

VICTORIAN FREAKS

VICTORIAN FREAKS

*The Social Context of
Freakery in Britain*



EDITED BY

Marlene Tromp



The Ohio State University Press
Columbus

Copyright © 2008 by The Ohio State University.
All rights reserved.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Victorian freaks : the social context of freakery in Britain / edited by Marlene Tromp.
p. ; cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-8142-1086-4 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Abnormalities, Human—Great Britain—History—19th century. 2. Freak shows—Great Britain—History—19th century. 3. Body, Human—Social aspects—Great Britain—History—19th century.

[DNLM: 1. Abnormalities—history—Great Britain. 2. History, 19th Century—Great Britain. 3. Social Conditions—history—Great Britain. WZ 308 V645 2008] I. Tromp, Marlene, 1966–

QM691.V53 2008

616.0430941—dc22

2007045057

This book is available in the following editions:

Cloth (ISBN 978-0-8142-1086-4)

CD-ROM (ISBN 978-0-8142-9166-5)

Cover design by Laurence J. Nozik

Text design by Juliet Williams

Type set in Adobe Goudy Old Style

Printed by Sheridan Books, Inc.

∞The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials. ANSI Z39.48-1992.

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vii
<i>Foreword</i> Freakery Unfurled ROSEMARIE GARLAND-THOMSON	ix
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>Introduction</i> Toward Situating the Victorian Freak MARLENE TROMP, WITH KARYN VALERIUS	i
PART I: MARKETING AND CONSUMING FREAKERY	19
1 Even as You and I: Freak Shows and Lay Discourse on Spectacular Deformity HEATHER McHOLD	21
2 Freaklore: The Dissemination, Fragmentation, and Reinvention of the Legend of Daniel Lambert, King of Fat Men JOYCE L. HUFF	37
3 White Wings and Six-Legged Muttons: The Freakish Animal TIMOTHY NEIL	60
PART II: SCIENCE, MEDICINE, AND THE SOCIAL	77
4 “Poor Hoo Loo”: Sentiment, Stoicism, and the Grotesque in British Imperial Medicine MEEGAN KENNEDY	79
5 Elephant Talk: Language and Enfranchisement in the Merrick Case CHRISTINE C. FERGUSON	114
6 The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle: Krao and the Victorian Discourses of Evolution, Imperialism, and Primitive Sexuality NADJA DURBACH	134

PART III: EMPIRE, RACE, AND COMMODITY	155
7 Empire and the Indian Freak: The “Miniature Man” from Cawnpore and the “Marvellous Indian Boy” on Tour in England MARLENE TROMP	157
8 The Victorian Mummy-Fetish: H. Rider Haggard, Frank Aubrey, and the White Mummy KELLY HURLEY	180
9 Our Bear Women, Ourselves: Affiliating with Julia Pastrana REBECCA STERN	200
PART IV: READING AND SPECTATING THE FREAK	235
10 Queering the Marriage Plot: Wilkie Collins’s <i>The Law and the Lady</i> MARTHA STODDARD HOLMES	237
11 Freaks That Matter: The Dolls’ Dressmaker, the Doctor’s Assistant, and the Limits of Difference MELISSA FREE	259
12 A Collaborative Aesthetic: Levinas’s Idea of Responsibility and the Photographs of Charles Eisenmann and the Late Nineteenth-Century Freak-Performer CHRISTOPHER R. SMIT	283
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	313
<i>Index</i>	317

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 2.1	Daniel Lambert	40
Figure 2.2	Daniel Lambert's clothing	42
Figure 2.3	Lambert and Napoleon cartoon	52
Figure 2.4	Lambert game at Stamford Museum	55
Figure 4.1	"Mr. Mathew Buchinger . . ."	80
Figure 4.2	"Poor Hoo Loo"	94
Figure 4.3	View of leg, with elephantiasis	96
Figure 4.4	View of tumor on neck	96
Figure 4.5	European with scrotal tumor	97
Figure 4.6	Paunchoo	97
Figure 4.7	Shakarm, the "Fat Boy" of Bombay	99
Figure 6.1	Krao, the Missing Link	145
Figure 7.1	Mohammed Baux, the Miniature Man of India	165
Figure 7.2	Laloo	168
Figure 9.1	Pears' Soap advertisement	207
Figure 9.2	Pears' Soap "The Dawn of Civilization"	209
Figure 9.3	Handbill for Julia Pastrana's 1857 appearance in London's Regent Gallery	212
Figure 9.4	Julia Pastrana, etching from the <i>Penny Illustrated Journal</i>	215

Figure 9.5	Julia Pastrana sculpture by Holley Bakich	220
Figure 9.6	Kathleen Anderson Culebro's painting for the New York production of <i>The True History of the Tragic Life and Triumphant Death of Julia Pastrana, the Ugliest Woman in the World</i>	221
Figure 12.1	Moses Jerome (elephant boy)	285
Figure 12.2	Doctor and suspended patient	297
Figure 12.3	Unidentified bearded lady	298
Figure 12.4	Rosie Lesslie—fat lady	299
Figure 12.5	Rosie Wolf—midget	302–3
Figure 12.6	Chauncy Morlan (young with coat)	304
Figure 12.7	Chauncy Morlan (nude, direct stare)	304
Figure 12.8	Chauncy Morlan (nude posterior)	304
Figure 12.9	Chauncy Morlan (nude reclining)	304
Figure 12.10	Chauncy Morlan (coat no arms)	305
Figure 12.11	Unidentified man with very hairy arms	307
Figure 12.12	Eli Bowen—legless man	308

FOREWORD

FREAKERY UNFURLED

ROSEMARIE GARLAND-THOMSON

THIS RICH and compelling collection is exemplary of what academics do best. The cultural work of scholars is to create new knowledge in the form of an ongoing critical conversation that considers and reconsiders a subject in increasingly fresh and complex ways. During the ten years between the publication of *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*,¹ the collection I edited in 1996, and this 2008 publication of *Victorian Freaks*, edited by Marlene Tromp, the conversation about the display of human beings as curiosities for what Robert Bogdan has called “amusement and profit” has expanded and deepened.²

In my view, the emergence of what has come to be called Freaks Studies, a subfield within American Studies and Cultural Studies, begins in 1978 with Leslie Fiedler’s counterculture manifesto, *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self*.³ While Fiedler’s study unearths the history of the freak figure in new ways, it is rooted in the archetypal criticism of the period and a 1970s sensibility that seeks to defend freaks against the establishment. Fiedler aligns the freak figure with the hippie figure, arguing that freaks ought to be valued and allowed to exist in the world because they teach “us” about “ourselves.” Ten years later in 1988, Robert Bogdan’s *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* brings a social constructivist reading to the freak figure that

focuses on the disparity between actual people who took on the role of freaks and the exaggerated performance of the displays. Bogdan's materialist analysis brings forward for the first time the social category of disability to demonstrate that freak shows are part of the labor history of people with disabilities, often augmented with racialization and gender ambiguity. By moving the freak figure from mythology to materialism, Bogdan begins the critical project of humanizing freaks.

Almost ten years after Bogdan published *Freak Show*, my edited collection, *Freakery*, expanded his constructivist approach by bringing forward the issue of representation more fully, often through literary analysis and historiography. Following Bogdan, *Freakery* and the various book-length studies that began in that volume rigorously grounded their analysis in the social systems of disability, race, gender, class, and sexuality. After Bogdan, freaks were always people who performed roles as freaks. Several very strong cultural studies about freaks, largely by historians and literary critics, emerged from Bogdan's tradition and *Freakery*. Rachel Adams, James W. Cook, Andrea Dennett, Alice Dreger, and Benjamin Reiss, among others, ranged across American freakery, dominated as it is by Barnum, the canny and outrageous entrepreneur who took us all to the cleaners with his humbugs, even as we delighted in the ride.⁴

My challenge in writing the foreword to *Freakery*—and in all the scholarly work I do on the representation of disability—is how to find precise language to talk about freaks and their display that unsettles the way we understand freaks as freakish, as on the far edge of human, as not “us.” In other words, how do we talk about freaks without reinscribing the oppressive attitudes we attempt to critique? The most effective way to do this is to keep a steady focus on the materiality of the people who performed as freaks and the particular circumstances of their actual lives. Bogdan's sociological constructivist approach assures the freak's humanity by focusing on the social relations of enfreakment.

Victorian Freaks advances this project of according full humanity to the people who performed as freaks by shifting from a social constructivist understanding of freakery to a rigorous materialist analysis. This fine collection ranges across a wide spectrum of what might be called freak instances in a particular historical time and place: Victorian Britain. By turning the focus of freaked studies from American matters to concerns that emerge in the British context—while acknowledging the global and transnational implications that remain in play, even when reading from that British context—the authors here look to the alternative

notions of the marketplace and economics in Britain, alongside the intellectual and social industry of medicine, the role of imperialism, and the peculiarly British set of social values presented in the period fiction. Thus, this collection when placed beside much of the other studies of freakery introduces a strong comparative aspect into our inquiry of these pervasive spectacles.

By materialist analysis, I mean not just economic relations of freakery but also how the material aspects of social categories such as race, gender, class, and—in particular—disability play out in the material world. This insistence on the specific materiality of freak performances refuses metaphor and insists on humanity. It expands from the material lives of freaks, their handlers, and their audiences to demonstrate how the shows were dramas that played out cultural anxieties in both the individual and national context. The virtue of this analysis is that the freaks cannot be relegated to metaphorical figures of otherness, but rather they are enfleshed as they are enfreaked, always particular people in particular lives at particular moments in particular places.

Victorian Freaks not only makes a splendid contribution to Freak Studies, Disability Studies, and Victorian Studies, it is one of the liveliest collections I have come across. It knows how to talk about freaks, to vivify and humanize the entire cast of characters involved in these marvelous and theatrical social rituals.

Notes

1. Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, ed., *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (New York: New York University Press, 1996).
2. Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988).
3. Leslie Fiedler, *Freaks: Myths and Human Images of the Secret Self* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978).
4. Rachel Adams, *Sideshow U.S.A.: Freaks and the American Cultural Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Andrea Stulman Dennett, *Weird and Wonderful: The Dime Museum in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Alice Domurat Dreger, *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); and Benjamin Reiss, *The Showman and The Slave: Race, Death, and Memory in Barnum's America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The editor would like to express her sincere gratitude to Sandy Crooms and Heather Lee Miller, both of whom were wonderful and supportive editors; Julie Anne Lambert, librarian at the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera at the Bodleian; the librarians at Denison University; Sandy Spence and Tiffany Horton; and the anonymous readers for The Ohio State University Press.

INTRODUCTION

**TOWARD SITUATING THE
VICTORIAN FREAK**

**MARLENE TROMP,
WITH
KARYN VALERIUS**

“FREAKS” have captivated our imagination since well before the Victorian period—we can trace records back to the public exhibition of freaks for centuries—but the nineteenth century was a time of significant social change, highly popular freak shows, and taxonomic frenzy; this nexus makes the period particularly rich for the study of the freak¹ phenomena. Nearly every critic writing on freaks has echoed this sentiment, pointing to the Victorian era as central in the establishment of freak shows and in the evolving understanding of “freaks” as a social construct. Indeed, it was in 1847 that the term developed its contemporary association with human anomaly.² This collection of essays considers the period Rosemarie Garland-Thomson has described as the epoch of “consolidation” for freakery.³ The authors here focus on this period, highlighting several important patterns. They examine the struggle over definitions of freakery, the unstable and sometimes conflicting ways in which freakery was understood and deployed. They explore the ways in which the multiple constructs of freakery threatened to undermine definitions of normalcy—a notion in relation to which freakery was structured.

Centrally, the essays in this collection seek to understand the effects of individual and ideological relationships to freakery and to situate

freaks in their Victorian cultural context. In this way, we hope to flesh out the impact of freakery on mainstream culture, as well as some of the cultural investments that produced freakery. While this book only begins this project, the scholarship presented here helps us better understand not only freakery but also the period. To open the conversation, we have three aims in the introduction: first, to *locate* freakery. We talk about how, in general, freakery comes to be defined by its historical period, which makes comprehending freakery's context a vital process. We then ask broad-based questions about how it can be read in its social, political, and material context in the nineteenth century. Second, we *dislocate* freakery to examine the ways in which the malleability and fluidity of the concept amplified its importance in mainstream culture. Debates over the freak brought conversations about freakery into the mainstream in a way that again calls for attention to cultural and historical specificity. Finally, we look across the range of essays in the collection to identify how they will, with more specificity, identify some of the material effects of and relationships to freakery.

Locating the Freak: Social Context

Mary Russo has argued in her study of the “freak and the uncanny” that the “grotesque body is . . . irregular secreting, multiple, and changing,” yet it is also “identified with . . . social transformation.”⁴ While she acknowledges that the carnivalesque and freakish can have a “complicitous place in dominant culture,” she underscores the potential for social transformation from the locus of the freak, and indicates that, for this reason, studies of it have often been anthropological, culturally situated, and a source of information regarding social processes.⁵ To a Victorianist, assessing the complex role of freakery in the nineteenth century means situating these disruptive and multivalent constructs. In her study of female disability in the nineteenth-century novel, Cindy LaCom argues that we must read bodily difference in its historical context to understand better how identity in the period—for both the “normative” and the “non-normative”—was constructed.⁶ We can better comprehend constructions of femaleness, she argues, if we understand constructions of the woman as freak. It is not only scholars of freakery who have argued that context is crucial in terms of understanding social constructs and identity formation, but also theorists of culture and identity. Judith Butler laid much of the groundwork for such thinking when

she argued that gender, sexuality, and, more generally, the body itself are “produced effects of [laws] imposed by culture”—in other words, that these structures are generated by and generate social meaning.⁷ It follows, then, that we must understand the social context in which those “laws” are produced to evaluate this process and its outcomes.

Biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling concurs with Butler’s claims about the social process of identity formation in her study of sexual “anomalies.” She explains that the body is a “somatic fact *created* by cultural effect.”⁸ The body—whether normative or not—is structured by the cultural context. This does not mean that the “body” is simply discursive, that there is no body or potential bodily difference to comprehend or figure or that these constructs are not multiple and slippery. Rather, it suggests that the body and its characteristics only come to mean something within a particular social and conceptual system and that the body is, in fact, determined by context. Take, for example, a case tackled by both Butler and Fausto-Sterling—and one that can serve as a model for studying the social and bodily construct of freakery in the nineteenth century—that of biological sex.

Fausto-Sterling explains that those categories that seem so clear and foundational in contemporary culture are actually socially defined, and that we can see this evidenced in the response to intersexed or “hermaphroditic” bodies (bodies that blur the lines between the sexes by being neither “properly” male nor female). Intersexuals’ bodies are often surgically restructured in Western culture to preserve traditional notions of gender, but these restructurings are based on highly capricious and culturally specific notions of what “counts” as male or female genitalia (i.e., the size or length of the phallus) or what is valued in that particular society. For example, children who are born with congenital adrenal hyperplasia—chromosomally XX (“female”) babies who have “masculinized” genitalia (an apparent penis)—are almost always identified as boys at birth and then surgically altered to “look female” in the United States: the phallus is reduced, the tissue surrounding it cosmetically shaped, and the children raised as girls. In Saudi Arabia, however, where male births are highly valued, these children are often raised as male.⁹ On the other hand, children with XY (“male”) chromosomes who are androgen insensitive are born with “feminized” genitalia and are typically raised as female. In adulthood, with no intervention, they will be virtually indistinguishable from adult XX bodies, except for the lack of functional uterus and ovaries.¹⁰ In the nineteenth century, these individuals would have been read as unquestionably female, though

infertile. Today, a woman might unexpectedly discover this medical fact as an adult and have her whole life turned upside down, as Olympic athlete Maria Patiño did when she was barred from competing in 1988.

Both of these cases reveal the way in which social context drives our understanding of bodies and sex identity. By extension, we can see how this would relate to bodily definitions of normalcy and freakery. While we may have been trained to think of freakery as a self-evident physical anomaly with which someone is born, the essays here emphasize the ways in which freakishness is made, not just with biology, but with a social function in a social context. If people from different cultures and physical landscapes (e.g., Chinese or Africans) could be exhibited as freaks in the United States and Europe in the nineteenth century simply because they were culturally and socially different from Anglo-Americans and Anglo-Europeans, and if people with tattoos or very long hair or nails were (and remain) staples of freak shows, then we must recognize the way in which enfreakment is not just about nature's work but rather is created by the body, plus its context, plus individual choices. Social context has as much weight as physical difference. Even those differences we recognize as most overtly bodily, such as hirsutism or, even more subtly, hair on a woman's upper lip, are tolerated in various degrees depending upon the culture, and some clearly visible differences have almost no social valence at all—such as whether or not individuals have attached or detached earlobes—or very little social valence, such as extra toes or missing fingers. It is, in part, because we frame something as freakish that it becomes freakish to us, as Robert Bogdan has argued. For Bogdan, a freak is social construction, not a personal matter or condition of body—a “frame of mind and set of practices.”¹¹

This certainly does not mean we should elide the very real bodily differences that can affect individual lives. Disability and visible difference have often been central features in the construction of freakishness, and there is a politics to this phenomenon,¹² but we must ask in tandem what makes one difference freakish and not another in a particular cultural moment. To understand this process of enfreakment we must understand the social context in which it is defined. Moreover, most academics are scholars of particular periods and locations, and having “situated” information enriches our understanding of all other aspects of that physical and temporal landscape. Currently, however, the vast majority of the scholarship on freak shows and on the construction of freaks has been situated in the United States, in part because of colossal

figures such as P. T. Barnum, who has been read almost exclusively in his native American context. There has been no sustained exploration that historically and physically situates the phenomenon in nineteenth-century Britain or examines its impact on British Victorian consciousness. The work on U.S. culture has served as a model for the kind of scholarship contained in this collection, particularly as it points to the ways in which American culture shaped and was shaped by the structure and content of circuses, sideshows, and their performers. Chief among these works is Rosemarie Garland-Thomson's *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Disability in American Culture and Literature* and her fine collection, *Freakery*, which spans history and genre to speak to largely American "cultural spectacles" shaped around the "extraordinary body." Other important and pivotal studies are Leslie Fiedler's *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* and Robert Bogdan's *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit*. Also significant are Rachel Adams's *Sideshow U.S.A.: Freaks and the American Cultural Imagination*, James W. Cook's *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum*, Benjamin Reiss's *The Showman and the Slave: Race, Death, and Memory in Barnum's America*, and Janet M. Davis's *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top*.¹³ This superb work on freakery has provided the springboard for this project, and the general precepts of these arguments are often enormously valuable.

These writers point to the ways in which the production of performers in a particular space and time emerges from and helps shape the circulating social concerns. For example, Barnum advertised performers whom he billed as former slaves, exhibitions that were marketed to appeal to American patriotism, to both exploit and speak to the ongoing anxieties about the history of slavery, and to participate in the production of a new sense of Americanness. As Benjamin Reiss has argued, studying the strategies of such exhibitions is like "tak[ing] a tour of [American] antebellum cultural history."¹⁴ James W. Cook concurs, calling these exhibits "the birthday of modern American popular culture."¹⁵ He traces its initial "quintessentially antebellum American[ness]" and its ultimate transformation into a Barnumesque game of questions of truth and performance, calling the latter a form of "artful deception"¹⁶ that he reads as a particularly American phenomenon. There is no equivalent study that focuses on Britain. Another fine study, John Kuo Wei Tchen's *New York Before Chinatown*,¹⁷ examines the role of Orientalism in the creation of Americanness. His research considers the range of Asian exhibits, from Chang and Eng, the "Siamese Twins," to those

who simply appeared on stage in Asian dress. He argues that responses to such performers were based on American ideological constructions of Orientalism—structures that reflected American values of race, difference, and national identity, not British notions of the same.

We must take up the lead offered by scholars like these and move toward situating freakery in the British context for Victorian studies scholars. In spite of the heavily American focus of most previous research, many of the people who figure our understanding of freakery appeared frequently in Victorian Britain, and the British were voracious consumers and producers of freakery. Joseph Merrick, the “Elephant Man,” was born in and spent most of his life in England; Charles Stratton, known as “General Tom Thumb,” was a favorite in the royal courts; Julia Pastrana, “The Nondescript,” inspired English poets and novelists; and Krao Farini, “The Missing Link,” appeared at the Westminster Aquarium in London. As Mathew Sweet has pointed out in one of the few studies that even speaks to England’s consumption of freakery, “In Britain, the exhibition of bizarre curiosities—some living, some dead, some animal, some human—was a thriving industry throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.”¹⁸ Though this collection cannot offer an exhaustive or complete response to the critical questions about the place of the freak in Victorian Britain—indeed, as a body, these essays suggest that any notion of “containment” or “completeness” would ignore the multiplicity and fluidity that they also describe—it does offer a significant and engaging conversation about these issues. It attempts, for the first time, to throw the door open to questions about the context of British Victorian freakery, to take seriously Rachel Adams’s sense that imbricated in the freak shows were “ruptures in the anticipated order of things.”¹⁹ If we hope to gesture toward the ways in which these ruptures figured social structures and social power, and also may have participated in social evolution, we must place them in their context.

Of course, this does not mean that we should ignore the transnational pollination, and the essays here cross the borders of the time and space they intend to illuminate in order to flesh out the differences and similarities between the U.S. and British contexts in richer ways. There is real value in understanding cross-cultural dialogues and in drawing out these relationships, but the distinctions are relevant as well. Even a cursory look at the British handbills produced for performers evidences the way in which they often bore the mark of English concerns and anxieties. Perhaps performers and their managers may have even chosen

the itinerary for their tour because the identity they were continually constructing better suited the context of a particular set of cultural concerns. For example, an Irish or Indian performer had a different socio-political valence in England than he would in America, and notions of class were figured very differently in the United States than in Britain. The essays in this collection, however, will begin to develop a conversation around this field of concerns. While this project calls for more work on British freakery, work that can more clearly illuminate both differences and similarities and offer the kinds of comparative analyses that will enrich our understanding of both “normalcy” and “deviance” in a British context, these essays seek to locate—and, as we explain below, to dislocate—the Victorian freak.

Dislocating the Freak: Social Ambiguity

While we have argued that locating the freak is crucial, we must also attend to dislocation as well, exploring freakery’s fluidity, political ambiguity, and, in Rachel Adams’s term, “plasticity.” Freak exhibitions in the nineteenth century did not offer stable definitions of the freak. Instead, they employed hyperbole, misrepresentation, elaborate costuming and staging, and narrative modes from the fantastic to the sentimental. They paired farce with medical description and scientific theories. These strategies made the freak exhibition a *mélange* of ideas, of propositions; and these propositions invited a range of affective responses from curiosity and wonder to horror and disgust—but they always evoked conversation. Medical science may have attempted to minimize ambiguity and eliminate contradiction, but even scientific narratives were often in conflict, which generated more debate. Exhibited freaks and their managers often exploited the tensions in these conversations, generating multiple, even contradictory interpretations of bodily and social meaning for and with its audiences. As Rachel Adams has argued, both performers and audiences actively participated in generating meanings at freak shows—live events that privileged audience engagement. Audience and performers were engaging with one another in a climate that confused the boundaries between self and other, normal and pathological, authenticity and fraudulence.²⁰

Ambiguous bodies were not only commodified to produce a profit; they were a traffic in such ambiguous social meanings and controversy as well. Although promotional hype often proclaimed that the “original,”

“authentic,” “biggest,” or “smallest” was represented at the show, the goal of such advertising was not necessarily to persuade the public of the veracity of such claims but to provoke *profitable* conjecture. Freak shows attracted audiences by inviting the public to engage in epistemological speculation. Was the Feejee Mermaid a fake? Was the bearded lady really a man? Audiences paid for the opportunity to take a look and decide for themselves. Significantly, this interrogatory practice made freak shows volatile interpretive spaces that repeatedly called the boundary between the imaginary and the real into question, and by extension challenged the authority of discourses like medical science to name and explain the significance of the human body, as well as that of mainstream culture to determine all notions of normalcy. While profitable, such tension also begins to help us understand how such widespread cultural dialogue could produce cultural effects.

Much scholarly analysis of freak shows within the rubrics of cultural studies and disability studies proceeds from a commitment to contest discourses that naturalize race, gender, sexuality, and disability as categories describing bodily attributes rather than as structures that emerge from social relationships. They focus on rendering visible the effects of culture on freakery and of freakery on culture. Bogdan and Garland-Thomson agree that the freak show both authorized and delegitimated identities, but they part ways on who is enabled in the encounter between the freak and the observer. For Robert Bogdan, the present-day condemnation of freak shows reflects well-meaning but condescending assumptions about disability that were not shared by nineteenth-century performers and audiences. Bogdan argues that the majority of performers did not understand themselves to be exploited but preferred making a living with freak shows to the limited alternatives available to them in the mainstream.²¹ In a critique of Bogdan’s study, historian David Gerber argues that unequal social relations severely constrained the choices available to the people who became freak show performers and therefore compromised the “consent” Bogdan reads there.²² Garland-Thomson’s work looks to the ways in which the “othered” body serves as a marker for normalcy and absorbs anxieties embedded in the production of normalcy, notions that shift from culture to culture and over time.²³ Each of them agrees, however, that the formation of freak identity was a process, and one that was complexly inflected by the culture in which the freak emerged.

Here, we emphasize, as many of the essays in this collection do, the ways in which freakery operates through partial, shifting identifi-

cations—rather than stable oppositions and objectification—and that freaks were marked, figured, and refigured by the social and national context that both Bogdan and Garland-Thomson perceive as crucial. This is not to elide the exploitation of freak performers or the asymmetrical power relations between audiences and performers. It does, however, challenge us to imagine that, while freak shows did help to materialize the politically invested distinction between the normal and the pathological, the relationship between the terms was not always simple and was always heavily inflected by social engagement. Freaks provoked both identification and disavowal. The ambiguity, rhetorical excess, and ambivalence mobilized by the freak could work to oppose the standard for normalcy—to destabilize its naturalized status—as well as to produce and confirm it.

This “uneven” process, in Mary Poovey’s terms,²⁴ made the meaning of exhibits (and the audiences that visited them) a question for speculation. Freak shows encouraged debate, which drew audiences and, in turn, became a part of a larger cultural dialogue. Whether or not it was always a conscious strategy—Barnum clearly chose it and excelled at it²⁵—the process engaged the public. The details of two of Barnum’s cases provide perhaps the most vivid example of the ways in which the freak was defined by and engaged in social debate and dialogue. When Madame Clofullia, a bearded woman, first exhibited herself in the 1850s, an “audience member” employed by Barnum objected that she was actually a man in women’s clothing and filed a lawsuit. Several doctors, her husband, and her father all verified that she was a woman, and the courts dismissed the suit. The media, of course, followed the entire affair with interest, arousing curiosity and attracting crowds.²⁶ Likewise, when Barnum exhibited the Feejee Mermaid (a stuffed creature constructed from the body of a monkey sewn to the tail of a fish) in 1842, several naturalists publicly denounced the mermaid as impossible, and Barnum exploited this to his benefit. His advertisements maintained the uncertainty of the matter: “[It] is decidedly the most stupendous curiosity ever submitted to the public for inspection. If it is artificial the senses of sight and touch are ineffectual—if it is natural then all concur in declaring it *the greatest Curiosity in the World*.”²⁷ Although the disagreement in this case was between scientific opinion and the claims of showmen, Barnum presented it to the public as a controversy among scientists and invited the general public to weigh in on the matter. “Who is to decide,” an advertisement asked, “when *doctors disagree?*” These tactics render visible the social engagement: the showman, the

performer, the journalist, the scientist, and the public all participate in the process. Clearly, this kind of richly inflected conversation can reveal Victorian ideological investments in a host of issues, including those beyond freakery itself.

For example, while the debates framing freak exhibitions and performances were driven by a desire for profit, rather than to challenge prevailing political structures, the social dialogue they produced often achieved both ends. These gestures tapped into the investments of audiences in ongoing social conflicts regarding “the Woman Question,” the emergent hegemony of the professional class, empire, and scientific advances. While the marketing strategies for an exhibit such as the Feejee Mermaid were a means of preempting charges of fraud and producing an audience, they appealed in part because they challenged the exclusiveness of scientific opinion and publicly extended a general invitation to participate in what was constructed as a scientific debate. Bearded ladies such as Madame Clofullia and the famous Julia Pastrana supplied a level of double entendre to women’s rights certainly not anticipated by nineteenth-century suffragists and their opponents. The claim that Clofullia was a fraud provoked speculation about her gender identity and, by implication, adamantly asserted two unambiguously distinct sexes, setting the stage for a spectacular announcement that she was indeed a woman with a full beard. This announcement unsettled prevailing assumptions about the distinctions between male and female bodies at a historical moment in which feminists and their opponents alike were invoking physiological explanations for sex difference to authorize their political claims.

Indeed, as Christopher Hals Gylseth and Lars O. Toverud suggest, the Victorians seemed to have been haunted by the figure of the bearded woman. These authors quote at length a poem by Arthur Munby called “Pastrana,”²⁸ in which the narrator describes an encounter with the bearded lady. His account suggests a gendered slipperiness that undermines not only notions of femininity, but also—perhaps as a corollary— notions of masculinity as well:

Perhaps she would get at me, after all!
 If the links should break, I might well feel small,
 Young as I was, and strong and tall,
 And blest with a human shape,
 To see myself foil’d in that lonely place
 By a desperate brute with a monstrous face,

And hugg'd to death in the foul embrace
Of a loathly angry ape.²⁹

Though the narrator is young and strong and tall, the very epitome of masculinity, he is undone by the power of the bearded lady. In whatever way the culture attempts to manage and chain her into place, “the links [might] break,” and when she is set loose, the boundaries of gender determinacy are crossed. She threatens the narrator with an “embrace” so powerful that it would “foil” him, undo his masculine power, make him feel “small.” The imagined embrace, however, also implies the eroticized attraction of Pastrana and other bearded women.³⁰ This complex series of tensions offered more than simply the shock value of this singular difference, as this poem suggests. They preoccupied the Victorian imagination because they suggested a kind of slipperiness of identity that threatened to undermine gender codes, a phenomenon that was occurring in a host of ways culturewide. Where a discomfiting cultural disruption was already taking place—every novel, book of manners, and household guide was engaged in the struggle to define gender—the bearded woman seemed to underscore a radical instability of the norm. The narrator of the poem has no power against her; she is only contained by the uncertain chains. Clearly, her size and strength are metaphors for the danger—as well as the attraction—of boundary transgression. They reveal the allure and drama of the freak that engaged the culture at large.

The social tensions described in these examples could not have existed in a vacuum. They exploited ideological tensions already in place, as well as public interest in social conflicts. Some exhibits encouraged skepticism toward experts (like the Feejee Mermaid), but others (like Julia Pastrana) utilized medical authority to assert their authenticity. Some performers were self-consciously complex in their presentation—and in a way challenged the overt characterization offered by the freak show. Historian David Gerber proposes and then repudiates the conclusion that the comedic self-parody of Charles Stratton’s performances as the famous, diminutive General Tom Thumb might be considered acts of defiance. However, it is precisely Stratton’s refusal to play his roles seriously and the self-referential dimension of this humor that foregrounded his performances as performances that would have worked to complicate the caricature of Tom Thumb, if not to create a palpable distinction between “Stratton the man doing the performance” and Tom Thumb. Like Stratton, other quite famous freak show

performers turned the hyperbole and contradictions of freak show hype to parodic effect. For instance, Krao Farini, a Laotian woman covered with hair, was exhibited as a missing link at the London Aquarium, and a photograph of her as a child pictures her dressed in animal skins against a jungle setting. As a young adult she continued to be billed as a missing link—who spoke five languages and dressed in fine clothing. The irony of Farini’s performances as an educated, well-dressed “missing link” with fine manners exposes the “missing link” narrative as a construction and insists on her humanity. At the very least, Farini called attention to her outrageous displays as performances rather than authentic representations. In doing so, she created a tension between her enfreakment and her humanity, and they exploited this tension as a source of entertainment. The practice of exhibiting people of color as “missing links” confirmed prevailing racial hierarchies that denied the humanity of nonwhite people, but these processes were never stable or complete. Farini’s complexly inflected performances as a “missing link” enacted a reversal that makes the definition of humanness a question rather than the self-evident, natural result of evolution. These tensions make evolution recognizable as a political discourse.

Nineteenth-century freaks and freak shows generated multiple, often contradictory interpretations because freak show practices for exciting public interest put interpretation of the explicitly contradictory evidence in the hands of the culture at large. Moreover, the performers themselves refused to fall into simple categorizations. The freak exhibition was as likely to reproduce the status quo as it was to produce politically subversive effects (or to do both at once). While there were many gestures that attempted to codify normality and its difference from those at the margins with reference to the freak, the slipperiness of freakery made this reference disruptive and created a threatening dislocation of terms. Not only did this process draw in audiences, but it also reveals a rich array of culturally situated tensions and invites us to explore them, to understand what they might have meant in Victorian Britain.

Developing the Context, Examining the Effects

The essays in this collection plumb the question of context in many different ways, and their concerns spring from those precipitated by much early work on freakery. Whereas other critics have discussed the ways in which definitions of normalcy were generated by marginalizing

various groups of people, these essays look to press this question further, opening an exploration of the ways in which freakery emerged in a particular social context and may have even participated in social change and in the politics of mainstream culture. As Rachel Adams has argued, the vast majority of criticism has assumed a kind of docile silence on the part of both the freaks themselves and their audience. This has even translated into a sensibility that imagines that freaks were distant from “ordinary” people and removed from everyday life. Adams resists the notion of freak show silence, however, arguing that “freaks talk back, the experts lose their authority, the audience refuses to take their seats.”³¹ This collection looks for this dialogue in subtle and explicit ways. The essays on imperialism, for example, look to the way in which discourses of science—from Darwinian theory to medicine—were joined to freakery and deployed to do scientific work and work of empire. These essays also explore and speak to the tensions in British self-definition between consumer desire and material self-control. Others look at the relationship between the freak and the audience and the use of freakishness as a metaphor in other culturally marginal contexts. In all of these ways, these essays ask how freaks “talked back” to mainstream culture in Britain and how this helped shape mainstream culture. The authors here examine freaks’ pitch narratives, product advertisements, handbills, newspaper accounts, medical debates and texts, art, literature, cartes de visite, and diaries. Future research might explore the ways in which the British theater, museum, and publishing industries affected notions of freakishness and think about how British involvement in the West Indies and Africa also shaped cultural concepts of freakery.

Overall, the essays here attempt to centralize the question of cultural impact to move beyond individual psychology. When people watched Julia Pastrana—most of whose entire body was covered in coarse black hair—dance and sing on stage, they had more than simply an individual or personal experience. Those moments were also social events that affected life inside and outside the freak show. Poets, gentlemen, and prose writers such as Arthur Munby memorialized their experience of her for a Victorian audience. This cultural exchange was no less lively when her manager-husband had Pastrana and her infant embalmed, stuffed, encased in glass, and put on tour again after their birthing bed deaths. What this meant in Victorian Britain was something different from what it meant in America, or France, or any other part of the world.

The collection is structured to highlight and begin to flesh out

several of these themes. It opens with part I, "Marketing and Consuming Freakery," in which the first essay, by Heather McHold, called "Even As You and I: Freak Shows and Lay Discourse on Spectacular Deformity," examines the way in which the medical community competed with freak shows for the right to define freakery, suggesting that the latter succeeded by incorporating bourgeois normalcy into freak show rhetoric. Joyce Huff's "Freaklore: The Dissemination, Fragmentation, and Reinvention of the Legend of Daniel Lambert, King of Fat Men" suggests that, though this seven-hundred-pound jailer died by the early nineteenth century, images of him proliferated decades later, and he became an icon in the shifting focus of economic theory from production to consumption and his eating a valorizing synecdoche for all consumer activity in Victorian England. Finally, Timothy Neil's "White Wings and Six-Legged Muttons: The Freakish Animal" discusses the exhibited animal in the Victorian period, contending that the predominance of a human narrative context constructed all such animals as freaks and helped figure human freakishness as well. Together these essays look at the evolution and use of the discourse of freakery in Victorian Britain, examining its deployment in mainstream culture from medicine to consumerism, religion, and entertainment.

In part II, "Science, Medicine, and the Social," Meegan Kennedy's "Poor Hoo Loo': Sentiment, Stoicism, and the Grotesque in British Imperial Medicine" explores the role of imperial and Orientalist ideologies in understanding and responding to the medical anomaly of Hoo Loo, an Asian man with an enormous tumor. Mapping the medical discourse of the day against racial rhetoric provides insight into another aspect of Orientalism. Christine C. Ferguson examines Dr. Frederick Treves's famous case history of "Elephant Man" Joseph Merrick in the context of Victorian discourses of mutism and linguistic evolution. Ferguson argues that the narrative enacts a triumph of language in which the animality of the freak is (partially) abated through his cultivation of a voice and the linguistic skills—speaking, reading, and writing—foregrounded in Darwinian accounts of human identity. This section looks at how the medical and scientific worlds marked and were marked by freakery. By plumbing various concrete examples, it asks how freakery was a part of social institutions, such as medicine and science, that affected every Victorian's life. Nadja Durbach's "The Missing Link and the Hairy Belle: Krao and the Victorian Discourses of Evolution, Imperialism, and Primitive Sexuality" tackles the perceived evidence of Darwin's theories in the body of Krao. Durbach's careful examination reveals, however, that

much more than scientific discourse was embedded in the rhetoric of evolution and the exhibition of Krao. Both were intimately linked to imperialism and the sexuality of the colonized woman.

Durbach's essay provides a fine transition to part III, "Empire, Race, and Commodity." In this section, Marlene Tromp's "Empire and the Indian Freak: The 'Miniature Man' from Cawnpore and the 'Marvelous Indian Boy' on Tour in England" explores the rendering of Indian freaks and reads their publicity materials and the scientific studies about them in the context of sociopolitical concerns regarding India as a colony. She argues that such performers and the rhetoric around them both exploited and undermined the beliefs that buttressed imperialism. Kelly Hurley's "The Victorian Mummy-Fetish: H. Rider Haggard, Frank Aubrey, and the White Mummy" investigates imperial Gothic fiction at the British fin de siècle, to ask how the mummy, particularly the white mummy in "lost white civilization" novels, comes to serve as an uncanny double for the Western subject, a process both fearsome and pleasurable, a process with parallels to that of enfreakment. Finally, Rebecca Stern's essay, "Our Bear Women, Ourselves: Affiliating with Julia Pastrana," explores popular depictions of Pastrana's live exhibitions in the 1850s alongside the subsequent exhibition of her embalmed corpse in the 1860s to explore national identity and gender. Pastrana's dark-complexioned, hair-covered body crystallizes in reverse a prescription for Victorian white womanhood, warning that one ought not to be a spectacle. The essays in this section suggest that we must reckon with freakery in order to enrich our understanding of Victorian imperialism.

Martha Stoddard Holmes's essay, "Queering the Marriage Plot: Wilkie Collins's *The Law and the Lady*," opens part IV, "Reading and Spectating the Freak," which begins to look at the role of artistic representation in the social work of freakery. Stoddard Holmes suggests that, though critics have argued that people with disabilities were publicly reinscribed as objects of charity by the end of the eighteenth century, the fiction of the nineteenth century demonstrates the ways in which disabled bodies keep alive erotic curiosity as much as they did sympathy. Melissa Free's "Freaks That Matter: The Dolls' Dressmaker, The Doctor's Assistant, and the Limits of Difference" also looks at fiction to explore the way in which Victorian culture valued at least some of the potential contributions of freaks—unless those figures were also marked by alternative sexualities. "Queer" figures were likely to be "sacrificed" for the social good. Finally, Christopher Smit deploys Levinas's idea of collaboration

and “responsibility” to reconsider notions of the freak as an exploited or abused victim of the photographer. In “A Collaborative Aesthetic: Levinas’s Idea of Responsibility and the Photographs of Charles Eisenmann and the Late Nineteenth-Century Freak-Performer,” Smit argues that it was a much more mutually engaged process that valued physical difference rather than degrading it. In these artistic productions, we can see both how mainstream Victorian culture articulated freakery and how such notions were disseminated to the public.

As a body, these essays attempt to explore the impact of the freak on the nineteenth-century consciousness and social practices. While the concept of the freak and the practices associated with freakery were emerging across the world and had a visible (and critically traceable) relationship to the United States, freakery is no less crucial to understanding Victorian England. Though P. T. Barnum was an American son, his sideshows were in rich conversation with English past and present. Many of those figures who define our contemporary understanding of freaks—indeed, many of Barnum’s “human curiosities”—came from England. Rather than eliding the differences between the United States and England, these essays seek to examine the fruitful exchange between the two continents and with lands across Asia, Africa, and South America. This little-explored landscape is illuminated here with the hope that it will open further dialogue on the role of freakery in England’s evolving political and social world and the role of England in the evolving concept of freakery. The significant impact of disability studies, postcolonial studies, and queer studies on cultural, historical, and literary studies is also evident in these essays, and this collection seeks to speak to those fields as well as to scholars of the Victorian period to ask how freaks are situated in such a way as to reveal much about the culture and the period.

Notes

1. I have chosen to use this term—like Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, Elizabeth Grosz, and Rachel Adams—for an array of reasons. What Garland-Thomson calls “freak discourse” has particular resonance in the nineteenth century, but the word “freak” is also apt for two political reasons relevant to this study: first, because of the potentially political reclamation of the term, a concept I will discuss further below, and second, because of what Adams calls the “plasticity” of the word—“freaks” is so fluid that it “cannot be aligned with any particular identity or ideological position.” See Rachel Adams, *Sideshow U.S.A.: Freaks and the American Cultural Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 10.

2. Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, ed., *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 4.

3. *Ibid.*, 2.

4. Mary Russo, *The Female Grotesque: Risk, Excess and Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 8.

5. *Ibid.*, 56.

6. Cindy LaCom, "It Is More Than Lame': Female Disability, Sexuality, and the Maternal in the Nineteenth-Century Novel," in *The Body and Physical Difference: Discourses of Disability*, ed. David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 199.

7. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 64; see also *Bodies That Matter* (New York: Routledge), 1993.

8. Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 21, emphasis in original.

9. *Ibid.*, 58–59.

10. Actor Jamie Lee Curtis, whose womanhood few would question, is reportedly androgen insensitive.

11. Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 24.

12. This body of essays acknowledges the critical role that disability studies has played in our understanding of freaks, from Garland-Thomson's work to Leonard J. Davis's *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body* and collections such as *The Body and Physical Difference*, edited by David T. Mitchell and Sarah L. Snyder. They also suggest that our responses might include and complicate these notions, particularly suggesting that the collapse of such binaries cannot accommodate all of the ways in which we might understand freakishness or its social effects.

13. Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Leslie A. Fiedler, *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979); James W. Cook, *The Arts of Deception: Playing with Fraud in the Age of Barnum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Benjamin Reiss, *The Showman and The Slave: Race, Death, and Memory in Barnum's America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Janet M. Davis, *The Circus Age: Culture and Society Under the American Big Top* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

14. Reiss, 6.

15. Cook, 3.

16. *Ibid.*, 13.

17. John Kuo Wei Tchen, *New York Before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture, 1776–1882* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

18. Mathew Sweet, *Inventing the Victorians* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 140.

19. Adams, 13.

20. Peggy Phelan makes an argument for live performances as enacting a nonreproductive economy of meaning in "The Ontology of Performance: Representation

Without Reproduction,” in *Unmarked* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 146–66; see especially 150–52.

21. Bogdan, 34.

22. David Gerber, “The ‘Careers’ of People Exhibited in Freak Shows: The Problem of Volition and Valorization,” in Garland-Thomson, *Freakery*, 43.

23. Garland-Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*.

24. See Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

25. See Eric Fretz, “P. T. Barnum’s Theatrical Selfhood and the Nineteenth-Century Culture of Exhibition,” in Garland-Thomson, *Freakery*, 97–107.

26. Bogdan, 228.

27. Neil T. Harris, *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), 65. See also Cook on this important theme.

28. Christopher Hals Gylseth and Lars O. Toverud, *Julia Pastrana: The Tragic Life of the Victorian Ape Woman*, trans. Donald Tumasonis (Thrupp, UK: Sutton Publishing, 2003). They argue that after seeing Pastrana, Munby was “seriously shaken, mentally and physically” and feared she might “get [him]” (31–32).

29. Cited in *ibid.*, 33.

30. The bearded lady not only undermined stable notions of gender identity but also evoked the ultimate marker of femaleness, the uncovered vagina. It was often figured, unsettlingly, however, as the “vagina dentata,” a devouring and threatening version of femaleness that simultaneously seduces men and severs the “source” of their power. Julia Pastrana’s case serves to illustrate this metaphor in the obsessive and inaccurate assertion—even taken up even by Charles Darwin—that Pastrana had a double set of teeth (see *ibid.*).

31. Adams, 13.

PART I

Marketing and Consuming Freakery



THE ESSAYS in this section are attempts to open some broader questions, through examination of particular material examples of freakery. Heather McHold's essay serves as an introduction to the debates about who had the authority to demand ownership of and talking rights on "freakery," examining P. T. Barnum in the context of his English reception. While her discussion reveals the role of performance advertisements and a rhetoric of middle-class respectability on medical discourse specifically, her argument also challenges us to think through what other British institutions might have been competing to create or might have been in part created by the discourse of freakery. Joyce Huff's essay on Daniel Lambert and cultural rhetoric of consumption speaks to specifically British notions of consumption and class dynamics. Her essay provides an English refiguration of scholarship on American consumer capitalism and freakery. Finally, Timothy Neil's essay offers a unique look at another freak discourse—that of animal freaks—to investigate the nineteenth-century English obsession with enfreakment. Based on rarely seen archival materials from the British National Fairgrounds Archive, his essay focuses on the role animal freaks played in relation to human freakishness.

PART II

Science, Medicine, and the Social



WHILE THERE is significant thematic overlap between the four sections of this book, this section attempts to plumb in greater depth what the previous section identifies as a preeminent discourse in the creation of freakery: science and medicine. Each of these essays, however, fleshes out these questions in relation to another British social tension as well. Meegan Kennedy's essay provides an English Victorian inquiry that complements work like Tchen's on Asians in the United States. She examines the social understanding of "monstrous or uncontrollable growth at the borders of British empire," situating the "Oriental" in Britain, with regard to the medical management of Hoo Loo, a man with a massive testicular tumor. Christine Ferguson looks at physician Frederick Treves's discursive manipulation of the famous Joseph Merrick as he "toured" London social circles. While it offers a particular focus on the famous "Elephant Man," this argument opens up questions about the linguistic/textual production of freakery in general. Finally, Nadja Durbach looks at scientific discourses about evolution, ideologies of imperialism, and their relationship to Krao Farini, a Laotian woman who opened her career at the London Aquarium in 1883 exhibiting as the "missing link." Durbach's essay not only tackles science but also forms a link to the next section of the book, which addresses the role of empire and social perception of race in shaping—and understanding—freakery.

PART III

Empire, Race, and Commodity



THIS SECTION takes up a triad of related concerns: empire, race, and economics. While the essays in this section also speak to the “marketing” strategies of part I and the scientific discourses of part II, they are brought together here around the theme of empire making. Marlene Tromp’s essay looks at the place of the Indian freak exhibits in England, proposing that we must read Indian performers in the social context of empire and English-Indian relations. Kelly Hurley’s essay on the Victorian mummy obsession points to the ways that the anxieties over great ancient nonwhite civilizations were managed through the uncanny double of the white mummy—a figure revealing a commodity and sexual fetish that, like the cultural management of the freak, balms fears of racial degeneration or disappearance provoked by imperial activity. Rebecca Stern’s discussion of Julia Pastrana, the hair-covered “Bear Woman,” suggests that anxieties about empire were addressed in negative prescriptions for womanhood embodied in this famous masculinized/feminized performer. In all of these essays, the political and social implications of empire are laid against the freak show performer or the metaphor of the freak to enrich our understanding of both in their British context.

PART IV

Reading and Spectating the Freak



THIS LAST SECTION asks questions about the literary and photographic—and thus, *cultural*—production of freaks, of their embodiment in various kinds of “text.” Through English fiction and through images, we can plumb the politics of material representation of freakery in nineteenth-century England. Martha Stoddard Holmes’s essay takes up Victorian novelist Wilkie Collins’s depictions of both marriage and the disabled body to ask questions about how the “irregular” and freakish were not simply sites of charity but also of eroticism. Melissa Free looks at both Collins and Charles Dickens to ask how the enfreaked characters demonstrate anxieties that underscore notions of freakishness when they suggestively represent alternative sexualities. Both of these essays build upon the broader social notions of English identity and freakery offered in previous sections. Finally, Christopher Smit closes the collection with a provocative theoretical discussion that challenges notions of freak representation and volition in the foundational work of Rosemarie Garland-Thomson and others, reading the freaks as active and enabled participants in their own production.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

NADJA DURBACH, associate professor of history, University of Utah, researches the place of the body in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British culture, particularly in relationship to gender, class, race, and ethnicity. She is the author of *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in England, 1853–1907* (Duke University Press, 2005) and several articles that have appeared in *Social History of Medicine*, the *Journal of British Studies*, and *Cultural and Social History*. She is currently completing a book entitled *Displaying Deformity: The Freak Show and Modern British Culture, 1847–1914*.

CHRISTINE C. FERGUSON, lecturer in the Department of English at the University of Glasgow, specializes in late-Victorian literature and culture. Her publications include *Language, Science, and Popular Culture in the Victorian Fin-de-Siècle: The Brutal Tongue* (Ashgate, 2006) and articles in *PMLA*, *ELH*, *Victorian Review*, *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, and the *Journal of Victorian Culture*.

MELISSA FREE, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is at work on a dissertation entitled “Elsewhere England: Late Colonial South Africa, British Identity, and the Authorial Informant,” which examines South African periodicals as well as work by Haggard, Schreiner, and Buchan. She has published pieces on Victorian literature and culture in *Book History* (2006) and *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* (2006).

MARTHA STODDARD HOLMES, associate professor of literature and writing studies, California State University San Marcos, researches the cultural history of the body from Victorian culture to the present. She is author of *Fictions of Affliction: Physical Disability in Victorian Culture* (University of Michigan Press, 2004) and coeditor of *The Teacher's Body: Embodiment, Authority, and Identity in the Classroom* (SUNY Press, 2003). She is working on a book on disability and desire in Victorian fiction.

JOYCE L. HUFF, assistant professor of English, Ball State University, examines the representation of fat in the literature and culture of nineteenth-century Britain and links the development of our current attitudes toward fat to the growth of consumer culture. She is currently working on a book on the depiction of corpulence in Victorian novels and medical discourse. Her principal publications are "Corporeal Economies: Work and Waste in Nineteenth-Century Constructions of Alimentation," in *Cultures of the Abdomen: Diet, Digestion and Fat in the Modern World* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), and "A 'Horror of Corpulence': Interrogating Bantingism and Mid-Nineteenth-Century Fatphobia," in *Bodies Out of Bounds: Fatness and Transgression* (University of California Press, 2001).

KELLY HURLEY, associate professor of English at the University of Colorado at Boulder, studies identity, the alien, and the Gothic. She is the author of *The Gothic Body: Sexuality, Materialism, and Degeneration at the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge University Press, 1996) and *Teaching with the Norton Anthology of English Literature, Seventh Edition: A Guide for Instructors* (Norton, 2000), as well as many articles on the Gothic and contemporary film. She is currently at work on a book-length manuscript entitled *Heteromorphosis: Processes of Identify-Formation in Science Fiction–Horror Cinema*.

MEEGAN KENNEDY, assistant professor of English at Florida State University, studies Victorian medicine and science; theory and history of the British novel; fiction of empire; visual culture; and gender theory. She has published articles and reviews in Victorian literature and culture, Victorian studies, and literature and medicine and is currently revising a book manuscript entitled *Rewriting the Clinic: Vision and Representation in Victorian Medicine and the Novel*, which reads nineteenth-century British medical case histories against developments in the British novel.

HEATHER McHOLD, independent scholar, received a Ph.D. in history and a Graduate Certificate in Women's and Gender Studies from Northwestern University in 2003. She researches the history of gender and medicine in Victorian culture with particular emphasis on deformity, the spectacular display of bodies, and contemporary discourse on imperial power. She is the author of "Freaks" in *The Oxford Companion to the Body* (Oxford University Press, 2001), edited by Colin Blakemore and Sheila Jennett.

TIMOTHY NEIL, University of Sheffield, studies Victorian and Edwardian popular culture, particularly early film, fairground, and circus. His current research concerns British migration to rural France, and he is editing a collection of papers on the social archaeology of arborglyphs and graffiti. He has published in *Images, Representations and Heritage: Moving Beyond Modern Approaches to Archaeology* (Springer, 2006), and *The Lost World of Mitchell and Kenyon: Edwardian Britain on Film* (British Film Institute, 2004).

CHRISTOPHER R. SMIT, assistant professor for the Communication Arts and Sciences, Calvin College, is the editor of *Screening Disability: Essays on Cinema and Disability* (University Press of America, 2001). His current book projects focus on disability theology and the disabled body in photography. Smit's essays on disability, media, popular music, and culture can be found in *Disability Studies Quarterly*, *Studies in Popular Culture*, *Journal of Popular Culture*, and several edited collections.

REBECCA STERN, associate professor, University of South Carolina, is the author of *Home Economics: Domestic Fraud in Victorian England* (forthcoming from The Ohio State University Press [2008]). She has also begun work on two new book projects, one on spectacular Victorian bodies and a second on the odd performances of Victorian gerunds and participles. Her articles have appeared in *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, *Victorian Poetry*, *ELH*, and *Nineteenth-Century Studies*.

MARLENE TROMP, professor of English and women's studies, Denison University, researches the "marginal" in Victorian culture, particularly séances, sensation, and freaks; she also studies the *Titanic* disaster. She is the author of *Altered States: Sex, Drugs, and National Identity in Victorian Spiritualism* (SUNY Press, 2006); *The Private Rod: Marital Violence, Sensation, and the Law in Victorian Britain* (University Press of Virginia,

2000); and coeditor of *Beyond Sensation: Mary Elizabeth Braddon in Context* (SUNY Press, 2000).

KARYN VALERIUS, assistant professor of English, Hofstra University, studies gender and embodiment in nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature, popular culture, and science and medicine. She has published articles on reproduction and monstrosity and is writing a book-length project on maternal impressions.

INDEX

A

Adams, Rachel, x, 5, 6, 7, 13, 16n1, 17n19, 18n31, 197n15
affiliation, 204
Africa: colonized regions, 107n9;
perception of, 4, 13
After London (Jeffries), 193
Akae, 100
Akin, Lew, 93, 109n32
Alhambra (Leicester Square), 23
All the Year Round, 38
Allen, Grant, 132n40
Altick, Richard, 197n15, 202
American. *See* Anglo-American
Anderson, Benedict, 133n58
Andrews, Birdie J., 107n9
androgen insensitivity, 3–4, 17n10
Anglo-American, 4–7
Anglo-European, 4, 6–7, 128. *See also*
English identity
Annesley, James, 102
Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine,
83, 108n17
Arata, Stephen, 193
Aristotle, 67, 288
Arnold, David, 105, 106, 112n52
Articulating the Elephant Man (Graham and Oehlschlaeger), 129nn1–3, 130n10

The Arts of Deception (Cook), 5, 17n13
As Good as It Gets, 251, 275, 276, 277
Ashcroft, Bill, 170
Asia: Asian dress, 6; Burma, 142–44;
China, 81–106, 107n9, 108n12, 111n46, 208; colonized regions, 107n9; India, 15, 97–100, 102, 105–6, 151–76, 177n31; Indochina, 134; Laos, 12, 142; Siam/Siamese, 5, 29, 142, 159; Victorian terms for nations, 151n2
Ass Ponys, 218
Astley's Theatre, 23, 61
Aston Key, Charles, 82, 87, 90–92, 108n14, 109n30
Aubrey, Frank, 15, 180. *See also* *King of the Dead*
Austen, Jane, 205

B

Baartman, Saartjie “Sara” (the “Hot-tentot Venus”), 139, 231n28
Bailey, Peter, 25, 29, 33n9, 33n16
Bakhtin, M. M., 49–50
Bakich, Holley, 219, 225
Banting, William, 45, 56n7, 58n35
Barker, Theo, 73n7
Barnum (Werner), 34n36
Barnum and Bailey, 134

- Barnum, P. T.: 32n3, 34n28; as American, 5, 16; and animal exhibition, 60; commercial strategies, 9, 22, 27, 67, 291; and race, 137, 143, 158
- Bartels, Marie ("Zenora Pastrana"), 202
- Batt, Elizabeth, 57n19
- The Battle of Dorking* (Chesney), 193
- Baux, Mohammed, 157–67, 175–76
- Bayly, C. A., 113n57
- Bayton, Douglas C., 130n17
- bearded lady, 6, 8, 9, 10–11, 18n30, 148, 216, 226–27, 284, 293, 296, 306
- The Beetle* (Marsh), 193
- Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 86, 108n12
- Belwel, Alan, 109n29
- Bérard, M., 81
- Bernheimer, Charles, 198n40
- Bhabha, Homi, 171
- Bland Sutton, J., 174
- Blazek, Josephine, "Pygopagi twins," 28
- Blazek, Rosalie, "Pygopagi twins," 28
- Blewett, David, 263
- Bock, Carl, 143
- Bodies That Matter* (Butler), 17n7, 251
- The Body in Pain* (Scarry), 133n59
- Body and Physical Difference* (Mitchell and Snyder), 17n6, 17n12, 116, 129n4, 130n6
- The Body and Society* (Turner), 56n10
- Bogdan, Robert, ix, x, 4, 5, 8–9, 17n11, 18n21, 18n26, 48, 67, 74n34, 122, 152n54, 229n10, 296, 298–300
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 51–53
- Bondeson, Jan, 73n4, 228n2
- Boothby, Guy, 182, 191
- Boruwłaski, Count Joseph, 161, 162
- Boruwłaski, Lottie, 161
- Bostock, E. H., 66, 67, 74n35
- Bostock and Wombwell's Menagerie, 62, 66, 72
- Boswell, James, 37
- Bowen, Eli, 27, 306
- Brantlinger, Patrick, 169, 196
- Brazil, 180
- Brett, F. Harrington, 108n19
- The British Empire* (Lloyd), 113n56
- British identity, 2–7, 12–16, 79–106, 134–50, 151–76, 206–28, 231n28.
See also English identity
- British Medicine in an Age of Reform* (French and Wear), 107n4
- British National Fairgrounds Archive, 19
- Brontë, Jane, 205
- Browne, Janet, 231n34
- Browning, Tod, 253
- Brueggemann, Brenda Jo, 256n5
- Brummel, Beau, 37
- Buber, Martin, 288, 310n7
- Buchan, John, 197n13
- Buchinger, Matthew, 80
- Buckland, Francis, 139, 233n55
- Bunyan, John, 127
- Burke, Edmund, 53.
- Burma. See Asia, Burma
- Burns, Stanley, 311n29
- Butler, Judith, 2–3, 17n7, 240, 244, 275–76. See also *Bodies That Matter*; *Gender Trouble*
- Bynum, W. F., 107n4

C

- A Calculus of Suffering* (Pernick), 112n48
- Calvert, Edwin, 161
- Calvino, Italo, 75n44
- Canguilhem, Georges, 105, 107n4, 113n61
- Capital* (Marx), 186
- capitalism: "capitalist nostalgia," 47–51; and food consumption, 38–54; and Julia Pastrana, 201; in Victorian culture, 19, 29
- Carens, Timothy L., 281n38
- Carmeli, Yoram S., 70, 74n37

- Caudill, Edward, 151n19
 Cawnpore (India), 15, 163–65. *See also* Asia, India
 Chadwick, Edwin, 208
 Chambers, Thomas King, 46, 53
 Chang and Eng, “The Siamese Twins,” 5, 29, 159
 Chang-Mow, 162
 Chesney, Sir George Tomkyns, 193
 China. *See* Asia, China
 Chung, 162
 Christopher, Vaughan, 73n2
The Circus Age (Davis), 5, 17n13
 Clark, John, 102
 Clarke, David T. D., 57n19, 57n23
 Clarke, I. F., 199n64
 Clofullia, Madam, 9–10
 Colledge, Thomas, 82, 108n13, 111n42
 Collins, Richard, 233nn55–57
 Collins, Wilkie, 15, 123, 226–27, 235, 240–41, 252, 253, 257n18, 276, 279n10. *See also* *Hide and Seek*; *The Law and the Lady*; *The Moonstone*
Colonizing the Body (Arnold), 112n52
Comments on Corpulency and Lineaments of Leanness (Wadd), 57n15
The Commodity Culture of Victorian England (Richards), 56n11
 Conan Doyle, Sir Arthur, 181. *See also* *The Jewel of Seven Stars*
 conjoined twins, 5
 consumerism: evolution of, 38; in Victorian culture, 13, 14, 22, 28, 31, 38
Consuming Fictions (Houston), 56n13
 Cook, James W., x, 5, 17n13, 17n15, 18n27, 151n21, 159, 258n27
 Cooper, Sir Astley, 82–84, 89–91, 108n14, 110n33
 Corbin, Myrtle, 293
 Corse, John, 96–97
 Craik, Dinah Mulock, 205
The Creation of the Media (Starr), 34n19
 Culebro, Kathleen Anderson, 219–25
 Cunningham, Hugh, 33n14
Curiosities of Medical Experience (Millingen), 108n17
 Curtis, Jamie Lee, 17n10
- D**
- Daly, Nicholas, 186, 196n7
 Darwin, Charles, 18n30, 71, 105, 118–19, 136–37. *See also* Darwinian theory; *Descent of Man*; *Origin of Species*
 Darwinian theory, 13, 14, 68, 71, 118, 121, 134–37, 141–50, 183, 191, 202
Darwinism in the English Novel (Henken), 151n20
 Dashwood, Sir John, 37
 Daston, Lorraine, 23, 33n7, 73n1, 79
 Davis, Barney and Hiram, 142
 Davis, Janet M., 5, 17n13
 Davis, Lennard J., 17n12, 38, 56n5, 115–16, 129, 224, 229n7
 Davis, Nuel Pharr, 280n10
 Davis, Tracy C., 151n7, 230n15
Dead Secrets (Heller), 279n4, 280n11
 Dearer, Jane, 293
 Defoe, Daniel, 263
Degeneration (Nordau), 191
 Denis, J., 108n20
 Denisoff, Dennis, 244, 252, 254, 257n14
 Dennet, Andrea, x
 Derrida, Jacques, 33n10
The Descent of Man (Darwin), 118, 137
 Dever, Carolyn, 245, 257n15
 Diamond, Hugh, 295, 311n29
 Dickens, Charles, 38, 57n27, 106, 123, 208–10, 235. *See also* “Dr. Marigold”; *Nicholas Nickleby*; *Our Mutual Friend*; *Pickwick Papers*
Dietaries for the Inmates of Workhouses (Smith), 56n6
 Digger Indians, 211–13, 214

disability studies, x, xi, 2, 8, 115–16,
238–41, 255–56, 278, 284–310

The Disability Studies Reader (Davis),
56n4

Disdéri, André, 289–90

Don, W. G., 111n44

Dot, Admiral, 293

Douglas, Mary, 206

Dracula (Stoker), 193

Dreger, Alice Domurat, x, 107n5

Drimmer, Frederick, 229n5

Dunn, Katherine, 253

Durbach, Nadja, 14, 15, 77,
134–53, 169, 173, 178n33,
197n15, 313

dwarves, 6, 11, 106, 142, 158–62

E

The Eccentric Mirror (Wilson), 51,
57n19

Edwards, Amelia B., 194

Edwards, Millie, 162

Egypt, 180–96

Egyptian Hall, 23, 184

Eisenmann, Charles, 16, 283–310

The Elephant Man, 6, 14, 60, 77. *See*
also Merrick, Joseph

The Elephant Man: (Lynch), 129n2;
(Montague), 73n5; (Pomerance),
129n2

“The Elephant Man” (Treves),
114–29

Eliot, George, 205

embalming, 181, 194, 201, 214

Enforcing Normalcy (Davis), 17

English identity, 51–54, 261

Esdaile, David, 101

Esdaile, John, 81, 87, 93

Essays on Diseases Incidental to Euro-
peans in Hot Climates (Lind), 102

eugenics, 38

Evangelicalism: British, 22–23, 31,
32n4

Evanion, 27, 34n22, n26

Extraordinary Bodies (Garland-

Thomson), 5, 17n13, 18n23,
58n28

F

Fahnestock, Jeanne, 256n1

Fahrend Volk (Hermann), 217

Fair, Bartholomew, 253

Farini, G. A., 134

Farini, Krao, “The Missing Link,” 6,
12, 14–15, 77, 134–50

Fausto-Sterling, Anne, 3, 17n8

Feejee Mermaid, 8, 9, 11

Feejee Mermaid and Other Essays in
Natural and Unnatural History
(Toulmin), 73n4

Female Grotesque (Russo), 17n4, 204

Fenske, Mindy, 230n11

Ferguson, Christine C., 14, 77,
114–33, 313

fetishism, 15, 184–96

Fictions of Affliction (Stoddard Hol-

mes), 256n3

Fictions of State (Brantlinger), 169

Fiedler, Leslie, ix, 5, 17n13, 129n3,
229n10

First Indian War of Independence,
162. *See also* Sepoy Rebellion

Fissell, Mary E., 153n70

For Better or Worse (Gillis), 34n24

For Fear of Pain (Stanley), 112n47

Ford, Peter, 129n1

Foucault, Michel, 56n3

Freakery (Garland-Thomson), ix, 5,
17n2, 18n22, 18n25

Freak Show (Bogdan), 5, 17n11

freak shows: history of, 1, 22–23;
legislation, 23

Freaks: (Browning), 253; (Fiedler), 5,
17n13, 129n3

freaks: and animals, 60–73, 117–29,
134–50; and the “child,” 125–26,
170–73, 249, 281n39; and the
construction of the middle class,
30, 31, 203, 216, 290; depictions
of, 95–106; dress, 28–29; and

empire, 14–15, 77, 83, 102–6, 121, 128, 141–50, 155, 157–76, 182–96, 251; and eroticism, 127, 134–50, 237–56, 264; and exoticism, 82, 134–50, 183; and fraud, 8–9; and gender, 8–11, 125–26, 147–50, 166–70, 238–39, 252; and language, 114–29; leisure of, 29; marriage of, 21–22, 26, 34n24, 237–56; and medical authority, 80–106, 114–29, 174–75; race/ethnicity and, 3, 4–5, 7, 54, 66, 68, 83–84, 87–88, 89–92, 95–106, 115, 137, 157–76, 182–96, 200–228, 231n28, 261, 274–75; and sexuality, 237–56; situating, 1–2; and spectacle, 204–10

Free, Melissa, 15, 235, 259–82, 313

French, Roger, 107n4

Fretz, Eric, 18n25

Freud, Sigmund, 186–87, 188–89, 198n33, 198n40, 199n49. *See also* psychoanalysis.

Fritz, Delno, 29

Frost, Thomas, 73n13

Fusco, Coco, 202

G

Galton, Francis, 33n12

Garland-Thomson, Rosemarie, ix–xi, 1, 5, 8–9, 16n1, 17n2, 17n12, 17n13, 18nn22–23, 44, 46, 49, 103, 146, 153n61, 182–83, 188, 197n10, 202–3, 206, 218, 224, 229n6, 233n59, 235, 256n5, 257n13

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., 153n71

Geek Love (Dunn), 253

Gender Trouble (Butler), 17n7

“General Tom Thumb,” 6, 11, 161, 162, 291

Gerber, David, 8, 11, 18n22, 67, 74n34, 232n48, 258n28

Gere, Richard, 217

Gerhold, Dorian, 73n7

giants: Dickens's, 106. *See also* May, Leah; O'Brien: Annie, Brian, Christanna (née Dunz), Mr. and Mrs. (Annie); O'Briens

Gillis, John, 26, 33n24

Gilman, Sander, 103, 111n45, 153n71, 311n29

Gissing, George, 132n40

Glover, David, 192, 198n42, 199n58

Goddard, Arthur, 25, 29, 32, 32n1, 34n18, 34n20, 34n31

Goddard, Jerome, 107n9

Gomm, F. C. Carr, 116, 124

Gordon, Colin, 56n3

Gothic, 15, 105, 181–84, 265

Gould, George M., 108n17, 253

Graham, Peter, 129n1, 129n3. *See also* *Articulating the Elephant Man*

Granahan, Leslie, 258n30

The Great Exhibition of 1851, 38

Green, John, 109n31

The Green Mummy (Hume), 181–82, 190

Griffith, George, 182

Grosz, Elizabeth, 16n1, 183

Guy, Sir William, 38, 56n6

Guy's Hospital, 82

Gylseth, Christopher Hals, 10, 18n28, 216, 224

H

Haddad, Emily, 170

Haekel, Ernst, 136

Haggard, H. Rider, 127, 132n40, 133n55, 142, 143, 180. *See also* *King Solomon's Mines*; *She*

Halberstam, Judith, 261, 278

Hales, Robert, “The Norfolk Giant,” 27

Haliburton, R. G., 176n7

Hamilton, Peter, 290

Hardy, Thomas, 132n40

Hargreaves, Roger, 290

Harris, Neil T., 18n27

Headhunters of Borneo (Bock), 143

Heidegger, Martin, 288
 Heller, Tamar, 279n4
 Hengler, Frederick "Charles," 62
 Henken, Leo, 151n20
 Hermann, Otto, 217, 218
Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex (Dreger), 107n5
 Heron, E. and H., 197n13
 Heth, Joice, 158, 176n3
 Hevey, David, 310n3
Hide and Seek (Collins), 123
 Hinton, James, 56n15
A History of Circus (Speaight), 73n9
 Hodgson, William Hope, 197n13
 Holtorf, Cornelius, 71
 Houston, Gail Turley, 38, 56n13
 Howell, Michael, 129n1, 129n2
 Huff, Joyce, 14, 19, 37–59, 314
Humbug (Harris), 18n27
 Hume, Fergus, 181. See also *The Green Mummy*
 Hunter, John, 108n14
 Hurley, Kelly, 15, 155, 180–99, 197n12, 314
 Husserl, Edmund, 288
 Hutter, Albert, 271
 Huxley, Thomas, 137

I

Ideology and Rationality in the Life Sciences (Canguilhem), 113n61
The Illustrated True History of the Elephant Man (Allen & Busby), 34n30
Imagined Communities (Anderson), 133n58
Imagining the Middle Class (Wahman), 32
Imagining Monsters (Todd), 33n8
Imperial Archive (Richards), 113n60
Imperial Leather (McClintock), 179n56
Imperial Meridien (Bayly), 113n57
 imperialism, 14, 15, 102–6, 141–50, 155, 157–76, 261, 274, 280n11, 281n40

India. See Asia: India
 Indian Mutiny, 162, 177n31. See also Sepoy Rebellion
The Influence of Tropical Climates (Clark), 102
 Ingold, Tim, 74n36
 intersexuality, 4
Introduction to the Science of Language (Sayce), 119
Inventing the Victorians (Sweet), 17n18
 Irish, 209–10
The Island of Doctor Moreau (Wells), 123, 197n13

J

Jacobson, Karin, 247, 250, 257n17
 Jagose, Annamarie, 249
 James, Henry, 261
 Jeffries, Richard, 193
 Jerome, Moses, 284, 285
The Jewel of Seven Stars (Stoker), 181, 187–89, 192
 Johnson, William, 74n16
 JoJo, the dog-faced boy, 284
 Jolly, Margaret, 179n49
 Jones, Anne, 284
 Jones, Annie, 29
Julia Pastrana (Gylseth and Toverud), 18n28, 228n4
The Jungle Book (Kipling), 123

K

Kay, J. P., 33n15
 Keane, A. H., 140, 146
 Keats, John, 108n14
 Kendal, Madge, 124
 Kennedy, Meegan, 14, 77, 79–13, 107n7, 295, 314
 Kennedy, Pat, 279
 Kincaid, James R., 50
King of the Dead (Aubrey), 180–81, 194–96
 "King of Fat Men," 14
King Solomon's Mines (Haggard), 142

Kinshing, Woo, 87, 93, 109n23
 Kipling, Rudyard, 123, 178n45,
 179n60, 198n44
 Kirby, R. S., 79
*Kirby's Wonderful and Eccentric Mu-
 seum* (Kirby), 79
 Krafft-Ebing, Richard von, 184, 187
 Krao. *See* Farini, Krao
 Kriegel, Lara, 152n54
 Kristeva, Julia, 192

L

L., G. H., 177n12
 Lacan, Jacques, 186
 LaCom, Cindy, 2, 17n6
 Laloo (also Lalloo), "The Marvel-
 lous Indian Boy," 15, 28, 157–59,
 167–76
 Lambert, Daniel ("King of Fat
 Men"), 14, 19, 39–56
Lambert, Daniel: (Batt), 57n19;
 (Clarke), 57n19
Lancet, 82, 83
 Lang, Andrew, 127, 133n55
 Lansdell, Avril, 311n13
 Laos. *See* Asia: Laos
The Law and the Lady, 15, 235, 237–56
 Lay, G. T., 109n32
 Ledger, Sally, 133n55
 Leech, Hervey, 253, 258n27
Leisure and Class in Victorian England
 (Bailey), 33n16
 Lent, Theodore, 201, 215–18,
 221–22
 Lentini, Frank, 153n85
 Lesslie, Rosie, 296–70, 300, 306
 Levinas, Emanuel, 15–16, 283,
 286–89, 310n7
 Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 67
 Lewes, George Henry, 80
 Lind, James, 102
 Lindfors, Bernth, 197n15
Lion Tamers and Lion Taming (Wild-
 ing), 73n15
Literature and Medicine During the

Eighteenth Century (Roberts and
 Porter), 56n1
 Lloyd, T. O., 113n56
 The London Aquarium, 12, 77
London's Lost Theatres (Sherson),
 151n4
 Longey, Steve, 217
 Lonoff, Sue, 258n25
 Loo, Hoo, 14, 77, 81–106
 Lubbock, John, 132n51
 Luckhurst, Roger, 133n55
 Lynch, David, 129n2

M

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 128,
 133n58, 166
 Macfie, Daniel, 57n19
 Machen, Arthur, 197n13
 MacKenzie, Henry, 261
 Maclean, W. C., 110n36
Man of Feeling (MacKenzie), 261
 Mangum, Teresa, 243, 252, 253,
 257n11
 Marsh, Richard, 193
 Martin, Emily, 281n46
 Marx, Karl, 186–87. *See also* *Capital*
 Mavor, Carol, 230n21
 Maximo and Bartola, 29
 May, Leah, 29
 May, Leila, 279
 Mayhew, Henry, 208
 McCalman, Iain, 56n3
 McClintock, Anne, 141, 179n56,
 190, 198n27, 230n21
 McDaniels, Grace, 223
 McHold, Heather, 14, 19, 21–36, 315
 McKenzie, James, 152n43
 McPherson, William, 176n9
 McRuer, Robert, 240–41, 243, 248,
 251, 275–76
Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy
 (Bynum and Porter), 107n4
 medicine. *See* freaks: medical authority
Medico-Chirurgical Transactions (Coo-
 per), 89

- Mehta, Jaya, 279n8
Memory in Barnum's America (Reiss), 17n13
Men and Women of the English Middle Class (Davidoff and Hall), 32n4
Menageries, Circuses, and Theatres (Bostock), 74n35
 Merlin, John, 37
 Merrick, Joseph ("The Elephant Man"), 6, 14, 27–28, 30, 34n30, 34n33, 77, 114–29, 253. *See also* The Elephant Man
Mesmerism in India (Esdaile), 81, 102, 103, 112n51, 113n62
 Messenger, Sharon, 231n34
 Mexico, 201, 211
 Michie, Helena, 256n2, 263, 264, 268, 280n30
 midgets, 26
 Mihm, Stephen, 258n28
 Mill, John Stuart, 51
 Miller, Jean Baker, 281n39
 Millie-Christine, 28, 293
 Millingen, J. G., 108n17
 Milton, H. J., 73n14
 "The Miniature Man," 15
 "Minute on Education" (Macaulay), 133n58, 166
 "Missing Link," 6, 12, 14, 137, 150
 Mitchell, David T., 17n6, 17n12, 116, 129n4, 257n8
 Mitchell, Michael, 151n9, 293
 Mite, General, 26, 162
 Monboddo, Lord (James Burnett), 117, 130n16
Monsters (Mitchell), 151n9
Monstrosities, 57n1
 Montague, Ashley, 73n5
The Moonstone (Collins), 258n21, 259–79, 279n10
 Moore, George, 132
 Moore, John, 88–90, 93, 100
 Morel, B. A., 24, 33n11
 Morlan, Chauncy, 301–6
 Müller, F. Max, 119, 131n22
 Munby, Arthur, 10, 13, 213–14, 216, 225–26
 Murfin, Ross C., 281n35
Music Hall (Bailey), 33n9
- N**
- Nayder, Lillian, 177n23, 281n40
 Neil, Timothy, 14, 19, 60–75, 315
 New Women, 29
New York Before Chinatown (Tchen), 5
 Newman, Karen, 230n20
Nicholas Nickleby (Dickens), 43, 57n27
 Noiré, Ludwig, 119, 131n23
 Noland, Charles F. M., 44
 "nondescript," 6, 137
 Nordau, Max, 191, 254
 Noto, Claire, 217
 Nutt, Commodore, 26
 Nye, Robert A., 198n31
- O**
- O'Brien: Annie, 27; Brian, 27; Christianna (née Dunz), 21–22, 26; Mr. and Mrs. (Annie), 27; Patrick, 21–22, 26
 O'Briens, 27
 Oehlschlaeger, Fritz, 129n1, 129n2, 129n3. *See also* *Articulating the Elephant Man*
The Old Showmen (Frost), 73n13
On Longong (Stewart), 56n8
On the Normal and Pathological (Canguilhem), 107n4
On the Origin and Progress of Language (Monboddo), 117
On Sufficient and Insufficient Diets with Special Reference to the Diets of Prisoners (Guy), 56n6
 Orientalism, 5, 6, 14, 77, 100–106, 126, 132n40, 158, 167–69, 242–43. *See also* freaks: empire; imperialism; Said

Origin of Species (Darwin), 135, 137
 Ott, Katherine, 258n28
Our Mutual Friend (Dickens),
 259–79, 279n2
 Owen, Alex, 191, 199n54
*Oxford Companion to the Romantic
 Age* (McCalman), 56n3
*The Oxford History of the British Em-
 pire* (Stockwell), 113n57

P

Park, Katherine, 23, 33n7, 73n1, 79
 Parker, Peter, 87, 93, 100, 109n23,
 109n32, 111n45, 111n46
 Parks, Suzan-Lori, 222
 Pastrana, Julia, 6, 9–11, 13, 15,
 18n28, 146, 155, 200–228
 “Pastrana” (Munby), 10
 Patino, Maria, 4
 Paunchoo, 97
 Peacock, Shane, 149, 151n16,
 151n18
 Pearson, Karl, 33n12
 Pearson, Nicholas, 89–90, 93,
 109n33
 Pearson, Richard, 199n66
 Pennycook, Alistair, 128
 Pernick, Martin S., 112n48
 Peters, Catherine, 258n25
Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers (Ed-
 wards), 194
 Phelan, Peggy, 17n20
 Phillipson, Ashley, 57n17
 Picadilly Hall, 23
The Pickwick Papers (Dickens), 43,
 50
Picturing Empire (Ryan), 113n54
Picturing Tropical Nature (Stepan),
 112n53
 Pietz, William, 184, 190, 192,
 198n27, 199n48
Pilgrim’s Progress (Bunyan), 127
 Pomerance, Bernard, 129n2
 Poovey, Mary, 9, 18n24, 24, 33n10
 Porter, Andrew, 113n57

Porter, Roy, 56n1, 56n2, 107n4
 postcolonial, 277. *See also* freaks: and
 empire; freaks: and race/ethnicity;
 Orientalism
Power/Knowledge (Foucault), 56n3
 Pratt, Mary, 185, 198n44
Prehistoric Times (Lubbock), 132n51
 Prendergast, Shaun, 220–25, 232n35,
 233n58
*The Present State of the Dietary Ques-
 tion* (Smith), 56n6
 Preston, W. C., 176n8, 177n31
 Prince of Wales, Albert, 37
 Princess Lottie, 161
 Princess of Wales, Alexandra, 124,
 125
 psychoanalysis, 185, 192–93. *See also*
 Freud; Kristeva; Lacan
Psychopathia Sexualis (Krafft-Ebing),
 184
 Purbrick, Louise, 152n54
 Pygopagi twins, 28. *See also* Blazek
 Pyle, Walter M., 108n17, 253

Q

Qua, Lam, 93, 98, 111n45
 queer, 15, 235, 237–56, 257n9,
 259–79. *See also* freaks: sexuality
 and eroticism
Queer Eye for the Straight Guy,
 246–47, 250, 277

R

race. *See* Barnum: race; freaks: race/
 ethnicity; Orientalism
 Rachman, Stephen, 110n34
 Ram, Kalpana, 179n49
 Raymon, Jeanne Rosalie, 28
 Reed, John R., 281n37
Reflections on the Revolution in France
 (Burke), 53
 Regulation of Fairs Acts, 33n9
 Reiss, Benjamin, ix, 5, 17n13, 17n14,
 158

- Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (Tylor), 120
 Reybrouck, David Van, 75n46
 Rich, Adrienne, 240
 Richards, Thomas, 38, 56n11, 105, 113n60
 Richman, Meg, 217
 Ringling Brothers, 134
The Rise and Rise of Road Transport, 1700–1990 (Barker and Gerhold), 73n7
 Roberts, Marie Mulvey, 56n1
 Robinson, Kenneth, 258n25
 Robinson, Phil, 197n13
 Rogers, Pat, 37, 56n1
Romanticism and Colonial Disease (Belwel), 109n29
 Rosaldo, Renato, 48
 Rose, Wendy, 218–19
 Rosenberg, A., 74n38
 Rosenberg, Brian, 229n10
The Rose-Tinted Menagerie (William), 74n16
 Rosner, Mary, 252, 254
 Rothfels, Nigel, 197n15
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 117
 Royal Aquarium, 23
 Russia: Moscow, 201; St. Petersburg, 202
 Russo, Mary, 2, 17n3, 203, 204–5
 Rutherford, Lois, 25
 Ryan, James R., 113n54
- S**
- Sachs, Edward, 143
 Said, Edward, 126, 132n40, 159, 167
 Sanger, George, 33n15
 Santos, Don Santiago de Los, 26, 159
The Savage in Literature (Street), 133n50
 Saville, Julia F., 51
 Sayce, A. H., 119, 131n24
 Scarry, Elaine, 129, 133n59
 Schmitt, Cannon, 279
 Schorr, Robin, 218, 225
 Secord, Anne, 101, 112n50
 Sedgwick, Eve, 263
 Seed, David, 196n7
 Sen, Sudipta, 170, 179n51
 Sepoy Rebellion, 169, 177–78
 Serlin, David, 258n28
Seventy Years a Showman (Sanger), 33n15
Sexing the Body (Fausto-Sterling), 17n8
 Shah, Gooroochaun, 87, 93, 113n62
 Shakarm, 98–99, 103–5
 She (Haggard), 180, 186–96
 Sherson, Erroll, 151n4
The Showman and the Slave (Reiss), 5, 17n13
 Siam. *See* Asia: Siam/Siamese
 Siamese twins, 5, 222
Sideshow U.S.A. (Adams), 5, 16n1
Signs and Portents (Wilson), 32n5
Sketches of the Most Prevalent Diseases of India (Annesley), 102
 Smit, Christopher, 15–16, 235, 283–311, 315
 Smith, Edward, 38, 56n6
 Smith, Nelson, 281n37
 Snigurowica, Diana, 148
 Snyder, Sarah, 17n6, 116, 129n4, 256n5, 257n8. *See also* *The Body and Physical Difference*
Social Control in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Donajrodzki), 33n14, 33n15
Sociology and the Perception of Social Science (Rosenberg), 74n38
 Somerville, Siobhan, 279
 Speaight, George, 73n9
 Speke, John Hanning, 37, 56n4
 Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, 157, 175
 St. James Hall, 23
 Stallybrass, Peter, 58n52
 Stanley, Peter, 112n47
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 44, 58n27
 Starr, Paul, 33n19
 Stepan, Nancy Leys, 112n53

Stern, Rebecca, 15, 155, 200–233, 315
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, 132n40,
 258n29
 Stewart, Susan, 56n8, 93, 107
 Stockings, George, 133n51
 Stockwell, A. J., 113n57
 Stoddard Holmes, Martha, 15, 235,
 237–58, 256n3, 276–77, 314
 Stoker, Bram, 132n40, 181, 193. See
 also *Dracula*; *The Jewel of Seven
 Stars*
 Storch, Robert D., 33n15
Strange Truth (McKenzie), 152n43
 Stratton, Charles (“General Tom
 Thumb”), 6, 11, 26–27, 28, 38,
 39. See also General Tom Thumb
 Stratton, Lavinia (née Warren),
 26–27, 162
 Street, Brian V., 133n50
 Strother, Z. S., 138–39, 197n15
 Suleri, Sara, 158, 164, 166, 178n42
The Swan, 233n53
 Swan, Anna, 29
 Sweet, Mathew, 6, 202, 224, 232n35

T

Taylor, Jenny Bourne, 252, 254,
 257n18, 258n24
 Tchen, John Kuo Wei, 5, 77, 159,
 173, 179n60
 Tennant, William, 170
 teratology, 24
 Terry, R. C., 281n37
 Texas Giant Brothers, 293
 Thackery, William Makepeace, 47
 Theatre’s Act, 33n9
 Thomas, Ronald R., 279n9
 Thoms, Peter, 266
 Thomson, F. M. L., 27
 Thumb, General Tom (Charles Strat-
 ton), 6, 11, 26–27, 28, 38, 39, 41,
 54. See also Charles Stratton
 Todd, Dennis, 23
 Todd, Janet, 262
 Torr, Sam, 120, 131n28

Toulmin, Vanessa, 73n3
 Toverud, Lars O., 10, 216, 224
*Traité des Dégénérescences physiques,
 intellectuelles, et morales de l’espèce
 humain* (Morel), 33n11
*Transactions of the Medical and Physi-
 cal Society of Calcutta*, 102
 Treves, Dr. Frederick, 14, 30, 77,
 114–29
 Tripp, Charles, 27, 284, 291
 Trollope, Anthony, 173
 Tromp, Marlene, 1–18, 15, 155,
 157–79, 315
*The True History of the Elephant
 Man* (Howell and Ford), 129n1,
 130n10, 131n28
 tumors: in Britain, 83; and Chinese
 practices in the nineteenth cen-
 tury, 81, 82; scrotal, 81–106
 Turner, Byran S., 38
 Turner, Donald S., 72
 Turner, John M., 73n11
 Tyler, E. B., 119–20

U

Uneven Developments (Poovey),
 18n24, 33n10
Unmarked, 18n20

V

Vagrant’s Act, 33n9
 Valerius, Karyn, 1–18, 316
 Van Amburgh, Isaac, 63, 73n8, 65
Vanity Fair (Thackery), 44, 47
 Verne, Jules, 142
Victorian Anthropology (Stocking),
 133n50

W

Wadd, William, 57n15
 Wahrman, Dror, 32n4
 Wakely, Thomas, 82
 Wallace, Alfred Russel, 136

- Wallace, William, 110n37
 Wangke, 92
 Warner, Michael, 240, 257n19
 Warren, Lavinia. *See* Stratton, Lavinia
 Warren, Minnie, 26
 Waters, Chris, 33n17
 Wear, Andrew, 107n4
 Weeks, Thomas, 37
 Wells, H. G., 123, 131n30, 132n40
 Welsh, Alexander, 297n6, 280n22
 Werner, M. R., 34n36
 Westminster Aquarium, 6, 134–35, 144, 149
What Is an Animal? (Ingold), 74n36
 Wheeler, James, 89–90, 93
 Whitney, W. D., 119, 131n24
 Wilding, Harry, 73n15
 Wilson, Dudley, 32n5
 Wilson, G. H., 45, 51. *See also* *The Eccentric Mirror*
 Wilson, Harvey, 284
 Winter, Alison, 100, 107n4
 Wolf, Rosie, 301, 306
 The Woman Question, 10
 Wombwell, George, 62
 Wombwell's Menagerie, 62, 64, 65, 66
Wombwell's Travelling Menagerie (Turner), 73n11
The Wonderful and Scientific Museum (Kirby), 79
Wonders and the Order of Nature (Park and Daston), 33n7
Writing and Difference (Derrida), 33n10
- Y**
- Yen, Leäng, 100, 111n46
 Youngquist, Paul, 57n18
- Z**
- Zarate, Lucia, 26, 159, 162
 Zip, 137