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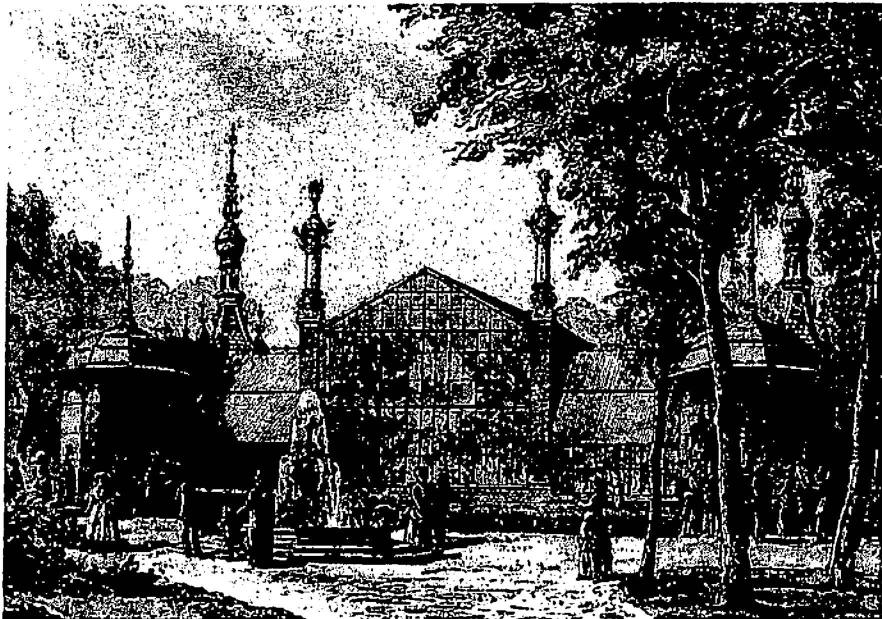

NEW WORLDS, NEW ANIMALS

From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century

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WITH A FOREWORD BY MICHAEL H. ROBINSON

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frequently resided in the Regent's Park Zoo, not only because it was the largest and most publicized institution in nineteenth-century Britain but because over the years it became part of the national rhetoric of imperial dominion. When King William IV donated the royal menagerie, which had previously been housed in the Tower of London, to the Zoological Society in 1831, he identified the zoo as the appropriate repository of symbolic acknowledgments of Britain's international position. Queen Victoria routinely consigned to the Zoological Society "the stream of barbaric offerings in the shape of lions, tigers, leopards, etc., which [was] continually flowing from tropical princes."[21]

Although the Regent's Park Zoo had been established to represent an elitism that comprehended both Britain's position in the world and the ascendancy of privileged classes within Britain, the popular appeal of zoological imperialism recast its exhibits as occasions for patriotic, even jingoistic, unity. Rather than representing a unique alternative to other wild animal collections, it offered a more concentrated and forceful version of their symbolism of domination. If the royal family considered the London Zoo a metaphorical extension of its private domains, so did many ordinary visitors to Regent's Park. Especially after the governing council abolished admission restrictions in 1846, the zoo emerged as a national institution, which reflected its glory on all British citizens. And this glory was not solely political or military, whether represented by animals that had been captured in the field, those that had been presented to the queen as tribute, or those that had been adopted as mascots by regiments posted to exotic stations, then relinquished when they grew unmanageable. In a more pragmatic sense, the zoo illustrated Britain's economic prowess; the variety of the animals displayed testified to the range of British commerce. Even the scientific side of the zoo, originally the unstated center of its elitism, could be reinterpreted in the service of popular national pride. Any Briton could take pride in the superior competence of fellow citizens able to maintain so many exotic species in confinement and to manipulate and study them, so that they were better understood and appreciated than by the peoples who had lived among them for millennia.

In summary, keeping exotic animals in captivity was a compelling symbol of human power in general and, depending upon where the animals came from and where they were kept, a symbol of British power. Transporting them safely to Great Britain and keeping them alive were viewed as triumphs of human skill and intelligence over the contrary dictates of nature. Access to the animals' native territories symbolized British power and prestige. The confined and captured animals in Victorian zoos and menageries shed glory on their appropriators and conquerors. The displays in which they were exhibited allowed visitors to bask to the utmost in the reflection of that glory.

| *Herman Reichenbach*

A Tale of Two Zoos

The Hamburg Zoological Garden and Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark

Today, a few cities around the world can boast of two or even more zoological gardens: for example, New York, Chicago, Tokyo, and Berlin. A century ago, however, just two cities had more than one zoo, Paris and Hamburg, and each zoo was representative of a different process in the development of modern zoological gardens. Of the two French institutions, one, the Ménagerie du Jardin des Plantes—even then almost a century old—was a small and crowded museum of living animals appropriately attached to the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle. The other, the Jardin Zoologique d'Acclimatation, was devoted, as the name implied, to promoting the acclimation of exotic animals in France.[1] The two Hamburg menageries were equally different. The zoo in Hamburg which people visit today, Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark, was only established at its present site in the early 1900s; it is the immediate successor to a line of family-owned Hagenbeck menageries going back to the 1850s.

Purists might suggest that Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark of a century ago was only a pretentious name coined for the entrepôt of a wild animal dealer and not a zoo at all. Nevertheless, *Tierpark* has since become the German term for a zoological park. In the modern sense of the term, it was a genuine zoo, albeit a small one in area and with a largely transient animal population. Yet by the turn of the century, the value of the Tierpark's animals was "greater than the value of the animals in any one zoological garden in Europe."[2] The "official" Hamburg Zoo one could visit a century ago was different from any of the Hagenbeck zoos, new or old; it was a classic example of a large and ambitious society-run garden, directed by scientists, manipulated by patrons, and largely ignored by City Hall. The zoo's thirty-five acres on a site just behind the old city walls were leased from Hamburg's Senate (city government) free of charge—but only for fifty years (later the leases were renewed every ten years).[3] At no time did the zoo receive subsidies; but then, for most of its history it required none.[4]

The Hamburg Zoological Garden, 1860–1920

While the Hagenbecks were developing their animal trade, the Zoological Society of Hamburg was organized in 1860 by a group of wealthy local merchants and public servants for the specific purpose of establishing a zoological garden "for the study of nature, especially that of animals, and for the recreation and education of the people."[5] Initially, eight hundred shareholders contributed the capital needed to lay out a zoological garden. It was largely completed by November 1862 and was conveniently located adjacent to a major railroad station.[6]

It was only after the new zoo was ready for opening that the society's council decided on a director. The choice fell on Alfred Brehm, a name not well known, if at all, outside central Europe. But in German-speaking states Brehm's name is synonymous with nontechnical reference books on animals. What, at first, recommended him to the society's council was his experience in collecting animals and managing menageries while on scientific expeditions to Africa and Spain.[7] As zoo director, Brehm found the time to write the first volumes of the popular zoological encyclopedia *Illustrirtes Thierleben,* which was to make his a household name. But it was time spent which cost him his office only three and a half years later.[8]

The Hamburg Zoological Garden opened its gates to the public for the first time on May 17, 1863; 1,839 burghers came. On August 2, the garden had a peak of 38,137 visitors; on December 5, only 1. Altogether, 225,553 came in the first six months. In its best years it would attract 600,000—good attendance in an age when zoos could be particular about whom they let in.[9]

The new zoo in Hamburg was only the seventh in Germany. Within five months of opening, it boasted 300 species. For the next twenty years its animal

The waterfall connecting two waterfowl ponds was a landmark of the Hamburg Zoological Garden. The "Egyptian" stork house at the right was one of only two animal houses with exotic architecture the zoo would ever have. The bear tower at the left was typical of the heavy, Germanic style favored for bears in zoos from Alsace to East Prussia. (Lithograph courtesy of W. Kourist)

collection would be the most varied in the nation, later surpassed only by the Berlin Zoo. In its most successful years, those immediately before the First World War, the collection counted more than 4,000 specimens representing 1,000 species. Even in its last full year of existence (1929), the garden displayed 880 species.[10]

The site of the zoo was hilly with initially low trees; the two highest points were crowned by a chamois hut and an owl house with a lookout tower, respectively. Three large ponds were connected to one another by running brooks; a natural slope created a small waterfall. A porpoise acquired in 1864 from the Hamburg fishmonger-cum-animal dealer Carl Hagenbeck Sr. was let out in one of the ponds—the second cetacean ever in a zoo.[11]

Visitors coming through the main gate first came across the deer paddocks, always among the most interesting in a European garden. During its first decade, the zoo exhibited eleven passenger pigeons and thirty-nine Carolina parakeets. The year before the very last Carolina parakeet died in the Cincinnati Zoo (1918), the last of the species in Europe expired in Hamburg. The garden had the rather awkward distinction of being the last to have a Cape lion (1888) and a Burchell's zebra (1915) before those two prominent subspecies became extinct. But it was also the first in Europe to exhibit the now extinct Schomburgk's deer (1862), a Rocky Mountain goat (1880), a Himalayan blue sheep (1882), an African forest elephant (1882), and a zebra duiker (1903), to name only a few big-game animals.[12] The first tapirs born in a zoo (a Brazilian in 1868 and a Malayan in 1879) were "Hamburgers."[13] Like other large zoos of its age, the Hamburg Garden was keen to collect zoological treasures—all to top the perceived competition.

Germany's first aquarium building opened at the Hamburg Zoo on April 26, 1864. The pachyderm house of 1867 was replaced by a new one in 1881, housing the three most popular animals the zoo would ever have: the Indian bull elephant Anton (a magnificent tusker), the Indian bull rhinoceros Begum, and the breeding bull hippopotamus Bachit. All three lived for thirty years, more or less simultaneously, at the zoo.[14]

Only two of the animal houses were built in the exotic style popular among the larger Continental gardens: the "Egyptian" stork house and the new ostrich house of 1904, covered with "Cape Dutch" tiles. Germany's only marsupial house was built in 1895, its only house for native birds—easily the most popular avian exhibit—in 1897.[15]

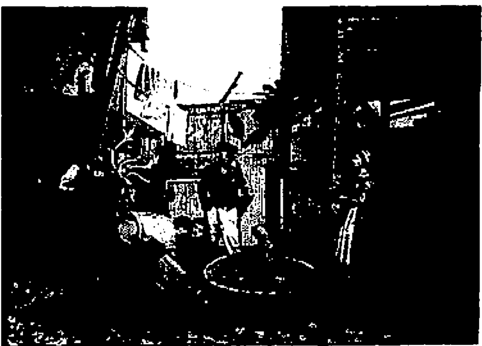
The original primate house was replaced in 1915 by the largest ever built up to that time. War, unfortunately, brought famine and influenza to *all* primates in Germany; it was years before the sixty-nine inside and twenty-two outside cages could be properly occupied. The Hamburg Zoo was the only one in Germany able to maintain any anthropoid apes—two chimpanzees—through the First World War. The Amazonian manatee, too, survived to establish a longevity record for sirenians of thirteen years.[16]

Hagenbeck's Tierpark, 1850–1910

The letterhead of the Hagenbecks' zoo gives a foundation date of 1841. Family legend has it that the animal trade began with six harbor seals caught in a fisherman's net and dumped with the rest of the take upon the doorsteps of the Hamburg fishmonger Carl Hagenbeck Sr. Truth or not, Hagenbeck certainly maintained a small animal dealership—a pet store, really—along with his wholesale seafood business through the 1850s.[17]

The animal trade picked up in the early 1860s, when something of a boom set in, as zoological gardens became established in central Europe at the rate of almost one a year. Hagenbeck's dealership became wholly independent of the seafood store in 1863. On Spielbudenplatz (Gaming Booth Square) in the heart of what was then, as now, Hamburg's red-light district, C. Hagenbeck's Handels-Menagerie opened to the public in the same year, incidentally, as the Hamburg Zoological Garden.

Carl Hagenbeck Sr.'s wholesale seafood market and menagerie was the birthplace of Carl Hagenbeck Jr., founder of the Tierpark. The house still stands and now serves as a residential building. The elder Hagenbeck is at the left, holding a pole to a sturgeon. (Reproduction of undated painting by Johannes Gehrts, author's collection)



Carl Hagenbeck's Handels-Menagerie was established near Hamburg's harbor in 1863. Seamen, like the one at center, were important sources of wild animals to dealers in the nineteenth century. Carl Hagenbeck Jr. is shown at left, taking a monkey out of a crate. (Reproduction of undated painting by Johannes Gehrts, author's collection)

The Handels-Menagerie ("dealer's menagerie") was actually an entrepôt, not a zoo; two street-front shop galleries sold monkeys and parrots respectively. In a courtyard behind the shops, bird cages were stacked between large tubs with seals. A barnlike structure eighty feet by thirty feet had stalls for carnivores on one side, herbivores on the other; crates of boas and pythons lined the middle. In a second courtyard beyond a back street, more birds and exotic domestic animals were groomed for sale. Yet here was Europe's first African rhinoceros on exhibit since Roman times, and its first Sumatran rhinoceros.[18]

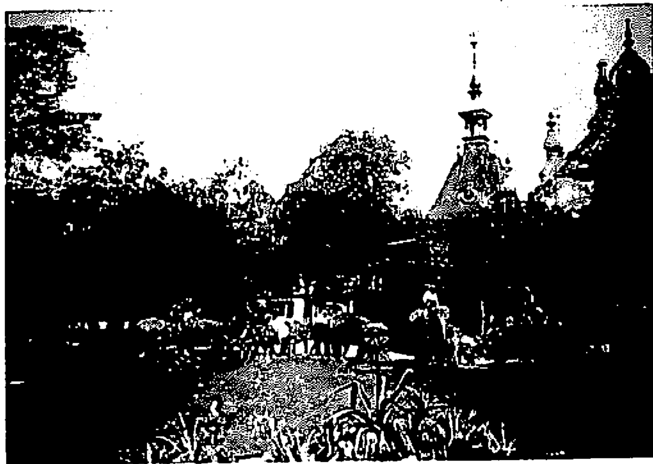
In 1866 Hagenbeck Sr. passed on ownership of the Handels-Menagerie to his eldest son, Carl Jr. The young Hagenbeck expanded the animal dealership with such success that within a decade it was the largest in Europe. In 1874 the junior Hagenbeck moved the business from its crowded Spielbudenplatz quarters to Neuer Pferdemarkt (New Horse Market), about a mile and a half north, and opened his first "Tierpark," an entrepôt-cum-zoo of two acres replete with lion house, elephant house, monkey house, reptile house, birds-of-prey aviary—in fact, most everything any other zoo would have, only more crowded still and more valuable than most.[19] The Neuer Pferdemarkt zoo was the first in Europe to exhibit such rare mammals as the Somali wild ass (1882), the gerenuk (1883), the pygmy hippopotamus (1884), the African manatee (1887), the Mongolian wild ass (1900), and Przewalski's wild horse (1901).[20]

What Hagenbeck liked to call anthropological-zoological exhibitions were introduced in 1874: Lapps accompanied a shipment of reindeer and put on a show reenacting daily life in Lapland in front of enthusiastic audiences in Hamburg, Berlin, and Leipzig. Over the next fifty-five years, Hagenbeck's Tierpark would organize some seventy performing ethnographic shows with groups rang-

Carl Hagenbeck Jr. (1844–1913) revolutionized animal keeping with the development of the "panorama," a bar-less exhibit laid out in successively higher stages containing different species, separated from one another and from the public by moats. (From a 1913 guidebook to Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark, Stellingen, Smithsonian Institution Library, National Zoological Park Branch)

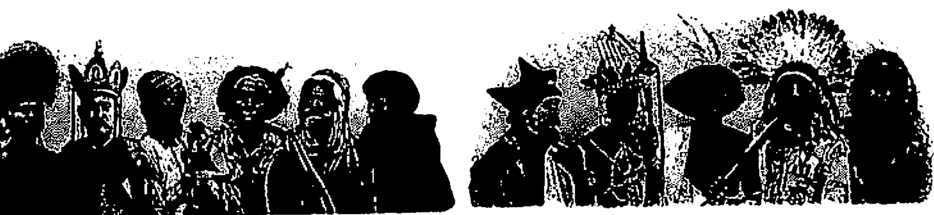
ing in size from three to four hundred, featuring three dozen tribes and "races." During the 1880s, some shows attracted almost a hundred thousand spectators a day. The zoo on Neuer Pferdemarkt was too small itself to stage very large performances. As a result, some performances were held in the Hamburg Zoological Garden, others on the spacious grounds of Hagenbeck's brother-in-law J. F. G. Umlauff, a dealer in natural history objects.[21]

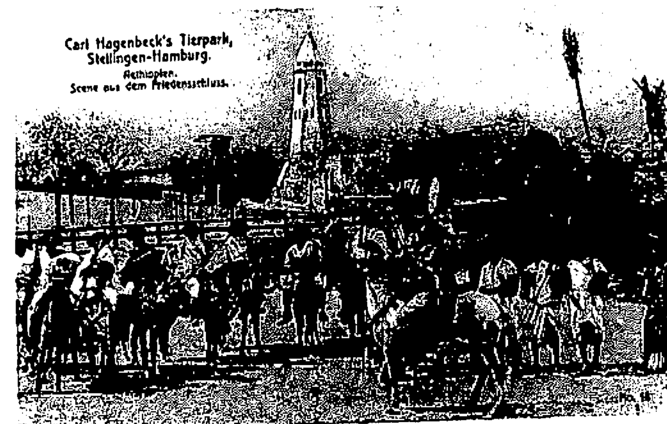
Apartment houses surrounded the Neuer Pferdemarkt Tierpark in what became a densely populated neighborhood. The roars and growls of carnivores, such as these bound for export, added to the traffic noise the Hagenbecks and their neighbors had to bear. (Undated photograph, photographer unknown, published in an album by Carl Hagenbeck; author's collection)



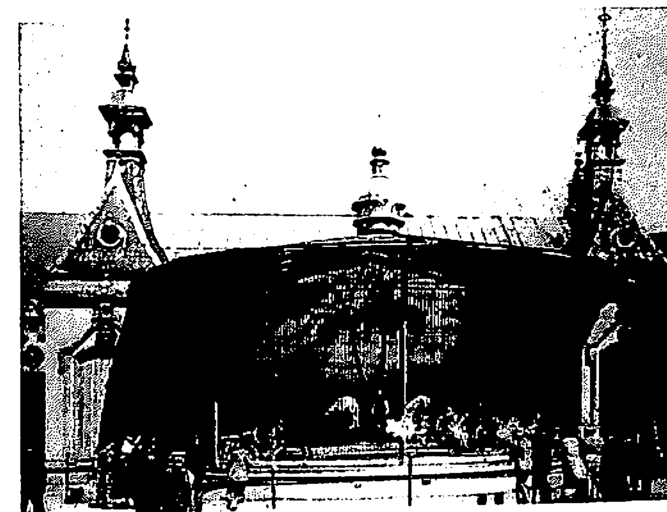
Elephants were regularly exercised around the common of Hagenbeck's old Tierpark on Neuer Pferdemarkt. The lion house at the left housed Europe's first Persian leopard and second Siberian tiger. (Undated photograph, photographer unknown, from the Hagenbeck archives)

This illustration, from the 1913 Stellingen Tierpark guidebook, provides an example of the diversity of Hagenbeck's ethnographic exhibits. (Smithsonian Institution Library, National Zoological Park Branch)

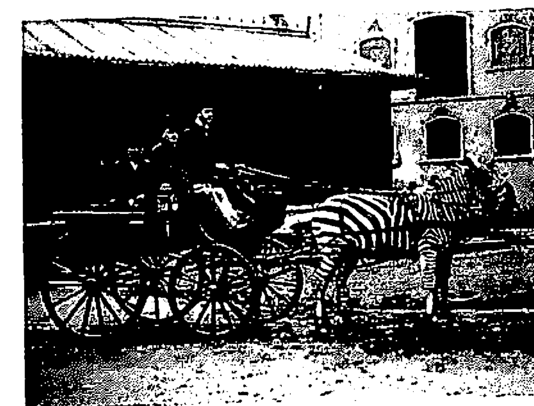




"Ethiopia" was the title of a 1909 ethnographic show at Hagenbeck's Tierpark in Stellingen. A re-created "Ethiopian" village served as a set for this show. (Author's collection)



Hagenbeck's Dressurhalle (center for training animals) at the Neuer Pferdemarkt Tierpark was unique among zoo buildings of the last century. It was here that nonviolent methods to train animals became standard. Training demonstrations of polar bears and big cats in a single enclosure helped to prove Hagenbeck's point (photo ca. 1890). (Unknown photographer, from the Hagenbeck archives)



Wanting to make good use of Germany's African colonies, Carl Hagenbeck tried to harness the zebra. Lorenz Hagenbeck (*left*) and the animal collector Jürgen Johannsen (*center*) managed to get zebras to pull them around the Neuer Pferdemarkt Tierpark, but little else (photo ca. 1900). (Unknown photographer, from the Hagenbeck archives)

One of the buildings on Neuer Pferdemarkt which other zoos did not have was a "school" to tame and train animals. Tame animals, of course, and even more so performing animals, brought better prices than truly wild beasts. Genuinely disturbed by the harsh, even cruel, methods standard among the trainers a century ago, Hagenbeck introduced what he termed *zahme Dressur* (roughly: training without the use of force or intimidation). His trainers were instructed to recognize the individual intelligence and nature of each of their charges, coaxing and encouraging them rather than thrashing them with canes or poking them with hot irons.[22] The enormous success of the various acts of performing animals in his circus, established in 1887, proved his point: Hagenbeck's animal acts quickly became famous—they were featured at the World's Fair in Chicago (1893) and Saint Louis (1904).[23]

The old Tierpark was to flourish for thirty years. As a zoo, entrepôt, and circus headquarters, however, two acres were really too small, despite lots

The year Carl Hagenbeck Jr. acquired his patent on the "panorama" (1896), he staged a polar exhibit on Hamburg's Heiligengeistfeld circus and fair grounds to introduce his favorite "invention" to the public. The moat separating seals from polar bears was not visible. (Illustration published in the Leipziger *Illustrierte Zeitung* of January 7, 1897)

The Arctic panorama of Hagenbeck's new Tierpark could originally be viewed both from above and from the main path. Wartime bombing destroyed the huge "rock" topping the panorama, and the reindeer paddock to the left, in 1943 (photo ca. 1908). (Unknown photographer, published in an album by Carl Hagenbeck; author's collection)

purchased and rented elsewhere in the city. After years of looking in vain for a suitable site in Hamburg, Hagenbeck acquired at the turn of the century an estate in Stellingen, then a suburb of Hamburg. There he could build a true zoological park, encompassing all of the principles of keeping wild animals in captivity which he had come to recognize in his decades as an animal dealer, circus proprietor, and zoo director. The widths of the moats, for example, which he substituted for bars and fences were determined via the circus ring by observing the distances that animals could jump. None of his principles was really new, but they had yet to be put into practice in a zoological park.

In 1896 Hagenbeck received a patent for what he called the "panorama": a series of enclosures laid out as stages, one behind and slightly higher than the other, separated from one another and from the public by concealed moats. The animal houses and the walkways between enclosures were screened by artificial rock work and hedges. Within five years, twenty-five acres of flat potato fields

Carl Hagenbeck Jr.'s new twenty-five-acre Tierpark opened in May 1907. The main attractions were the Africa panorama (the row of enclosures in the foreground) and the Arctic panorama (in the upper-left corner). The monumental building in the upper-right corner was the animal trade depot, destroyed by bombs during World War II (view drawn for Carl Hagenbeck in 1907 by August Urban; author's collection)

Sculptures by Joseph Pallenberg adorn the main entrance to Hagenbeck's Tierpark. The Sioux and Somali warriors that flank the gate remind visitors of the ethnographic shows that were once part of a day at the zoo. (Postcard, Smithsonian Institution Library, National Zoological Park Branch)

with six trees were transformed into a landscape of mountains, gorges, lakes, and islands which initially comprised two panoramas: Africa and the Arctic.[24] The exhibits created a huge sensation on opening day, May 7, 1907. Everyone attending (more than ten thousand visitors) seemed to experience the chilling sensation that lions and polar bears could leap from their exhibits right into the public areas.[25]

Another thirty acres were developed by 1909, including Germany's first ostrich farm and a dinosaur park of life-sized sculptures.[26] An arena for ethnographic shows provided Hagenbeck the opportunity to organize large performances for the first time on his own premises. The most popular was a Wild West show in 1910, with ten cowboys and forty-two Sioux Indians from South Dakota's Pine Ridge Reservation. More than a million spectators streamed into the Tierpark that summer alone.[27] Most of the implements and works of art

This 1910 American Wild West show was the most popular ethnographic show that Hagenbeck's Tierpark was ever to mount. More than one million visitors saw these Oglala Sioux dance at the foot of an artificial mountain. (Author's collection)

Since the turn of the century, Carl Hagenbeck Jr. (*center*) received active support from his sons and subsequent heirs, Heinrich (*left*) and Lorenz. Heinrich was largely responsible for zoo operations, Lorenz for the circus. The two-and-a-half-year-old Bengal tiger was a born "Hagenbeck" (photo ca. 1908). (Unknown photographer, published in an album by Carl Hagenbeck; author's collection)

collected for a show were later donated to the Hamburg Museum of Ethnography, if not sold at the Tierpark's souvenir bazaar.

Eighty or ninety years ago, most zoological gardens were acquiring their stock from animal dealers. Hagenbeck's dealership, the world's oldest and largest, was right there in a Hamburg suburb, but that was not where the "official" Hamburg Zoo was buying its animals any longer. As a matter of fact, as Bronx Zoo director William Hornaday noted in the *Bulletin of the New York Zoological Society*, "the zoological garden directors of all Germany were industriously engaged in boycotting Mr. Hagenbeck . . . because [he] had had the temerity to build at Hamburg a private zoological garden so spectacular and attractive that it made the old Hamburg Zoo look obsolete and uninteresting."[28]

What is now taken for granted by almost every visitor to a zoo—moated exhibits in a landscape simulating nature; gregarious animals of mixed species kept in herds in large enclosures; and animal performances based on conditioning and sensitivity, not on brute force and intimidation—all started at Hagenbeck's Tierpark.

CARL HAGENBECK JR. DIED IN 1913 and was succeeded as proprietor by his two sons, Heinrich and Lorenz. Lorenz kept the firm solvent through the First World War, heading the circus through the neutral states of Europe. Neither Hagenbeck's nor the society's zoo was making a profit, however, in the wake of Germany's economic collapse following the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. On October 3, 1920, the Tierpark closed down for three and a half years, until the nation's economic climate warmed up, and Lorenz's son Carl-Lorenz was able to reestablish the animal trade.[29]

The Zoological Society of Hamburg went into liquidation at the end of 1920, and the Zoological Garden was scheduled for closure the following January. A group of patrons succeeded in initiating a new company, the Hamburg Zoological Garden Corporation, to take over the lease. Thus the zoo managed to stay open—if only for another decade. During this tenuous period, the Hamburg Zoological Garden was superintended by Julius Vosseler, only the garden's third director in sixty years. Despite Vosseler's efforts, the Hamburg Zoological Garden was dissolved in 1930 at the start of the Great Depression.[30]

The Zoo Corporation decided to divide its lease into a bird park and an amusement park. The bird park incorporated about a third of the old zoo site, including the large ponds for waterfowl and the bird houses, of course. The Hamburg Bird Park (in German: Hamburger Vogelpark) opened its gates—a side entrance of the old zoo—on July 7, 1930. Only twelve months later, however, the Zoo Corporation went into liquidation, and the bird collection was sold to the Fockelmann pet shops in Hamburg. Hamburg became a single-zoo city.[31]

The Hamburg Zoo of today, Carl Hagenbeck's Tierpark, remains a pleasant

and, in parts, even a uniquely beautiful zoological park. But like the Hamburg Zoological Garden of a century ago, or the Tierpark on Neuer Pferdemarkt, it is now, by the standards of its time, very much a conventional zoo. The Hagenbecks can claim to have once set the avant-garde standards in zoo design, but that is now history.

| *Harro Strehlow*

ZOOS AND AQUARIUMS OF BERLIN

Although nineteenth- and twentieth-century documents containing information on zoos and aquariumlike institutions in or near Berlin refer to five facilities, my emphasis is on the evolution of three of them: the Peacock Island Menagerie (Menagerie auf der Pfaueninsel), the zoo near Berlin (Zoologischer Garten bei Berlin) which eventually became the Berlin Zoo, and the Aquarium Unter den Linden. Their histories are very much connected.

Peacock Island Menagerie (Menagerie auf der Pfaueninsel)

The creation of a menagerie by Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm III on Peacock Island (Pfaueninsel), situated in the Havel River near the royal palace at Potsdam (about fifteen and a half miles from the heart of Berlin), was a first step in the establishment of a modern zoo in Berlin. Originally designed by Johann Eyserbeck in 1795, Peacock Island's landscape was changed to what was then called an "ornamental" farm in 1805 by Johann Fintelmann, the royal gardener.[1] With Fintelmann's help, King Friedrich Wilhelm III collected exotic animals such as peacocks, birds of prey, and monkeys for the menagerie.

By 1822 the famous landscape gardener Peter Lenné had begun his creative work on Peacock Island. His intention was to create a variety of floral and faunal scenarios, with all the animal houses, enclosures, and cages integrated into the overall design.[2] In conjunction with the famous architect Martin Rabe, Lenné worked out a new concept that relocated the menagerie to the center of the island. Eight animal houses were designed and added to the deer and buffalo enclosures originally built in 1802. A mechanical building to operate a fountain was built, and pheasants from the nearby New Park of Sans Souci were brought to Peacock Island.[3]

In 1824 Friedrich Wilhelm III agreed to a modest expansion. Rabe erected a waterfowl house and a bear den, and in 1828 the architect Albert Schadow built thirteen enclosures for a deer park, cages for foxes and wolves, a house for boars