

NOV. DEC. 1968



By Richard J. Reynolds

Since the turn of the century, the rhinoceros has been the rarest of the "big three" menagerie attractions in the American circus, the other two being the giraffe and hippo. However, this has not always been the case. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the rhino was well known to the menagerie visitor while the giraffe and hippo remained relatively unknown.

No. 1 "OLD PUT," the trained Great Indian Rhinoceros who was a feature of the Dan Rice Circus from 1855 to 1861. This photo With the passage of years the situation changed. As we will see, the exhibition of rhinos by American circuses reached its peak during the 1870s. Thereafter, fewer and fewer of these great beasts found their way to the circus menagerie. By contrast, the turn of the century saw giraffes and hippos becoming more common, particularly the "river horses." Two factors contributed to this change;

is more than 100 years old. Note the rope attached to a ring in the rhino's nose. While the man in the picture is unidentified, he is (1) problems of transporting and caring for giraffes and hippos were solved and (2) always less numerous in the wild than the other two, rhinos have become even scarcer over the years. Of all the large mamals of the world, rhinos are the most threatened with extinction.

It will be the purpose of this monograph to discuss the rhinos that have been exhiibted by American circuses. To begin, I must point out that the mere identification of a given circus animal as a "rhinoceros" tells very little, for there are no less than five distinct species or types, three in Asia and two in Africa. Each differs from the other in appearance and in some cases the contrast is striking, as will be noted from the accompanying illustrations. However, to those interested in the history of wild animals in captivity, the most signficant difference relates to the comparative rarity of the various species. It will be necessary, therefore, to point out some of the individual characteristics of the various rhinos, to-wit:

ASIATIC RHINOS

1. Great Indian Rhino (one horn)

This is the most awesome looking of these beasts. Its unusual skin, which appears to be arranged in sections and held together by rivet-like protuberances, properly gives it the name "armored" rhino. It has only one horn which in captive examples

definitely not Dan Rice. [Photograph through the courtesy of the Hertzberg Circus Collection of the San Antonio, Texas Public Libray.]



Page 4

is frequently worn down by rubbing against the walls of the cage. The single horn gives rise to the name "unicorn," a moniker used by many of the early menageries to describe this rhino.

The Indian rhino has long been known to western man and was the first rhino to come into captivity in modern time, an example having arrived in Lisbon, Portugal in 1515 as a gift to King Emmanuel from the King of Cambay, India. The Indian species was certainly the first type rhino to be shown with an American menagerie, and it was probably the only species brought to our shores until after the Civil War. The approach of the twentieth century saw the "unicorn" rapidly fade away in the face of incessant poaching and hunting. This resulted in the disappearance of the beast from the circus menagerie. Only the richest and very biggest of the shows could afford the tremendous price for such a rarity. And, the Ringling Brothers of Baraboo, were the only post-1900 showmen willing to risk the \$5,000 (circa 1900 price) to \$10,000 (circa 1923 price) necessary to purchase the beast. They bought a male in 1907 who became well known as "Old Bill" by the time of his death in 1926. There has been no circus Indian rhino since his demise over 42 years ago.

Indian rhinos are perhaps the most prized of all zoo and menagerie attractions. They are huge beasts, the males standing up to six feet at the shoulder and weighing 4,500 pounds. This makes the Indian rhino just a shade under Africa's white rhino as the largest of the family. The Indian rhino is found only in limited areas of Nepal and India's Assam and West Bengal states. Most of them live in game preserves which have temporarily saved them from extinction. In 1966 the world population numbered about 780 examples: 40 in captivity and 740 in the wild.

The first successful birth of an Indian rhino took place at the Basel, Switzerland zoo in 1956. Since then, the Swiss zoo has produced no less than seven additional calves, a remarkable achievement. Other Indian rhinos have been bred and born at Hagenbeck's Hamburg zoo (2 calves, both born to a female sent to Basel for breeding); London's Whipsnade Park (2 calves); and I have heard that just recently a calf was born at the Mysore Zoo in Southern India. In January 1967, a pair at the Milwaukee zoo produced a calf, and while it failed to survive, it was the first Indian

2. Javan Rhino (one horn)

rhino ever born in America.

This rhino, also called the "lesser one horned rhino" is considered the

One of the early shows to exhibit a rhino was the Grand National Menagerie. This ad appeared in the Boston, Mass. TRAVELLER, newspaper dated January 27, 1832. Pfening Collection.

rarest large mammal in the world. Similar at first glance to the Great Indian rhino in that it possesses only one horn and has nearly the same arrangement for the folds in its skin, it is quite distinct. There are no "rivet heads" in the Javan's armor. Instead its skin has more of a mosaiclike or scaly appearance. The head of the Javan rhino is much smaller, narrower, and more pointed than the head of its more massive cousin, the Indian. Often, female Javan rhinos have no horn at all. As can be observed by comparing the illustrations of the two species, the Javan is much lighter in weight than the Indian, but stands almost as tall. It thus gives the appearance of a skinny animal compared to its big cousin. To me, the most easily recognized external difference in the Javan rhino is the arrangement of the skin folds on the neck and shoulder which creates a saddle-like effect. This is readily apparent in the accompanying illustrations. By contrast, the Indian rhino does not have this saddle on the back of its neck.

Photos of Javan rhinos are almost non-existent, and the two used here are the only really decent ones I have been able to find which show the physical characteristics described above. I have never seen a photograph of a living Javan rhino in captivity. The best I can do along these lines is the accompanying reproduction of a drawing from life by a Mr. J. Wolf of the male Javan rhino that lived in the London zoo from 1874 until 1885. This drawing was one of five made by Mr. Wolf in 1872 and 1874 of the different kinds of rhinos then living at the London zoo. All were done in beautiful water color and were lithographed to illustrate Mr. P. L. Sclater's excellent paper, "On the Rhinoceroses now or lately living in the Society's Menagerie," published in Transactions of The Zoological Society of London, Vol. IX - Part II (1877). They are so good for comparing the different species that I have taken the liberty of using all of them for illustrations here.

The only species of rhino not drawn by Mr. Wolf in 1874 was the African white rhino. And, there was good reason, for no example of this immense

No. 2 Female Great Indian Rhino in Berlin. Germany zoo around 1898. The well developed single horn gives rise to the name "unicorn." [Lothar Schlawe collection, Berlin, Germany, from Heck's, Lebende Bilder aus dem Reiche der Tiere (1899) p. 11.]



A LARGE and splendid Exhibition of WILD BEASTS in Union street, a few doors north of the First Baptist Meeting-House, will be opened for Exhibition TO-MORROW, and be continued open every day, Sundays excepted, ill further notice. Among this collection will be found the celebrated UNICORN or RHINOCEROS.

ELEPHANT ROMEO, imported by P. Dodge, Esq. in December last. This is now decidedly the rrest Elephant in Amreica. ELEPHANT JULIET, or Miniature Elephant;

the smallest of the species ever exhibited in this city.

A full grown male ZEBRA. The long acknowledged elegance of these animals is most strikingly ex-

eugene eigenice of these animals is most strikingly exhibited in the present one.

Royal TIGER of Asia.

A pair of striped IIYENAS; several LEOPARDS.

Two humped or pleasure CAMELS; the JAGUAR.

Brown TIGERS, male and female.

A large Bengal TIGRESS.
Untumeable or crying HYENAI

PANTHERS; KANGAROO; Moco; COTAMONDIS, &c., &c., besides a whole wilderness of the Simia

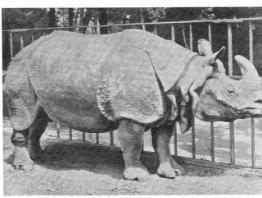
Tribe.

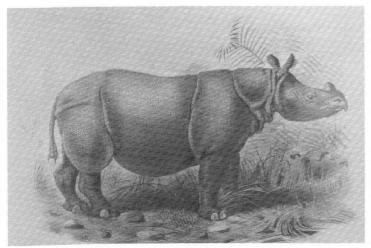
The SHETLAND PONEY will appear in the Ring, mounted by Capt. DICK, in full costume. Hours of admission from 10 A. M. till 4 P. M. and nov 27

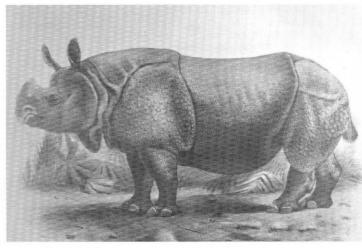
beast was to take up residence in London for another 81 years or until 1955.

Returning to the subject of Javan rhinos, the only ones definitely known to have been shown in zoos after the aforesaid London example were at Calcutta, India (1887 to 1892) and Adelaide, Australia (1886 to 1907).

A Javan rhino may have landed in San Francisco in 1879, but this is not certain. The German zoo periodical Der Zoologische Garten for that year, at page 157, describes how a Javan rhino escaped from its cage on the ship "Colon" while enroute from New York to San Francisco. The rhino was supposedly destined for the "Montgomery menagerie." Now, there is no record of a San Francisco park. zoo, or permanent menagerie by that







No. 4 Male Javan rhino that lived in London Zoo from 1874 until 1885. The skin does not have the rivet-like tubercles so characteristic of the Indian rhino. Rather, the Javan's epidermis has a cracked and scaly appearance. Note the saddle like skin fold on the back of the neck. [Drawing by J. Wolf in 1872 for the Zoological Society of London.]

name. This leads me to believe that the animal was headed for none other than Montgomery Queen, the circus proprietor who used Hayward, California in the San Francisco bay area, as a home base for his circus in the 1870s. However, it is my understanding that Queen's show left California for good in 1877, went east, and was sold at auction in Louisville, Kentucky. It seems that Queen then dropped out of sight for many years. Maybe he went back to San Francisco and opened a menagerie. Or perhaps the story in the 1879 Der Zoologische Garten referred to events of the earlier 1870s when the Montgomery Queen Circus was active. The point is worth further research because it might show what became of the only Javan rhino that ever came to Amer-

The likelihood that any of us will ever see this beast is indeed remote, for it appears to be so far over the brink of extinction that even the most stringent of conservation efforts will be unable to save the animal for long. Unfortunately, it seems that like such fabled creatures as the dodo, the Javan rhino will soon be gone forever. Its present wild population is said to number no more than 25 to 50 individuals, all of which are confined to the Udjung Kulon nature preserve located on a peninsula at the western tip of Java.

3. Sumatran rhino (two horns)

This rhino, the smallest and most curious looking of the family is also known by the names, Asiatic two horned rhino and hairy rhino. As can be seen from the accompanying illustrations, the animal is covered with

coarse hair and has two horns, although they are not anything like as well developed as the nasal adornments for the two-horned African rhinos. The front horn on the zoo specimen shown in the large photograph has been worn down by rubbing. The subject of this photo is a female named "Subur" which presently resides in the zoo at Copenhagen, Denmark where this picture was taken in September 1965 by the noted zoo historian, Lothar Schlawe of Berlin, Germany. "Subur" is the only Sumatran rhino in captivity anywhere in the world. Further, she is one of only two of her species that have been exhibited in Europe or America during the past 48 years, the other one being exhibited at the Basel, Switzerland zoo. Both of these rhinos came to Europe in 1959. The Basel animal was never healthy and died in 1961.

No. 5 Freshly killed male Javan rhino. This animal was shot on January 31, 1934 at Sindangkerta, west Java by Mr. P. F. Franck for the Buitenzorg (now Bogor) Zoological Museum. Note the very prominent "saddle" fold on back of neck in front of shoulder. This is a sure way to distinguish the Javan from the Indian rhino. [Photo by P. F. Franck appearing in H. J. Sody's "Das Javanische Nashorn," Zeitschrift fur Saugetierkunde (1959).]

No. 3 Male Great Indian Rhino "Jim" that lived in the London Zoo from July 25, 1864 until his death on December 12, 1904, more than 40 years. Note "rivet heads" in armor on front and rear legs. The skin folds on the back of the Indian rhino's neck do not form the "saddle" so apparent in the closely related Javan rhino. [Drawing by J. Wolf in 1872 for the Zoological Society of London.]

As is apparent from these facts, the Sumatran rhino is exceedingly rare. It lives in the jungles of Burma, the Malayan peninsula, and the islands of Borneo and Sumatra. Once fairly numerous throughout this wide range, it has been hunted relentlessly until today its total wild population is said to number between 100 and 170 examples. The problem with trying to preserve the Sumatran rhino is that its remaining numbers are scattered throughout such a vast area that there is no breeding nucleus anywhere.

Oddly, the very first rhino bred and born in captivity was of this species. This blessed event took place in 1889 at the Alipore zoo, Calcutta, India.

The Sumatran rhino is the smallest of the clan. It stands only 4 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet tall and weighs less than a ton. That is is a small animal is demonstrated by the fact that a female exhibited by the Forepaugh-Sells show in 1896 shared a 15-2/3 foot long den with an American deer [Bandwagon,



Jan.-Feb. 1964, p. 8]. This particular rhino was one of about 4 to 10 different Sumatrans that were exhibited by American circuses, beginning around 1872 and ending about 1906. The last one was an attraction with the old Ringling show in the early years of this century.

Not even our wealthy zoos have been able to obtain one since the Ringling example kicked the bucket around 1906. The Philadelphia zoo almost got a pair in 1952, but they died enroute to this country.

AFRICAN RHINOS

1. Black Rhino (two horns)

This is the most familiar and commonly exhibited rhino. The animal is also known as "African two-horned rhino" and "hook-lipped rhino." It is the rhino usually shown in movies and television programs with emphasis on the wild life of Africa.

The black rhino's natural habitat is the open bush country of eastern and south Africa where it is still fairly numerous as rhino populations go. The largest numbers are found in Kenya and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). In 1963, the Rhinoceros Group, a part of the Survival Service Commission of the International Union for Conservation of Nature estimated the entire wild population of black rhinos at 13,500 specimens.

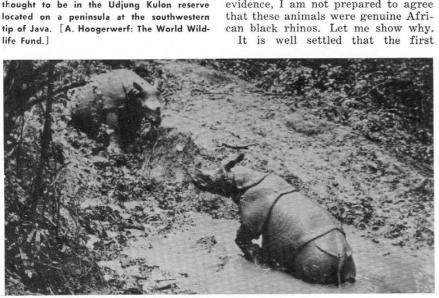
In size the black rhino exceeds only the Sumatran. It is certainly smaller than the Great Indian and white and is apparently smaller than the Javan, although there is not much data as to size and weights of the latter. Adult male black rhinos average around 41/2 to 5 feet in shoulder height and weigh up to 2,500 pounds. The

No. 6 Javan rhinos at a wallow in their native land. The species is now limited to about 25 to 50 animals, all of which are thought to be in the Udjung Kulon reserve life Fund.

truly spectacular feature of the black rhino is the great length of its two horns in proportion to its overall size. In wild examples, they sometimes grow to a length of four feet. In captivity, the horns tend to become worn down through rubbing against walls and bars of cages.

While far more numerous in the wild than its Asian relatives, the black rhino did not make its appearance in captivity until 1868. By that time the Indian rhino was familiar to both Americans and Europeans. No doubt this was due to the fact that commercia trade with the Orient was well established by the early 1800s while contact with East Africa was almost non-existent until the latter part of that century. Since then, the black rhino has become quite common. The first captive birth for the species took place in Chicago's Brookfield zoo in 1941. Subsequently, births have taken place at the Cincinnati, Denver, Detroit, Kansas City, Oklahoma City, Pittsburgh, and Washington, D.C. zoos and at a number of other places around the world.

The first American circus references to animals which might have been bona fide African black rhinos appear in 1868 and 1870. When the Van Amburgh show, under the management of Hyatt Frost, played Newburyport, Mass. on July 8, 1868 the advertisements claimed that "a new black rhino" had just been added to the menagerie. Two years later, we find John V. O'Brien claiming this beast in his menagerie. The Clipper for July 8, 1870 calls his animal an "African rhino" and ads for his stand at DuQuoin, Iowa on August 16, 1870 say "black rhino." That both Hyatt Frost and John O'Brien had rhinos during those years is not questioned, but on the strength of the available evidence, I am not prepared to agree



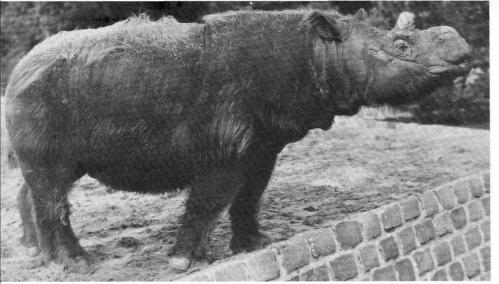


of an arrival so extraordinary, soon found its way in the New York papers, and descriptive and congratulatory articles were published in almost every one in the city. The vast popula tion of our American Metropolis were on the very tip-toe of excitement to see it, and a argument of money would have flowed into the treasury of the Company had they consented to exhibit the Rhinoceros in New York, without any other attraction, and for the same admit the as is charged to witness the entire Monagorie. But a laudable desire to make it a com-

So as recharged, to written the entire analogues, the analogue control of the metablishment of the manifest attractions they offer to the public indirect them to place it on enablishment of the public will be a public of the public will be probably for pany, year, on factoric is public W. Man Androgal, d. Cole Gress (Golden Menageric, and to see that the new it is not the control to enable the menageric and the seeds by enabled to a connection with that institution, the most complete and only incitions. Menagerie in the country, without extra charge.

The Van Amburgh & Co. devoted the entire front page of this herald to a "Black Asiatic Rhinoceros." The herald was used to advertise the Fostoria, Ohio date of October 13, 1870. Original in Pfening Collection.

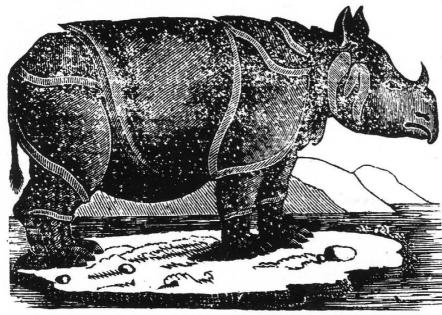
African black rhino to reach Europe since the days of the Roman games was a young male imported by Carl Hagenbeck from Nubia (now Sudan) in 1868 and sold to the London zoo where it arrived on September 11, 1868. Had an earlier example come through the European animal market enroute to an American circus it would surely have created so much notoriety that the event would be recorded in European zoo journals, newspapers, etc. Of course, there is a possibility that an American circus got one directly from Africa before 1868, but I think this is unlikely. The real early references to rhinos in this country pretty clearly indicate that they were the "unicorn" from India. And, by



No. 7 Female Sumatran rhino "Subur" at Copenhagen zoo on September 29, 1965. She has worn down her front horn through rub-

bing. Note the hair covered body which leads to the name "hairy" rhino. [Photo by Lothar Schlawe, Berlin.]

RAYMOND & OGDEN'S MENAGERIE,



COMPRISING THE MOST RARE AND GIGANTIC ASSEMBLAGE OF Wild Beasts and Birds now travelling.

Will be seen at Ebenezer Benedict's, in Belprc, on WEDNESDAY, the 15th inst. from 12 until 3 o'clock P. M.; at Marietta on THURSDAY, the 16th, from 12 until 3 P. M.; and at Waterford on FRIDAY, the 17th, from 1 until 4 P. M.

The proprietors, in soliciting public patronage, feel confident that the superiority of their collection, and style of exhibition, will insure an ample treat to all who may call on them; and they assure their visitors that every attention shall be paid, to render the exhibition orderly and instructive.

Among the most prominent of the Animals are the following:

UNICORN, or RHINOCEROS;

This animal has been the subject of much speculation among naturalists. It has been considered by theological commentators, the Unicorn of Holy Writ, as described in the book of Job. The character strictly corresponds with the description.

This wonderful animal surpasses the Elephant in bulk. The one now offered is but four years old, and weighs 4 or 5000 lbs.

the Civil War period the European market had become the most convenient place to get circus animals.

The term "black rhino" appears from time to time in circus ads and literature describing rhinos in the pre-1868 days, but I think this can largely be discounted as careless use of the term.

For Hyatt Frost to have obtained a genuine African black rhino for his Van Amburgh show in June 1868, would mean that he was ahead of the London zoo which did not obtain the recognized "first" from Carl Hagenbeck until September of that year. Then too, as we shall see, Mr. Frost later makes a more acceptable claim that 1872 was the year that the genuine article first came to America.

Turning briefly to John V. "Pogey" O'Brien, we must begin by recognizing his reputation as perhaps the most dishonest showman in American circus history. Hearing reports that a new animal called the "African black rhino" had created a sensation by its recent arrival in Europe, the crafty O'Brien would hardly resist the temptation to claim that his 1870 animal had an African origin if he thought such a line would cause one more click of the turnstiles. In short, the record must remain open to receive more evidence to support O'Brien's 1870 claim.

The year 1872 is a more authentic date for the arrival of America's first genuine African black "two horned" rhino. On June 6, 1872 the aforesaid Hyatt Frost of the Van Amburgh circus wrote a letter to one W. W. Thomas, a business associate, which reads as follows:

"Mr. Ferguson arrived from Europe two weeks since with a large and very valuable collection of animals and on last Saturday they arrived at St. Mary's Canada. Most of these animals were purchased of Wombwell collection in Edinburgh, Scotland, among which is a Black two horned Rhinoceros, the first ever in America and the second ever in Europe."

In my judgment, Mr. Frost's 1872 claim is entitled to great weight when viewed in the context of a candid communication to a buisness associate instead of a mere advertising tool.

That same season, 1872, we find P. T. Barnum also listing the African black rhino among the wonders of his menagerie. And, in the years that followed, this rhino established itself as the most commonly exhibited species. Of the fifteen rhinos that have been exhibited by American circuses

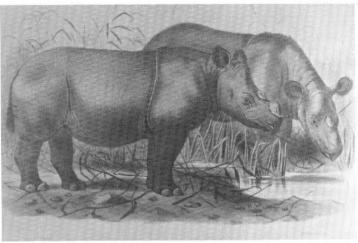
The Raymond & Ogden's Menagerie used this ad in Marietta (Ohio) Gazette, on October 11, 1834. Fred Pfening III. Collection since 1900, no less than thirteen were of this type.

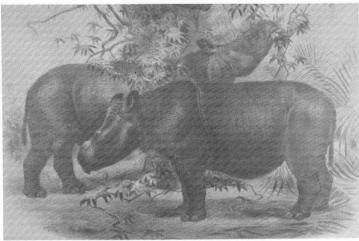
2. White Rhino (two horns)

Here is the largest of all the rhinos. Big males will stand over six feet at the shoulder and weigh three tons. The accompanying photos of "Gus" in the Hanover, Germany zoo give a good idea of the immense size of the beast.

The name "white" is misleading for it does not relate to color. Most authorities seem to think it arose from a corruption of the Dutch word "weit" which was used by the South African Boers to describe the "wide" or square mouth of the beast.

century this huge beast had been reduced to as low as 100 examples. Then, in the nick of time, a stringent conservation program was launched that has been one of the most successful in the world. The South African white rhinos have increased to a point where, believe it or not, the wild population is thought to be around 950 examples. The northern race of this rhino, because of its more inaccessible haunt, was spared the early slaughter that took place in South Africa, but its current situation is more precarious because conservation must be provided by the new African decades ago. Writing about circus menageries in 1925, the late Col. C. G. Sturtevant composed a list of great rarities for a "dream" menagerie. which included a pair of white rhinos. He observed that no examples of this animal had ever been captured, let alone exhibited. Not only was this a correct statement for 1925, but the same could be said twenty years later. It was not until 1946 that a white rhino finally reached captivity. In July of that year a South African game warden found a day old female calf that had been abandoned by its mother. He cared for the little critter,





No. 9 Northern race of Sumatran rhino (Assam, Bengal, Burma) known as "hairy eared" rhino. This was once thought to be a separate species. Note the single skin fold

on the shoulder. Drawing by J. Wolf in 1872 from female "Begum" that lived at the London Zoo from February 14, 1872 until August 31, 1900.

The color of a given rhino seems to depend largely on the color of the dirt or mud in which it last wallowed, so that the terms "white" or "black" rhino are not the best for distinguishing the animals. "Hook lipped" (for the black) and "square mouthed" (for the white) would be much better, but they are more cumbersome and will probably never replace the more popular names based on color. As can be seen from the accompanying photos, the white rhino differs from the black in having a square, bulbous mouth and in its massive low slung neck and head.

The range of the white rhino is very limited. It is found in small pockets within the Union of South Africa where it has long been a familiar animal to scientists. In 1900 a northern race was discovered in an area along the White Nile River in what is best described as the place where the boundaries of the Congo, Sudan, and Vganda came together.

The white rhino is rather peaceful, grazing animal that became easy prey to indiscriminate hunting by the early South African settlers. The carnage was so great that by the turn of the

nations who have larger problems than keeping poachers out of rhino country. On the whole, however, the status of the white rhino is most encouraging. Its total wild population, including both northern and southern races, is now thought to range between 2,000 to 3,000 examples.

The white rhino has become so plentiful within its limted South African range that in 1962 a cropping program was begun. A clever plan was devised. Instead of simply shooting the animals, they were captured and reintroduced to other places in South Africa from which they had vanished many decades previous. In order to offset the tremendous expense of such an operation, some of the animals were offered to zoos for a price of \$8,000 to \$10,000 per pair. In this manner many zoos around the world obtained prized exhibits, and the conservation program received needed funds. My records show that no less than thirteen pairs of these rhinos have come to America in the last six years.

What is now a commonly exhibited rhino was nothing but a zoo director's or circus owner's dream a mere two

No. 8 Sumatran rhinos drawn by Mr. Wolf in 1872 from a female that lived in the Londan zoo in August and September of that year. Note the two poorly developed horns.

and sent it to the Pretoria zoo where it became the first of its species in captivity. The first ones in Europe and America were of the northern race. Pairs arrived in Antwerp, Belgium in 1950 and London in 1955. In 1956 Dr. William Mann brought the first pair to our country for the Washington, D. C. zoo.

The only white rhino birth thus far in captivity took place on June 8, 1967 at the Pretoria, South Africa zoo. The youngster's mother had not been in the zoo for the normal gestation period so it is thought that she was bred in the wild.

Alas, no white rhino has even traveled with an American circus. Only the Swiss Circus Knie can lay claim to this great attraction. It obtained a pair in 1966. The male "Bully" stays in Knie's children's zoo at Rapperswil, but the female "Ceyla" travels with the show and has become a star performer.

The chronicle of circus rhinos in America begins in the year 1826. According to the eminent historian, R. W. G. Vail, a "unicorn or one horned rhinoceros" was exhibited at Peale's Museum in New York City on Oc-

tober 16, 1826. Vail says this is the earliest reference to a rhinoceros in America, and the words describing its horn suggest it was from India. The same or another animal was exhibited at 350 Broadway, New York City, during June and July of 1829.

On May 9, 1830 another Indian rhino arrived in our country. This animal, a male, was exhibited at the Washington Gardens, Tremont Street, Boston, Mass. on May 14, 1830. He was next a prime attraction for an association of early showmen popularly known as the Flatfoots because of their reputation in "putting their foot down flat" on their competition. They used the name Zoological Institute and had permanent exhibition quarters at 37 Bowery in New York City. During the summer they operated traveling menageries employing numerous colorful titles. We find our rhino the subject of a colorful poster depicting the wonders of the American National Caravan in 1831. There is a good drawing of an Indian rhino with the following description, to-wit:

"The one now offered for inspection is the first living rhinoceros ever brought to America. He is in excellent condition, possesses surprising strength, and is docile and obedient to his keeper. He was taken at the foot of one of the Himalayan Mountains, near a branch of the Ganges when he was judged to be about three months old, sent to a Rajah or native Prince of Calcutta, from whom it was purchased in January, 1830 and landed in Boston on the 9th of May following."

Of course, the boast that this was the "first" rhino in America is inconsistent with the fact, noted above, that rhinos were exhibited in New York in

No. 10 The first African black rhino in Europe since the days of the Roman Empire. This is Mr. Wolf's drawing of the male acquired by the London Zoo in 1868 from the famed German dealer Carl Hagenbeck.

1826 and again in 1829. As we shall see, our American showmen have never been bashful in assigning such plaudits as "first," "only one on exhibit," "biggest," etc. to their rhinos. Be that as it may, the 1830 Indian rhino was still going strong in 1834-35 because he is pictured and discussed on lithographs utilized that season by "The Association's Celebrated and Extensive Menagerie and Aviary from their Zoological Institute in the City of New York, embracing all the subjects of natural history, as exhibited at that popular and fashionable resort during the winter of 1834-5." Our rhino is described as follows:

"The unicorn, or rhinoceros, mentioned in Scripture . . . now offered for exhibition is seven years old, and is the first ever brought to America . . . Its present weight is about 4,200 pounds. The growth of its horn is much retarded as it continually thumps its head against the bars of its cage."

In addition to the two possibly distinct animals mentioned above, there is evidence that perhaps four more found their way to this country before 1840

In 1830 a certain Doctor Burrow of Philadelphia is said to have imported a male through that city. An account of this beast appears in an ad for the Association's Menagerie and Aviary in the August 11, 1835 issue of the Pittsburgh, Pa. Allegheny Democrat, to-wit:

"The UNICORN or ONE HORNED RHINOCEROS . . . now offered for inspection is a male, 8 years old, and was taken in the interior of Asia, on the Burrampooter [sic] River, by Dorothy Burrow, of Philadelphia, and imported to that city, at a very enormous expense, in 1830, and is now the largest in America, weighing upwards of 5,000 pounds."

Note the similarity between this story and that about the animal said to have arrived in Boston the same year. Were there two rhinos imported in 1830 or only one? I think there were two "Flatfoot" rhinos during the years 1830-1835. Let me make out my case.

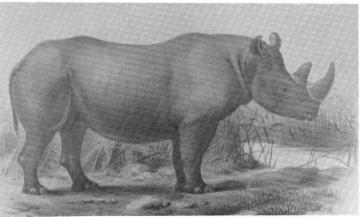
The Entire New Menagerie, operated by the Flatfoots Macomber and Welch claimed a rhino at Boston on June 1, 1835 while just two months and many hundreds of miles to the west, Dr. Burrow's example was touring Ohio and Pennsylvania with the Association's [Flatfoot's] Menagerie and Aviary. I rest my case by suggesting that in 1835 there were two Flatfoo units, each with a rhino.

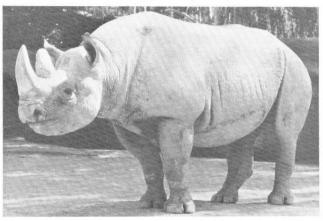
An 1837 pamphlet about Purdy, Welch, and Macomber's collection from the Zoological Institute lists a rhino weighing 5,628 pounds. Undoubtedly this was one of the 1830 animals. On August 22-23, 1837 there was an auction of animals belonging to the Zoological Institute among which was a female rhinoceros. This is the first mention of the fairer sex among the rhinos, and suggests a fourth specimen in our country during the 1826-1837 period.

From fellow historian Rick Pfening comes the earliest reference to the death of a rhino in America. This unfortunate event occurred with J. R. and William Howes' New York Menagerie in 1834. There is no information as to which of the previously discussed rhinos this might have been. Nay, it might have been a different rhino altogether.

The pioneer showman James Raymond operated outside the sphere of the Flatfoot-Zoological Institute organization, and in competition therewith. Hence, a four year old rhino claimed by his Raymond & Ogden show at Marietta, Ohio in 1834 and at Piqua, Ohio in 1836 would likely have been still another "unicorn" imported during that decade. And, if I correctly count the rhinos discussed above, this

No. 11 Female African black rhino "Sally" at San Diego, California zoo on October 10, 1964. Note the hooked, upper lip of the mouth. [Photo by Chang Reynolds.]





Raymond beast might have been the sixth to reach our shores by the end of the 1830s.

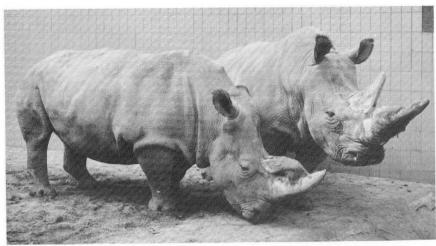
My research indicates a hiatus in rhino exhibition for most of the 1840s. The story resumes in 1848. At New London, Conn., on October 9th, of that year, the Raymond & Waring show claimed to have an Asiatic rhino that was the second ever brought to America and only the 3rd or 4th ever brought out of Asia. Obviously, these claims must be discounted except to the extent that they might be valid evidence of the second rhino exhibited by a James Raymond show.

Raymond and his partner, Noell Waring, ran two units in the late 1840s and early 1850s using a variety of titles, some combining their own names with those of two famous wild animal trainers of that era, Jacob Driesbach and Isaac A. Van Amburgh. The latter became the most famous, and although he died in 1865, the Van Amburgh title was used by various showmen until the early 1900s.

It appears that at least two rhinos were shown under the Raymond and Waring banner. The first is the one that turns up in Connecticut in 1848, as aforesaid, and is mentioned in a number of ads in 1849 and 1850 as the "Rhinoceros or Unicorn of Holy Writ", and as the "only rhinoceros in America". Evidence of the second one begins in 1851. In April of that year Raymond had a mid-western unit in Ohio that carried his and Van Amburgh's names in the title, while in June he was touring Massachusetts with another unit called the Raymond & Driesbach. Menagerie. Both of these units claimed rhinos.

Ads for the Raymond and Van Amburgh unit in Ohio in 1852 and 1853 confirm the presence of a rhino. My last reference to a rhino that might be this same animal turns up in 1854 with a river boat show. On September 5th of that year a rhino was advertised at Hannibal, Mo. with Van Amburgh's menagerie on the "Floating Palace" barge towed by the steamer "James Raymond".

The other Raymond rhino appears to have been exhibited by his eastern unit from 1851 until early 1854. This outfit often used Jacob Driesbach's name. Hence, it would seem safe to assume that the one claimed by Driesbach, Rivers, and Derious' Menagerie and Circus at Middletown, Connecticut on October 21, 1853 was probably our eastern unit rhino. John Kunzog of Jamestown, N.Y. has found in Gleason's Pictorial what logically appears to be this rhino's obituary. In the issue for April 4, 1854 we read that a large rhino died in Herr Driesbach's Menagerie in New York on March 13th



No. 12 Pair of African white rhinos at Antwerp, Belgium zoo on September 13, 1964. Note the massive heads of these animals with their square mouths or lips. [Photo by Lothar Schlawe, Berlin.]

previous. So ends the story of the Raymond & Waring rhinos.

During the 1850s more of our subject pachderms came to these shores. In 1851 G. C. Quick & Co.'s Menagerie advertised a rhino at Harrisburg, Pa. and, undoubtedly, the same animal was

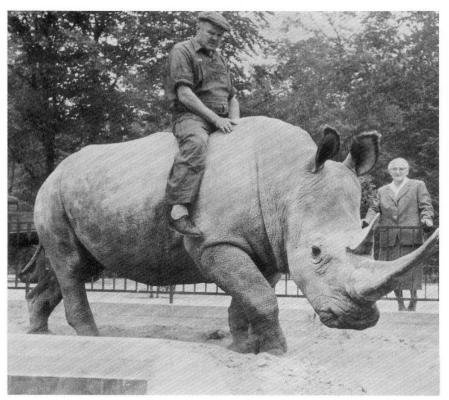


No. 13 Huge male white rhino "Gus" at Hanover, Germany zoo. The large square mouth of the species is well shown by this photo.

the one claimed by Sands & Quick at Dedham, Mass. the next season. In the south, Robinson & Eldred's Great Combined Circus & Menagerie listed a "rhinoceros" among the animals to be seen at Macon, Georgia on February 11-12, 1853.

Next, I find my first reference to a P. T. Barnum "unicorn". A herald for the famous showman's New York Museum in the summer of 1854 makes a big deal of the assertion that ". here, in addition, is the ONLY LIVING RHINOCEROS in America." This beast either died shortly thereafter or else rhinos were hard for Barnum to turn down because, according to Ballou's Weekly, he bought another for \$575.00 at an auction of Seth B. Howe's menagerie in November, 1855. This animal had been on tour earlier that season in Pennsylvania with Howe's, Myer's, & Madigan's. Just how long it had been a circus animal is unknown, but some educated speculation at this point might shed some light.

Barnum and Seth Howe had just concluded a successful four years (1851-1854) as operators of P. T. Barnum's Asiatic Caravan, Museum, and Menagerie. After this Barnum retired for a spell from the traveling circus business, but Howe went out in 1855 with Myer and Madigan. Who knows, perhaps the rhino had been a trouper with the earlier Asiatic Caravan, following which Barnum sold or loaned his interest in the beast to Howe, only to repurchase same at the auction? Auctions of circus property were not always arm's length transactions. Frequently, the bidder was in cahoots with the showman whose property was being sold in order to help the latter squeeze out an unwanted partner or to outmaneuver creditors trying to attach the show property. The \$575.00 paid by Barnum at the Howe auction was a very low price for a rhino, and I'll bet some creditor took a beating while Barnum, Howe, or both came out relatively intact.



No. 14 White rhino "Gus" giving his keeper a ride at Hanover zoo. "Gus" was captured around 1949 by Carr Hartley, who

kept the big rhino as a pet at his farm in Kenya until 1963, when the brute was sent to Hanover.

To conclude the first installment of this chronicle we come to the most famous American circus rhino. I refer to Dan Rice's male Great Indian rhino "Old Put" who was unique in two respects: (1) he appears to have been the first rhino since the days of the Ancient Romans to have performed in the circus arena; and (2) he may well have been the first living rhino in the world to be photographed. Leonard V. Farley, as curator of the Hertzberg Circus collection of the San Antonioi, Texas Public Library, provided the photograph which is the leading illustration used here. According to Mr. Farley, this photo came to the Hertzberg collection from lineal descendants of the great jester, Dan Rice; and as will be apparent from the facts set forth below, if the picture actually shows the original Dan Rice trained rhino, it had to be taken before August 1861.1

For the details of "Old Put's" career we are indebted to fellow historian John Kunzog who wrote and published the wonderful Dan Rice biography, The One Horse Show . . . (1962).

1As will be discussed in a further installment, John V. O'Brien operated a show in 1874 which claimed a trained rhino. And, Dan Rice had been employed by O'Brien during the 1873 season. Therefore, it is conceivable that the subject photo shows the circa 1874 animal and not Rice's original "Old Put." However, until there is more definite proof of this, I prefer to identify the photo as showing the original Dan Rice rhino.

From that book, as well as through correspondence with its author, came the facts. "Old Put" was acquired by the Flatfoot organization in the early 1850s. He turned out to be a vicious critter, killed one keeper, and injured others. As a consequence, by 1854 he had been retired to the Flatfoot farm in Putnam County, New York from whence came his name "Put."²

The sale of "Old Put" to Dan Rice was negotiated in early 1855 by Avery Smith, one of the members of the Flatfoot organization.³ Rice bought

2John Kunzog's biography The One Horse Show . . . (p. 115) says "Old Put" was a black rhino but the photo clearly shows a one-horned Great Indian rhino. I discussed this matter with Mr. Kunzog, and he said the identification of "Old Put" as a black rhino came from circus advertising material of the time (1850s-1860s). Mr. Kunzog had not seen this or any other picture of "Old Put" when the biography was written. Hence, he had to rely on the cricus publicity materials and, to use Mr. Kunzog's words, "the publicity agent probably used the word black because of the animal's dark color or because of the public appeal of that word".

cause of the public appeal of that word".

3There are references which indicate that the Howes Brothers, Nathan and Seth B. had an interest in "Old Put" before he was sold to Dan Rice. This is somewhat confusing. While originally members of the association of showmen known as the "Flatfoots", it is the writer's impression that by the 1850s, the Howes had left the Flatfoots and were actually competitors (Seth Howes was probably the most successful of all these early showmen). Of course, there was such a confusion of sales, trades, mergers, and leases between these showmen that the entire picture is clouded. Be this as it may, Mr. Kinzog assures the writer that before his sale to Rice, "Old Put" had been retired to the Flatfoot farm in Putnam County, N.Y. and was definitely sold to Rice by the Flatfoot, Avery Smith.

the animal for \$700.00 and paid for its transportation from Putnam County, New York to his own farm and winter quarters at Girard, Pennsylvania, a small town approximately fifteen miles west of Erie. The arrival of a rhinoceros in this small Pennsylvania town must have caused a sensation for the land on which "Old Put" was quartered is, according to John Kunzog, still known as Rhinoceros Hollow.

The indomitable Rice lost no time in making "Old Put" the star of his circus. By placing thimbles on his fingers and using a series of clicks to which the rhino became conditioned, Rice was able to train his rhino. Mr. Kunzog's biography of Rice gives the following account of "Old Put's" routine in the circus arena:

"Rice made his entrance, followed at a distance of ten feet by the rhinoceros, heavily shackled and led by an attendant. The chains were removed as the animal entered the ring. A pair of platform stairs, three steps in height, were placed in the ring which "Old Put" would ascend and standing at the top would let out a defeaning bellow when Rice asked: 'Did I train you to obey my commands?' While the animal stood on the platform Rice lighted some red fire inside a small paper house. 'Fire,' he yelled, 'ring the bell.'" At which command the animal clambered down from the steps, ran to a rod on which hung a swinging bell and would toll it with his horn. This alarm brought out the clown fire department riding in a pig drawn cart. This scene was followed by Dan Rice walking around the ring, followed at a short distance by the rhinoceros. Divesting himself of his coat, a large handkerchief was observed to protrude from his hip pocket. The animal increased its pace, seized the kerchief in its mouth, when attendants placed an inverted wooden tub between Rice and the animal. Turning around, Rice placed one foot on the tub, and looking at the rhinoceros now standing on the other side, he would say: 'Put, you old scamp; you have stolen my kerchief. Return it, I say.' But, the animal merely stood there looking at Rice, sometimes emulating its preceptor by also placing a foot on the tub. Dan repeated the request for the kerchief several times to no avail, and then, standing erect, he clicked his heels together. gave a small military salute and said: 'General Putnam, sir;

I have come for the return of the kerchief.'

Upon being so addressed the rhinoceros opened its mouth and the kerchief fell upon the tub and the two performers bowed to the plaudits of the spectators. On leaving the ring, shackles were again placed on the animal, which was then led out of the tent." (One Horse Show, pp. 116-117)

The unpredictable and irascible temperament of the Indian rhino, together with its well known proclivity to run amuk like a juggernaut, must have made its appearance without shackles in an open and unprotected circus ring a risky business for both trainer and patrons.

John Kunzog's biography describes an attack by "Old Put" on Rice during an afternoon performance at Buffalo, New York on August 7, 1857, to-wit:

"In a snort of anger the animal threw Rice fifteen feet into the air and as he landed, a screaming audience was on the verge of panic while the unfettered beast roared defiance and trod about the ring. The showman leaped to his feet, whipped a large kerchief from his pocket, and rushing up to the snorting animal he dropped it over its eyes. With vision obscured, the rhinoceros became docile as a lamb and Rice signaled an attendant. Shackles were placed on the brute, which was then meekly led from the ring. With animal under control, the excitement in the seats subsided and Rice exited to ascertain extent of his hurts, while other performers appeared in the ring to avoid a break in the program. Fifteen minutes later Rice returned, bowed, and announced no broken bones or serious injuries, receiving a hearty applause at this an-The rhinoceros again was brought to the ring and this time went through its routine without any display of temper." (One Horse Show, p. 132)

"Old Put" was certainly the greatest wild animal attraction of the time; but it all came to an end in the Mississippi River on August 18, 1861, while the Dan Rice circus was being moved by boat up the mighty river. At a point between Prairie duChien and LaCrosse, Wisconsin, the barge transporting "Old Put" was struck by the steamboat "Key City" and the rhino cage was knocked into the river. Chained inside his cage by the ring in his nose, "Old Put" had no chance to escape. Several days later the cage containing the dead rhino was retrieved. Dan Rice had lost his famous

POSITIVELY

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 29th and 30th April, and the 1st day of May.

The keeper Mr. Vonamburgh, will enter 4 cages, at 4 o'clock P. M., and at 8 1-2 o'clock in the evening, viz: With a Lion, Lioness, and Royal Bengal Tiger, (all 3 in one cage.) With a pair of African Leopards. With a pair of Spotted Hyenas, and a pair of Royal Bengal Tigers. The animals will be fed in presence of the audience at 1-2 pust 4 o'clock P. M., and at 1-2 past 8 o'clock in the evening.

June, Titus, Angevine & Co.
Agreeable to appointment set forth in this advertisement,
will exhibit the living specimens of

NATURAL HISTORY

In ALBANY, on the corner of Hudson and Hailenbake-sts, in rear of the Theatre. HOURS OF EXHIBITION on Teesday, 29th April from 1 to 5 P. M., and from 7 to 9 in the evening. On Wednesday, 30th April, from 10 A. M. to 1 P. M., from 2 to 5 P. M., and from 7 to 9 in the evening. And on Thursday, May 1st, from 10 A. M. to 1 P. M. and from

TICKETS OF ADMISSION 25 CENTS.



The UNICORN, or one horned Rhino was featured in this herald for the June, Titus, Angevine & Co. distributed for a date at the end of April 1834, in Albany, N.Y. Original in Pfening Collection.

rhino; and disconsolate, he sued the owners of the steamboat "Key City" for the loss of "Old Put."

However, the story does not end here. That season Rice had employed as publicity agent a certain Col. William C. Preston who, immediately upon "Old Put's" death, saw an opportunity to gain much publicity for the circus. Without regard for the truth. Col .Preston fabricated a story that "Old Put" has escaped from his cage, gotten out of the river, and proceeded to ravage the farms and terrorize the people near LaCrosse, Wisconsin. This completely false story then told how the rhino was finally captured and reunited in the circus arena with Dan Rice. The unscrupulous Col. Preston succeeded in persuading a number of newspapers along the Mississippi River to print this hoax, one of which was the LaCrosse Tri Weekly Demo-

The simple truth is that America's first performing rhino went to a watery grave on August 18, 1861.

My research indicates that after "Put's" death, rhinos were absent from the circus scene until 1868.5 Then we come to a twelve year period (1868-1880) that saw American circuses exhitbit nearly one-half of all the rhinos that have ever trouped under canvas in this country. However, the story of those animals must wait for the next episode of this chronicle.

4The unfortunate part is that Col. Preston's hoax has been innocently but widely circulated. It appeared in the 1946 Christmas issue of "White Tops", the journal of the Circus Fans Association. I read this erroneous account o fthe incident and innocently published the elror in my paper, "Asian Rhinos In Captivity", International Zoo Yearbook, Vol. II, 1960, London: The Zoological Society of London, p. 26.

5Chappie Fox wrote me in 1959 that a rhino was figured in 1865 ads for Maginley & Co's, Royal Circus & British Museum & Menageric, However, Sturtevant's list of American circuses (White Tops, May-June & July-Aug, 1963) does not reveal a Maginley title in 1865. And, a thorough review of the 1865 Clippers by Rick Pfening failed to turn up a show with that name in 1865. Hence it seems likely that Mr. Fox's reference should be dated in 1867 to 1874 when the Maginley title was in use.

Season's Greetings

to

Circus Performers And Circus Fans Everywhere

Grace Weckwerth
C.F.A. P.E.T.A. C.H.S.
C.C.A. and C.F. Great Britain