aquarium, marking when special lectures about Krao were to take place.

On the 1887 handbills, the advertised showtimes of when Krao was to be seen and discussed (2.30, 5.30 & 9.30) flanked the respective images of her in the jungle and seated on a cloth-covered surface, thus bringing together two contrasting temporal systems into relationship with one another. While Krao's abnormal hair growth, prehensile digits, and prognathism represented slow-moving and indefinable prehistoric time given their association with earlier stages of human evolutionary development, the precise showtimes typified the regimented scheduling of modern life based on standardized time and signified the capitalist time of

[136] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," 6.

exchange when Krao was to be displayed for paying customers. It was during this time of spectacle, with Krao as commodity, that a modern capitalist temporality coalesced with prehistory to evoke a heterochrony.

While such a juxtaposition of text and image subtly implied the heterochronic quality of Krao's exhibition, the imagery which perhaps best captured and played upon this temporal dimension of her performance are those in which Krao is posed with her adoptive father, G.A. Farini. In a popular reproduction of one of the earliest known photographs of Krao from late 1882, the young girl clutches to the neck of her exhibitor, G.A. Farini (fig. 7). Unlike Farini, who is bearded and clothed, Krao is naked and positioned in a way that emphasizes her monkey-like qualities. Her left leg is outstretched, gently resting in the crux of Farini's right arm which reaches inside his overcoat. Her left hand holds his lapel, and her face is pressed tightly to his cheek. The dichotomous relationship between 'primitive' female and 'civilized' man is quite telling. While he is dressed in the garb of a fashionable modern gentleman, sporting a thick beard and an astute demeanour, she is unclothed, visibly hairy, and seemingly reliant on her Western captor. His gaze engages the viewer, while she looks off into the distance, seemingly distracted and unfazed by the camera's presence. The apparent normativity of Farini's appearance is contrasted with Krao's blatant and 'uncivilized' alterity; his facial hair, outfit, and posture are presented as civilized, while Krao's hirsutism and simianesque pose allude to her purportedly lower rank on the evolutionary ladder.

I have already made brief mention of the directions in which Krao and Farini are looking in the photograph, however, I would like to explore the possibility that the implications of the sitters' respective gazes take on more dynamic meanings when viewing the original full-length photograph (fig. 8). When viewing the full-sized original, it becomes clear that the

photographer's studio has been fashioned to resemble a tropical setting. In the bottom left corner, to the right of Farini, there is a tropical fern, and the backdrop, although distorted by the camera's focus on the foreground, is intended to resemble a tropical shoreline complete with palm trees and exotic foliage lining either side of a nondescript shore that recedes into the distance behind the sitters. The inclusion of the exotic and distorted homeland of Farini's "Missing Link," combined with the sitters' engagement with the manufactured setting, illuminates the more sinister rhetoric of the promotional photograph that invokes prehistory for the purpose of validating and spectacularizing Farini's claim that he had found the missing link.

While Farini's gaze directly addresses the modern viewer through the lens of the camera, establishing a connection between their common modernity, Krao is visually engaged with her immediate surroundings (those traces of temporal Otherness – the tropical trees, the exotic foliage, the nondescript shore), looking off into "the unknown" and drawing no connection to the present historical moment or audience of 1882 by acknowledging the modern implement of the camera. What is clear is that the connections between modern impresario and modern viewer, prehistoric missing link and distorted prehistoric space, indicate how the viewer is to understand Krao's place (or lack thereof) within the modern European world – she falls outside the temporal structure of modernity. However, even though Krao's status as the "Missing Link" implies that she drastically precedes the present evolutionary moment and comes from a land and era beyond European conceptions of time and space, Farini's self-important disposition and direct visual address to the viewer suggests that he has the power to grant access to this space of prehistory by allowing access to the spectacle of Krao's hirsute body over which he has control – all the while maintaining their place in the modern present. This sentiment is promoted by Farini having retained his status as a gentleman despite the photograph's implied locale.

In discussing the relationship that imagery of this sort created between Western Self and colonized Other, Garascia notes that individuals like Krao were placed within the Western arena of exhibition which ritualized "physical and cultural difference through the 'show space,' a confluence of time and space that materialized historically specific relationships between colonizers and colonized."[137] Granted, neither Laos nor Siam was ever colonized by the British, but the spatial distance implied by the setting denotes a temporal distance between Britain and the country's colonial subjects that occupied similar foreign lands in Africa, Oceana, and the Americas. The photograph of Farini and Krao thus evokes a heterochrony by bringing two conflicting temporalities into direct contact with one another. The success of Krao's performance demanded that her Victorian audiences' status as modern civilized humans be placed in opposition to her purported temporal alterity within the exhibition space. Such a juxtaposition was by no means uncharged, and although modern audiences were only provided an illusion of being in contact with a living missing link, the illusion served to re-affirm the perceived superiority of the British. Not only does the image suggest that the British were superior to and in control of the racialized Other, but they were also in control of the past – to control the 'primitive Other' was to colonize prehistory and manage the direction and definition of evolution. However, the juxtaposition of modern gentleman and prehistoric missing link was not always so cut-and-dry, as is evident in a later image of Krao and Farini from 1885 that played upon audiences' fears of degeneration and assimilation.

[137] Garascia, "The Freak Show's 'Missing Links'," 435.

Krao as Pharmakon and the Ambivalence of Assimilation

When Krao was first brought to England, G.A. Farini saw to it that she was assimilated into Western culture and was conditioned to act in a polite manner and dress like a typical Victorian girl.[138] Her politeness not only made her exhibition palatable for moralistic middle-class visitors with deep pockets, but it also operated in showcasing the ability for so-called 'primitive' races to become civilized if put in contact with Western influences. With her newly learned manners and a fresh new wardrobe, Krao became a veritable "poster child of assimilation," often "decked out in hair bows, patent leather shoes, and freshly unplaited hair."[139] Her domestication was not only reliant on appearances, but also her receptivity to British education in which she was described by her educators as a "bright, teachable little miss." Krao's adaptability to Western civilization was underscored by a promotional photograph taken of her and G.A. Farini around 1885 (fig.9).

In the photograph, Krao is seated atop a rustic podium on which a blanket is laid beneath her rear. She wears a dress with a fashionable design that leaves her arms and legs exposed, showing she still has a considerable growth of hair on her body. Socks and leather shoes cover her feet that were once overzealously displayed to accentuate her monkey-like qualities, and the previously unkempt hair on her head is straightened and flips up at the shoulder. Her adoptive father stands to her right and is clothed in a similar fashion as in their earlier portrait with a suit, pants, carefully combed hair, and a dense beard. Farini's left arm is placed behind Krao's back while his right gently grasps hers and rests on the blanket covering. The photograph is unapologetically sentimental with Farini donning a tender, fatherly smile as he looks down at his adopted daughter who meets his eyes with an affable grin. As Durbach observes, "her

[138] Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle,"139.
[139] Garascia, "The Freak Show's 'Missing Links'," 444.

representation as a charming child, happily adapting to English life, underscored Britain's role as a civilizing force and its ability to turn even the most primitive peoples into good British Subjects."[140]

Despite her earnest compliance with British notions of fashion, education, and civility, Krao continued to be referred to as the "Missing Link" by her impresario and the popular press. Her fundamental difference was always the centerpiece of her exhibition. The photograph of Farini and Krao casually refers back to this sentiment through the setting in which they appear. The backdrop appears to be a rocky shore that, according to Garascia, "dispels potential romances of presentism to relocate the pair within slower moving, geologic time."[141] Similar to the earlier portrait of the pair, the setting implies both a spatial and temporal distance from the modern British centre. In this photograph, Krao is represented as capable of being civilized yet is never completely separated from her 'savage' origins.

Granted, the concept of assimilation was not without its detractors. Many Victorians harboured fears about the dangers of cross-cultural contact, miscegenation, and the potential for societal degeneration. Publications like Edwin Ray Lankester's *Degeneration: A Chapter in Darwinism*, employed so-called biological evidence to justify these concerns, in turn stoking fears about the hazards of assimilation and the durability of Western civilization. In his *Degeneration*, Lankester extends his theory of retrograde metamorphosis (as seen in organisms that have evolved to become, for instance, immobile or progressively smaller) to the potential degeneration of human societies, noting that "it is well to remember that we are subject to the general laws of evolution, and are as likely to degenerate as to progress."[142] Lankester claims

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[140] Durbach, "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle," 147.
[141] Garascia, "The Freak Show's 'Missing Links'," 433.
[142] E. Ray Lankester and Arabella B Buckley, *Degeneration: A Chapter in Darwinism*. Nature Series, (London: Macmillan, 1880): 60.

that "many savage races as we present see them are actually degenerate and are descended from ancestors possessed of a relatively elaborate civilisation."[143] It would not have been difficult for Lankester's contemporaries to infer that to mix with such races would lead to a decline of Western civilization. Not surprisingly, Lankester concludes his treatise stating, "[t]he full and earnest cultivation of Science – the Knowledge of Causes – is that to which we have to look for the protection of our race – even of this English branch of it – from relapse and degeneration."[144] Worth noting is Lankester's focus on the "protection of our race" rather than "our species" – Lankester's priorities lay less in protecting humanity than in protecting Europeans from supposedly degenerative and 'primitive' races.[145]

Fears about the dangers of assimilation and the uncertainty of progress also inspired myriad narratives in *fin-de-siècle* fiction which figured around the ambivalence of assimilation as either successful integration or a loss of difference.[146] Discussing the ambiguity of assimilation, Richter notes that "[c]ross-cultural contact is… fraught with ambivalence from the very beginning. On the one hand, the mixing and fusion resulting from colonial encounter represent the greatest possible threat to the coloniser's identity…On the other hand, the *anxiety* of assimilation goes hand in hand with the desire for dissolution, diffusion, amalgamation."[147] Just as there was a desire to assimilate colonized peoples into British society, there were anxieties as to how such actions could lead to a loss of identity.

I would thus like to propose that Krao's assimilation into British culture as personified in the 1885 portrait functioned as *pharmakon* in the sense described by Jacques Derrida – as both

[143] Lankester, *Degeneration,* 59.
[144] Lankester, *Degeneration*, 62.
[145] Lankester, *Degeneration*, 62.
[146] Richter, *Literature After Darwin*, 121.
[147] Richter*, Literature After Darwin*, 120.

remedy and poison to the issues faced by a post-Darwinian imperial society.[148] In his discussion of Plato, Derrida employs the term *pharmakon* (the Greek word for drug that is both injurious and beneficial) as a metaphor for the ambiguous effects of writing in the Western philosophical tradition. Derrida notes that, in writing, the memory of the spoken word is simultaneously recorded and erased, and thus cannot be separated dialectically from interiority and exteriority. Derrida writes in reference to the *pharmakon*:

> Apprehended as a blend and an impurity, the *pharmakon* also acts like an aggressor or a housebreaker, threatening some internal purity and security… The purity of the inside can then only be restored if the *charges are brought home* against exteriority as a supplement, inessential yet harmful to the essence, a surplus that *ought* never to have come to be added to the untouched plenitude of the inside.[149]

In the 1885 portrait, the heterochrony advertised by the image – as evinced by the combination of Farini and Krao's garments, the otherworldly setting, and Krao's hirsuteness – is more dynamic than the earlier portrait of the pair. This is particularly demonstrated in the way in which the photograph stages Krao as both a missing link and a young Victorian girl. Krao's role as a prehistoric being is not as clearly defined and thus the exterior and interior are not as easily divided. Here, the prehistoric begins to invade and merge with the modern.

Upon her arrival into British society, Krao was regarded as an inherently liminal being. However, rather than solely being understood as in a transmission state between man and monkey, in the 1885 portrait she is simultaneously shown in a transmission state between prehistoric missing link and modern young woman. If anxieties of degeneration were founded on the notion that human societies could just as easily regress as progress, to see a liminal individual

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[148] My invocation of Derrida's notion of *pharmakon* takes inspiration from Virginia Richter who employs the term in *Literature After Darwin* to characterize specific encounters between Self and Other relating to assimilation in Victorian imperial fiction. Richter notes that there are three distinct enactments of interaction that blur the boundaries between Self and Other: cannibalism, regression, and miscegenation.

[149] Jacques Derrida, "Plato's Pharmacy," *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson (Chicago: University Press, 1981), 128.

like Krao dressed like a young English girl and gazing intently into the eyes of a modern gentleman would do little to calm these fears. Just as the image had the potential to validate Britain's civilizing efforts and comfort colonizers, so too could it disturb.

Conclusion

The success of Krao Farini's exhibition rested upon the juxtaposition of rigid dichotomies within the public arena of the Victorian show space. Such dichotomies as modern and prehistoric, progress and degeneration, 'primitive' and civilized, all carried temporal connotations through their relation to evolutionary theory. All aspects of Krao's performance, whether they be related to her perceived sexual availability or her potential to be assimilated into British culture, extended from her perceived temporal alterity. The convergence of antagonistic and asynchronous temporalities in the exhibition space thus produced a heterochronic experience for Krao's audiences, who were confronted with what they believed to be a prehistoric figure displayed in a contemporary space in modern London. It was this experience that Krao's promotional imagery marketed to the public. Ultimately, the juxtaposition of various markers of modernity and prehistory in Krao's promotional imagery and literature manufactured a dialectic that served to both confirm and disrupt how the Victorian public perceived their relationship with the 'primitive Other.'

Conclusion

In spite of its title, Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* does not present a single instance of speciation. The book also fails to offer an explanation for the origin of the first species, and its author never singles in on the driving force of evolution: genes.[150] Darwin's theory of evolution by means of natural selection is not without its flaws. Granted, his central thesis that species are the product of a trial-and-error process enacted over extensive periods of time continues to hold water, as does his claim that humans share a common ancestor with all other living species. Although the theory of evolution is widely accepted today, this was not the case in 1859 when evolutionary theory's entrance into public discourse instigated something of an ontological crisis for many individuals whose beliefs about terrestrial existence were upended by Darwin's theory.

In this thesis I have argued that the introduction of evolutionary theory into the British consciousness in 1859 had drastic impacts on the ways in which the Victorian populace regarded its relationship to time and space and the natural world, which, in turn, influenced how foreign peoples and cultures were perceived. I have examined how these shifts in perception found expression in British visual culture during the latter half of the nineteenth century through two case studies.

In Chapter One, an editorial cartoon by Charles H. Bennett from 1863 provided the basis for an analysis of how the Victorian public responded to the human-animal divide and traditional conceptions of time being challenged by Darwin's theory of evolution. I argued that "A Monkey Trick," published as the fifth instalment in Bennett's *The Origin of Species, Dedicated by Natural Selection to Dr. Charles Darwin* series in 1863, was representative of how certain members of the Victorian public responded to humanity's privileged status within the natural

[150] Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*, 20.

world being called into question by Darwin's theory of evolution by means of natural selection. I conjectured that "A Monkey Trick," which features a boy progressively transforming into a monkey as a result of his cruelly poking a caged parrot with a stick, captured Victorian anxieties about degeneration, particularly the fear that should humans fail to contain their baser animal instincts, they could very well degenerate as a species. Such fears were instigated by the Darwinian notion that humans are neither separate nor above the animal kingdom. I also discussed how the image's synoptic narrative structure gave form to the erroneous belief that *Homo sapiens* are the inevitable result of evolutionary progress. I noted that such a representation of evolutionary change cast every constituent element of the natural world as perpetually heterochronic, effectually reasserting humanity's superiority over other species.

This chapter also brought the Victorian past into dialogue with the present moment in which humanity is being forced to reckon with its biological proximity to animals as the zoonotic virus of COVID-19 continues to infect large swaths of the global population. I argued that the efforts made during the nineteenth century to assert humanity's uniqueness and dominion over the natural world has progressively led to a global situation that is increasingly untenable as human actions continue to cause a loss of biodiversity which increases the likelihood of zoonotic pathogens being transmitted from animals to people. Whereas the Victorian public grappled with evolutionary theory on a primarily philosophical basis, questioning their proximity to animals given the presence of seemingly bestial qualities in humans, today humanity is having to come to terms with how our species' actions impact our interconnected global ecosystem on the level of biology. Despite the supposition that we are living in a "post-human" world, we might ask ourselves: do our actions indicate that we have truly accepted our place in nature?

Chapter Two focused on various examples of promotional imagery for the exhibition of Krao Farini, a Laotian girl born with hypertrichosis who was exhibited as the "Missing Link" between 1883 and 1926. I argued that her promoters exploited the popular interest in evolutionary theory and prehistory to draw in audiences. By associating Krao's hairy body, physical form, and place of origin with the narrative space of prehistory, Krao's promotional imagery advertised a heterochronic temporal experience in which asynchronous temporalities were to be juxtaposed within a Victorian show space. Krao's promotional imagery relied heavily on the placement of markers of modernity and prehistory alongside one another to emphasize her temporal alterity.

Although these tactics were employed primarily for the purposes of entertainment, they were not innocuous – Krao's performance was heavily informed by colonial preoccupations with 'primitive' sexuality, uncertainties surrounding assimilation, and fears of societal degeneration. The Victorian fears and fantasies that informed Krao Farini's promotional imagery are closely related to those which are evident in Bennett's drawings where the human-animal divide is repeatedly represented as unstable and in flux. In the wake of the publication of Darwin's theory of evolution, the assertion that *Homo sapiens* are descendent from "some lower form" was satirized by illustrators like Bennett while temporal alterity was spectacularized by showmen like Farini. As anxieties about where Earth's lifeforms are positioned within the trajectories of time and evolution were exploited to draw audiences to shows and sell newspapers, temporal perception was weaponized for the purpose of validating colonial endeavours and the subjugation of peoples who were regarded as 'primitive' and temporally antecedent.

Figures

Figure 1: Charles Henry Bennett, "A Monkey Trick," *Illustrated Times,* 1863.

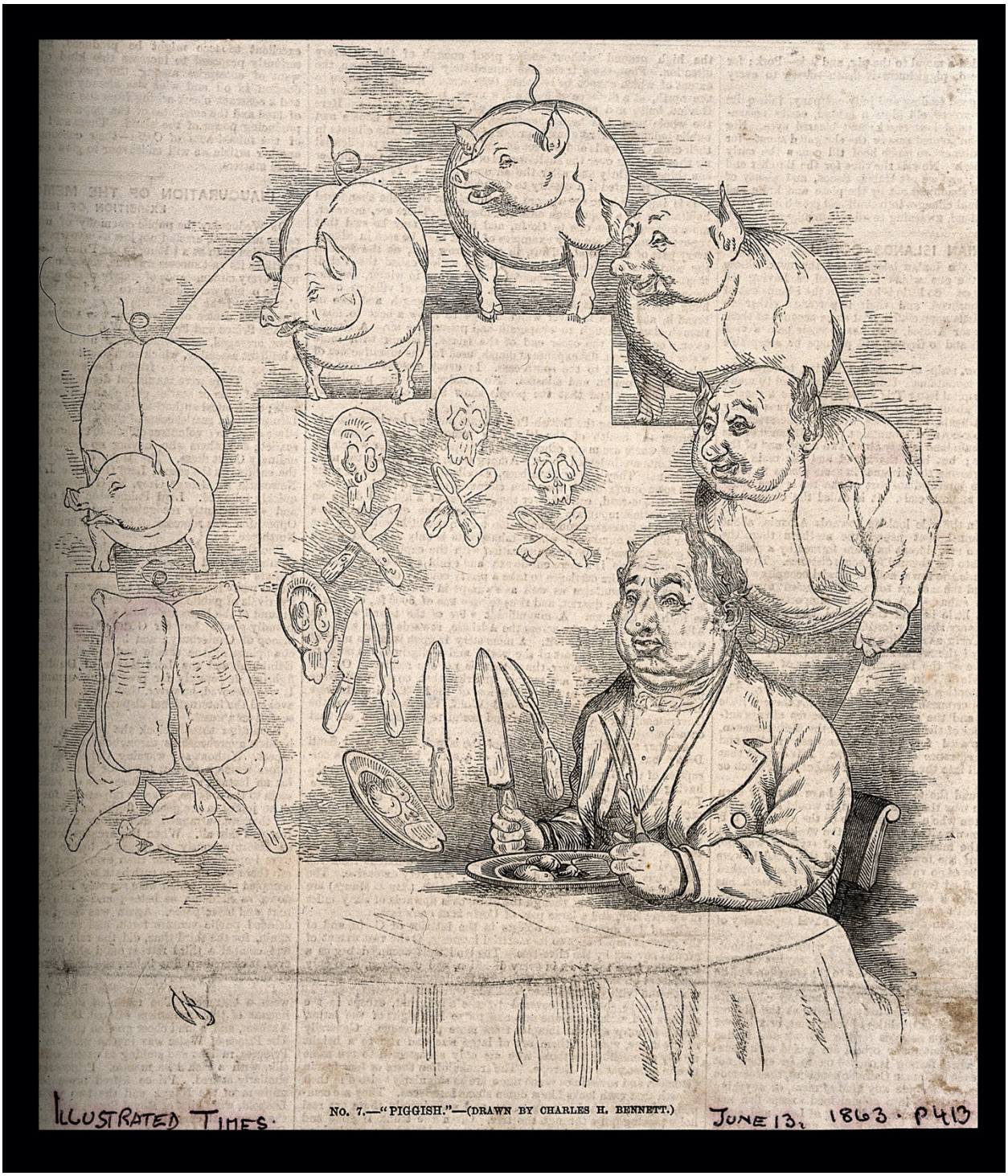

Figure 2: Charles Henry Bennett, "Piggish," *Illustrated Times*, 1863.

Figure 3: Printed by Brown, Barnes & Bell, ""Krao," Farini's Missing Link.", Lithograph, Liverpool, c. 1884.

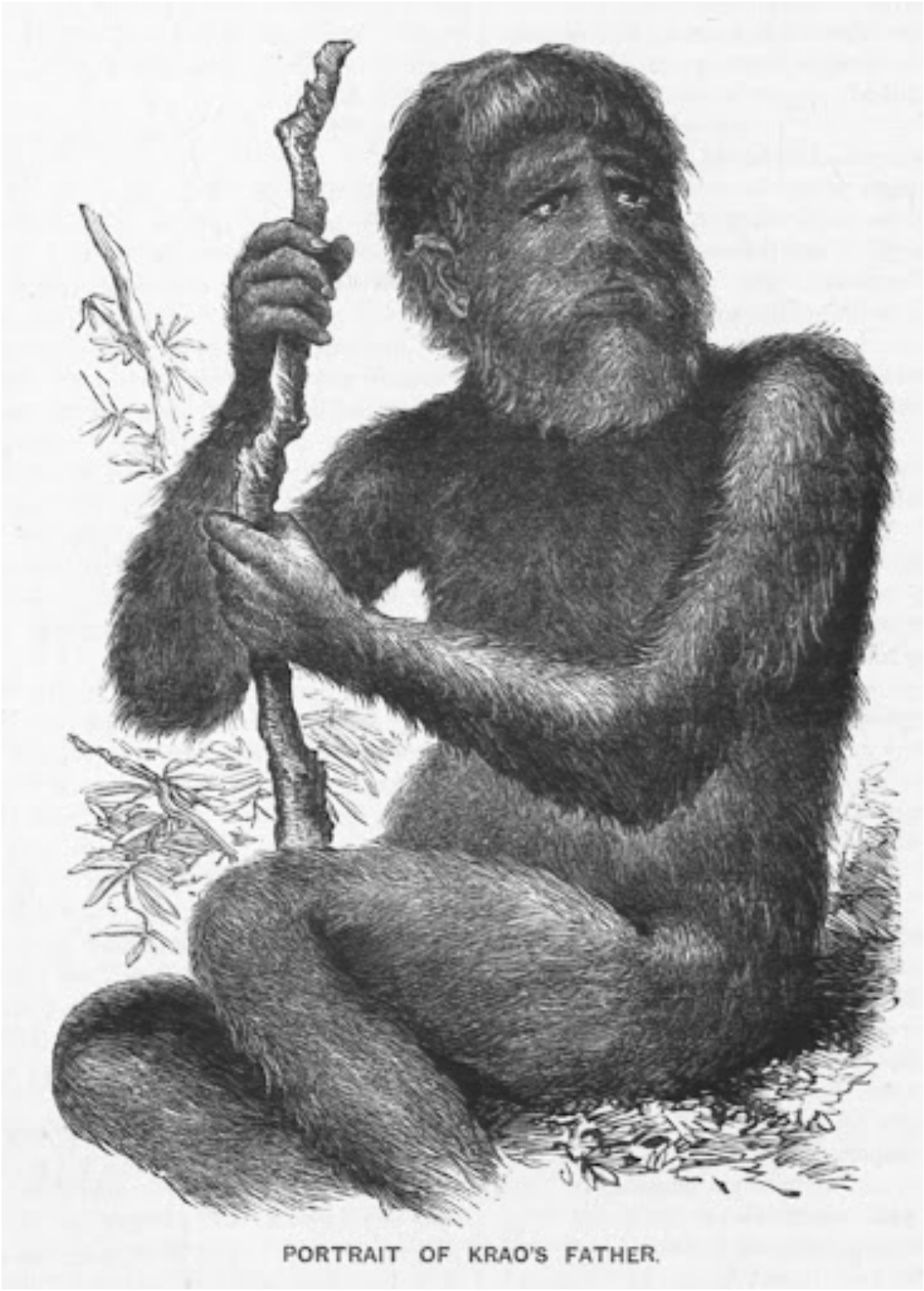

Figure 4: "Portrait of Krao's Father," from 1863 Royal Aquarium exhibition pamphlet titled *'Krao' The 'Missing Link' A Living Proof of Darwin's Theory of The Descent of Man,* 1863.

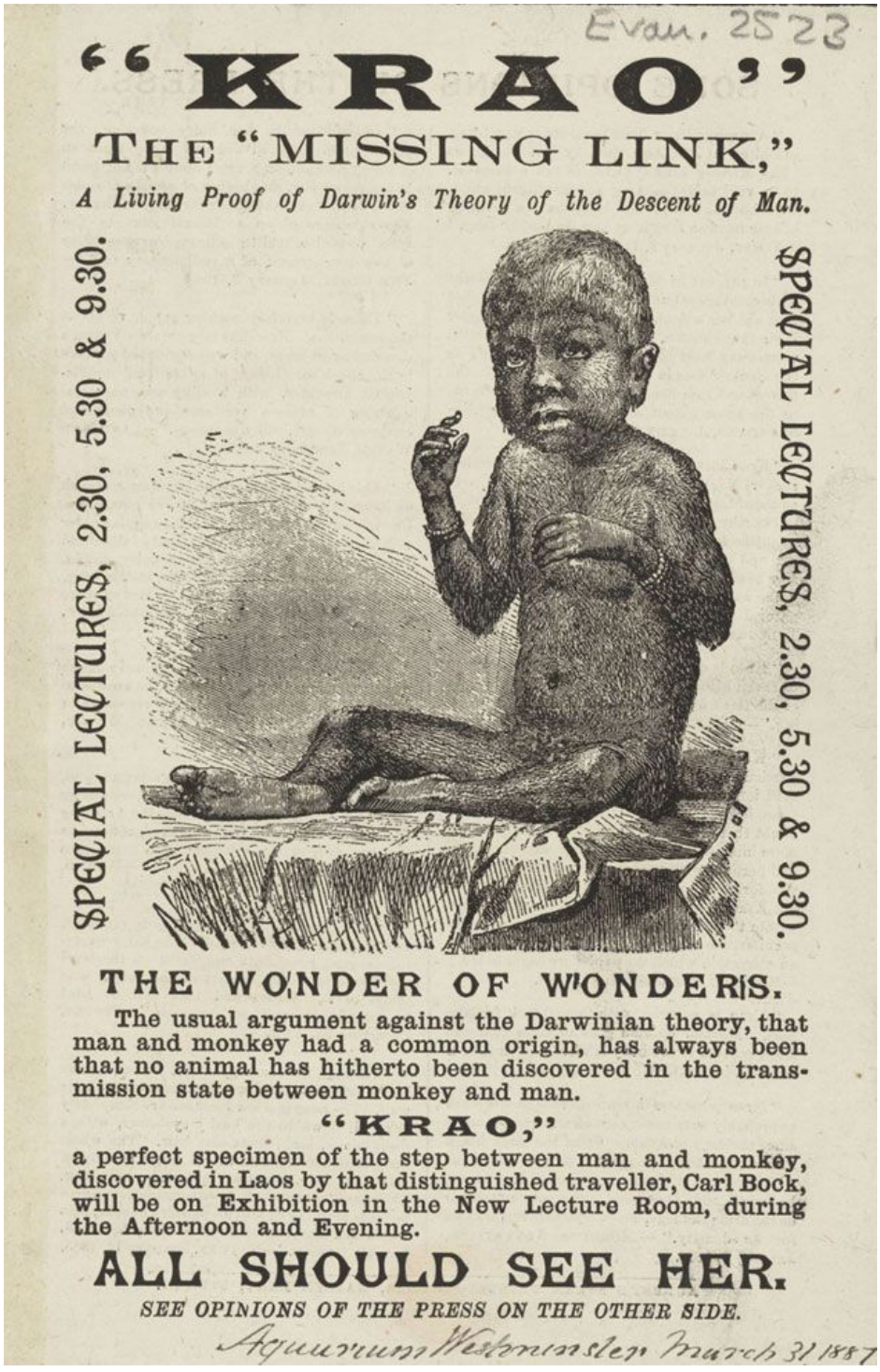

Figure 5: ""Krao" The "Missing Link," A Living Proof of Darwin's Theory of the Descent of Man.", handbill for exhibition at the Royal Westminster Aquarium, 1887.

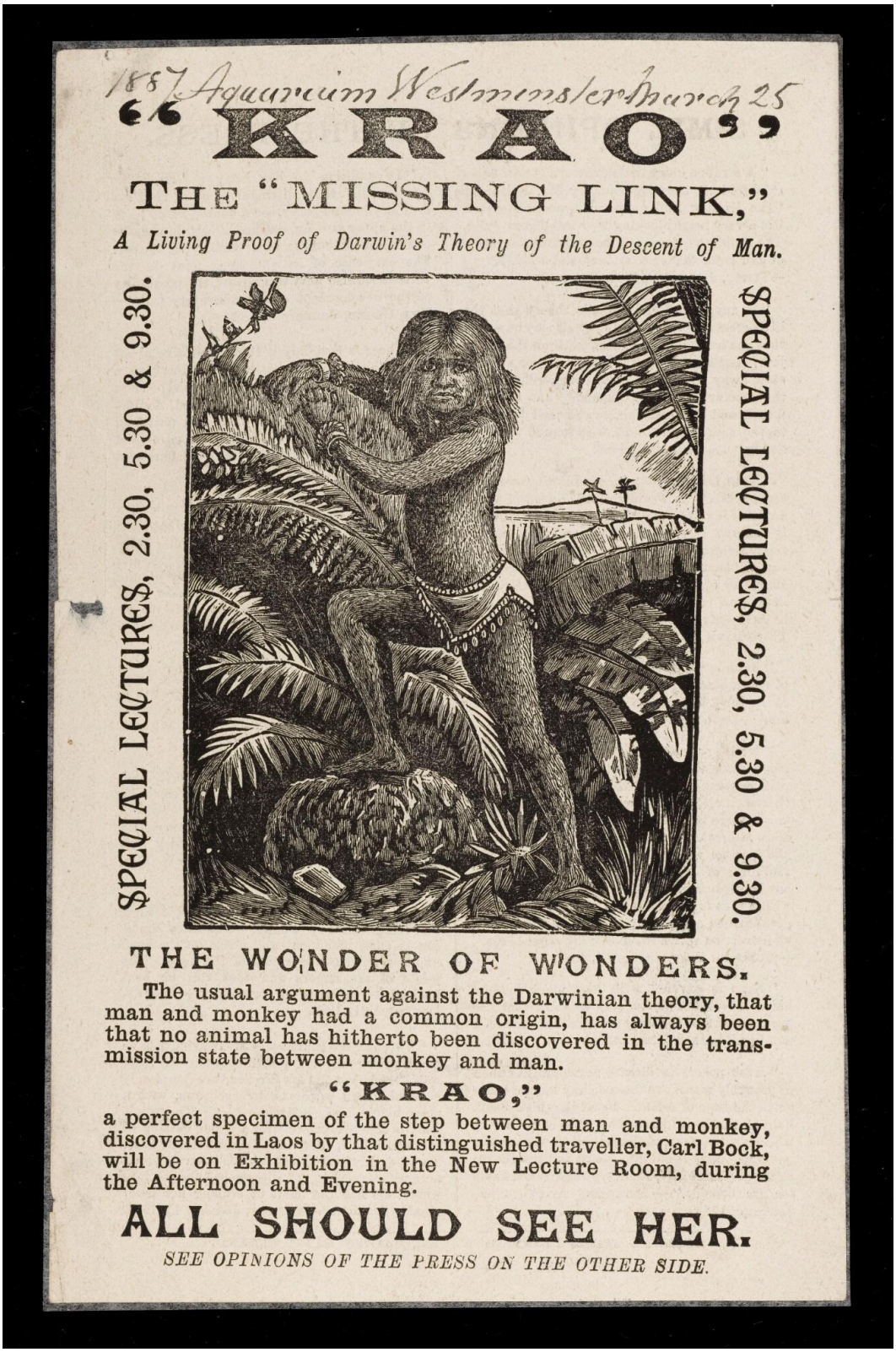

Figure 6: ""Krao" The "Missing Link," A Living Proof of Darwin's Theory of the Descent of Man.", handbill for exhibition at the Royal Westminster Aquarium, 1887.

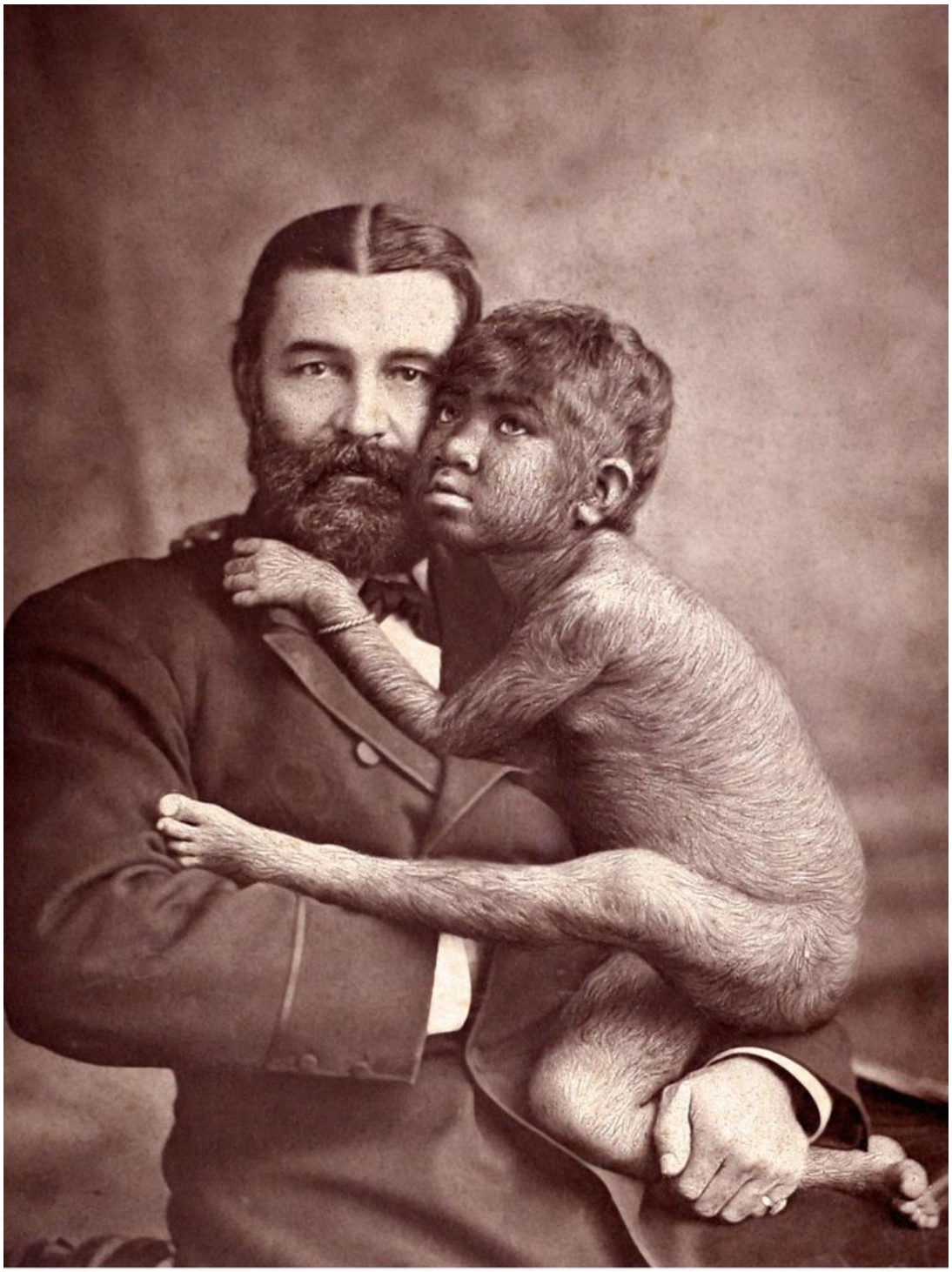

Figure 7: Portrait of Krao and G.A. Farini, 1882.

Figure 8: Portrait of Krao and G.A. Farini, 1882.

Figure 9: Printed by Brown, Barnes & Bell, ""Krao," Farini's Missing Link.", Photograph, Liverpool, c. 1884.

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