University of Reading

The Way of Wolves: Discursive and cultural representation of *Canis lupus* in Early Modern England

MPhil

History

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Declaration: I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

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Acknowledgements

This MPhil began life in 2014 as a PhD thesis, with research conducted on a full-time, and then a part-time, basis. The wildly understudied impact of local extinctions on historic human populations was an ideal niche in which to contribute unique research which furthers our academic understanding of the world. While I still believe the research could be expanded to include even more thoughtful insights, for me the decision to complete my research as an MPhil was the right one when my son Thomas, born in April 2016, became (and remains) my priority. I would like to thank both Professor Helen Parish and Dr Aleksander Pluskowski for their supervision as well as their patience and flexibility as this project changed shape and scope throughout the course of research. I would also like to acknowledge the input of Dr Anne Lawrence-Mathers, who had a guiding hand in the early days of the Wolves and Werewolves chapters. Finally, without the support of my husband, Benoit Chachuat, this MPhil would not have been possible.

Abstract

This MPhil will examine whether the extinction of wolves in Early Modern England had any effect on cultural and discursive representation. The inclusion of wolves in historical and religious texts, and in natural histories and hunting manuals will enable the examination of the cultural discourse surrounding the wolf and an analysis of whether this discourse altered significantly after the wolf's local extinction. In the 16th century the wolf was over-hunted to extinction in England and throughout most of Scotland and Ireland, but the language used to describe the wolf in text and imagery did not change in the following centuries, and indeed it could be argued that much of the language remains the same in modernity. *Why* did the extinction of the wolf not change anything about how this predator was coded into the language and literature of Early Modern England? The inclusion of wolves in historical and religious texts and in natural histories and hunting manuals has allowed this historian to examine the cultural discourse surrounding the wolf and decide whether it altered significantly after the extinction of the animal; and try to understand why attitudes, language, and representations of wolves remained unceasingly negative after extinction. Relying on printed texts and the rapid rise in literacy and the availability of those texts, I attempted to map the characterisation of the wolf in Early Modern England and to understand why even after all threat of wolf attacks had been removed from the English countryside the animal continued to occupy a negative space.

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Introduction

Men, women, and children living in Early Modern England could safely assume that they would be spared any harassment by a major predator like the wolf on the road or within the confines of their own fields and property. For although an historian may read a roadside rogue or a villain as being referred to as a 'wolf', there is a 'general lack of documentary evidence for wolf attacks on people in medieval Britain … [and] the few that exist are too ambiguous to be of any use'[1] and there are no recorded cases of wolf attacks in Early Modern England. Yet the incredible fear and hatred attached that went hand in hand with the wolf in text and image was near-universal and widely acknowledged in popular culture. This led to the wolf being pursued, exterminated, and villainised by all strata of the English population (both metaphorically in text and literally in the woods and fields of England)[2] with no regard to the crucial part the animal played in the wider ecosystem.

Research involving the local extinction of a key-stone species like the wolf at a time when print culture was making it possible to study cultural impact is a novel approach to the study of Early Modern people's understanding of nature and the natural world, and what impact local (as opposed to global) extinction had. Did the perception of the wolf change in England to accommodate this absence, and if so, how? Being a major predator, there is every indication in the literature that the extinction of the wolf was sought for the betterment of men and women living in England, and the modern historian should thus be able to read a celebratory note in the texts as populations declined and disappeared. Or was the wolf such an ominous figure and the cultural memory of the stereotypical big bad wolf so strong that even its extinction could not change attitudes? Is that what happened in Early Modern England? And if so, how can we learn from those mistakes to ensure that species extinctions do not remain a mere 'disappearance event' but are treated with much more severity and possibly halted? Though it is not a major focus of this research paper, part of the relevance of historical ecology lay in its modern impact; 21st century extinctions (both local and global) are largely ignored except by those for whom the extinction has an impact, in which case the extinction is often celebrated – with a limited cultural awareness that there are not more of these animals 'out there somewhere.' Though other scholars have touched on the wolf in medieval Britain (Pluskowski's *Wolves in the Middle Ages*) and the

[1] Aleksander Pluskowski, *Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), 95.

[2] A small caveat here, the wolf was almost never written in a positive light – but exceptions include authors writing about wolves in North America, authors writing to exemplify individuals, and use of 'wolf' as a prefix or suffix, or in heraldry. Wulf was also recorded as the prefix or suffix in the name of many Anglo-Saxon kings and pre-Christian Germanic warriors. Use of the name (or term) wolf has continued into the 21st century by military and paramilitary organisations, typically extremist and associated with the far right. "Although the wolf here is a purely human creation, this particular image and linkage of wolves and humans has been a significant problem for wolves." Garry Marvin, *Wolf* (London, 2012), location 782 to 851 of 2351, available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).

relationship between man and extinct animals (most recently L. Raye's PhD thesis *The Forgotten Beasts in Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in medieval sources*) no historian has researched the cultural impact of the extinction and the development of the wolf in text after the animal disappeared from England.

The rigorous and thorough way in which wolves were hunted in England prior to the 16th century, not for sport and with no measure of nobility inherent in the hunt (as we might find in texts describing a wild boar hunt), has never been reproduced in England and had no precedent prior to the wolf; theirs was a dedicated and determined extermination. Though historians can look to lynx, who had been extinct in Britain since 400 C.E.,[3] and bears, who went extinct either in the Late Bronze Age or early medieval period,[4] not only was this before the advent of the printing press and mass literacy, it was before the habitat reduction that would put so much pressure on other species. Whatever the reasons for the extinction of lynx and bear in Britain (which this paper will not touch on beyond brief references when appropriate to the extinction of the wolf), the literary records for those extinctions simply do not exist and are notable only for their absence; and while the archaeological record has been researched, reviewed, and enjoys healthy scholarship, this thesis will not delve into the material evidence for the existence and extinction of the lynx and bear because they do not provide a perfect parallel for comparison. The rigorous and thorough way in which the wolf was exterminated in England demonstrated a single-minded purpose and indeed even a coordinated attack on a competing species which we do not find prior to the 15th century in England.

The extinction of the wolf was undoubtedly good news for the deer and sheep– though of course humans posed their own threat to these species – and the woods probably felt much safer for travel in the early morning and twilight hours after the last wolf was killed despite the still-present threat of outlaws and highway robbers: or so an historian should see acknowledged in the historic record. Unique to this study is the inclusion of the wolf in English textual and visual history which include references to the wolf before and after his extinction. Do these written records indicate any feeling at all by the English after the wolf disappeared from the woods? Or was it simply a given that there should be no more wolves in England? The monstrous presence of the wolf was removed from the countryside and written texts should reflect this change. The priorities in this paper will be to discuss the how and why of the wolf's continued representation

[3] L. Raye, 'The Forgotten Beasts in Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in Medieval sources;', PhD Thesis, University of Cardiff, 2016, 5.
[4] Hannah O'Reagan, 'The brown bear (Ursus arctos) in Holocene Britain: a review of the evidence', *Mammal Review*, 48 (2018), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323934414_The_brown_bear_Ursus_arctos_in_Holocene_Britain_a_review_of_the_evidence, (accessed 19 September 2019).

in text as a cruel, rapacious, and ravenous trope character,[5] and how Early Modern English people perceived the wolf now that he was no longer identifiable in his most natural and biological form in the countryside, but rather reinterpreted as something *other*.

Although the wolf was endemic to England and a tenuous link in text can be found as early as 800 C.E.,[6] and the earliest archaeological records date from the last ice age,[7] the vehemence with which the animal was pursued in England led to an almost inevitable decline and then disappearance from the entirety of Britain. However, the extinction was not a result of human population decline as a result of the black death or the subsequent expansion to repopulate newly wooded regions in England after the plague had run its course (although this surely influenced the wolf's decline),[8] nor was it the result of loss of food-source (though once again, this was a major contributing factor as deer were considered from the earliest forest laws to be private property), but rather the local extinction of the wolf in England was a direct result of massive over-exploitation of the species – hunting. Barring only the domestication of the dog, which occurred as early as 30 000 years ago,[9] the predatory nature of the wolf led to a wholly unstable relationship with agricultural people: the theft of even a single sheep or pig by a wolf was a devastating loss for farming families for most of human history and it is still a significant loss of invested capital even in the wealthy Western world.[10] Over hunting of the wolf was a result of this relationship. An inability for men and women to live alongside predators and pests is not, nor has it ever been, unique to the wolf - tigers in India[11] and more recently and more globally sharks, have both been villainised in literature and popular culture by populations living in the immediate vicinity.[12] Like the wolf in England, tigers have been made locally extinct in vast swathes of India, Burma, and along the Himalayas and "the latest research suggests 100 million sharks are

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[5] The wolf is frequently referred to as cruel, rapacious, ravenous, gluttonous, and savage in Early Modern texts. A quick search of the EEBO database returned 185 records including wolf; AND cruel; AND rapacious.

[6] A manuscript at the British Museum includes a genealogy of Anglo-Saxon families, record the leader of the Wuffings (Wolf People) as Wuffa. Wuffa was thought to have ruled in 575 C.E. and the genealogies were recorded in 800 C.E. Ivy Stanmore, *The Disappearance of Wolves in Britain* [website], https://ukwct.org.uk/files/disappearance.pdf, (accessed 12 October 2016).

[7] See Lisa Loog, et al. *Modern Wolves trace their origin to a late Pleistocene expansion from Beringia*, [website], 2018, https://www.biorxiv.org/content/10.1101/370122v1.full, (accessed 29 June 2019) for more on the wolf in Ice Age Europe and its evolution from earlier Canines.

[8] This thesis will touch on issues surrounding reforestation in England after the Black Death in the Wolves Chapter.

[9] O. Thalmann et. al., 'Complete Mitochondrial Genomes of Ancient Canids Suggest a European Origin of Domestic Dogs', *Science* Vol. 342, Issue 6160 (15 November 2013), 871-874.

[10] see John Knight (ed.), *Natural Enemies: People Wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective* (London, 2000).

[11] See *WWF Tiger: Species*, [website], 2019, http://www.worldwildlife.org/species/bengal-tiger, (accessed 12 October 2016) and John Knight's edited volume *Natural Enemies: People-Wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective* especially: John Knight, 'Culling Demons', (pg145), Galina Lindquist, 'The Wolf, the Saami and the urban shaman', (pg170), and Garry Marvin, 'The problem of foxes', (pg. 189). John Knight (ed.), *Natural Enemies: People Wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective* (London, 2000).

[12] "Based on an analysis of average shark weights, this translates into a total annual mortality estimate of about 100 million sharks in 2000, and about 97 million sharks in 2010." B. Worm, et al, 'Global catches, exploitation rates, and rebuilding options for sharks', *Marine Policy* Volume 40 (July 2013), 194–204.

killed annually."[13] Further research into local extinctions historically may wish to make a comparison to the extinction of top predators in the modern world, to contrast the cultural and environmental impact and whether attitudes have changed. Unfortunately for many top predators, including the wolf in England, an adverse relationship with humans predetermines their localised extinction. Though of course the wolf is not a universal culprit,[14] and evidence suggests was not the only victim in Early Modern England (the extinction of the Red Kite in England and Scotland to protect game birds like pheasant and partridge),[15] we can argue that the wolf has often been held accountable for livestock loss in Europe where it is clear factors like the weather and disease were not to blame. The wolf's extinction was a direct result of humanity's preconceived notion of what a wolf was and what impact a local wolf population in England had.

In England the human-wolf relationship degenerated until the wolf was made extinct; and made so during a unique turning point in English history – the spread of literacy and the rapid growth of urban living. Prior to 1476 and a printing press being set up in England by William Caxton, texts were painstakingly scripted by hand, limiting distribution. With the establishment of a cost effective and relatively fast press, problems surrounding expenditure could be overcome for the first time. This means that the modern historian is left with a glut of written records pertaining to the local extinction of an animal which had existed on mainland U.K. since the last Ice Age and that those written records could (more or less) be easily dispersed amongst those people who had no direct relationship with the natural world via farming or animal husbandry. The literate population in Early Modern England was more expansive than had previously been supposed, with Steven Cowan making a convincing argument that the literacy rate in 18th century England was broadly distributed geographically throughout the country, which would have enabled the messages being conveyed regarding the monstrosity of wolves to be engaged with by more than the so-called elite.[16] The move from the fields to the cities was drastic and substantial in Early Modern England, with c. 275 000 people moving into the city of London between 1600 and 1670.[17] The Early Modern urbanisation of England, especially southern England, led to a distancing of people from the natural environment, and though we cannot directly superimpose modern urban relationships onto Early Modern city-dwellers, it is clear that a withdrawal from the

[13] *WWF Shark: Species*, [website], 2019, http://www.worldwildlife.org/species/shark, (accessed 12 October 2016).
[14] Wild pigs do much damage to crops in Indonesia and in Japan deer have caused so much damage that communities have considered re-introducing wolves to manage deer populations (John Knight (ed.), *Waiting for Wolves in Japan: An Anthropological Study of People-Wildlife Relations* (London, 2000), 54.
[15] The BBC have written an article about the long struggle of rebuilding the Red Kite population in England and Scotland: *Almost extinct Red Kite makes a comeback,* [website], 28 April 2011, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-13219276, (accessed 04 July 2019).
[16] Steven Cowan, 'The Growth of Public Literacy in Eighteenth-Century England', PhD Thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 2012.
[17] Roger S. Schofield and Anthony E. Wigley, 'Population and Economy: From the Traditional to the Modern World', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol.15 No. 4 (1985), 568.

countryside often leads to a romanticising of the woods and fields.[18] We can certainly see this during the Romantic era with 'sublime' nature acting as a backdrop to both literary and artistic works, and there is some evidence of this very same attitude in Early Modern England; reading accounts of the New World and its marvellous woods and beasts (see the case study in the Wolves chapter). But did the people of the city care that the wolf had been made extinct if they experienced no direct benefit? And, more to the point of this thesis, did the relationship the people of England enjoyed with the wolf prior to extinction change after the beginning of the 16th century?

The inclusion of wolves in historical and religious texts, and in natural histories and hunting manuals will enable an historian to examine the cultural discourse surrounding the wolf and decide whether it altered significantly after the extinction of the animal. In the 16th century the wolf was over-hunted to extinction in England and throughout most of Scotland and Ireland, but the language used to describe the wolf in text and imagery did not change in the following centuries, and indeed it could be argued that much of the language remains the same in modernity, with only slight updates to account for modern sensibilities and colloquialisms. Did the extinction of wolves in the Early Modern period have any effect on cultural and discursive representation? Uniquely, this extinction of a key-stone species as a result of human interference occurred during a rapid rise in the production of written texts, and a modern historian can therefore attempt to gauge the effect of the wolf's extinction.

The language of describing the wolf predetermined people's view; 'language is our means of classifying and ordering the world or means of manipulating reality.'[19] Louise Jackson wrote that '[l]anguage can also be said to create experience since it constructs existence and identity. Once a woman was labelled 'witch', with her original experiences distorted and set within this context, this was what she became.'[20] The idea can be transplanted quite easily to wolves – the expected behaviour of the wolf itself was directly informed by the language surrounding the wolf, rather than vice versa. The language an historian might find describing the wolf in texts informs our understanding of how the animal metamorphized from the wild animal into the human lexicon, but also how human language and ideas could also alter perceptions of the animal itself, so that eye-witness accounts of wolves were biased by predetermined belief. This idea will be expanded upon in the Wolves chapter.

Definition of terms will necessarily need to be laid out here in the introductory chapter, as words like monstrosity and extinction can have more than one meaning, and certainly the people of Early Modern England had a different understanding of extinction than contemporary scholars.

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[18] Alec Brownlow, 'A wolf in the garden: Ideology and change in the Adirondack landscape', in: Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (eds) *Animal Spaces, Beastly* Spaces (London, 2000),145.
[19] D. Spender, *Man-made Language* (London, 1980), 30.
[20] Louise Jackson, 'Witches, wives and mothers; witchcraft persecution and women's confessions in seventeenth-century England', *Women's History Review,* 4:1 (1995), 70.

Questions arise surrounding the Early Modern appreciation for the severity of extinction – particularly around issues of permanence. For example, if God created all creatures on Earth exactly as they are, then it is not possible for man to alter God's creation by completely obliterating one of those creatures. It is not clear whether or not the idea of localised extinction and the impact such a loss would have on the English environment was well understood in Early Modern England, and though it was obvious that wolves continued to exist elsewhere, there is no evidence to suggest that natural historians appreciated regional differences in predator/prey relationships and how a local extinction (as opposed to universal extinction) was equally as detrimental for the species as a whole. Terms like monstrosity are even more difficult to define and entire fields of research are dedicated to Monster Theory.[21] Monstrosity in reference to a biological animal in Early Modern England will need to be carefully managed throughout this essay so not to become confused with wonders, marvels, and miracles.

Since the definition of the monstrous is neither specific nor consistent, I will declare my own intent and argue my way through it. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines monstrosity as 'a thing which is outrageously evil or wrong' / 'a grossly malformed animal or plant'.[22] For this essay I will be relying on biological animals and the evolution they underwent within the human imagination to become monstrosities and exist outside of their natural function in the living environment. The two definitions above, a thing which is grossly malformed and outrageously evil, are not inappropriate as definitions of monstrosity, but I would like to specifically focus on perceived monstrosity. That is, things which are neither grossly malformed nor outrageously evil, but are perceived by men and women (in this case, the English) to be so despite lack of direct evidence. Wolves are biological entities which existed naturally in England and in many instances have lived in close proximity to humans. It is important for the purposes of this paper that real animals which can be identified as having existed in England via eye witness accounts, archaeological evidence, and prevalence in literature are used to remark on perceived monstrosity.

Noël Carroll wrote in *The Philosophy of Horror* an excellent definition of the monstrous: 'monsters… where those are understood to be creatures not countenanced by contemporary science.'.[23] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen wrote that 'classical wonderbooks radically undermine Aristotle's taxonomic system – by refusing easy compartmentalisation of their monstrous contents, they demand a radical rethinking of boundary and normality.'[24] Both Carroll and Cohen define monstrosity as those creatures which cannot be categorised by modern, historic, or ancient

[21] See Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (New York, 1996) as the forerunner in this field.
[22] *Oxford English Dictionary*, [website], 2019, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/58987?redirectedFrom=monstrosity#eid1092032040, (accessed 4 April 2017).
[23] Noël Carroll, *Philosophy of Horror* (New York, 1990), 37.
[24] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (New York, 1996), 6.

science, and importantly they both make the distinction that the monsters are understood or categorised in relation to the scientific method contemporary to the observer.

My definition for the monstrosity of wolves will be as follows:

A naturally occurring, biological species endemic to the British Isles, who have undergone a drastic, and purely imaginary, evolution to become a wholly unnatural and malformed creature; but (importantly) one who can exist at the same time as the biological predator in the human mind.

A caveat must be insisted upon here: this paper will not delve into the intricacies of marvels and wonders and will not over-extend itself even when exploring the monstrous. Marvels, wonders, and miracles are impressively well researched by Daston and Park in their *Marvellous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe*, and while I will reference this text, the focus of this paper is on the perceived monstrosity of a biological animal as proven by contemporary science (like the wolf, rather than the unicorn). It is quite simply not within the scope of a single thesis to explore all aspects of predation and so the lens of focus will remain narrowly on the wolf as an animal in the real world, evidenced by eye-witness accounts.[25]

Since this paper will refer to a specific and local extinction event, the definition of this term will have to be established early in the thesis. A modern understanding of extinction is the complete loss of a species either locally or globally. Obviously one of these events is worse than the other – compare the Red Kite being made extinct in England then being reintroduced from Wales many years later, to the Dodo being made extinct in Mauritius with no opportunity for reintroduction. Oftentimes the severity of an extinction is entirely dependent upon whether the species in question is specialised to a small or geographically unique area. In this case the wolf was made extinct in England, though they continued to inhabit Europe, Russia, North and Central America, and parts of Africa. Much more recently, the wolf was made extinct in the Northern United States but continued to live and thrive in Canada, with infrequent sojourns across the border as should be expected of a mobile predator.[26] This is a single example of the inconsistencies surrounding local extinction, and how extinctions can be interpreted and misinterpreted even in a modern, much more global environment than that of Early Modern England. Politics and human borders have much to do with extinction events, sometimes going hand-in-hand with the cultural norms created and adhered to by the people living in an area. As a working definition of Early Modern extinction, I propose the following:

[25] A small caveat: werewolves are included because they are the inherently and extremely monstrous fictionalised version of the wolf – it would be unusual to write a thesis on monstrous and wolves and not include that idea taken to its most extreme.

[26] A total of 66 grey wolves were reintroduced to Yellowstone National Park in 1995 and 1996 after overcoming no small number of legal roadblocks.

The disappearance of an animal from a specific location, with the knowledge that the animal no longer lived locally but could still be found living internationally. A disappearance event.

Throughout the paper when the terms monstrosity and extinction are used, their usage will be based on the above definitions.

Fear will be another oft-repeated term throughout the paper, particularly regarding fear of the natural world and the penchant to villainise the creatures who lived in the deep dark woods. For this definition I will be relying upon Joanna Bourke's analysis almost verbatim, because I do not know that I could improve upon it. Bourke states that 'according to most commentators the word fear is used to refer to an immediate, objective threat, while anxiety refers to an anticipated subjective threat – anxiety is more generalised, while fear is more specific and immediate.'[27] But 'historians need to worry about imposing such restrictions. What is fear for one group (immediate/objective) may only be anxiety for another (subjective). The difference lies in the ability to externalise threats, which provides a sense of invulnerability.'[28] Fear, disgust, terror, anxiety, horror… the main thrust of this essay is to demonstrate that the reactions to wolves were negative – to such an extent that a mythology evolved in Early Modern England around this predator beyond what was usual or demonstrable in other predators. As such, while Bourke's definition of fear (especially in an historical context) is valuable, the very nature of fear and horror hinder any unconditional acceptance of a single definitive understanding, so moving forward we will be led first and foremost by the primary literature while relying on Bourke's definition for further guidance. It is only with an analysis of the primary literature that we can judge whether the people who inhabited Early Modern England felt any trepidation towards the wolf, although this too is delivered to posterity via the focal lens of a single author.

For a definition of horror, I will be using the extensive research conducted by Noël Carroll and Jean Delumeau. Delumeau, whose work on sin and fear in Early Modern Europe is still discipline shaping, focussed his text on religious fear and people's fraught relationship with their God, defined by their perceived sinful natures. He wrote that 'the sin of mankind extends to nature… [and[the abundant literature on monsters and prodigies of the late 15th to early 17th centuries must be placed in context of a generally pessimistic outlook'[29] which 'in England….remained current for the longest time (in western Europe).'[30] 'The reasoning of the people (and notably the elite) of the time was almost definitely as follows : never had there been seen so many strange things and miracles of nature. Such facts are the warning signals of God's

[27] Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (New York, 2015), 189.
[28] Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (New York, 2015), 190.
[29] Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of the Western Guilt Culture 13th-18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: 1990), 136.
[30] Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of the Western Guilt Culture 13th-18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: 1990), 91.

anger. But people don't care. Thus prodigies and monsters presage our disaster.'[31] Delumeau's expertise is in religious prodigies and marvels which I have already made clear are outside the scope of this work, yet his understanding of fear and sin in Early Modern England is relevant to this thesis – the wolf, a biblical animal if ever there was,[32] and humanity's perception of the wolf as a biological animal, was influenced by the broader cultural perspective of the age.

Though Noël Carroll's is a philosophy text and does not necessarily limit itself to historical instances of horror, I believe his theories can be just as easily applied backward – he does not limit his definition to the reaction of a film audience but speaks in relatively general terms about the physiological effect and the basic theory of what might be considered horrifying and why. In *The Philosophy of Horror,* Carroll states 'what appears to demarcate the horror story from stories with monsters in them (i.e. myth and fantasy) is the attitude of the characters in the story to the monsters they encounter… in works of horror, humans regard the monsters they encounter as abnormal, a disturbance to the natural order.'[33] He goes on to clarify, '...emotion [is] fixed upon the monsters where those are understood to be creatures not countenanced by contemporary science… [the] problem with counterexamples… to this position is that nominally the antagonists belong to our everyday world, their presentation in the fictions they inhabit turn them effectively into fantastical beings.'[34] This is as true for wolves in Early Modern England as it is for *Jaws* in 20th century America. Carroll's analysis of horror in culture, and especially as he narrowly defines it to fantastic beasts – especially when those beasts are re-imagined to suit their fictitious character tropes – fits this thesis very well.

Finally, as a working definition of popular culture I will be utilizing Peter Burke's extensive research on the subject and his seminal work *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. More recent texts exist, and I will not rule out adding to Burke's argument with more modern scholarship, but I am not alone in my assessment that Burke's work needs no elaboration[35] and certainly all more recent texts which add to the historiography of popular culture in Europe acknowledge Burke's thesis. On the first page of his prologue, Burke wrote: '[c]ulture… is part of a total way of life, but not identical with it. As for popular culture, it is perhaps best defined initially in a negative way as unofficial culture, the culture of the non-elite.' He goes on, '[t]o discover the attitudes and values of craftsmen and peasants it is necessary to modify the traditional approaches to cultural history… The natural discipline from which to borrow is that of

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[31] Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of the Western Guilt Culture 13th-18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: 1990), 141. See also Alexandra Walsham on Protestant providentialism in *Providence in Early Modern England*, especially pages 13-15.
[32] The wolf (the term, if not the biological animal) is made mention of more frequently in the King James bible then either the devil or Satan.
[33] Noël Carroll, *Philosophy of Horror* (New York, 1990), 16.
[34] Noël Carroll, *Philosophy of Horror* (New York, 1990), 37.
[35] See A.E. Green's glowing review of *Popular Culture*: A.E. Green, 'Reviewed work: *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*', *Oral History*, Vol. 8 No. 2 (1980), 64-66.

folklore, since folklorists are centrally concerned with the folk, with oral traditions, and with ritual.'[36] Of course, folklore can be a highly contentious issue among historians, and I do not intend to base the entirety of my study on oral narrative and tales of 'the folk' but rather to acknowledge oral culture and the centrality of storytelling in medieval and Early Modern Europe.[37] Burke's premise that popular culture belongs to the non-elite is somewhat countered later in his own book, when he elaborates on the 'trickle-up' and 'trickle-down' effect on culture,[38] but it is correct to write that popular culture was the cultural expectations and norms of the majority, many of whom were non-elite. Popular culture will therefore be defined in this thesis exactly as it was in Burke's text, as the unofficial culture, but perhaps more broadly, as the culture of the people, rather than the culture of the institution.

This paper will be written with the end goal of analysing the impact of a local extinction on English people's perceptions of the natural world. The animal in question, the wolf, was as nuanced as any living creature can be, encompassing ideas and ideologies completely outside its biological function in the environment. The wolf was quite literally anthropomorphised to suit the human rather than the human being instructed by the animal itself. The chapters will be laid out to evaluate disappearance of the wolf in Early Modern England by theme, rather than chronology.

We will begin with the literature review, in which I will discuss the authors I am using for my argument on the extinction of wolves in England, including David Mech, Brian Boyd, Peter Burke and Keith Thomas, among many others; as primary sources I will rely most heavily on Edward of Norwich, the 2nd Duke of York, and George Gascoigne (both Early Modern authors of important hunting treatises). The literature review will be subdivided by discipline, rather than by methodology, in order to clarify the usage of the research in this paper. I will argue that previous historians and academics have failed to address the central query of this thesis; the cultural impact of a local extinction process, but additionally (despite this failure) how they will bolster my own research and make it possible to conduct a thorough investigation across disciplines. I will critically analyse the information I gather and identify gaps in the current knowledge and point out areas for further research. Because of the cross-disciplinary bent of this thesis, scholars from a variety of fields, including the social sciences and the biological sciences, will need to be analysed and reviewed. All the reviews of any source (either contemporary or primary) will need to be treated within its own discipline while keeping in mind the end-result of writing a history paper.

The first few pages of the premier chapter will give a brief overview of the late history of wolves in England and their gradual decline leading inevitably to their extinction. The history of the wolf in England has already been adequately documented by other scholars[39] but it is worth

[36] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 3rd edn., 2009), 1.
[37] Burke makes an excellent case study of the witch as a figure who bridged the gap between the written elite and the popular folk culture on page 62.
[38] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 3rd edn., 2009), 25-27.
[39] See Aleksander Pluskowski, *Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006).

touching on ever so slightly to properly set the rest of the chapter in context. The opening will set the tone for the rest of the chapter, in which the disappearance of the wolf takes place and we study the cultural memory of the wolf and what impact its loss may or may not have had. But in order to fully appreciate the loss of the wolf, the reader should be made aware of the status of the wolf while he still resided in England.

I will use Edward of Norwich's *The Master of Game* and his assurance that the wolf is a common beast enough, and he therefore does not have to describe it in detail. It is undeniable that by the time of Edward's writing (1406-1413) the wolf could not have been considered commonplace – certainly not when compared to the hare, whom Edward also wrote was commonplace. Or was it simply that the wolf was so entrenched in English culture that Edward could assume his audience's familiarity with the wolf? After all, if the consumers of this text already *thought* they knew what a wolf was then no amount of writing would sway them otherwise. The cultural impact of the idea of what a wolf was and the damage a wolf could do (perhaps ideas lifted from reports on the continent and from misrepresentations in English text) informed the larger population[40] and ensured the continued persecution of the wolf, resulting in its eventual extinction. This chapter will also examine some of the goings-on in England that led to the wolf's extinction, including deforestation and a boom in agriculture.

The bulk of the first chapter of this thesis will focus on the disappearance of wolves and the impact their disappearance had. Wolves are by far the best example of a predatory species being made extinct in England for a cultural historian as we have so many texts from which we can view the wolf from an Early Modern perspective. I chose wolves as a primary case study because of their near-universal appeal (or lack of), as they appear in religious and historic texts with some frequency, and hunting and natural history books – even after they have been made extinct and can no longer be hunted in England. The wolf is the only large, mammalian species that has gone extinct in Britain in the last 500 years and has not been reintroduced. Wolves should demonstrate whether the extinction of a major species (wolves were very visible – being large predators and had a significant impact by preying on livestock; this is to distinguish against other extinctions for which we have no records [insects for example]) had an impact on the way people lived their lives and thought of the natural world. What effect did this have on the literature, even the fairy tales or fables about the wolf?

As a final case study within the first chapter we will follow those English men and women who made their way to the New World. The New World will focus narrowly on those areas to which the English were immigrating in the Early Modern period – especially to New England and New York. If this thesis is going to focus on the cultural impact of wolves and their disappearance

[40] Peter Burke goes to some lengths to discuss the idea of trickle down and trickle up dispersion of culture in *Popular Culture*, discussed at length further in this dissertation.

from England in the 15th through to 17th centuries, then it would be odd not to include the travel writings of those men who went to New England and New York and returned both with tales of horror and monstrosities, but also of wolves who were easily managed and rarely seen. William Wood, whose *New England's Prospect* was published in 1634, wrote that 'woolves bee in some respect different from them of other countries: it was never knowne yet that a Wollfe e/ver set upon a man or woman. Neyther do they trouble hor/ses or cowes;'[41] this description is a far cry from how a wolf had been cast in England and in continental Europe. "A Wolf in the Garden", written by Alec Brownlow, is a study of the reintroduction of wolves into the Adirondacks, but Brownlow discusses the history of wolves in the area, citing chronicler James Sperry who notes 'among the trials of the first settlers, there were none more irritating than the destruction of sheep and swine by … wolves … [O]ften whole flocks of sheep would be slaughtered in [a] night' (in Mau 1944: 136).[42] Sperry's was a very different written account of the wolf in North America than Wood. These conflicting treatments of wolves in the New World will make an interesting study in the overall opinion of the wolf in Early Modern English culture especially as a comparison between the cultural memory of the wolf in England itself.

Chapter two will examine wolves in their most monstrous form: the werewolf. Though entirely a creature of fiction in its most literal sense, the two elements necessary for the existence of the werewolf – specifically humans and wolves – do exist in the real world. While this does not make the werewolf unique amongst monsters (ghosts could hardly exist without their living counterparts), in their transformative state the werewolf mutates from either of its biological counterparts into something *other*. Though a werewolf could never have been sighted by a witness first hand and therefore any eye-witness account of a werewolf is either entirely fiction or else merely a glimpse of a human or wolf in some unexpected setting, displaying some unexpected behaviour, or the preconception that such transformations are possible, werewolves are always characterised in the literature with some unnatural feature (size, colour, shape). This is particularly incredible since wolves (and sometimes humans) were separately already considered villainous on their own. A study of wolves in England would hardly be complete without a chapter on werewolves, although the chapter will focus narrowly on the werewolf in popular culture and will not delve into belief in the transformative state or magic generally. The stress will be on the werewolf, rather than the fantastic or the wondrous, for although the transformative state exists in wonder tales, belief in werewolves seems to have much more in common with belief in witches (in a legal sense) rather than belief in marvels and portents from God. Neither is it in the scope of this essay to redefine werewolves as fantastic rather than ravenous or cruel. The werewolf is an

[41] William Wood, *New England's Prospect…* (Corne-hill, 2nd edn. 1634), 260, available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019).
[42] Alec Brownlow, 'A wolf in the garden: Ideology and change in the Adirondack landscape', in: Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (eds) *Animal Spaces, Beastly* Spaces (London, 2000),145.

important contributing factor to both the longevity of the malicious wolf trope, and to the language surrounding the wolf in Early Modern England. Knowledge of the werewolf and an understanding of the monstrosity of the werewolf helped inform the reaction to the wolf both when it was reencountered in the wilds of North America and when it was described in text and imagery within England.

The concluding chapter will summarise the research and respond to the central thesis question. In addition to this summary, the conclusion will answer the question of why this thesis is relevant within contemporary historical research. For this MPhil, I have decided to concentrate on one set of discursive and cultural representations, those relating to wolves and werewolves and to examine these representations in the context of the extinction of wolves in the UK. A full-length PhD might include further and more expansive work, which is oft-times alluded to in this thesis but not expanded upon. I will offer suggestions for future work within this same field, also involving the wolf at the conclusion of the final chapter.

Literature Review

Research Area:

The extinction of large dangerous predators by human means (anthropogenic) from their endemic ecosystem is a significant historic event and is almost always met with an air of celebration or even relief by the immediate local population. After all, the impact of predatory or disruptive animals on agricultural communities can be enormous, coupled with the additional emotional impact of human-animal competition for resources like wild game. If the loss of any predator or pest furthered or reinforced the economic and social hierarchy of a population it was likely to have been welcomed.[43] But with populations in Europe and, for the purposes of this thesis, especially England centralizing around urban centres like London over a period of two hundred years, surely the impact from the loss of these animals should have lessened and the effect of dangerous animals should have become a purely academic subject.[44] It is the cultural impact of the extinction of predatory and dangerous animals with which this essay will be concerned and particularly the extinction of the wolf in England.

The Gray Wolf (*Canis Lupus*) is considered symbolic of the wilderness in most of the 21st century developed world[45] but how did concepts of nature, wilderness, and complex ecosystems resonate with the people of Early Modern England,[46] if they did at all? This will be a central theme in the coming essay, including the plausibility and meaning of the specific vocabulary within the Early Modern context. Certainly the very fact that the wolf was hunted to extinction sometime in the 14th century with dedication and distinct purpose – to rid England of this perceived pest – would lend itself to the idea that in Early Modern England there was no concept of extinction (in the purely modern sense) and no appreciation of predator-prey interaction and how the natural environment was affected by such relationships. But is this the case? Did the disappearance of the wolf from England have any effect on the Early Modern cultural and discursive representation of that animal?

According to the World Wildlife Fund, 'the rapid loss of species [seen] today is estimated by experts to be between 1,000 and 10,000 times higher than the natural extinction rate.' The current calculation for loss of species per year is between 0.01% and 0.1% of all species on Earth.

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[43] A good example of this is the extinction of the wolf in England; with the loss of the wolf (a competitor for deer) the nobility and aristocracy became the sole legal users of forested areas and consumers of venison.
[44] An excellent modern example of this phenomenon is Norway – where the urban population is at odds with the rural community over the issue of wolves and predation. This is reviewed in the Wolf chapter.
[45] See John Knight, *Waiting for Wolves in Japan* (New York, 2006) and Alec Brownlow, 'A wolf in the garden: Ideology and change in the Adirondack landscape', in: Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (eds) *Animal Spaces, Beastly* Spaces (London, 2000).
[46] *The Oxford English Dictionary* clarifies the historical timeline for Early Modern, "belonging to, or designating that period of history regarded as the earliest stage of modern history, now usually taken as extending from the late 15th cent. until the 18th cent." 'Early Modern', *Oxford English Dictionary*, [website], 2019, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/58987?redirectedFrom=early+modern#eid1092032040, (accessed 4 April 2017).

A conservative estimate for the number of species on the planet is 2,000,000; an extinction rate of 0.01% - 0.1% would lead to the extinction of between 200 and 2,000 species every year.[47] In England more than 400 different species have gone extinct within the past 200 years, including 22 species of bee, 3 species of mammal, and 62 species of moth.[48] This calculation does not take into account previous extinctions, including the wolf, nor does it take into account species which went extinct but were subsequently reintroduced, like the wild boar and the red kite, but does benefit from much more tangible scientific data (compared to the era of current study, the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries) for less visible and historically well recognised species like bees and fungi. The cultural impact of these extinctions, both globally and more locally within England, varies according to the species in question; though the Natural History Museum of London has made recent arguments for the preservation of flies and mosquitos, research for these species pales in comparison to the cultural and scientific impact of the loss of the bee.[49] The cultural reading of the animal affects the attitudes of its extinction, which then remodels the cultural representation. The cultural and discursive impact of these extinctions is incredibly complicated, depending not only on the variability of human emotion, but also on the believability and immediacy of the evidence presented making a case to save a specific species. In addition to these attempts to save animals on the brink of extinction in England, there is a growing trend to attempt to reintroduce species into areas from which they had previously been made extinct, like the beaver in Scotland.[50]

Reintroduction has been a hotly contested issue in the U.K., especially as it concerns the wolf, who is one of the top predators in Europe and a key-stone species in any area it inhabits.[51] Currently, Natural Scotland has not advertised any plans to reintroduce the wolf, although the Scottish and English media make good use of any hint that reintroduction might be considered by the Scottish government. Modern reintroduction and extinction data are relevant to the extinction of the wolf in the 14th and 15th centuries in England and the cultural impact of the disappearance in the 16th and 17th centuries because the data adds weight to an historic topic, and it underscores the ongoing cultural dilemma faced by people living in close proximity to creatures who have been made extinct. Oliver Rackham wrote (in response to those conservationists who call for wolves to be reintroduced to manage the overwhelming deer population in England) '...it is not

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[47] World Wildlife Fund, *How Many Species are we Losing?*, [website], 2019, http://wwf.panda.org/about_our_earth/biodiversity/biodiversity/, (accessed 26 October 2016).
[48] Species Recovery Trust, *Lost Life Project*, [website], 2018. http://www.speciesrecoverytrust.org.uk/LostLife.html, (accessed 26 October 2016).
[49] Four independent charities have been established to save the bees in England, *Bumblebee Conservation Trust*, *Save our Bees*, *Give Bees a Chance*, and *Adopt a Hive*.
[50] This reintroduction has been successful, with the imported beavers recently being declared a native species and therefore protected from culling measures.
[51] Adam Weymouth, *The place where wolves could soon return*, [website], 2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-33017511, (accessed 20 October 2016) and David Miller, *Call for lynx and wolf reintroduction*, [website], 2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-33533035, (accessed 20 October 2016).

clear that predation by wolves would indeed keep deer damage to a reasonable level. One of the most difficult tasks for the historical ecologist is to find out the level of browsing by wild beasts in prehistoric wildwood.'[52] A rousing call for the further involvement by historians in ecology and conservation and for conservationists and ecologists to do the same within the discipline of history. I will make the argument for cross-disciplinary work throughout this literature review but especially in the review of those academics in the Life Sciences whose works will feature in this essay.

Species extinction and reintroduction is complicated enough with up-to-date research and conservation efforts being organised at a global level.[53] In order to put an historic extinction event in context, a historical perspective is critical – it is simply unfair to do anything less than consider natural history from the perspective of the Early Modern author and his contemporaries. However, it would be equally unwise to disregard current scientific, archaeological, and anthropological studies. In some cases research being conducted into behaviour, habitats, cultural impact, and human-animal relations supports what had previously been considered unscientific historic evidence.[54] In order to circumvent any problems with the terminology, in this essay *extinction* will be used in reference to historic instances of those animals who were gone from the English countryside by the 17th century.[55]

Historically species extinction has been difficult to research, as outside the archaeological record there is very little written evidence for any species going extinct prior to the 18th century. One of the ways in which recent research has identified species disappearance (if not outright extinction) is through the lack of written records about an animal who should otherwise have been prominent; the lynx is a good example.[56] While this can be refuted; as the absence of evidence does not necessarily prove the absence of the animal itself, the lack of written records does necessarily indicate a waning of the cultural impact. Bryony Coles argued in her book *Beavers in Britain's Past* (2006) that the beaver disappeared from the historic record in England not because he went extinct but rather that there was a loss of awareness. Lee Raye refutes Coles's theory in

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[52] Oliver Rackham, 'Purposes and Methods of Historical Ecology', *Sufuralist's Society*, Vol. 36 (2000), 9.
[53] The World Wildlife Fund is an excellent example of an organisation that works globally, through a variety of individuals, to consolidate data and current research for public and government consumption.
[54] George Gascoigne's the *Natural Arte of Venerie or Hunting* does include the realistic portrayal of certain behaviours; "if the dogge be there and perceyue she (the bitch) hath brought nothing, he smelleth to hir mouth and hir lippes: …but if he smell by hir that she had prayed, he constreyneth hyr to shew it vnto him, or els hunteth backe himselfe by the counter of hir footing." *The Noble Arte*, chapter 75, 205. In the recent BBC documentary, *Snow Wolf Family and Me*, this behaviour was captured on film for the first time – a male or female wolf will smell a fresh kill on the muzzle of their mate, and follow his/her tracks back to the carcass.
[55] The Oxford English Dictionary Online defines extinction as "The action of extinguishing; the fact or state of being extinguished", "The action of blotting (a living being, a soul) out of existence; destruction, annihilation", and "With reference to a race, family, species, etc.: the fact or process of becoming extinct; a coming to an end or dying out; the condition of being extinct." 'Extinction', *Oxford English Dictionary*, [website], 2019, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/67024?redirectedFrom=extinction#eid, (accessed 17 November 2016).
[56] See the recent research by L. Raye, 'The Forgotten Beasts of Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in medieval sources', PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2016 as he uses the lynx as a good example of this.

his paper "The early extinction date of the beaver (Castor fiber) in Britain" and instead concludes that the beaver became extinct in England in 1300 and in Scotland by 1600.[57] Very helpfully for the current study Raye included a 'near-exhaustive list of medieval texts,' comparing how many times the beaver was mentioned compared to other 'larger-sized, low-profile mammals.'[58] Raye's research relying on medieval authors, however exhaustive it may be, is marred by his insistence that 'medieval authors are reliable sources to the presence of every other comparable mammal and are reliable sources for the presence of beavers in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century south Britain and sixteenth-century Scotland.'[59] Raye is writing his piece as an archaeologist and relies on the written record to give an accurate accounting of the wildlife in medieval Britain.[60] The prevalence of a species in any text merely speaks to the popularity of a particular animal in the literary record and does not necessarily mean that the animal is or is not alive and well in the English countryside; especially as literary sources like bestiaries were often copied verbatim by medieval and Early Modern authors, regardless of the biological animals' presence in the immediate countryside. Importantly Raye coupled his research with the archaeological record, but his argument regarding the written sources does not stand.

With the rise in print culture in England during the 16th century, an historian can glimpse the beginnings of a literary record for animals whose existence was without question and which could be bolstered by archaeological deposits. An analysis of database results as gathered from Early English Books Online regarding the over-all prevalence of wolves (in one form of another) is included as an endnote to this Literature Review. It is this author's opinion the scarcity of wolves in those texts restricting their subject material to the Natural Sciences and the overwhelming presence of wolves in Religious texts reflected the loss of the biological animal from the countryside, and a continuation of the wolf in his most biblical form. Authors were writing about wolves as they were disappearing from the natural landscape, and an historian can trace the evolution of cultural impact of a major predator before, during, and after an extinction event. We are therefore left with a unique early insight into the rate of extinction for a predatory species in Europe, as well as the cultural impact of its disappearance, including the likelihood of reintroduction. Because of Britain's being an island nation there can be little doubt as to the effect of mass over-hunting and concentrated killing of a particular land-based species, as evidenced by the extinction of the wild boar and the dedicated reintroduction in the 13th century with animals

[57] Lee Raye, 'The early extinction date of the beaver (Castor fiber) in Britain', *Historical Biology*, 27:8 (2015), 1029-1041, (accessed 1 March 2017).
[58] Lee Raye, 'The early extinction date of the beaver (Castor fiber) in Britain', *Historical Biology*, 27:8 (2015), 1029-1041, (accessed 1 March 2017), 1029.
[59] Lee Raye, 'The early extinction date of the beaver (Castor fiber) in Britain', *Historical Biology*, 27:8 (2015), 1029-1041, (accessed 1 March 2017), 1036.
[60] This researcher could not find any evidence that Raye relied on Medieval bestiaries for his research.

out of France.[61] It is clear that the disappearance of a species was well understood in medieval and Early Modern England, if not the more nuanced idea of extinction. As wolves were being systemically destroyed, could there have been some expectation that they would survive the intense persecution? The difficulty in researching cultural impact and emotional responses to predator and human relationships comes in the form of interpretation of the sources, and in the lack of scientific evidence.

Significance of my research area:

Research into the extinction of the wolf in Early Modern England is significant because it was the extinction of a key-stone species at a time when printing and publication was making it possible to study the cultural impact of such an event. Modern extinctions have had very little cultural impact until the 20th century and the development of organisations like World Wildlife Fund, founded in 1961, and the World Land Trust, a U.K. based charity founded in 1989. Recent scientific research indicates at least 80 mammals have gone extinct since 1500, which does not include animals that have been made locally extinct, like the wolf in England.[62] Even more interestingly, the wolf is a rare example of an animal that has been made totally extinct in a small area, which the animal has not been able to re-inhabit, whose ecosystem has been drastically altered because of the lack of predation, and for whom a comparative study is possible in places like Japan – an island with a lack of connecting ecological corridors and mainland populations. Though such a large-scale comparison is not possible for this history thesis, it is worth noting that no such study has yet been undertaken. How can we learn from past extinction events to ensure that the modern loss of species is treated with much more severity and possibly halted? The extinction of the wolf in England is in part a reflection for the impact a modern extinction event may have as well as being representative of one reaction to the disappearance of a predator from a pre-determined region.

The extinction of the wolf in England has special ramifications in terms of historical research. Not only was this the very first time in England that the extinction and total disappearance of any species was recorded in text, but an historian can compare the extinction of the wolf in England to the extinction of the wild boar and to the rediscovery of wolves in North America during the colonization of New England. Such comparative studies do shed further light on our historic relationship with the natural world and provide a deepening understanding of the ramifications of extinction, disappearance, and reintroduction. The relationship between humanity and the natural world has often been overlooked by historians in favour of people's relationship

[61] Umberto Albarella, 'Wild Boar', in: T. O'Connor and N. Sykes (eds) *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna* (Oxford, 2010), 65-67.
[62] G. Ceballos, and A.H. Ehrlich, *The Annihilation of Nature: Human Extinction of Birds and Mammals* (Baltimore, 2015), 69.

with the agricultural and economic world of their own making, and especially with the English passion for hunting. It is easy to forget that the study of nature is necessarily limited to man's experience of the natural world – we cannot know the animal's experience. Of course, this is true of the wolf too, but in the case of the wolf he was hunted to extinction despite his having very little economic value or social value (especially compared to the hart and wild boar).

In *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British fauna*, published in 2010, one of the editors, Terry O'Connor, wrote '… it is easy to forget that the wildlife around us also has a time-depth. It is as much a reflection of past human activity and decision making as is Stonehenge or Fountains Abbey.'[63] But the study of historic extinctions and their impact is vitally important for the future of conservation in England too, and an understanding of past relationships with predatory animals must be made, especially as reintroduction would once again bring wolves and humans into proximity in the United Kingdom. Keith Thomas notably wrote in the Introduction to *Man and the Natural World*: '[t]he way in which he [man] has rationalised and questioned that ascendancy [over the animal and vegetable world] is a large and daunting theme which in recent years has received a good deal of attention from philosophers, theologians, geographers and literary critics. The subject also has much to offer historians, for it is impossible to disentangle what the people of the past thought about plants and animals from what they thought about themselves.'[64] Thomas's work has spawned an entire field of scholarship but the gap within this field remains the cultural impact of extinction within the natural world, which this thesis will address.

Challenges with the Primary Source Material:

The primary source material includes hunting texts, natural histories, religious dialogues, and school texts. This plethora of varied textual evidence inherently comes with its own problems – including the validity of the source and the expertise of the author. These issues are over and above the obvious problems surrounding interpretation and discussions around impact and meaning of terminology like monstrous wolf. Pre-eminent scholars like Peter Burke tackle issues surrounding cultural theory and impact head-on, and modern sources like *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* will be pivotal for this essay. Alexandra Walsham's *Providence in Early Modern England* also goes some way towards establishing firm and coherent arguments for interpreting hearts and minds in Early Modern England based on textual evidence.

The most fundamental problem, at least according to this researcher, is establishing the Early Modern familiarity with the animal in question – the wolf. The familiarity can be assumed

[63] Terry O'Connor, 'Introduction: The British Fauna in a Changing World', in: Terry O'Connor (ed) *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna* (Oxford, 2010), 1.
[64] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England* (London, 1984), location 241 of 13411 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 21 October 2019).

to be something of a sliding scale - with some people being much more likely to personally encounter a wolf than others, and the author of an historical text being (most usually) the one least likely to personally experience wolves. The importance of historical research into the natural world and especially into humanity's relationship with local wildlife is nowhere more apparent than in the appreciation for the context in which these authors were writing. The information collected in a text like William Wood's *New England's Prospect* is a good example of document which includes a brief description of the wolf in New England, but whose veracity cannot be confirmed with absolute certainty and whose author should not be assumed to have seen a wolf in person. It is very unlikely that Wood would have ever seen a wolf during his time in the New World although that does not necessarily impact upon how he was judged by his contemporaries nor upon the cultural reflections of the animal. Putting these various sources into context is why research into the history of the natural world should be done alongside and, in a complementary way, to zooarchaeology and the social sciences.

The wolf is frequently described as cruel and / or gluttonous and or / ravening in 16th century literature, and these are clearly not terms of endearment. Even more interestingly, the wolf is more frequently cited in texts with monsters (42401 hits in 4039 records on EEBO) and villains (19107 hits in 1712 records on EEBO) than it is cited without either of these terms in the same text. The extinction of the wolf in England is very much a result of its predatory behaviour as well as its characterisation as cruel, rapacious, and ravenous by Early Modern authors. The extinction is technically due, in part, to human hunting, though we do not know all the factors behind the extinction which was almost certainly driven by genetic fragmentation resulting from over hunting and the isolation of populations.[65] Nearly all the top predators which have disappeared from an ecological area (including lynx, bears, and wolves), and even omnivores or herbivores of a certain size and temperament (elephants and wild boar) have been labelled in an overall negative fashion, frequently being referenced with monstrous terminology like ravenous, gluttonous, etc., in the same way that the wolves were labelled in England.[66] The definition of *wolf* was fluid and impossible to pinpoint exactly and yet it was (and still is) culturally ubiquitous, and did not require any detailed explanation when used in colloquial speech or even formal text. Wolves were frequently written as representing undesirable behaviour in religious literature, in Aesopian text they were primary antagonists, and in natural histories or hunting manuals wolves 'knoweth well in his owne conscience that he dothe many shrewde turnes, and that therefore men hunte and pursue him: but for all that he wil neuer leaue his malicious nature.'[67] In all these various

[65] For a thorough review of ecosystem fragmentation see Denis A. Saunders, Richard J. Hobbs, and Chris R. Margules, 'Biological Consequences of Ecosystem Fragmentation: A Review', *Conservation Biology*, Vol 5 No 1 (1991), 18-22.
[66] This issue is discussed later during the review of *Natural Enemies*, edited by John Knight.
[67] George Gascoigne, *The noble arte of venerie or hunting VVherin is handled and set out the*

renditions the wolf is equally as dangerous but with the caveat that they are meant to affect the audience in different ways; their cruelty being determined by human perception and the emotional impact associated with any encounter, either real or imagined. This paper will explore the relationship between wolves, extinction, and the cultural impact an extinction may have had after the animal disappeared from the countryside. The wolf disappeared from England in the 15th century but the cultural impact of this disappearance has never been studied. The current research will be significant not only for the impact on the over-development of the English 'natural' environment, and specifically for our historic relationship with top predators, but it is also timely as wolf reintroduction into Scotland is a current hot-button issue. These much more modern changes in human and animal relationships make all research into the historic English relationship with the natural world more valuable, as historians attempt to redefine how predators have been socially constructed to inform 21st century ideas.

Though wolves have been little written about in the discipline of history, they have been extensively researched in the social and life sciences, archaeology, and even the biological and medical sciences and these disciplines have been primarily concerned with the actual animals, not with the concept of the cruel and the monstrous, or with cultural impact after extinction. It is history with which this essay will primarily concern itself, but in order to present a clear and well-reasoned argument I will be making periodic use of research outside the field of history. In order to clarify the structure of recent literature, this review will be divided by subject: archaeology, social and life sciences, and history. Within these larger sub-headings, we will look at topics of the natural world including species specific information, and monstrosity as it pertains to wolves, and the challenges of relying on printed texts; which should partially be eased with the use of archaeological and biological research.

Motivation:

The natural world has been a slowly growing field of interest in history since the 1980's, with scholars taking up the challenge issued by Keith Thomas in *Man and the Natural World* for further study. Thomas and *Man and the Natural World* will be discussed at length later in this chapter under a more appropriate heading but is mentioned briefly here to introduce the subject of the natural world in history. Thomas, one of the foremost researchers in the field, wrote *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500 – 1800* in 1983 and his 432 page tome is a testament to the evolution of attitudes in England towards nature, the confusion surrounding what was *natural*, and how nature was interpreted and reinterpreted by all strata of English populations over three hundred years. Because of his colossal contribution to the field Thomas

vertues, nature, and properties of fiutene, sundrie, chaces together, with the order and maner how to hunte and kill euery one of them (London, 1575), 208, available from: the EEBO Library, (accessed 21 October 2019).

will crop up throughout this literature review, as a natural basis of comparison for other texts and research. *Man and the Natural World* will be a vitally important starting point to the research included in this thesis, indeed Thomas's research is referenced in nearly every natural history study undertaken since its publication. However, Thomas himself admits that 'the subject is so vast and the material so abundant that no single author can hope to encompass it… [t]he present work is merely an attempt to sketch out some of the topic's more obvious implications.'[68] The subject in question being the attitudes of the Early Modern English towards the birds, vegetation, animals, and physical landscape of their country. The subsections of such a vast subject matter include questions of language and interpretation of the natural world; how did Early Modern people describe and understand wolves and their behaviour and how was that behaviour reinterpreted to suit the needs of the men and women writing the texts which have survived? The entirety of the natural world and Early Modern engagement with their environment is far too vast a subject for this thesis, but the wolf is a suitable point of departure for research as the wolf inspired strong reactions, even after his extinction. Keith Thomas does much to bring the study of the natural world into the fore and encourages historians to consider research into the natural world for its own sake, rather than as an aside.

As a field of study, monster theory will only be briefly touched upon in this essay and only in how it pertains to perceptions of living, breathing, biologically identifiable (identifiable by contemporary sciences, that is) animals endemic to England who have been transformed into monsters or monstrous beings by their Early Modern human contemporaries. The language surrounding the wolf will be terrifically important moving forward and the language used to describe the wolf is often monstrous in tone. Until the 1930's monsters were often disregarded as being purely fictional and largely unimportant to the wider study of cultural history.[69] Research into monstrosity became popular in the 1990's and especially with the publication of Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* in 1996. Cohen has made extensive use of historical texts in both *Monster Theory* and *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages.* Cohen wrote in the introduction to *Monster Theory*, '...the monster's body literally incorporates fear, desire, anxiety, and fantasy – giving them life and uncanny independence...monstrous body is pure culture, construct and projection...'[70] This is clearly true of monstrous creatures which only exist within the literary text (like a werewolf) but can also be applied to the culturally perceived biological animal like the wolf – who is reimagined within the text as something *other*. Certainly

[68] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England* (London, 1984), location 5 of 13411 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).
[69] J.R.R. Tolkien, though not an historian, was one of the first academics to give due credit to the monstrous when he delivered his essay *The Monsters and the Critics* in 1936. Though of course Tolkien was defending the use of the dragon in the epic Beowulf, his appreciation for the necessity of monsters as beings important in their own right was revolutionary.
[70] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (New York, 1996), 4.

in the chapter on werewolves in this essay, but true in the analysis of wolves as well (though wolves were not cited as being monstrous in the Early Modern literature), Cohen's thesis that monsters are "cultural constructs" who incorporate 'fear, anxiety,' etc. is proven time and again in writings as varied as religious discourse and travel memoirs. Cohen wrote, '...it is possible that medieval merchants intentionally disseminated maps depicting sea serpents like Leviathan at the edges of their trade routes in order to discourage further exploration and establish monopolies...every monster in this way is a double narrative – one that describes how the monster came to be and another detailing what cultural use the monster serves.'[71] Cohen gave the specific example of sea monsters in his text, creatures who could have been added for any number or reasons (including artistic expectations of the patron, historical veracity, and even as pure decoration) but he failed to provide details beyond his own interpretation. His idea though, that monsters were cultural constructs, can still be transferred: wolves often feature in religious discourse as metaphor for negative behaviour and in order to demonstrate the wickedness of the opposing faith (this could be Catholic or Protestant). In this example, like the trade routes example in *Monster Theory,* monstrous wolves are serving a specific cultural purpose. Though Cohen is not an historian, he does write in the Preface that one of his aims with *Monster Theory* is to 'counter the presentism that that characterizes contemporary cultural studies, its mistaken apotheosis of the postmodern Now over a Past it dismisses as irrelevant.'[72] However, the monstrosity the authors in the *Monster Theory* essay collection focus on is especially relevant for a study dedicated to fictional monstrosity, that is, monstrosity as it appears in creatures who never existed (which is not to say that they were not believed to have existed).

Peter Burke acknowledged the place of monsters and werewolves in Early Modern popular culture. There were large systems of stereotypes of the not quite human, including werewolves, and the Jesuits who were likened to wolves, swine, dogs, foxes, spiders, flies, and locusts.[73] He wrote that 'monsters were good to think with in Early Modern Europe and in particular they offered a means for people to define their identities and to confront cultural differences… the views they encouraged were generally hostile to the Other, an obstacle rather than a means to international understanding.'[74] Reginald Scot, the author of *The discoverie of witchcraft*, printed in 1598, made an extensive argument that every creature under God had been

[71] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (New York, 1996), 13. There are big problems with Cohen's example, and it serves to illustrate why an historian is needed in order to apply context to Early Modern sources for both the monstrous and the biological.
[72] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (New York, 1996), *ix*.
[73] Peter Burke, 'Frontiers of the Monstrous: Perceiving National Characters in Early Modern Europe' in: Laura Knoppers and Joan Landes (eds), *Monstrous Bodies* (Cornell, 2004), 27.
[74] Peter Burke, 'Frontiers of the Monstrous: Perceiving National Characters in Early Modern Europe' in: Laura Knoppers and Joan Landes (eds), *Monstrous Bodies* (Cornell, 2004), 37.

given true form and this could not be altered except by the will of God.[75] Though Scot uses the example of the ass, he includes lycanthropes in his disposition on transformation and witchcraft. Scot appears to be in support of the idea that one's identity is fixed, and that a wolf is simply a wolf, and cannot be other, while a man is a man and cannot transform into a wolf. The animal and the man are forever separate. Burke's assertion that monsters 'offered a means for people to define their identities' is merely an extension of the idea by Scot that identities are fixed but the popular reliance upon the supernatural and the monstrous offered Early Modern people the opportunity to redefine the *other*.

The Review – independent scholars who have shaped the field:

Although Keith Thomas was one of the first historians to research and publish on the natural world in Early Modern Europe, it was Barry Lopez, author of *Of Wolves and Men*, who established the very real need for further research into people's relationship with not merely the natural world generally, but with large predators and specifically the wolf. Published in 1978, *Of Wolves and Men* was a forerunner for the historical, archaeological, and biological surveys that came after, and is regularly referenced as being a landmark piece of research. Lopez does not hold a doctoral degree and does not work as an academic, though he is Texas Tech University's Visiting Distinguished Scholar. Lopez wrote a fascinating definition for *wolf*: 'in the wolf we have not so much an animal that we have always known as one that we have consistently *imagined*.'[76] This redefinition fits very neatly with the current thesis – the wolf as a villainous predator may or may not have been the reality of the situation in Early Modern England, but it certainly (and consistently) was imagined to be the reality; which, we can argue, may have made it the reality indeed. Lopez's work is especially interesting because he divided his book into subsections, including scientific enquiry, archaeological surveys, and historical research. This was a fantastic and broad spectrum to take for a single animal, and necessary both as the forerunner for future research as well as setting a precedent for the multidisciplinary nature of studying the natural world. Not being an academic and subjected to a single method of inquiry freed Lopez to conduct a properly researched survey into the wolf and his relationship with humans.[77] For his chapter "Out of the Medieval Mind", Lopez relied on Dante's *Divina commedia* and a 15th century edition of Pliny's *Historia naturalis*. Lopez took a light approach in his writing, using narrative description to draw the reader into the text in a way that usually eludes an academic piece.

[75] This is also the argument the Church consistently used from its earliest attacks on beliefs in magic and shape changing. Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, reprinted edn.1886), available from: https://archive.org/details/discoverieofwitc00scot/page/n5, (accessed 21 October 2019).

[76] Barry Lopez, *Of Wolves and Men* (New York, 1978) ,204.

[77] Although Lopez's work had its faults; it "resulted in lots of sloppy analysis and poor contextualisation, as well as sensationalism" (Private comment by A. Pluskowksi, The University of Reading, September 13, 2019).

Unfortunately relying on only two documents, one of which was a Classical text (though admittedly was consistently read from the 1st century), Lopez failed to prove irrefutably his wish to "uncover some underlying theme that synthesizes all perceptions of the wolf."[78] However well-read Dante and Pliny were in Early Modern England, they could not possibly be representative of all strata of medieval or Early Modern society. Perhaps such representation is impossible, and no matter how many texts an historian samples, perceptions of the wolves will never be "synthesized". But in the case *Of Wolves and Men*, Lopez failed to deliver on his promise to prove the imaginary wolf as the work of medieval man. There are other issues with Lopez that an historian should be aware of, including a clear conservationist agenda and a lack of criticism when approaching medieval sources including the bestiary.

John Berger's *Why Look at Animals*, another frequently cited work, was first published in 1980, making this author an early thinker in the field.[79] While being an interesting piece of scholarship and certainly worth the short read in order to better appreciate the current state of affairs for animals and our modern perceptions of them, it is hardly an historic piece of writing. Berger does deliver some helpful, and thought-provoking ideas, including; '[u]ntil the 19th century, however, anthropomorphism was integral to the relation between man and animal and was an expression of their proximity' and '[t]he cultural marginalization of animals is, of course, a more complex process than their physical marginalization. The animals of the mind cannot be so easily dispersed… The animals of the mind, instead of being dispersed, have been co-opted into other categories so that the category *animal* has lost its central importance.'[80] But I would expect no less from a renowned art critic and literary scholar. Berger's categorizations and arguments are useful, if somewhat theoretical, ideas to keep in mind as this thesis proceeds but they lack context and grounding in a solid historic time and place, with no evidence being presented to bolster Berger's case. The purpose of Berger's text is not to be a thoroughly well researched piece of historic literature, but rather a thought experiment to encourage less anthropogenic and anthropomorphic categorization of animals.

Archaeological:

Archaeology is the natural joint field of study for the discipline of history; each field is informed by both written and material remains with the result of more clearly interpreting the past. The more specific field of zooarchaeology is of even greater significance to historians of the natural world, as the remains of plants and animals tell us everything we will ever know about the life and death of those creatures who inhabit the wild and semi-wild spaces on this planet, beyond the necessarily biased text based accounts which historians have traditionally focussed their

[78] Barry Lopez, *Of Wolves and Men* (New York, 2004), 204.
[79] John Berger, *About Looking* (London, 1980).
[80] John Berger, *Why Look at Animals* (London, 2009), 21 and 25.

attention on. Within this thesis I hope to incorporate enough scientific and archaeological research to create a more robust picture of the local extinction of the wolf and the real-world impact such an extinction had, and by including text-based evidence the argument will be bolstered by the cultural appreciation for the loss of the wolf and the ramifications for the natural world as Early Modern men and women adjusted to the loss of a major predator.

In a recently completed PhD thesis for the University of Cardiff, Lee Raye wrote '[t]his trend (the trend to specialise in wildlife first and history second) has been overturned over the last twenty years by the rise of zooarchaeology, a discipline dedicated to interpreting archaeological faunal remains, which has allowed scholars to re-examine the historical landscape from a different perspective.'[81] Zooarchaeology, the study of animal remains, brings the disciplines of natural history and archaeology into much closer proximity, and certainly makes great strides towards a more inclusive and context based study of human-animal relations; although zooarchaeology is ultimately concerned with human agency – the human impact on other species, especially as faunal remains in archaeological contexts are in almost all cases the end result of human depositional practices.[82] But Raye addressed one of the primary concerns which plagued both his thesis and will cast a shadow over the current project: '[a]t time of writing the subject is continuing to benefit from the collaborative attention of zooarchaeologists and ecologists. However, the subject has yet to attract attention from specialist historians or medievalists. The problem with this is that archaeologists looking at the species have not always been able to update the textual evidence. This has introduced some inaccuracies to the popular corpus of commonly cited primary texts ...Unfortunately there is currently no single volume on medieval British animal literature containing a list of reliable source texts with their most recent generally agreed dates and significance.'[83] Though Raye is referring to medieval Britain, his statement holds true for Early Modern England too.

Terry O'Connor has published extensively on medieval and Early Modern English archaeological animal remains and studies 'the relations between past peoples and the animals around them…[and] the animals that have adapted to our homes and settlements and that live alongside us.'[84] His point that wildlife has what he refers to as 'time-depth' in the introduction to *Extinctions and Invasions* is worth noting for the present study. The wolf, a mammal who was hunted to extinction in England within the last 550 years (certainly within the last 500 years), and

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[81] L. Raye, 'The Forgotten Beasts of Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in medieval sources' PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2016, 21.
[82] A good example of zooarchaeology's modern relevance to humanity and its concern with human agency and human impact is R. Lee Lyman's paper 'Applied zooarchaeology: The relevance of faunai analyses to wildlife management', *World Archaeology*, 28 (1996), 110-125.
[83] L. Raye, 'The Forgotten Beasts of Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in medieval sources' PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2016, 22 & 23.
[84] *Professor Terry O'Connor Professor Emeritus of Archaeological Science*, [website], https://www.york.ac.uk/palaeo/members/academic/terry-o'connor/#research, (accessed 22 January 2017).

whose reintroduction is being considered as part of a bid to 're-wild' the United Kingdom, is a testament to our ever-evolving relationship with wildlife, and certainly acts as a 'reflection of past human activity and decision making.'[85] I refer to O'Connor's introduction here because he establishes some of the key concerns in modern zooarchaeology, including the nuanced relationship between the animals of the present and their past counterparts, and he discusses advances in his field; '[t]hrough the twentieth century, our understanding of environmental changes in Britain has become more detailed, more subtle and perhaps more confident.' This of course has led to an increased ability to reinterpret the evidence and to bolster both modern understanding and modern appreciation of past human-animal relations. Finally, O'Connor established one of the great forerunners of British zooarchaeology; '[a] key source, and an ancestor to the present volume, is Harting's *British Animals extinct within British times with some account of British Wild White Cattle* [1880a]. Harting discusses only five species – bear, beaver, reindeer, wild boar, and wolf – but gives many sources for the historical evidence that he cites...' later in the same volume Aleksander Pluskowski makes the same point and gives due credit to Harting. Harting will be used to provide important evidence as to the extinction of the wolf in England and so it is worth pointing out his value to both zooarchaeology and history. In his PhD thesis Lee Raye wrote that '*Extinctions and Invasions* collects some of the most authoritative papers on the subject and is the first volume to bring together so many specialists in the subject into one volume.'[86]

Research by Aleksander Pluskowski focuses on the wolf in medieval England, specifically from an archaeological perspective, but his research fails to address the way in which the loss of the wolf from England was interpreted by contemporary chroniclers. In "The Wolf", a chapter written for the volume *Extinctions and Invasions: A social history of British fauna,* Pluskowski wrote '[r]ather than being misled by the popularity of the predatory relationship between wolves and sheep in medieval Christian literature to explain the inclination to exterminate this large carnivore, the fate of the wolf in Britain is better understood as being inextricably linked to the fate of deer.'[87] While the relationship between wolves and deer is irrefutable, Pluskowski does not go into depth analysing the relationship between deer and wolves which was also inextricably linked to the hunting classes – and the impact of the wolf culturally was much more universal than merely how the animal affected the land-owning classes, although 'the point is made, also in the book, where elite hunting culture and professional hunters drive the extermination process.'[88] The

[85] Terry O'Connor, 'Introduction: The British Fauna in a Changing World', in: Terry O'Connor (ed) *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna* (Oxford, 2010), 1.
[86] L. Raye, 'The Forgotten Beasts of Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in medieval sources' PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2016, 22.
[87] A. Pluskowski, 'The Wolf', in: Terry O'Connor (ed) *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna* (Oxford, 2010), 74.
[88] Private Comment, A. Pluskowski, The University of Reading, 13 September, 2019

deer and the forests will feature in this essay, but as secondary to the overall impact that the extinction of the wolf had culturally. In this instance, and with all due credit to Pluskowski, the cultural impact of the wolf would have been negated after extinction had their fate been linked solely to the fate of the deer.

Pluskowski's research interests 'include exploring ecological diversity across medieval Europe, focused on zooarchaeology and inter-disciplinary perspectives of human-animal relations.'[89] With thirteen publications in the past ten years on wolves, werewolves, and/or the changing environment of medieval Europe, Pluskowski is somewhat ubiquitous in the research of wolves in Early Modern England. Helpfully he also pays due credit to the previous generations of zooarchaeologists who specialised in this particular subject; he wrote of Harting in his wolf chapter for *Extinctions and Invasions*, 'this extinction (the wolf) was first systematically documented in James E. Harting's (1880b) seminal work *A Short History of the Wolf in Britain*, subsequently revisited and refined by Anthony Dent (1974) and Derek Yalden (1999).' He later writes, 'the most influential work to date is Barry Lopez's juxtaposition of Native American and European responses to wolves in his *Of Wolves and Men*, first published in 1978.' Regarding the most current research, Pluskowski writes, 'although the popularity of Lopez's thesis has not waned, current understanding of human responses to wolves ...recognises their diversity resulting from complex interactions between different social, political and ecological contexts (Kruuk 2002). This shift in perspective is exemplified by the publication of the first comprehensive survey of wolf attacks on humans in Europe (Linnell et al. 2002), which linked sporadic incidents and specific historical episodes of actual predation with an ecological understanding of wolf behaviour.' Pluskowski has very neatly laid out the current trends in zooarchaeology, naming some of the key players in archaeological study of natural history, especially concerning the wolf. Though of course Harting's research has since been surpassed with more recent discoveries and a more refined historical appreciation of Early Modern and medieval attitudes towards the natural world[90] his book affords a longevity to the archaeological study of extinction in Britain. Pluskowski has clearly worked hard to establish the need for further research into the archaeological history of the wolf in the Europe generally, and he takes strides in furthering the historical understanding of the wolf in England. This is most obvious in his earlier publication, *Wolves in the Wilderness*.

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[89] *Archaeology Staff Profile: Dr. Aleks Pluskowski*, [website], https://www.reading.ac.uk/archaeology/about/staff/a-g-pluskowski.aspx, (accessed 22 January 2017).

[90] For example, Harting wrote on page 2 "...the vast tracts of unreclaimed forest land which formerly existed in these realms… afforded for centuries an impenetrable retreat for these animals, from which it was well-nigh impossible to drive them." James Edmund Harting, *British animals extinct within historic times: with some account of British white and wild cattle* (Boston, 1880), available from: https://archive.org/stream/britishanimals00hart#page/148/mode/2up, (accessed 05 May 2017).
By the time of the extinction of the wolf (and indeed even by the time of the Romans) the "vast tracts" of forest in England had been largely reduced to managed forests, from which it was certainly possible to hunt the wolf into extinction.

Aleksander Pluskowski's *Wolves in the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* is the only book-length exploration of the relationship between man and wolves in medieval Britain. The book was Pluskowski's Cambridge University PhD thesis, and was published in 2006. Since no scholar to-date has taken up the challenge to further this scholarship into the Early Modern era Pluskowski's work becomes an important resource for an archaeological study of wolves in Britain for any historian of medieval or Early Modern England. Although an archaeologist himself, Pluskowski's *Wolves in the Wilderness* includes a wealth of historical information and sources and so sits comfortably as one of the most important resources in this thesis. Interestingly, and with good reason, Pluskowski has not shied away from including much more modern interpretations and understandings of wolves; he wrote that the 'wolf's association with the woods and the wilderness is taken for granted in popular and academic spheres' and 'today the most enduring image of the wolf in the woods in Britain derives from popular fairy tales.'[91] A modern interpretation of what the wolf meant historically to the people of England is important and certainly something to keep in mind going forward, as with any historical reinterpretation of a popular trope, and this thesis will largely concern itself with historic as well as modern bias.

In keeping with the overall tone of this history paper, Pluskowski goes on to make the assertion that the 'evidence suggests that preserving wolves for their own sake would have been inconceivable to the medieval mind.'[92] This is in a similar vein to Keith Thomas's own research in *Man and the Natural World*. Of course these statements are problematic in that a modern historian cannot know for certain what was conceivable or not to the medieval (or Early Modern) mind, but historical evidence which includes as universal a text as the Bible (which Thomas uses in his own evidence based assumptions for the lack of conservation effort in Early Modern England), should not be lightly dismissed. Pluskowski's and Thomas's work on medieval and Early Modern conservation is worth keeping in mind for a paper on dangerous animals – as the idea of keeping an animal alive for the value it may bring to the environment, or simply because it has the right to life, was completely outside of the medieval and Early Modern mindset.[93] The right to life, as opposed to humanity's assumption of dominance and wildlife management, will be an ongoing dilemma the reader will be faced with throughout this paper as we explore whether the extinction of wolves after intense persecution had any impact on the people of England.

Sociology & Life sciences:

Making extensive use of the social and life sciences within a history paper is taking a risk. I have grouped these two disciplines together to balance one against the other. Sociology, often

[91] Aleksander Pluskowski, *Wolves in the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), 11.
[92] Aleksander Pluskowski, *Wolves in the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), 13.
[93] see "A Spectacle of Beasts: Hunting Rituals and Animal Rights in Early Modern England" by Charles Bergman for an overview of this subject as it pertains to the incredibly popular early modern pastime – hunting.

defined as a social science,[94] is the study of development, function, and structure of human society. Sociology aims to be as objective and as encompassing as the sciences, and yet to stand apart by using language to interpret findings and studying human communities and relationships, elements which are not necessarily bound up in physical laws and universal truths. By looking at the sociological and life sciences together, I feel that my own research will be better served and have a more balanced approach as I focus narrowly on both the natural world and human culture.

I am also very aware that to write history is to take on the task of re-evaluating the past in such a way as to be as unbiased as possible, and without forcing modern interpretations upon an ancient, medieval, or Early Modern text. However, in order to give proper credit to this subject, which has been woefully neglected by historians, it is important (and indeed an imperative) to make use of inter-disciplinary texts like *Natural Enemies: People-wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective* edited by John Knight, and *Wolves: Behaviour, Ecology, and Conservation* edited by David Mech. In using such a variety of texts this thesis will stand in good company, as eminent historians Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes, editors of the interdisciplinary *Monstrous Bodies/political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe,* or Brian Boyd, who used scientific evidence to bolster his argument for the importance of fiction and oral narrative in *On the Origin of Stories*. This essay will proceed by making good use of a variety of sources, but cautiously keeping in mind that no modern study can make the claim to fully understand the Early Modern cultural impact of species disappearance and so an historian's perspective is vital.

Wolf by Garry Marvin is a short but thorough addition to the recent research conducted on the history and current conservation of the wolf. Garry Marvin is a professor of Life Sciences and received his PhD in Anthropology. His research interests are 'that of human / animal relationships … [and] [f]or the past few years he has been conducting anthropological fieldwork on foxhunting in England… His other main research projects [include] a study of the cultural history of the wolf.'[95] Marvin is therefore one of the foremost scholars who have studied both of the major members of the canine family who have lived in England within the last 500 years, offering an insight into the cultural impact first of the loss of one species and the English people's continued (and fraught) relationship with the other. Marvin wrote of the extinction of the wolf from much of Europe and from parts of North America, followed by '[o]nce wolves were gone there opened up a cultural space… into which a newly understood scientific wolf and a new wolf of the popular imagination emerged.'[96] This insight is very much the focus of the current research. Much like Lopez, Marvin discusses the wolf as a figure of the human imagination, a creature

[94] Though this definition can be contested: Karl Thompson, *Is Sociology a Science?*, [website], 2017, https://revisesociology.com/2017/01/15/is-sociology-a-science/, (accessed 09 August 2019).
[95] *University of Roehampton, Garry Marvin*, [website], https://pure.roehampton.ac.uk/portal/en/persons/garry-marvin(0224d8f0-6b12-452f-9cd7-fb0a4471b93f).html/, (accessed 17 January 2017).
[96] Garry Marvin, *Wolf* (London, 2012), 8.

defined not only by its own biology but (in some cases more importantly) by the impact this animal has on *us,* both past and present.

In his chapter "A Wolf in Sheep's (and Other's) Clothing" for *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans and the Study of History* Marvin wrote '[i]n recent years the study of human/animal relations has emerged as a new field of interest and concern within the humanities. Although it has emerged, it has still not fully defined itself. One can perhaps discern a shape developing, but the field is still a fuzzy one, and it certainly does not warrant the term discipline...' He also wrote, '[i]n my view that fuzziness is a strength rather than a weakness for it offers the potential for multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary enquiry and for the richness of such comparative perspectives.'[97] Marvin does an excellent job of outlining the problem of studying natural history within the humanities, and it is worth quoting him over the course of several pages as he partially justifies the necessity of this thesis: Marvin wrote, '[w]orking from the perspectives of the humanities, researchers are not equipped to write about the animals themselves or the animals' side of the relationship except in human terms'[98] and '[i]t seems to me that there are hugely complex issues not only about the nature of the animals we might be attempting to historicise of but also about the sorts of history (ies) we are interested in writing,'[99] and finally '[t]hey [the scientific studies of 'fleshy wolves'] should be of vital importance for those of us in the humanities who claim an interest in animals.'[100] Marvin is the only author currently working in natural history that this researcher has yet encountered who has acknowledged the very real need for more involvement by historians in furthering the research into medieval and Early Modern cultural impact and discursive thinking into human / animal relations. Marvin is interested in 'the complex feedback systems that loop between such constructions which the conditions or contexts for relationships with embodied animals in the world and the relationships themselves that create or generate representations which then… [ellipses are the authors own] Relationships out of representations, representations out of relationships.'[101] Although Marvin's research interests are very close to my own and he writes about the need for further study, he does not address the extinction of the wolf in England and focusses primarily on wolves currently living and interacting with human populations elsewhere in Europe. However, because he and Pluskowksi are two of the only academics with an historical-bent to their research on wolves in the natural world, they will both feature in this thesis.

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[97] Garry Marvin, "A Wolf in Sheep's (and Other's) Clothing" for *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans and the Study of History* (Charlottesville, 2010), 2.
[98] Garry Marvin, "A Wolf in Sheep's (and Other's) Clothing" for *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans and the Study of History* (Charlottesville, 2010), 2.
[99] Garry Marvin, "A Wolf in Sheep's (and Other's) Clothing" for *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans and the Study of History* (Charlottesville, 2010), 4.
[100] Garry Marvin, "A Wolf in Sheep's (and Other's) Clothing" for *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans and the Study of History* (Charlottesville, 2010), 6.
[101] Garry Marvin, "A Wolf in Sheep's (and Other's) Clothing" for *Beastly Natures: Animals, Humans and the Study of History* (Charlottesville, 2010), 8.

David Mech, editor of *Wolves: Behavior, Ecology, and Conservation*, 'is a Senior Scientist with the Biological Resources Division, U.S. Geological Survey and an Adjunct Professor in the Department of Fisheries, Wildlife and Conservation Biology, and Ecology, Evolution and Behavior at the University of Minnesota.'[102] He describes his academic interests as the 'long-term analysis of wolf and deer population trends in the central Superior National Forest; the role of canine parvovirus in affecting the wolf population in the central Superior National Forest; and wolf relations with prey in Yellowstone National Park.'[103] Mech is considered one of the foremost researchers in his field and is referenced in both *Wolves in Japan* by John Knight and in *Wolves* by Garry Marvin. Mech does not make any pretensions towards being an historian and all his research is clearly defined: studying wolves in their modern habitat and focussing on current behaviour. There can be no doubt that the behaviour of wolves has been drastically altered by the presence of humans (Pluskowski makes the same assertion in *Wolves in the Wilderness*), and even their physical appearance has been altered[104] but modern research can inform our understanding of past behaviour, and we can certainly superimpose modern opinions on wolves onto the Early Modern English population; the hatred for wolves experienced by those living in near proximity to the animal has hardly lessened in more than 500 years.[105] In any discussion of a biological predator who still inhabits wild and semi-wild landscapes, it is prudent to both understand and appreciate the living animal; this can only enhance any research into the long history of humanity's relationship with an animal like the wolf. In this thesis, I will make use of Mech's work to compare accounts of the modern animal living in close proximity to humans to medieval and Early Modern records of wolves in England, as well as using Mech, et. al.'s detailed work on the social habits of wolves to test the viability of the English people's perceived understanding of the wolf. Although there have been publications on the biology and conservation of the wolf since that edited volume, very little of it has been in book form.

Dangerous or monstrous animals which exist in the real-world, like wolves, and their tumultuous relationship with man are summed up in the research compilation *Natural Enemies: People-wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective* edited by John Knight. Knight's own research is on wolves in Japan and the desire to reintroduce the predator to the island in order to

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[102] *Dave Mech: Scientist and Wolf Researcher*, [website], 2005, http://www.davemech.org/, (accessed 01 February 2017).
[103] *Dave Mech: Scientist and Wolf Researcher*, [website], 2005, http://www.davemech.org/, (accessed 01 February 2017).
[104] European wolves typically have shorter legs and stockier build than their North American relatives – researchers theorise this is due to a change in habitat, being transplanted from open fields to forest living due to human interference. Europeans wolves howl noticeably less than North American wolves too. (Interview with Mike Collins, UK Wolf Conservation Trust, December 2016).
[105] One example of the wide-spread rural attitude towards large predators or 'pest' animals is the so-called 3s solution, Shoot Shovel and Shut-up. For a European example O. Liberg, et al., 'Shoot, shovel and shut up: cryptic poaching slows restoration of a large carnivore in Europe', *Proceedings of the Royal Society B,* 279 (2012), 910-916.

help control the deer population, currently making havoc of Japan's crop-heavy farming industry. In addition to being editor and contributor to *Natural Enemies*, Knight is also the author of *Waiting for Wolves in Japan: An Anthropological Study of People-wildlife Relations* published in 2006. The collected essays in *Natural Enemies* summarise man's relationship with dangerous animals on a global scale through individual case-studies. Garry Marvin wrote a chapter on foxes: "The problem of foxes: legitimate and illegitimate killing in the English countryside" and Galina Lindquist wrote "The wolf, the Saami and the urban shaman: predator symbolism in Sweden". These are contemporary papers, written from an anthropological perspective and so may seem out of place in this essay, however, Knight establishes in the introduction what people-wildlife conflicts are and how they occur, '... relations of rivalry or antagonism between human beings and wild animals which typically arise from territorial proximity and involve reliance on the same resources or a threat to human wellbeing or safety;' on the same page Knight addresses an important point – conflict typically goes two ways, if animals are a problem for humans then surely humans are a problem for animals. And he addresses the reality that invertebrate or vegetal pests are equally (if not more) disruptive to human activity than vertebrate and mammalian pests. 'There is a large and wide-ranging literature on the subject of people-wildlife conflicts. This is mainly from fields such as applied zoology, applied ecology and wildlife management, and is concerned with the measurement of wildlife damage, the assessment of wildlife pest numbers and population dynamics, the determination of the causes of pestilence, the development of technologies of damage limitation and pest control, and the application of such technology.'[106] Notably, the disciplines of both anthropology and history are missing from Knight's list. The wide array of peoples and geographies, surveyed in *Natural Enemies* and the similar way in which all these competing forces interact despite differences in distance and time, emphasises the tumultuous relationship humanity has with the natural world beyond what might be considered practical as a result of the animal's biological impact. In a separate review of *Natural Enemies*, John Schelhas of the Southern Research Station, USDA Forest Service at Tuskegee University wrote '[t]he dominant theme of the volume is that wildlife species may play social and cultural roles in human society well beyond their material importance.'[107] This is not dissimilar from one of the dominant themes of this essay, the social and cultural role of the wolf in Early Modern England beyond the mere role of material importance.

A contemporary look at the trouble with reintroduction of a native species in an area developed for agriculture is "A Wolf in the Garden" by Alec Brownlow in *Animal spaces, beastly places: new geographies of human-animal relations*. Brownlow is an associate professor in the Geography department at DePaul College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences and his inclusion in

[106] John Knight, *Natural Enemies: People-wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective* (London, 2000), 4.
[107] John Schelhas, 'Review of *Natural Enemies: People-Wildlife Conflicts in Anthropological Perspective*', *Human Ecology Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2004), 68-70.

Animal Spaces is in-keeping with his normal research interests which 'span the urban-environmental interface.'[108] Interestingly it was within Brownlow's geographical study that this researcher read the clearest admittance of the problem facing any historian when researching nature and the natural world: 'the meaning of and definition of animals and, [their] contribution to our understanding of nature tended to be over-looked and dismissed… Shepard attributes this to the current absence of wild animals from social science discourse and from American consciousness particularly because the animals are physically absent from the landscape.'[109] Though here Brownlow is referring to P. Shepard's work *The Others: How Animals Made Us Human*,[110] and he is using it specifically to discuss wolves in the modern geographical area surrounding the Adirondacks, Shepard's analysis holds true for the study of nature and wildlife in the humanities and especially in the discipline of history. The same principle can easily be applied to the study of the wolf in England: because wolves no longer exist in the United Kingdom there is a tendency amongst historians to disregard the presences of these species in texts. An historian cannot rely on modern research to reinterpret the past, but surely the inverse applies, and we must imagine what it was like in the 15th and even 16th century when it was unclear whether these dangerous animals were totally gone from English shores.

Oliver Rackham was a professor of ecology at Cambridge University and was made an Honorary Professor of Historical Ecology in 2006. His vast compendium of academic work includes *The History of the Countryside: The full fascinating story of Britain's landscape* and *Trees and woodland in the British landscape: the complete history of Britain's trees, woods & hedgerows.* He also wrote a terrifically important paper (at least for the purposes of this essay) for the *Suffolk Naturalist Society* in 2000. The paper is entitled "Purposes and Methods of Ecological History". The entire purpose of his paper is to outline the value of historical research in conservation efforts. Although Rackham was specifically concerned with archaeological history throughout the majority of the paper, he devoted page 5 and the beginning of page 6 of his 12-page paper to historical documents. It is on pages 6 and 7 that Rackham makes the point most pertinent to this thesis – the quote is long but worth copying in full: '[h]istorical ecology is history and ecology and both disciplines need to be treated with equal respect. Historians who are not informed about the behaviour of plants and animals write pseudo-ecology…. Likewise, ecologists who fail to evaluate historical data write pseudo-history… But many historians still refuse to do fieldwork and many ecologists refuse to study documents.'[111] In a neat and succinct paragraph,

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[108] *DePaul College of Liberal Arts: Alec Brownlow*, [website], 2001, http://las.depaul.edu/academics/geography/faculty/Pages/alec-brownlow.aspx, (accessed 26 January 2017).
[109] Alec Brownlow, 'A Wolf in the Garden', in *Animal spaces, beastly places: new geographies of human-animal relations* (London, 2000), 143.
[110] P. Shepard, *The Others: How Animals Made Us Human*, (Washington, 1996).
[111] Oliver Rackahm, 'Purposes and Methods of Ecological History', in *Suffolk Naturalist Society*, Vol. 36 (2000), 6-7.

Rackham has highlighted one of the major areas of concern and the difficulty in researching any area of the natural world from an historical perspective. It is a difficulty that I myself have encountered, both in the written research when historical analysis would have bolstered a scientific paper (and vice versa), and while speaking to colleagues and superiors about the inter-disciplinary nature of this thesis. I hope that, as an historian who has included information on the biological wolf, I will have at least set a precedence for future research making broader usage of scientific sources.

These texts, even the biological ones, bolster the analyses of the wolf in this thesis despite their reliance on much more modern research. Certain behaviours, including (but not limited to) Mech's tracing details of wolves who den very near to human settlements, are valuable to keep in mind when reading about wolf and human interactions in Early Modern Europe. Urban environments were much sparser in 15th and 16th century England, but current predilections of wolves to den near major motorways or to include agricultural land in their core territories probably indicates a much closer relationship to Early Modern human populations, including wolves documented within the proximity of Paris in the 15th century. In all the listed texts the authors go into historic detail of wolves and their interactions with people, although none of the authors are trained historians. While the purpose of their work is not give a detailed historic account of wolves and their relationship with people, that the history of the wolf is relevant to a biological study indicates to this researcher that the inverse is equally as true, biology is important to an historic study of the wolf; if we cannot determine what a wolf *is*, how can we determine what wolf *was* in Early Modern England?

Leaving the life sciences and entering the realm of the social sciences, "The Social Biology of the Werewolf Trials", written by W.M.S. Russell and C. Russell and was first published in 1989 in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*.[112] Though this is not a strictly historical retelling of the werewolf trials in the manner of Robin Briggs, the Russells do bring a unique point of view to the discussion of werewolves in Europe. From a sociological point of view, the Russell's attempt to solve the problem of werewolves in medieval and Early Modern Europe. They wrote that it is 'impossible to imagine that none of the killings the accused were tried for took place – so they must have been done by either real wolves or crazy people.'[113] While this may have generally been true, without evidence of the killings themselves it is only an unsubstantiated claim. But it is the very fact that Russell and Russell are writing as sociologists and for a medical journal that make their paper so valuable to this thesis. As a successful zoologist who introduced the concept

[112] Though this paper was first published in a medicinal journal, I have used a later edition in J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell (eds) *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge, 1978).
[113] J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell (eds) 'The Social Biology of the Werewolf Trials', in *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge, 1978), 157.

of replacement, refinement and reduction into scientific laboratory work, W.M.S. Russell had the liberty to introduce meaningful debate to his discourse, like linking the Cromwellian bounty on the head of an Irish priest with the bounty on a wolf's head (pg.170).[114] These tenuous relations should be drawn as culturally they establish that the links in Early Modern England between priests and wolves were very strong. However, without a solid historic background "The Social Biology of Werewolves" does tend to make grandiose claims like 'all werewolf stories were believed until the 18th century.' This can hardly be proven and considering *Bisclavret* and *Melion* it seems unlikely that werewolf stories were believed out-of-hand. It would have been difficult for the Russell's to have included the limitations of belief and how fiction or reality might have influenced the trials in France and as the authors did not have a background in cultural history these limitations are a detriment to their paper. But it is worth noting that "The Social Biology of Werewolves" remains one of the most frequently cited sources in any text on werewolves in England and Europe.

Writing about oral narrative from an anthropological and even sociological standpoint, Brian Boyd in *On the Origin of Stories* makes a good case for storytelling as being inherent in the human condition and uses modern scientific techniques and research in order to establish just what the relationship with the natural world might have been historically. Boyd wrote of *On the Origin of Stories*: '[it] proposed an evolutionary and cognitive account of art in general, narrative in general, and fiction in particular, and showed how this perspective could illuminate classics as near as we can easily get to the origin of stories in our species (Homer's *Odyssey*) and our individual development (Dr. Seuss's *Horton Hears a Who!*).'[115] I use *On the Origin of Stories* in this essay because Boyd discusses the evolution of oral narrative and genre of monster and horror very well. Oral narrative is a contentious issue for historians, in no small part because it is impossible to study the origin of stories that were recorded so long after the supposed first telling, and because it is impossible to judge the hearts and minds of the listeners in Early Modern England. And yet Peter Burke wrote in the prologue to the seminal text, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 'to discover the attitudes and values of craftsmen and peasants – the natural discipline from which to borrow is that of folklore, since folklorists are centrally concerned with the folk, with oral traditions, and with ritual...' Because so little survives on record from the silent many, it is crucial that historians be willing to borrow what they can from folklorists and attempt to impose some of the culture from these narratives onto the 'craftsmen and peasants' of Early Modern England. Indeed, it is imperative that we do so, as Alexandra Walsham remarks "by the late seventeenth century, the educated elite were dissociating themselves from such 'vulgar

[114] J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell (eds) 'The Social Biology of the Werewolf Trials', in *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge, 1978), 170.
[115] *Dist Prof Brian David Boyd*, [website], http://www.arts.auckland.ac.nz/people/bboy001, (accessed 26 January 2017).

error's' and 'popular antiquities' and beginning to erect a barrier between the written record and the verbal record;" this "not only gave rise to the modern distinction between history and folklore, but also redefined various traditions that had hithero been part of the cultural mainstream."[116]

Boyd makes an excellent case for the validity of modern experiments and testing to help determine reactions and possible reasons for strong emotions, especially concerning dangerous or monstrous animals. In a separate review, *On the Origin of Stories* was described thus: 'Brian Boyd has produced a challenging piece of critical theory, which might well herald the return to Nature of which cultural criticism is in such sore need.'[117] Of course any modern research will need to be handled delicately, but *On the Origin of Stories* is worth considering in a discussion of cultural impact and extinction of monstrous animals because of Boyd's appreciation for the literal evolution of fiction and how it impacts perceptions of the modern world. Many of the texts being used in this thesis will have been delivered orally and any paper studying the dissemination of an idea or a culturally engrained notion should surely be making use of oral narrative.

History:

Because this thesis will be relying so much on the history of culture, and perceptions of animals both in popular and so-called high culture, I will be making good use of works written for and by the nobility and aristocracy, but also texts written for more general consumption. Works like Edward of Norwich's *The Master of Game* and George Gascoigne's *The Natural Arte of Venerie or Hunting* have both been well researched, the purpose of their hunting manuals is quite clear, and they are targeted to a specific, upper-class, audience. But more popular print and the people who read it are all too often overlooked because we do not have the evidence to support one historian's interpretation over the other; there is not enough of the material culture left to determine how people thought about nature, wildlife, and monstrous predators. In *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, published in 1993 and written by Tessa Watt, the author attempts to confront some of these challenges in popular print. At various points though out *Cheap Print*, Watt considers the needs for further study into popular print, writing that 'a further probe into popular belief would have to look for oblique references to ideas like God, sin and death in a wide range of ballads not only those dealing directly with religion.'[119] Here she has highlighted one of the biggest issues facing any historian dealing with popular print – one cannot simply look for information on God (or in the case of this thesis, the disappearance of wolves) in texts which deal specifically with that subject. References to the cultural impact of the disappearance of wolves from England are likely to be found in works as far ranging as religious texts and popular ballads.

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[116]Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 97.
[117] Terry Eagleton, *The London Review of Books*. [website], 2019, http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674057111&content=reviews, (accessed 30 January, 2017).

[119] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1993), 125.

As an example, Watt writes that 'complicated ballads (like Doctor Faustus) with literary histories, were presumably no different to the ordinary buyer or listener from other ballads or pamphlets involving witchcraft, devils, and the supernatural.'[120] In order to study and appreciate cultural impact, it is necessary to be inclusive of any scraps of literature or pictorial evidence that remain, as the entirety would have informed the Early Modern audience. It is not until very late in the book that Watt admits that 'pamphlets have been collected into several check-lists and have been the subject of a number of studies, although knowledge about their distribution and audience is vague.'[121] Watt's admittance that knowledge of who these pamphlets were created for and how they were received is 'vague' means not merely that further study is necessary in Early Modern cultural history, with a more pronounced emphasis on tactile rather than textual history, but also that Boyd's work on oral narrative and oral distribution of culture can assist in informing historians how cultural was distributed and received.

Peter Burke's *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* published in 1978 with a third edition printed in 2009, is one of the pre-eminent works of cultural history. Burke, who credits Keith Thomas as being one of his influences,[122] has published 23 books on cultural history and is a world leader in the study of European cultural history. A review of *Popular Culture* (reprinted in 1980) begins '[t]here's no point in being blasé about a book that has a bibliography in seventeen languages, especially when the prefatory note states disarmingly that the translations are the authors unless otherwise stated...'[123] In fact the reviewer's only reservation, which this researcher shares, is in Burke's reliance on Redfield's definition of the 'great' and 'little' culture. Though Burke approaches such a definition with 'proper reservations' the complexity of culture 'sits rather uneasily between the two components of Redfield's dichotomy.'[124] But otherwise keeping in mind Burke's clear expertise, in this thesis Burke's research will inform most of the opinions on general popular cultural history. Without trying to delegate all the responsibility for defining popular culture onto Burke, since his criteria and findings have not been significantly challenged in the last 38 years it seems reasonable to allow his work to stand and to simply expand it into my own niche research on the cultural impact of the extinction of the wolf in Early Modern England.

In the prologue to the 1978 edition of *Popular Culture* Burke wrote 'culture is a system of shared meanings, attitudes, and values, and the symbolic forms (performances, artefacts) in which they are expressed or embodied' and 'popular culture… is perhaps best defined initially in a

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[120] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1993), 124.
[121] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1993), 264.
[122] *Burke, Professor Ulick Peter (1937 -)*, [website], 2008, http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/historians/burke_ulick.html, (accessed 31 January 2017).
[123] A.E. Green, 'Review of *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*', in *Oral History*. Vol. 8 Num. 2 (1980), 64-66.
[124] A.E. Green, 'Review of *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*', in *Oral History*. Vol. 8 Num. 2 (1980), 64-66.

negative way as unofficial culture, the culture of the non-elite, the 'subordinate classes.'[125] This is the definition I will be relying on throughout my thesis, perhaps only adding that popular culture does not have to simply be the culture of the non-elite, but 'trickles up and down' between the various strata of English society. Burke himself addresses this later in his book.[126] The value of a study like Burke's for any research into the popular culture of a niche area includes bold statements like 'there were two cultural traditions in Early Modern Europe – but they did not correspond symmetrically to the two main social groups, the elite and the common people,' and 'what we call popular culture was often the culture of the most visible people, the young adult males.'[127] With proclamations such as these Burke reassures his readers that popular culture saturated an entire society, but that by looking through the lens of textual history we are sadly only able to ascertain the culture that has withstood the variances of time, which is typically the culture of aristocratic, literate males. Non-textual history, like carnival, offer an insight into a broader spectrum of Early Modern cultural history. In a paper such as mine, largely devoted to the activities of extermination, male culture is entirely appropriate, but my readers will still be required to stretch themselves to appreciate the cultural impact of these disappearances on the silent many, including children, whose voices we hear so infrequently.

Popular culture, including the perception of wild animals who did not exist on English shores by the 16th century, can be analysed in much the same way as Burke analysed huge activities like Carnival. He wrote, 'the noble or upper classes did participate in popular culture – most noticeably during the festivals and carnival; in towns they attended the same sermons; nobles offered their patronage to distinguished traditional performers...'[128] Hunting, wildlife, and the impact of nature on urban centres is not unlike Carnival; these are activities and themes that are simply too big and too omnipresent to be relegated to a single group of people, whether elite or the participants in the 'little culture'. In *Animal encounters: Human and Animal Interaction in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War One* by Arthur MacGregor the focus is on domesticated animals and animal husbandry, but he briefly discussed the influence of environment on human animal relations and the legislative factors that influenced hunting, including land ownership by the monarchy and aristocracy.

MacGregor also discussed issues surrounding animals as currency, which of course we know the wolf was (the skin of a wolf being worth 8 pence in the laws of Hoel).[129] Legislation and legal obligations surrounding wildlife and the environment can be tedious to both research and

[125] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), Prologue.
[126] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 3rd edn., 2009), 25 and 26.
[127] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 3rd edn., 2009), 28 and 29.
[128] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 3rd edn., 2009), 25.
[129] The Peter-Pence or Wolf Penny of Ethelwolf has fancifully been made into a tale of wolves as being exchanged as taxes to the English king, but wolves were scarce in Wales and the value of the taxes would have outweighed the wolves available at the time. John Jones, *The History of Wales*, (London, 1824), 53-54.

study, so it a blessing to discover an historian like MacGregor who has taken the onus of doing so much of the footwork. MacGregor wrote of the legal obligations of land ownership, including 'pest control, as in obligations to exterminate any wolves that threatened a particular district, or they could involve body-service in joining the royal boar-hunt when the monarch visited local forests for sport.'[130] The relationship between the aristocracy, those who served the aristocracy, the animal world and even the vegetable world will come up again and again in this paper, and though it will not always be reiterated, it will be valuable to keep in mind MacGregor's work on land ownership and what it *meant* to work and live in forested areas in Early Modern England. The forest and how people interacted with it is not only of primary importance to MacGregor, but Pluskowksi and Thomas also both dedicated significant amounts of time and space to discussions of the English forest.

In his Introduction MacGregor wrote, '[a] great deal of the frankly brutal treatment formerly meted out to animals… would be classed today as inhuman, immoral and frequently illegal too, but it would be simplistic merely to assign those shortcomings to an age when wanton cruelty and indifference were universal.'[131] This is one of the only places that MacGregor departs from the role of impartial historian to comment on modern ecological issues. He brings up the issue again near the conclusion of his book, '[t]he wider alienation of the human from the animal world which has been asserted here and which has formed the impetus for this volume is of course a construct proposed from the point of view of the urban majority…'[132] The 'brutal' treatment of animals and our 'alienation' from the animal world are nowhere more obvious than in our criminalisation and persecution of the wolf. MacGregor's book has been lauded as '*more* than historical in its impact. The topics discussed… are anthropological assessments for the modern world, using history as base data.'[133] The same reviewer asserts that 'the discussion of human-animal interactions has been lacking a book like this for some time.' Reviewers universally acknowledge whenever a book of natural history is published that the discipline of history is sorely lacking more such texts. Although environmental history has been around in North America for decades, it is less clearly defined in the U.K. or in parts of Europe as a sub-discipline.[134] Not only is MacGregor one of a growing number of historians whose focus is on the natural world, but his book also covers the correct time period for it to be necessary to include it

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[130] Arthur MacGregor, *Animal encounters: Human and Animal Interaction in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War One* (London, 2012), 14.
[131] Arthur MacGregor, *Animal encounters: Human and Animal Interaction in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War One* (London, 2012), 18.
[132] Arthur MacGregor, *Animal encounters: Human and Animal Interaction in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War One* (London, 2012), 498.
[133] Krish Seetah, 'Review of *Animal Encounters: Human and Animal Interactions in Britain from the Norman Conquest to World War I*', in *Reviews in History,* (review no. 1448), http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1448, (accessed 10 February 2017).
[134] Timothy Cooper, *British environmental history*, [website], 2008, https://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/environmental_history.html, (accessed 11 October 2019).

in this paper. It is helpful that the book also happens to be insightful and terrifically well researched and well-reviewed.

Lorraine Daston is one of the foremost historians on the subject of monstrosity in Early Modern England. She has published widely on monstrous birth, prodigies, and the portrayal of monstrous creatures in text and images (monsters like the Pope-ass, or the monster of Ravenna). In her essay "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe," printed in *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters*, Daston argues that 'prodigies briefly became the prototype for a new kind of scientific fact, and that miracles briefly exemplified a form of evidence patent to the senses and crucially dependent on intention. Both conceptions diverge sharply not only from current notions of facts and evidence, but also from medieval views on the nature of prodigies and miracles.'[135] The importance of intention is one that we have encountered before, in Cohen's thesis on monstrosity. Daston makes the argument that oddities were 'not susceptible to scientific explanation' and therefore 'even strange or singular phenomenon without the slightest whiff of the demonic were… excluded from the natural.'[136] And yet werewolves not only feature in two hunting guides contemporary to the time period in which Daston specialised (*The Master of Game* and *The Natural Arte of Venerie and Hunting*) but are also included in *Daemonologie, In Forme of a Dialogue, Divided into three Books: By the High and Mighty Prince, James.* Daston does not include werewolves in any of her research, presumably because by the Early Modern era the idea of human transformation into a living wolf had all but been eradicated from England. However, Daston's prodigies, miracles, and marvels are worthwhile comparative examples in a study of the English werewolf – their very existence in Early Modern text lends credence to the susceptibility of the English people to belief in unscientific and fantastic beings. Why should werewolves have been so thoroughly excluded unless it was because of either the lack of wolves in England or because the biological wolf became so anthropomorphised that it was no longer necessary to believe in the transformative state? Daston is included in this literature review both to exalt her work and to firmly exclude most of her research from this thesis; it is simply not within the scope of this paper to indulge in an effort to incorporate werewolves within the scope of the marvellous. It will be imperative that the reader remember the werewolf as being a creature of the imagination but based in the reality of the biological wolf.

In *Wolves in Ireland: A natural and cultural history* Kieran Hickey dedicated an entire chapter to "Mythology, Folklore, and Superstition", including werewolves. Hickey's treatment of wolf mythology is thorough he does rely on a variety of timelines and geographies to draw unrelated parallels, but with only one chapter in which to present his research his presentation of

[135] Lorraine Daston, "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe," in *Critical Enquiry*, Vol 18 No 1 (1991), 77.
[136] Lorraine Daston, "Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe," in *Critical Enquiry*, Vol 18 No 1 (1991), 81.

ancient, medieval, and even Early Modern research is impressive. Though Hickey's is another example of a regional study on wolves, its importance in this thesis is somewhat lessened due to the location: Ireland rather than England. More substantial and encompassing werewolf histories include Willem De Blecourt's *Werewolf Histories*, a compilation text featuring research on werewolves in Europe. It is worth noting that most werewolf studies are done by historians of witchcraft, and a substantial amount of those publications are in French, Dutch, and German. This made De Blecourt's scholarship all the move valuable for this thesis, as publications in languages other than English would have been outside the scope of available research. De Blecourt's own research focuses on witchcraft and folk magic. The propensity for serious scholars to research werewolves in conjunction with their primary research interests, coupled with the lack of historical research by historians, means that werewolves do not often feature in a natural history – even Hickey's own research on Irish myths around werewolves covers only 6.5 pages of a 114 page text.

Allen G. Debus wrote *Man and Nature in the Renaissance* in 1978. Debus was an historian of science, working primarily on the history of chemistry and alchemy. It should come as no surprise then that his book *Man and Nature* deals very little with nature and the natural world as we discuss it within this thesis, and much more so with natural sciences and the reception of scientific advances during the Renaissance. I mention him here because of Debus' assertion that 'if the work of many Renaissance astronomers, mathematicians, and physicians was built upon the Hellenistic authors of the period from Aristotle to Ptolemy and Galen, there were others who saw the possibility of truth only in a complete overthrow of the science and medicine of the schools.'[137] This statement is re-enforced in "The Relationship between text and illustration in mid-Sixteenth-Century Natural History Treatise" by Philippe Glardon and translated by Susan Becker and published in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*. Glardon wrote that the interest in direct observation (by naturalists) is more visible in their illustrations than in their text, because the illustrations are an opportunity to develop the budding project of describing nature objectively.[138] This theme of objectivity and observation, a new development during the 16th century, features most prominently in this thesis in the case study analysing the explorations of the Americas and writings on the wildlife found throughout these new worlds; authors like William Wood could give detailed accounts of behaviour without the need for adhering to the expert opinions of ancient and medieval sources – though even Wood relied not on his own field work but rather the reports of his contemporaries. Debus wrote about the new observational method in terms of chemistry and alchemy but works of natural history were becoming more reliant on observation too – even if 'it is obvious that Renaissance natural history cannot be compared

[137] Allen G. Debus, *Man and Nature in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1978), 102.
[138] Philippe Glardon, trans. Susan Becker "The Relationship between text and illustration in mid-Sixteenth Century Natural History Treatise" in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance* (London, 2007), 126.

without qualification to our biology or even to an early stage of it.'[139] The reluctance of Early Modern scholars to rely upon direct observation (thought this was changing) makes the wolf, especially the unobserved wolf as witnessed only by remains and contemporary observation, all the more interesting in this thesis.

More recently the series *A Cultural History of Animals*, published in 2007, has brought together historical analysis of human-animal relations from Antiquity (c. 2500 B.C.E.) right up until the Modern Age, even including a discussion of animals in the future. Each volume explores similar themes, including hunting and domestication, philosophical beliefs, status and popular beliefs. For the purposes of this thesis, Volumes 3 and 4, *Animals in the Renaissance* and *Animals in the Age of Enlightenment* will be most helpful. I must point out that though this series is billed as a c*ultural history* of animals, very few of the scholars included are historians. While this is very exciting as it is an indication of the need for such a paper as mine, it is also frustrating and slightly disappointing as this topic (the natural world and the animals who inhabit it) is a rich and varied area of research. This serious lack of historic research by historians also gives-lie to the title of the series. It is my opinion that historians have shied away from natural history because of the tendency for scholars in other fields to adopt the topic as their own,[140] and there is certainly a lingering fear in the field of to rely on alternate sources of cultural history. Keith Thomas commented in 1978 that '[t]he present work (*Man and the Natural World*) … makes heavy, though unrepentant, use of literary sources of the kind not currently fashionable among historians. For all the defects of imaginative literature as a historical source, there is nothing to surpass it as a guide to the thoughts and feelings of at least the more articulate sections of the population.'[141] This is, unfortunately, as true today as it was when Thomas wrote.

Within *Animals in the Renaissance*, a edited volume in the *Cultural History of Animals* series, Charles Bergman, a professor of English wrote "Hunting Rites and Animals Rights in the Renaissance." Bergman has published extensively on animals in varying habitats, but specifically focusses on animal photography and 21st century crisis in animal conservation in North America. Bergman has published four articles on wolves.[143] "The Relationship between text and illustration in mid-Sixteenth-Century Natural History Treatise", written by Philippe Glardon and translated by Susan Becker also sits within the *Renaissance* volume. Very significantly Glardon wrote, '...it is

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[139] Philippe Glardon, trans. Susan Becker "The Relationship between text and illustration in mid-Sixteenth Century Natural History Treatise" in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance* (London, 2007), 121.
[140] Pluskowski and Marvin writing about the cultural history of wolves are good examples.
[141] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England* (London, 1984), location 234 of 13411 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).
[143] 'Hunger Makes the Wolf', in Kelsi Nagy and Phillip David Johnson (eds), *Trash Animals: How We Live with Nature's Filthy, Feral, Invasive, and Unwanted Species*, (Minneapolis, 2013), 39-66.; 'Life Like This Wolf', in Gary Wockner, Gregory McNamee, and SueEllen Campbell (eds), *Comeback Wolves: Western Writers Welcome the Wolf Home*, (Boulder), 111-13.; 'Spaniens Krieg gegen die Wölfe', in Elli Radinger (ed. and trans.), *Mit dem Wolf in uns leben: Das Beste aus zehn Jahren Wolf Magazin*. (Wetzlar, 2001), 87-93.; 'Hunger Makes the Wolf', in Robert Busch (ed), *Wolf Songs: The Classic Collection of Writing about Wolves*, (San Francisco, 1994), 113-20.

obvious that Renaissance natural history cannot be compared without qualification to our biology or even to an early stage of it. We would do better to consider it a specific view of nature, which examination of both the natural history treatises themselves and their prefaces will demonstrate.'[144] Acknowledgement both of what may be lacking in Renaissance natural history, as well as the importance of placing history within the context of the time period is important and should be at the forefront of the reader's mind going through this thesis as liberal use of both recent archaeological and scientific advances will be used to qualify and clarify historic instances of extinction.

Matthew Senior, the editor of *Animals in the Age of Enlightenment,* is another interdisciplinary academic working on the subject of natural history. As a professor of French at Oberlin College and Conservatory Senior's primary research interest is 'representations of the natural world in Early Modern France. In [his] work on zoos, medical and religious practices, literature, and philosophy, [he has] been studying a major shift in knowledge and sensibilities towards nature during the period 1500-1800...'[145] Not only does Senior write the Introduction to *Age of Enlightenment*, but he also wrote "The Souls of Men and Beasts", a chronological survey of the souls of animals as compared to belief in the soul of man from the time of Homer until 1764. Anita Guerrini, Horning Professor in the Humanities and Professor of History of Oregon State University, wrote "Natural History, Natural Philosophy, and Animals, 1600-1800." Guerrini is the only dedicated historian in the entirety of *Animals in the Age of Enlightenment.*

Anita Guerrini wrote in a review of Philippe Glardon's ed. *L'histoire naturelle au XVIe sie`cle: Introduction, etude et edition critique de* La nature et diversité des poissons *de Pierre Belon (1555)*, '[o]nly in the past two decades or so has Early Modern natural history finally received the sustained historiographical attention it deserves...'[146] Guerrini, a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, is proof not only of the value interdisciplinary research generally, but also of how important such an approach is when specifically referring to Early Modern natural history. She also points out the need for further research by historians into this complex subject. Glardon's *L'histoire naturelle* was published in 2011, nearly 30 years after the publication of Thomas's *Man and the Natural World* and yet Guerrini still felt the need to call for further work in this area in her review. All of these texts, included in the Cultural History of Animals series, are relevant to this thesis not only for their insightful scholarship, but equally for the interdisciplinary nature of the series itself and the notable lack of historians' input.

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[144] Philippe Glardon trans. Susan Becker "The Relationship between text and illustration in mid-Sixteenth-Century Natural History Treatise" in *Animals in the Renaissance* (London, 2007), 122.
[145] *Matthew Senior*, [website], 2019, https://www.oberlin.edu/matthew-senior, (accessed 11 October 2019).
[146] Anita Guerrini, 'Review of *L'histoire naturelle au XVIe sie`cle: Introduction, etude et edition critique de* La nature et diversité des poissons *de Pierre Belon (1555)*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 65, No.1 (Spring, 2012), 220-221.

Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture by Erica Fudge was published in 2002. Fudge is a professor of English though her research 'is interdisciplinary… us[ing] literary as well as archival materials in research.'[147] *Perceiving Animals* is focussed on how animals are defined both in modernity and historically, whether or not animals think (as humans think) and the moral implications of human and animals relations. To achieve this end Fudge focusses broadly on bear-baiting, religious and humanist writings and the moral dilemma posed by animals without a soul, the scientific advances in natural history in Early Modern English Culture, and finally, animals and the law. Fudge introduced her essay with an historical retelling of a bear-baiting episode in London. But her analysis of the bear baiting and the reasons why the activity was 'not very pleasant to watch' are very analytical, she goes into a great deal of detail as to why the bears represent the wild and the ways in which humans tame the wild, but the humans themselves are hemmed in from the outside (as they are locked in the bear garden from the outside). This in depth and detailed analysis, all taken from a very short letter in which bear-baiting is described as unpleasant, is presumptive.[148] Fudge also relies on an anthropomorphised perspective of events, giving the animals human agency when it may not be appropriate.

Though *Perceiving Animals* is a generally useful overview of a vast assortment of research pertaining to animals in Early Modern England, Fudge makes it clear in the introduction that historical veracity is not the central theme of this book: she wrote that 'achieving humanness has never been easy,' 'in historical terms the animal can never be studied in isolation (of the human),' and 'animals do not speak my language, and they do not write, leave textual traces, other than the traces… which speak of their objectification.'[149] Fudge's claim that the history of animals will always be unfair because it cannot be written in the animal's own voice may seem outlandish at first, but it is worth bearing in mind as we go forward, if only for the anthropomorphism inherent in so many of the primary sources we will examine. As much as I admire any interdisciplinary work and I do agree that as primary source material it would be invaluable (if unlikely) to have been left some written record from the wolves themselves, Fudge's text makes too many assumptions about how people and animals felt in Early Modern England to be used extensively in this paper. The cultural representation of the wolf must necessarily come from the point of view of the people who engaged with the animal via literature, hearsay, and imagery, and the changes wrought by the wolf's local extinction in England can only have been appreciated by the people living in England after the wolf's disappearance.

From Aesop to Reynard: Beast Literature in Medieval Britain by Jill Mann is an 'impeccably researched and wonderfully clever survey on beast literature spanning from the time

[147] *Professor Erica Fudge: English*, [website], https://www.strath.ac.uk/staff/fudgeericaprof/, (accessed 7 December 2016).
[148] Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (London, 2000), 14-15.
[149] Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (London, 2000), 1-2.

of the beast fable to the beast epic, the bestiary, the animal debate, the romance, the sermon, and the eastern animal tale, with a special emphasis on the homegrown blend of beast literature found in Britain.'[150] Jill Mann, who is an Emeritus Notre Dame Professor of English, University of Notre Dame and Life Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, wrote in A*esop to Reynard* that 'beast fables played an important part in elementary education' and 'in the medieval period the fables were paraphrased, abbreviated, or more fully elaborated by students of Latin… [with the] brevity of the fables made them suitable for beginners, while their content combined with the moral wisdom and an entertaining story made it attractive to the young.'[151] The voice of children and the hopes and fears of the young are so seldom heard by historians, as so little of what children thought was recorded for posterity. The prevalence of beast fables in education (which itself was only accessible to the few and so the historian is once again left without any record for the vast many who did not attend formal educational establishments) gives voice to what we can so often only guess at – how was villainy established for particular creatures in the hearts and minds of the local human populations? We know that the beast fables were popular in England, lasting into the age of print, with a published collection *Auctores octo* first published in Lyon in 1488 and going through 50 editions by 1544.[152]

In a review of *From Aesop to Reynard*, M.L. Florescu concludes with, 'all traditions of beast literature are based on the same two central themes. One is the power of nature; the other is the juxta-position between words and deeds. The existence of these dual themes unites all beast literature in a coherent manner.' Mann wrote, 'the use of animals shifts the interest of the story from character to action, away from an individual moral choice, shaped by psychology, personal history, or dramatically realised situations – and towards a chain of cause and effect...' and 'the resistance of animal nature to change also works to close off direct moral judgements – one may call a wolf cruel, but there is little point in criticizing them for these traits, since they are naturally determined and therefore, according to the laws of the fables, unalterable.'[153] And, 'the role of the predator is assigned a negative role in the fable of the wolf and the lamb, but a positive role in the fable of the mouse and the frog – predatory behaviour is a given of the animal world, it is the shape of the action that places it in a configuration that is meaningful to humans.'[154]

The style of this paper will tend towards natural history, and the study of biologically identifiable species in the Early Modern Period. For this reason, bestiaries will not be a primary source of study except as they relate to the wolf and the lingering attitudes towards wolfish behaviour in Early Modern England. *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval*

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[150] M.L. Florescu, 'Review of *From Aesop to Reynard: Beast Literature in Medieval Britain*', *A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 42 (2011), 271-272.
[151] Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 6.
[152]Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 13.
[153] Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 34-35.
[154] Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 35.

Bestiary by Wilma George and Brundson Yapp will serve as one of the sources of analysis for bestiary study. A largely positive review in the *Journal of the History of Biology* credits George and Yapp with undertaking a 'painstaking study… based on thirty-eight manuscripts of English origin.'[155] In an entirely separate review in *Speculum*, *The Naming of the Beasts* 'falls far short of meeting [the] need' for 'a serious book on the natural history features of the bestiary.'[156] These two reviews serve to illustrate one of the defining problems surrounding research into the natural world – the dissension between the scientist and the historian. Brundson Yapp had published three texts on medieval zoology prior to *The Naming of the Beasts*[157] and Wilma George was a female in a predominately male occupation and for whom shockingly little is available in terms of legacy. *The Aberdeen Bestiary*, available online via the University of Aberdeen, is a very normal and representative example of the wolf in medieval bestiaries and will serve as the primary example of wolves in bestiaries for this paper.[158] George's and Yapp's work is a far cry from most historians, very few of whom specialise in medieval zoology from a specifically historic point of view. *The Naming of the Beasts* is included in this literature review because it is an example of a text which attempts to bridge the gap between the sciences and the study of, in this case, the medieval world.

In the second chapter of this thesis I will make several comparisons between hunting of the wolf in Early Modern England against hunting of the wild boar. This comparison is not only necessary in order to better appreciate the severity with which the wolf was hunted, but also an entirely appropriate comparison as the wild boar was hunted to extinction in England but later reintroduced. Wild boar and what the people of Early Modern England thought about wild boar have been somewhat neglected by historians – much more so than the fox but not less so than the wolf. Works of history which focus on hunting will typically limit themselves to the hart or deer, perhaps including the fox in order to establish a balance between prey species; and as we have already established works about nature more generally are few and far between. One of the few historians who go into depth on the hunting of wild boar is Emma Griffin in *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066*. Griffin goes in to some detail on boar hunting, beginning with the caveat that '[d]uring these close periods [for deer hunting] hunters by necessity looked elsewhere for their hunting, and the wild boar and the hare ranked next in importance.'[159] Griffin relies on Sir Gawain and the Green Knight for the most accurate account of boar hunting, in which 'only Sir

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[155] Peter G. Sobol, 'Review of *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary*', *Journal of the History of Biology*, Vol. 26, number 1 (1993), 160-162.
[156] Willene B. Clark, 'Review of *The Name of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary*', *Speculum A Journal of Medieval Studies*, Volume 68, number 3 (1993), 787-789.
[157] William Brunsdon Yapp*, Animals in medieval art The Bayeux tapestry as an example; Birds in medieval manuscripts;* and *'The illustrations of birds in the Vatican manuscript of De arte venandi cum avibus of Frederick II',* in *Annals of science: the history of science and technology*
[158] *The Aberdeen Bestiary, Folio 18R Wolf*, [website], https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/ms24/f18r, (accessed 11 October 2019).
[159] Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (London, 2008), 56.

Bertilak possessed the courage to kill it.'[160] Although the author states that boar hunting was popular in 15th century poems and hunting treatises (in fact even George Gascoigne mentions wild boar in his hunting manual), she goes on to write that the wild boar were extinct in England by this time. Umberto Albarella, a zooarchaeologist, contributed a chapter on wild boars to the Terry O'Connor's *Extinctions and Invasions*. In this chapter Albarella analyses the likelihood of boars being reintroduced in England at the behest of the aristocracy and the population size in Southern England in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.[161] Whether or not the wild boar was extinct or existing in limited numbers in England is certainly no reason to cease all discussion of how to hunt and kill the beast (wolves are another good example of this and were also included in Gascoigne's hunting manual), and so I wonder why so little historical research has been done on the cultural impact of both the disappearance of the wild boar from English forests, and the perception of the wild boar as a worthy and sometimes monstrous foe.

Any review of man's historic relationship with the natural world would be incomplete without Keith Thomas's *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800*. Sir Keith Thomas was President of Corpus Christi College in Oxford until 2000, was then Pro Vice-Chancellor for the University of Oxford until 2000 when he became a Distinguished Fellow of All Souls College until 2015. He is currently an Honorary Fellow of the same college.[162] Thomas is one of the foremost historians to research social and cultural history in England and it is entirely appropriate to use his *Man and the Natural World* as a spring-board for research into the cultural impact of the disappearance of the wolf in 15th and 16th century England. As Alan Macfarlane lays out in the *London Review of Books*, '[Thomas's] central argument is that these [England as an urbanised world in love with the countryside] are not real oppositions but are linked as cause and effect. It was because of the urbanism, the industrialism and the general distancing and control of nature that many of the peculiarities of the English came about.'[163] He also insists upon the importance of the changing attitudes Thomas describes, comparing them to industrial, agricultural and political revolutions 'charted by historians.'[164] So it is with a real sense of disappointment then that I have had so much difficulty in finding historians who have dedicated themselves to the study of nature in the way that Thomas did. But the importance of the extinction of predators, ferocious beasts, and the disappearance of fictional monstrosities from the landscape as well as the real-world implications for English popular culture could not be covered. Though Thomas's research is general due to the variety of topics covered, *Man and the Natural*

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[160] Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (London, 2008), 57.
[161] Umberto Albarella, 'Wild Boar', in: T. O'Connor and N. Sykes (eds) *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna* (Oxford, 2010), 65-67.
[162] *Sir Keith Thomas*, [website], 2019, https://www.asc.ox.ac.uk/person/70, (accessed 05 February 2017).
[163] Alan Macfarlane, 'Review of *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800*', in *London Review of Books*, Vol. 5 No. 9 (1983), 15-16.
[164] Alan Macfarlane, 'Review of *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800*', in *London Review of Books*, Vol. 5 No. 9 (1983), 15.

World, being one of the first books of natural history specifically focussing on England and the Early Modern period, will be referenced throughout this thesis and especially in the Wolf chapter.

Thomas laid out *Man and the Natural World* chronologically, beginning in the 1500's and the Tudor interpretation of the biblical account of creation 'in which Adam had God-given dominion over all living things (Genesis i.28).'[165] Quite rightly, Thomas wrote only a page later '[i]t is difficult nowadays to recapture the breathtakingly anthropocentric spirit in which Tudor and Stuart preachers interpreted the bible story.' Here for the first time we see an historian properly putting past attitudes towards nature into context, at the same time acknowledging the modern desire to reinterpret the past based on our current understanding of the world around us. Being one of the very few historians who dedicated what must have been many years' worth of research into the natural world, Thomas is uniquely placed to make comment on both modern and Early Modern attitudes toward nature. Thomas makes an interesting comparison to the other academics making up most of the research for this paper – even in series which are clearly marketed as history texts, like *The Cultural History of Animals* series, have had to rely on the work of scholars in other disciplines. An historian of Thomas's calibre taking on the Goliath task of documenting the Early Modern attitude of the natural world in England throws into sharp relief the need for historians to begin a dedicated and thorough study of early modern European opinions on nature and the natural world.

Thomas even mentions the New World and 'the colonists in Virginia [who] began the task of converting the Indians by offering them a cow for every eight wolves they could kill.'[166] Though of course the title of the book does much to give away the content – Early Modern England – I think Thomas was right to include information on the so-called New World, the exodus of the English to America being an important part of Early Modern England and it would be unfair to study the English relationship with the natural world without including their interpretation of the world they encountered after sailing across the Atlantic. Thomas never made the claim to study one animal, or indeed even study fauna as opposed to flora or landscape, and so he does not go into detail regarding the wolf, but rather the civilizing efforts of the colonists in making the Indians Catholic through the appropriation of cattle.[167]

Conclusion:

[165] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England* (London, 1984), location 262 of 13411 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).
[166] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England* (London, 1984), location 523 of 13411 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).
[167] Jon Coleman's book *Vicious: Wolves and Men in America* documents the struggle between livestock owners in America over three centuries and wolves. Coleman tries to answer the question of why Americans hated wolves with such vehemence and yet are now so protective of them? Jon T Coleman, *Vicious: Wolves and Men in America*, (Yale, 2006).

As an historian writing a history thesis, I suppose it will be assumed that I would finish this literature review with a giant in my field like Keith Thomas. However, I believe it will do more to convince the reader of the need for this thesis to end with "Wolves and Humans" by Steven H. Fritts, Robert O. Stephenson, Robert D. Hayes, and Luigi Boitani in *Wolves: Behaviour, Ecology, and Conservation* edited by David Mech. Fritts, the lead author for the paper, worked for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service for 32 years, acting as the chief scientist for the grey wolf recovery program in the Western United States. "Wolves and Humans" is quite clearly a scientific endeavour, and yet Fritts et. al. made a clear effort to incorporate historic data and to make their own interpretations of historic relationships with this predator both in Europe and North America. It was with "Wolves and Humans" that I began to fully appreciate the very real need for collaboration between historians and scientists – in this case, biologists. Fritts et. al. included an entire sub-chapter on Eurasian humans, their culture and interactions with wildlife. Fritts notably wrote, 'Anglo-Saxon nobles and kings, like American Indians, named themselves after wolves, attempting to associate themselves with admirable characteristics of the animal.'[168] Without referencing any historians, it is impossible to know from where Fritts took this information, but Pluskowski in *Wolves and the Wilderness* has done much to discredit the theory that one can trace the history of the wolf (or any animal for that matter) via family names and place names. Even more worrying is the postulation that the nobles and kings of Anglo-Saxon kings had the same motivations as Native North Americans in their adoption of the title Wolf. Fritts mentioned a personal communication with the Romanian scholar O. Ionescu, who informed him that 'ancient inhabitants of what is [Romania] portrayed the wolf on their battle flag.'[169] Unfortunately, O. Ionescu is a biologist; while this does not completely negate what he has claimed regarding the battle flag it does cause one to wonder why an historian was not consulted. Without trying to make gross assumptions, I would venture to guess that Ionescu was consulted because no historian could be found who specialised in the history of the wolf in Romania.

The aim of this final critique is not meant to discredit the work that Fritts et. al. undertook with their study. Indeed, it was uplifting to see that any such chapter was included in a scientific work like *Wolves*. However, I think it does highlight the very real and serious need for further study in this field by historians. Fritts does reference C.H.D. Clarke who wrote *The Beast of Gevaudan* in 1971 and his review of historic reports of wolf attacks in Europe and Central Asia. But Clarke was zoologist by trade rather than an historian, and Clarke reviews the evidence of M. Duhamel, captain-aide major of the volunteers at Clermont, a captain of the Regiment de Soubise, as though he were reviewing a court case. More to the point, Clarke was studying a finite area of

[168] Steven H. Fritts, et al. "Wolves and Humans" in *Wolves: Behaviour, Ecology, and Conservation* (Chicago, 2010) location 9137 or 14320 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).
[169] Steven H. Fritts, et al. "Wolves and Humans" in *Wolves: Behaviour, Ecology, and Conservation* (Chicago, 2010) location 9137 or 14320 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).

France at a very particular time. Fritts writes as though Clarke's dataset were relevant to the entirety of Europe for most of medieval and Early Modern history. But as far as this researcher could see no evidence for the data on wolf attacks was presented in Clarke's article.[170] The Clarke article was published in the magazine *Natural History* in April of 1971. Though Fritts backs up the Clarke data by also referencing Rutter and Pimlott's *The World of the Wolf*, that book was published in 1968, 35 years before the publication of *Wolves* and surely more recent historic interpretation of the data could have been found. More to the point, Russell J. Rutter and Douglas Humphreys Pimlott are both wildlife biologists by trade and are not in a position to read a historic data set with the critical eye of an historian.

Though not an historian Fritts et. al. made two very relevant comments regarding the cultural history of the wolf globally: '[p]redators probably posed an important risk to humans for much of our history, and wolves, though not as widespread as snakes, have flanked the development of culture from the time early humans colonized Eurasia.'[171] and '[t]he symbolic status of the wolf, or shall we say "wolf mythology," is so strong that biological facts about the animal are often irrelevant – a situation especially vexing to biologists (Mech 2000b,c)' with the addition, '[w]hat people *choose* to believe about wolves can be more important than the objective truth, or at least those beliefs can have greater effect.'[172] In this Fritts echoes Barry Lopez who redefined the wolf as an imaginary creature and certainly it is in keeping with the narrative of this thesis, which postulates that the wolf is a beast determined both by its impact on, and its interaction with, humans.

Not wishing to disappoint by ending this literature review with a review of a scientific publication, I will end with an excerpt from *Man and the Natural World*:

> An attempt to chart some of these developments [man's relationship with the English countryside] may look like a Whiggish search for the intellectual origins of the National Trust, the Council for the Protection of Rural England, Animal Liberation and the Friends of the Earth. But the aim of this book is not just to explain the present; it is also attempts to reconstruct an earlier mental world in its own right."[173]

There is a worrying trend to dismiss the humanities as irrelevant, nowhere more apparent than in current government funding practices, but Thomas makes the completely valid point that not only does history inform our perception of the present, and inform the choices that we make in

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[170] The only example of the article I could find was at the following location: *Wolves: Wolf History, Conservation, and Behavior*, [website], http://wolfology1.tripod.com/id106.htm, (accessed 05 February 2017). The online archives for *Natural History* (http://www.naturalhistorymag.com/) do not extend to 1971.
[171] Steven H. Fritts, et al. "Wolves and Humans" in *Wolves: Behaviour, Ecology, and Conservation* (Chicago, 2010) location 9056 or 14320 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).
[172] Steven H. Fritts, et al. "Wolves and Humans" in *Wolves: Behaviour, Ecology, and Conservation* (Chicago, 2010) location 9072 or 14320 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).
[173] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England* (London, 1984), location 2 of 13411 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).

consideration of the natural world, but that the study of past choices and cultural impact is valuable in its own right. As an historian I feel that it is time to continue Thomas's work and reinterpret the cultural impact of the natural world, and to determine whether local extinction had any effect on the Early Modern cultural and discursive representation. This can best be done with a thorough study of a specific species, the wolf, and the cultural impact around the time of extinction in England. The way the wolf was perceived before and after extinction will be indicative not only of its perceived villainy and cruelty, but also of the longevity of cultural memory associated with a particular animal who had a notable presence in the countryside.

Analysis of Database results:

515 results with 10+ hits per record (1573-1673, search terms being 'wolf' including all variations with no further specifications), 136 records with 25+ hits, and 5 records exceeding 100 hits (26% of records w/ 25+, .97% w/ 100+)
Only 65 results with 10+ hits per record (1473-1573), 17 records with 25+ hits, and 2 records exceeding 100 hits (26% of records w/ 25+, 3% w/ 100+)

So though there are far fewer records in the earlier century (unsurprisingly if technology, distribution, and literacy are taken into account), the percentages are the same, if not greater for the 15th C. hits

Categories with the highest returns (16th C):
Religion: 266 records
History: 60 records
Travel: 25 records
Medicine: 14 records
Natural Sciences: 13 records

Categories with the highest returns (15th C):
Religion: 30 records
History: 10 records
Natural Sciences: 4 records

Categories with the highest returns in terms of hits (calculated to include any record which included 25+ hits within a record) (16th C):
History: 30%
Religion: 23%
Medicine: 21%
Travel: 20%
Natural Sciences: 15%

Categories with the highest returns in terms of hits (15th C):
History: 40%
Natural Sciences: 25%
Religion: 23%

These results are out of a total number of printed records in English, in England between the years 1473 and 1673 = 70 800 records on EEBO.

Wolf

Introduction:

The extinction of a key-stone species which was both visible and had a high impact on the human population, for which adequate records remain from Early Modern Europe, is a rarity. The wolf is an excellent case-study for the extinction of a single species in England in the last 500 years. The nearest comparative example is the wild boar, who will be discussed briefly in this chapter.[279] Wolves were chosen as a primary case study because of their near-universal lack-of-appeal in both the English primary source material – where they appear in religious and historic texts with some frequency – including hunting and natural history books (even after they have been made extinct and can no longer be hunted in England), and in the secondary source material; David Mech wrote in *Wolves: Biology, Ecology, and Conservation* that wolves are a charismatic animal, written about by biologists more prolifically in scientific texts and articles than any other mammal with 'the study of wolf biology blossom(ing) in the last few decades;'[280] and it is time that wolves and their localised extinction be researched by an historian in order to establish the cultural impact of species loss on human populations. The wolf is the only mammal that has gone extinct in Britain in the last 500 years and has not been reintroduced (compared to the wild boar and the beaver). How did the perception of the wolf change in England to accommodate this absence? Or did it? Being a major predator, there is every sense that the extinction of the wolf was sought after for the betterment of men and women living in England. This chapter will deal specifically with the cultural impact of the wolf after his extinction from Early Modern England and his subsequent rediscovery in the New World. The chapter will be subdivided as follows: a brief and general discussion of the history of the wolf in England, wolves and consumption, wolves in religious texts and moralising tales, wolves in natural history texts, and finally, a comparative survey of wolves in North America. Focussing the lens of attention directly on the actual extinction of the wolf and the aftermath of his disappearance will allow us to determine the cultural and discursive impact of this loss on the English people. The chapter will argue whether the cultural and discursive representation of the wolf changed after his extinction and if not, why?

A Brief History of the Wolf's Demise in England:

After prolonged and intense persecution, the wolf was extinct in England by the early 15th century and has never been reintroduced. Wolves were hunted with a ferocity and determination

[279] Very briefly and only for the purposes of offering a comparative example of a large mammal, suffering from over exploitation in Early Modern England, but whose position on the human-imposed hierarchy of animals was vastly different.
[280] D. Mech (ed.), *Wolves: Biology, Ecology, and Conservation* (Chicago, 2010) location 93 of 14320, available from Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).

that is reserved for those animals with which humans have a particularly dire relationship;[281] unlike the wild boar or the hart, both of which were hunted as a highly sought-after prize for aristocratic hunting-parties, or even (a slightly later example) whales, which were a valuable economic asset. The exact date of the last wolf killing in England is contested but it is unlikely that wolves went extinct before the 14th century as eight cattle were recorded as having been killed by wolves at Rossendale in Lancashire in 1304-5.[282] In the account rolls of Whitby Abbey is the following entry, dated to between 1394 and 1396, '*Pro tewyngt xiiij pellium luiporum ….*' and Harting writes, 'doubtless the skins of animals killed in some great raid made upon them at the instigation of the abbey.'[283] In Scotland the wolf out-lasted his English counterparts but was extinct by the 16th century,[284] and the wolf was extinct in Ireland by the 18th century.[285] The extinction of the wolf in England is of special interest as it marks the first extinction of a key-stone species in Britain after the 16th century boom in printing and publishing – this means that the textual evidence for the cultural and discursive representation of the wolf is relatively easy to both find and analyse. The upheaval of the Reformation also included a glut of references to the wolf in its most biblical form as both Protestants and Catholics used the image of the wolf to provoke fear of the contesting faith. And finally, it is after the final extinction of the wolf in England that the English begin to colonize the so-called new-world and re-encounter the wolf in an entirely new environment (discussed later in this chapter).[286] The wolf is one of the few species globally whose extinction in a specific location was documented, celebrated, and acknowledged by Early Modern scholars. And in England this extinction can very neatly be compared to the extinction of the wild boar, a species which was reintroduced and did not suffer the same reputation as the wolf despite its fearsome behaviour.

A record for over-hunting of the wolf exists from as early as the 10th century. Excepting only the royal game reserves there were no restrictions on hunting wolves in England, licensing any and all to kill wolves indiscriminately.[287] In c. 950 C.E., King Edgar ordered a tribute of 300 wolf pelts as payment of taxation from the Welsh king Hywel Dda, which was maintained until

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[281] The shark is a striking modern example.
[282] Though this date cannot be taken as an absolute because it is difficult even in the 21st century to ascertain whether livestock was killed by wolves, this date provides a useful guide for probably extinction dates in England. Buczacki, *Fauna Britannica* cited in Kieran Hickey, *Wolves in Ireland* (London, 2013), 14.
[283] James Harting, *British animals extinct within historic times: with some account of British white and wild cattle* (Boston, 1880), 148, available from: https://archive.org/stream/britishanimals00hart#page/148/mode/2up, (accessed 5 May 2017).
[284] The wolf might have lingered on in Scotland until the 17th century, but there is little archaeological evidence beyond this. See Pluskowski, "Where are the wolves?', 279-295, in: *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, vol.16 (2006).
[285] There is another potential connection between reality in the memory in the form of English place names, but the presence of wolves and/or the hunting of wolves in place names is notoriously difficult to prove. Dr. Aleksander Pluskowski discusses this difficulty in his text *Wolves in the Wilderness*.
[286] Bearing in mind that English soldiers and travellers experienced wolves in France during the ongoing conflicts in the 14th and 15th centuries.
[287] Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (London, 2008), 65.

1066 and the Norman conquest.[288] In 1281 Peter Corbet was employed by King Edward I to exterminate all wolves in the wooded counties of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, and Staffordshire, with the task reputedly being completed by 1290.[289] Due to the lateness of Corbet's expedition, a modern scholar is forced to question why wolves were still considered such a threat; how many wolves could there have been in the less rigorously exploited woodland of England by the late 13th century if they were to become extinct within the next hundred years? It is surely no mistake that the forested areas to which Corbet was sent to hunt were along the Welsh Marches. It is not unlikely that this was a way for Edward I to exert control over powerful Marcher families as the commission came in the midst of his Welsh Wars (1274-1296), and we should not discount the targeting of royal forests and the maintenance of royal privilege over deer. The genetic diversity necessary to maintain thriving wolf packs in southern England would hardly have existed by so late in the 13th century; with an average core territory[290] of 35 km^2, in which a wolf pack will spend as much as 50% of their time[291] it is unlikely that there was sufficiently large numbers of unrelated wolves to ensure a viable breeding population, negating the necessity of Corbet's employ.

Based on the lateness of Corbet's expedition and the commission of the expedition by the King himself, we can assume that the imaginary wolf remained a threatening figure long after the actual animal had ceased to inhabit the woods or fields of England. Jacques LeGoff wrote in his seminal text *Medieval Imagination* that the imagination is 'among other things… a matter of images.'[292] The marvels of the imagination 'consisted in large part of enlargements or distortions of the normal, natural world' and 'the exaggeration and extravagance of marvellous creatures extended beyond the realm of the quantitative into the realm of the qualitative.'[293] A modern scholar can lift these ideas and apply them directly to the Early Modern wolf. In fact, we will go so far as to assume that because the wolf was strictly an imaginary threat the villainy associated with him grew out of proportion to the reality of what the English people would have experienced if the wolf had remained a predator in England. King Edward's decree in the late 13th century to exterminate the wolf from those counties which still held land under forested law and the legal

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[288] Stefan Buczacki *Fauna Britanica* (London, 2002), 528. This law is cited in several different 16th C. English Chronicles including *Cambria triumphans, or, Brittain in its perfect lustre shevving the origen and antiquity of that illustrious nation* by Percie Enderbie, and *The firste (laste) volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande conteyning the descpription and chronicles of England* by Raphaell Holinshed., and William of Malmesbury *Hist. Reg. Anglorum* ii c. 8

[289] Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (London, 2003), 71.

[290] Although territory size depends on pack dynamics, the number of wolves and distribution of prey, this figure merely sites the core territory rather than the enormous dispersal distances of Swedish, Arctic, and Russian wolf packs.

[291] W.O. Drejewski, K. Schmidt, J.R. Theurkauf, B.A. Drzejewska, R. Kowalczyk. 'Territory size of wolves Canis lupus: Linking local (Bialowieza Primeval Forest, Poland) and Holarctic-scale patterns', *Ecography* (30), 66-76. It is important to keep in mind that wolf territories will vary determined by ecological factors like dispersal of game and adequate denning locations.

[292] Jacques LeGoff, *Medieval Imagination* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, 1992), 4.

[293] Jacques LeGoff, *Medieval Imagination* trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, 1992), 40-41.

obligation of the nobility to keep their land cleared of the menace of wolves (enforced until the 17th century) ensured that wolves were intricately tied into the practical politics of aristocracy and land-ownership, even beyond their obvious association with the forests and the deer.[294] The perceived importance of these measures, though there was no basis in reality for adopting such extreme tactics, is powerful support for the notion that the imagined terror of the wolf outweighed the reality of the biological animal. Even though the English people did not have to fear wolves in-the-flesh by the Early Modern era, this does not appear to have lessened the general anxiety caused as a result of a belief in the cruelty of wolves after the 14th century.

The cultural impact of the disappearance of the wolf is especially evident in those texts printed in the 16th and 17th centuries, shortly after it becomes obvious in the literature that wolves were no longer to be found in the English countryside. The wolf had long been used as a religious trope and had featured in the bestiaries since the 12th century, but with the advent of printing and the literacy boom in England wolves were frequently written into documents which included references to monsters, and unpopular public figures were likened to wolves. The style of narrative became more and more familiar even as the biological wolf was relegated to the ever increasingly distant past. Though the disappearance of the wolf cannot be dated exactly, the necessity of space and food, coupled with the literary record, should give the historian a time period of roughly one hundred years from which the wolf was still considered common (even if this was a misconception) until it became quite obviously extinct. Edward of Norwich completed *The Master of Game* between 1406 and 1413 and wrote that the wolf was a 'common enough beast,'[300] but only just over 100 years later in 1575 George Gascoigne wrote in *The Noble Arte of Venerie and Hunting* that the wolf could not be found in England but was still common in Ireland.

Norwich and Gascoigne will feature throughout this chapter, so it is worth adding some bibliographic details at the outset. Edward of Norwich was the 2nd Duke of York, the son of Edmund of Langley, the 1st Duke of York, and the grandson of King Edward II. Norwich held appointments during the reign of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, and he was killed in the Battle of Agincourt. Norwich was a pre-eminent nobleman and a member of the ruling class in Early Modern England, with a prestigious lineage and obvious military inclinations; he was also the Master of the Hart Hounds for Henry V,[301] and between 1405-1413 translated *Livre de Chasse* and he dedicated it to the Prince of Wales. George Gascoigne was the eldest son of Sir John

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[294] This was more as a tradition rather than reflecting the ecological reality – see Oliver Rackham's comments on this in *The History of the Countryside: The Full Fascinating Story of Britain's Landscape* (London, 1986), 34-36.

[300] Edward was translating *Livre du Chasse*, but this will be addressed later in the chapter.

[301] *Horrox, R.*, 'Edward, second duke of York (c. 1373–1415)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [website], 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/search?q=Edward+Norwich&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true, (accessed 6 October 2019).

Gascoigne and educated in law at Cambridge; he was a soldier, failed courtier, and a poet.[302] Gascoigne spent time in the Netherlands as a soldier and wrote *Gascoignes Wodmanship* (1572-73) after a failed hunting expedition with Lord Grey de Wilton. In the year 1575 he translated Jacques du Fouilloux's *La Venerie* (1561) into English as *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*, which was printed together with George Turberville's *The Book of Falconrie or Hawking*. *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* has thus far primarily been studied by scholars for the details Gascoigne included on royal, or noble, hunting parties and the ceremonies indulged by the elite. Comparing Gascoigne's text to the original *La Venerie*, the descriptions and advice on hunting wolves has been added entirely by Gascoigne. Many of Gascoigne's anecdotal comments included in his selection on the Nature and Properties of wolves are taken directly from the bestiary or older classical sources, and that may be as a result of their being omitted from du Fouilloux's text.

Gascoigne, a somewhat discredited nobleman, dedicated his work to Queen Elizabeth I's Master of Hounds; while Edward's *The Master of Game* is considered to be the oldest English hunting manual (even if it was copied largely from the French *Livre de chasse* by Gaston Phoebus). Gascoigne very much borrowed and copied outright from *The Master of Game*, not unusual in medieval and Early Modern natural histories and texts. Both of these authors suffer from their lack of direct familiarity with wolves but coupled with complementary documentation we can work roughly with *Master of Game* and *The Noble Arte* for the purposes of a time-line.[303] The disappearance of the wolf was noted by Early Modern authors and there is no argument in the literature as to whether or not the wolf was still alive in England by the 17th century. The impact of this disappearance should have lessened the negative image of the wolf in print and in art as the effects of wolf predation lessened and then ceased, but instead the wolf remained a threatening figure and even became a larger-than-life stand-in for gluttonous, ravenous, and cruel behaviour.

The wolf was written as a threat to both livestock and humans in sources as varied as Aesop, the medieval Bestiary, and in Early Modern hunting guides, including Gascoigne's *Natural Arte*. Rather than creating a space in which the wolf could recuperate some vestige of normalcy, once the animal had disappeared from England he continued in his most stereotypical and anthropomorphic characterisation and was used as a throw-away reference for implications of rapaciousness, gluttony, stupidity, and fallen lordship. After extinction the wolf was vigorously condemned by commentators in text, even as belief in fictional monsters living on the fringes of the world faded away. How representative these ideas were of broader public perceptions can be roughly estimated by the popularity of particular texts compared to the frequency which the wolf

[302] G.W. Pigman III, 'Gascoigne, George (1534/5?-1577) author and soldier', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [website], 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com/search?q=George+Gascoigne&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true, (accessed 6 October 2019).

[303] Edward wrote his hunting treatise between 1406 and 1413, while Gascoigne wrote *The Noble Arte* in 1575. The works of both authors are discussed at length in the penultimate section of this chapter.

appears in the text. A striking example (though of course not perfect) is *Aesop's Fables*, which featured the wolf in no less than 26 of the narratives.[304] *Aesop's Fables* were available in England, and had proven popular with multiple revisions; the monk John Lydgate penned *Isopes Fabules* in Middle English at the end of the 15th century,[305] and the Caxton edition, based on the exhaustive Steinhowel text (published in 1476) was printed in 1484. Additionally to the *Fables,* the *Ysengrimus* cycle (though most popular slightly earlier than the timeline of this thesis) was a widespread representation of the wolf in literature and oral narrative and written in the late 12th century.[306] The wolf, as he featured in these two cycles of narrative, did not evolve beyond the characterisation of villain and, even in those tales in which the wolf was portrayed as victim, this did not transfer to other narrative forms or to the real-world animal. The textual and cultural history of the wolf in England, and to some extent the history of the wolf in North America, has had an enormous impact on the appreciation and expectation for the biologically and environmentally determined behaviour of the wolf and helped in the literary creation of an animal who was condemned in Early Modern England.

The general impact of the extinction of the wolf in England:

The extinction of the wolf in England should have made the creature completely obsolete, like the lynx. But neither the lynx nor the bear are perfect comparative examples, as they were made extinct in England many hundreds of years before the advent of mass printing and certainly before the disappearance of the wolf, and so the cultural impact of their extinction (which may have been very significant locally) has been lost.[307] Even bear baiting, a blood sport popular in England until the 19th century and which effectively partially reintroduced the bear to England, could hardly be described as featuring the bear in his most natural or fearsome countenance. Erica Fudge, author of *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture*, introduced her essay with an historical retelling of a bear-baiting episode in London;[308] bears and bear-baiting, and the roles bears played in creating a re-imagining of the wild for the people in London, is worthy of an independent study but serves us here to demonstrate that without bears

[304] We have evidence for the popularity of *Aesop's Fables* in Europe – the version printed in 1461 in Bamberg, Germany, was among the first illustrated books to be printed. *V&A Aesop's Fables* [website], 2016, http://www.vam.ac.uk/page/a/aesops-fables/, (accessed 7 June 2019).
[305] With a heavy emphasis on the morals: Henry Noble MacCracken, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* [website], http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=chadwyck_ep/uvaGenText/tei/chep_1.0283.xml;chunk.id=d144;toc.depth=1;toc.id=d144;brand=default, (accessed 7 June 2019).
[306] See Jill Mann 'Beast Epic and Fable', in: F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (eds) *Medieval Latin: an Introduction and Bibliographic Guide* (Washington, 1996), 556-561; and Jill Man *Ysengrimus: Text with Translation, Commentary, and Introduction* (Cambridge, 1987) for more on the *Ysengrimus* cycle.
[307] L. Raye, 'The Forgotten Beasts of Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in medieval sources', PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2016 goes in to some detail as to the discursive representation of the lynx in medieval text while the animal was (presumably) still alive in Wales, England, and Scotland.
[308] Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (London, 2000), 13-14.

living in the wild they largely disappeared from the cultural norm except for instances of direct human engagement. The very nearness of bears when bear baiting may have served to remove some of their ferocity in popular culture.[309] The lynx disappeared from the English cultural experience entirely[310] and was an extreme rarity after the 7th century outside of Wales – this is well analysed in L. Raye's paper "The early extinction date of the beaver (*Castor fiber*) in Britain." In his paper the author performs a survey of medieval authors who make mention of particular animals and concludes that, coupled with the archaeological record, it is a fair to assume the existence or extinction of particular species based on the number of times they are mentioned in medieval literature. For all Raye's very thorough and commendable research he relied heavily on legal rolls and failed to reference or utilise even a single bestiary; different sources are bound to present different data sets, but it would have been helpful for Raye to have included the very popular and well read-bestiaries in his work. Though of course this data needs to be thoroughly reviewed through the lens of an historian rather than an archaeologist, it serves to illustrate that medieval authors were writing about animals that were still alive and well in Britain rather than those long extinct. The only exception to this rule does seem to be the wolf, who by the time of Raye's latest authors would have already been largely extinct from England and receding deeper into the highlands of Wales, away from the border territories.[311]

Without any living examples, there should have been very little to fear from the wolf and he should have followed the bear and lynx into obscurity. But long after extinction the wolf continued to be treated with an almost reverent fear, still wholly a *figura diabolica* in every theological context. Fear, and the complexity of familiarity and reactionary evolution processes are discussed in Brian Boyd's text *On the Origin of Stories.* Boyd references *The Origin of the Mind: Evolution of Brain, Cognition, and General Intelligence* by David Geary, who researched the effect of environment on the evolution of cognition and reaction in mammals (including humans). Boyd uses Geary's research to discuss the origin and evolution of oral narrative and the 'how's' and 'why's' of the importance of these various narrations. These features can be as broad and universal as the motion of light and sound through air or water, or more specific and complex, like the intentions of other living organisms, including predators.[312] As humans have a wide range of habitats, prey, and predators, it is important we learn from an early age which species are of most immediate significance – and indeed we have a strong disposition to do so. Even in urban environments 'young children still fear lions, tigers, and monsters – an open category of large

[309] The teeth and claws were removed for the purposes of bear baiting, thus removing much of the bear's physical presence and ferocity.
[310] Though the lynx is still written into bestiaries, because it exists in those texts alongside lions, leopards, and unicorns, its presence in England does not seem to matter one way or the other.
[311] Lee Raye, 'The early extinction date of the beaver (*Castor fiber*) in Britain', *Historical Biology*, 27:8 (2015), 1029-1041.
[312] Brian Boyd, *On the Origin of Stories* (New York, 2009), 43.

threatening creatures – without ever having encountered them.'[313] It should be safe to assume that brain evolution and general cognition in isolation of culture will not have differed significantly between the 16th century and Geary's research. Of course culture will have huge influence over brain development and reactions but evolutionary biology should not be ignored in a study of predation and human-animal relationships.[314] The notion of nature vs. nurture has been somewhat discredited of late as recent research suggests nurture can influence gene development and nature can determine variances in development when all other factors are the same; so an historian can make some cautious assumptions about how Early Modern people might have been predisposed to react against a natural predator and competition for food.[315] That there is evidence to suggest small children in the 21st century still fear predators without ever having encountered them would indicate that there has not been any great evolutionary leap forward in terms of predator-prey relationships since the 16th century or earlier, inclusive of reinforcement by cultural memory. As Asa Simon Mittman noted, 'the monstrous does not lie solely in its embodiment (though this is very important) nor its location (though this is, again, vital), nor in the process(es) through which it enacts its being, but also (indeed, perhaps primarily) in its *impact*.'[316] The impact of predation on human populations elicited literal reactions in the developing human brain, and coupled with the effects of the medieval and Early Modern imagination, – which, as we have read, both Le Goff and Williams agree was instrumental in the creation and sustenance of monsters – evolutionary factors which influenced reaction times and depth of reaction to monsters should be kept in mind as the reader continues in this essay. The thesis of this paper, to find out how the extinction of the wolf influenced cultural and discursive representation of that same animal within Early Modern England, is better served if there is some small measure of appreciation for the evolutionary factors which could have also influenced man's attitude towards nature; to ignore this research is to ignore evidence.

Boyd's research into oral narrative and cognition does not answer the question of why the wolf had such an impressive cultural impact when the lynx did not. In fact, one of the areas in which Boyd's research fails to hold up to scrutiny is the comparative example of the lynx and the wolf – both of whom would have been considered a primary threat to livestock and humans in the age of early British settlement. So why was the lynx not considered to be such a threat and why did the lynx fade from cultural memory when the wolf did not? Is it merely that the lynx went extinct before the invention of printing? In his survey of extinct animals, Raye discusses the

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[313] Brian Boyd, *On the Origin of Stories* (New York, 2009), 44.
[314] I would go so far as to theorize that culture vs. cognitive evolution is nothing more than a 'chicken and egg' problem as one will surely inform the other.
[315] See *The Health Gap* by Michael Marmot for detailed (yet unrelated) research on this argument as it pertains to health and wellness.
[316] Asa Simon Mittman, 'Introduction: The Impact of Monsters and Monster Studies', in: A. Mittman and Peter Dendle (eds) *The Ashgate Research Guide to Monsters and the Monstrous* (Burlington, 2013), 7.

lynx's interaction with humans, writing that the extinction of the lynx 'may be partly due to the fact that Britain's environment in the medieval period developed more in common with southern Europe's early, severe deforestation than northern Europe's fast movement from deforestation to woodland management.'[317] As an ambush predator whose territory primarily consisted of dense forested land, the lynx would literally have been less visible than the wolf, even though there was still a viable breeding population in Britain until at least the 6th century. Can visibility be considered as the primary factor in the development of cruelty, gluttony, and monstrosity in a predator? If this is the case then surely once the wolf went extinct in England, and could not possibly have been a visible threat, the impact should have been negated by its absence. But the point of this essay is in part to determine whether the wolf ever did really disappear from England, at least culturally and from discursive thought.

The literary basis for an extreme fear of the wolf in England, and the imagined necessity to exterminate all wolves as late as the 14th century, was promoted by authors of medieval text and then reprinted later in English. Isidore of Seville wrote his *Etymologies* in the 7th century and Isidore's was one of the most popular books in medieval and renaissance libraries.[318] In the 13th century Bartholomaeus Anglicus wrote *De proprietatibus rerum*[319] and Anglicus was reprinted in English in 1535 and 1582. Both authors allegorise the wolf, moralising the biological predator and comparing him to the devil through descriptions of outrageous violence and diabolical behaviour.[321] Wolves were regularly compared to the devil in religious texts,[322] including works produced by Thomas Becon,[323] and the sermons of Jean Calvin from 1574 and 1583.[324] This type of language was so prevalent in Early Modern Europe that it was included in popular carols from the 16th century.[325] Though there are leaps in context, geography, method, and purpose between these authors they all comply with the language often used by church authors and the importance in developing an understanding of the medieval and Early Modern perspective on the biological wolf, and the prevalence of wolves in texts and narratives. Church messages were not only delivered vocally but also visually, as Christ was represented artistically as a lamb on windows and altar decorations. One can assume that negative messages about enemies of Christendom

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[317] Raye, Lee. 'The Forgotten Beasts of Medieval Britain: a study of extinct fauna in medieval sources', PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2016, 44-45.
[318] W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S. Barney (Cambridge, 2006), 26.
[319] *De proprietatibus rerum* was translated into English by John Trevisa in the 14th century.
[321] See *De proprietatibus rerum*, book 18 and *Etymologies* Book 12 2:23-24
[322] A search on Early English Books Online (keyword search of 'wolf' including all variations) produced 296 records printed between 1473 and 1673. The vocabulary around the wolf is stable, whether in bibles and commentaries or stories in cheap vernacular.
[323] See *The flour of godly praiers* (imprinted at London in 1550) and *A new postil* (imprinted at London in 1566).
[324] See *The sermons of M. Iohn Caluin vpon the fifth book of Moses called Deuteronomie*, *Sermons of M. Ion Caluine vpon the Epistle of Saincte Paule to the Galathians*, and *Sermons of Master Iohn Caluin, vpon the booke of Iob. Translated out of the French by Arthur Golding*
[325] *Riu Chiu*, credited to Mattieu Fletcher is an excellent example, "the river guards her, God kept the wolf away from our lamb."

conveyed in medieval works of art were received by nearly everyone,[326] and even smaller representations via illuminated manuscripts and the bestiaries would have impacted the general perception of wolves. As churches served the purpose of not only a centre of religious worship but also as local gathering places and the social heart of a community, the images contained therein were publicly accessible. The church, even if it was not directly preaching on werewolves or biological wolves, was using language and imagery that was calculated to determine that the ideas of the laity re-imagined wolves as being anthropomorphised representations of metaphorical ideas like gluttony, and lust.

How did 15th and 16th century perceptions of the wolf change as this predator was made extinct in England? Latin texts like *Etymologies* maintain a very old tradition in a relatively rapidly changing England; by the time of George Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* Isidore's text was already 900 years old. Within Isidore's text, the Latin '*rapax autem bestia et cruoris appetens*'[327] is translated into English in 1911 as 'it is a violent beast, eager for gore.'[328] Isidore was still informing the English people who could receive his message about what a wolf was for centuries after the wolf was roaming the woods and fields of England. Uniquely in the history of medieval and Early Modern England, modern historians have been left a detailed written record outlining initial hunting practices, professional solutions to the wolf problem, and a gradual cessation of historical encounters involving wolves as the species descended into irreversible decline. To properly document the long history of the wolf as a malicious but largely symbolic predator is to trace the history of the English relationship with the natural world and humanity's own fear of the wilderness and the creatures who inhabit that space. The trajectory of the wolf from a biological threat to an out-proportioned piece of propaganda is the study of human responses to situations and creatures beyond their control and understanding. According to Keith Thomas, men attributed to animals the natural impulses they feared in themselves – impulses like gluttony, ferocity, and lust; '[i]t was a comment on human nature that the concept of animality was devised.'[329] The perceptions of wolves in England changed from a perfectly rational fear of a living and breathing predator into an apprehension of the unknown and unknowable. Though England itself and the English people might have begun to rapidly advance in technological innovation and in exploration, attitudes towards the natural world were distinctly medieval.

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[326] Debra Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, (Woodstock, 2003), 13. Peter Burke's discusses the trickle-down effect in his seminal work *Popular Culture* and Aleksander Pluskowski includes varying pieces of surviving architecture and artwork in his work *Wolves in the Wilderness*.
[327] Isidore of Seville, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Orignum Liber XII*, [website], http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore/12.shtml, (accessed 8 March 2016).
[328] W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. S. Barney (Cambridge, 2006), 253.
[329] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England* (London, 1984), location 760 of 13411 available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).

Wolves & Consumption:

Gascoigne wrote in *The Noble Arte* 'in countries where warre is made, and where battayles and skirmishes are giuen, there they (wolves) feede upon the dead carcasses of men whiche lie slayne in the fielde, as also in other places vpon suche as hang on the gibbets and trees being executed by Iustice.'[330] In *The Master of Game* Edward of Norwich wrote, 'when they (wolves) have been acharned in a country of war, where battles have been, they eat dead men. Or if men have been hanged or have been hanged so low that they may reach thereto, or when they fall from the gallows.'[331] Gascoigne's assertions regarding the wolf's behaviour are all the more damning as they are followed with 'the flesh of man is so delicate and toothsome, yt when they haue once tasted of it, they care for none other meate. I haue seene a wolfe forsake the fold, and kill the heardesman,'[332] a line taken nearly in its entirety from Norwich's *The Master of Game*. Both authors claim that once a wolf has tasted human flesh the animal will never again be content with the flesh of other prey. The idea of consumption, and especially the consumption of human flesh, is complicated by the very real fear of death by predator. Wolves suffered for their penchant to scavenge – a charge which cannot be levelled at the lynx, who is not known to scavenge, or the wild boar, who exist primarily on vegetation and insects. In fact the nearest predatory species who might be charged similarly in England is the raven or the crow, whose reputation suffered equally to that of the wolf but which may have been treated as much more of a functional creature rather than a trope character like the wolf.[333]

The fear of being eaten shaped people's relationship with wolves, who were considered a threat to the medieval economy because of the metaphorical link between wolves and domestic animals (especially sheep), but an even greater threat 'to the medieval psyche because of their perceived capacity to acquire a taste for human flesh.'[334] Clearing the battlefield dead and consuming the bodies of hanged men had additional ramifications for the wolf – tying him irrevocably with violence and bloodshed. The imagined preference of the wolf for the 'delicate and toothsome' flesh of man might have been worrisome, but was it more concerning then the very real threat to livestock? In Cromwellian England, the bounty on an Irish priest was the equivalent of £5 – the same bounty was placed the wolf.[335] This might be indicative of the value

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[330] George Gascoigne, *The noble arte of venerie or hunting VVherin is handled and set out the vertues, nature, and properties of fiutene, sundrie, chaces together, with the order and maner how to hunte and kill euery one of them* (London, 1575), available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019), 206-207.
[331] Edward of Norwich, *The Master of Game*, chptr 7 page 60, [website], 2013, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/43452/43452-h/43452-h.htm, (accessed 4 October 2019).
[332] George Gascoigne, *The noble arte of venerie or hunting*, (London, 1575), available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019), chptr 75 page 207.
[333] An EEBO search of the term 'crow' returned 11115 hits in 4329 records. While an extensive survey of these records would necessarily reduce the number, references to crows and the consumption of the human body appear with some frequency – even more than the wolf.
[334] Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, (London, 1994), 69.
[335] The bounty placed on a female wolf was £6 and the bounty on a male wolf was £5. Dublin, June 29 1653. Harting claims he extracted this information from the original Privy Council Book of Cromwell's government,

of the wolf being directly equated with religious dissension and the consumption both of flesh and soul, especially coupled with evidence of the wolf's prolific presence in religious literature.[336] The question of consumption vs. livestock predation is not dissimilar to the central thesis of this essay: even the threat of livestock predation by the 16th century would have been moot,[337] and so was the threat of being consumed by a wolf just as real as the threat of the wolf in the woods?

Artistic representations of wolves attacking (or fighting with) humans are equally as rare as documented evidence for a wolf attack.[338] People in England did not have to fear being killed by wolves after the 14th century, and it would seem there was very little to be afraid of in the preceding centuries either. Prior to 1750 the capacity to report a wolf attack was limited and any number of cases might have been credited to misfortune rather than predation so any calculation done by the Norwegian Institute of Nature Research cannot be taken as gospel. And yet according to the report published January 2002 (based on data from the 16th century), there were only a total of 477 confirmed victims of wolf attack before 1750 in France,[339] 54 of whom were injured and 408 of whom succumbed to the attack and died. These are the recorded cases in which rabies was not a factor.[340] These numbers, even inflated to adjust for loss of data and failure to report, should give a modern scholar pause to consider how wolves could be characterised as man eaters so readily even in England when they no longer posed a threat. Based on the evidence, both Edward of Norwich and Gascoigne were including wolves in order to conform to the culturally engrained notion of what a good hunting manual should consist of, as well as appealing to the hyper-masculine ego of the 15th and 16th century aristocratic male and the popular opinion of what a wolf was. *The Master of Game* is a natural starting point for any discussion of Early Modern hunting practices, and a hunting treatise is an interesting departure point for a study of Early

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preserved in Dublin castle. From James Edmund Haring, *British animals extinct within historic times: with some account of British white and wild cattle* (Boston, 1880), 196, available from: https://archive.org/stream/britishanimals00hart#page/148/mode/2up, (accessed 05 May 2017).

[336] An EEBO search of the term 'wolf' returned 515 results with 10+ hits per record (1573-1673, search terms being 'wolf' including all variations with no further specifications), 136 records with 25+ hits, and 5 records exceeding 100 hits. Of these, 296 records were overtly religious with a moral undertone (15th & 16th C).

[337] It is an interesting point that medieval accounts of wolf predation on livestock are very small compared to reports of disease and theft. This is not incomparable to modern loss of livestock by wolf predation as compared to disease – Data analysed by the Human Society of The United States shows that farmers and ranchers lose nine times more sheep and cattle to health, weather, and birthing then to wolves. The Humane Society of The United States, *Government data confirm that wolves have a negligible effect on U.S. cattle & sheep industries*, [website], 2019, https://www.humanesociety.org/sites/default/files/docs/HSUS-Wolf-Livestock-6.Mar_.19Final.pdf, (accessed 25 October 2019). And yet from 2006 - 2016 the Wildlife Services Federal Agency in Idaho has killed more than 650 wolves at the bequest of ranchers and hunters. George Wuerthner, *Wildlife Services Challenged,* [website], 2016, http://www.thewildlifenews.com/2016/06/08/wildlife-services-challenged/, (accessed 10 April 2017).

[338] Aleksander Pluskowski, *Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2006), 95.

[339] I chose the data set for France because of its traditional association with dense wolf populations and nearly supernatural association with wolves and werewolves due to the popularity of the Gevaudan legend. There is also evidence for French literature, culture, and news making its way across the channel and so the English people were not ignorant of instances of wolf predation in France, like the Beast of Gevaudan.

[340] J.D.C. Linnell, et. al., 'The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on Humans', *Norsk institutt for naturforskning*, [website], 2002, http://www.wwf.de/fileadmin/fm-wwf/Publikationen-PDF/2002.Review.wolf.attacks.pdf, (accessed 21 June 2015).

Modern perceptions of the natural world. Picking up over 100 years later with Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte* allows the historian to consider changing attitudes (whether they had changed) and what additions or departures were relevant to changing attitudes toward nature.

Wolves consuming the flesh of a deceased person or persons, whether criminal or soldier, had significant ramifications in terms of religious belief in the afterlife and in the hierarchy of nature. The debate over the necessity of the human body remaining intact and its ingestion by wild animals was a recurring theme in the Bible and was always written negatively, as in Jeremiah 24:20, 'I will give them into the hand of their enemies and into the hand of those who seek their life. And their dead bodies will be food for the birds of the sky and the beasts of the earth.' None of the passages which mention birds and beasts eating humans consider it a good or godly thing. Scavengers like wolves suffered for their opportunistic eating habits, all the more so because of the intricate social network wolves inhabit – their hunting behaviours are learned behaviours. If the ungulates which wolves normally rely upon have either fled or been destroyed, wolves will scavenge and turn to other food sources. In their pack unit, pups may be conditioned by older members of the group to associate human remains with an appropriate food source.[341] A man-eating wolf is extremely rare when preferred prey animals are abundant, but the loss of prey and the sudden abundance of human carcasses led inevitably to the wolf being associated with a battlefield scavenger. The Bible's own complicated and sometimes hypocritical standpoint on war and bloodshed[342] was surely further muddled by the Christian insistence that the body be resurrected in its entirety on Judgement Day[343] and the horror of the body being consumed by a creature so closely related in the Bible to the devil himself.[344]

On top of the complicated matter of resurrection on Judgement Day, the indignity of a man being consumed by the very creatures over which he was meant to have mastery was almost too much to bear. In the Book of Genesis man was given dominion over all things[345] and it was only because of Adam's fall from grace that wild animals were fierce, that poisonous reptiles existed, and that domestic animals had to undergo harsh treatment on man's behalf.[346] The consumption of human flesh is only highlighted positively in one instance in the entire Biblical

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[341] Unintentional conditioning has been witnessed by biologists responsible for the wolf pack at Yellowstone National Park in America: *Wolves*, [website], 2013, https://bckbiologysfifield.weebly.com/behaviours-for-survival.html, (accessed 13 June 2016).
[342] See Zechariah, 10:5 & 14:2, and Psalm 144 for good examples of the Bible's call to arms, compared to Isaiah 2:4 and James 4: 1-2 for examples of a call to lay down arms.
[343] A complicated issue in itself; in Epistle's (15:54-55) Paul insists that flesh plays no part in the Resurrection, and yet in the Gospels both Christ and his mother are taken bodily to Heaven. The issue remains contentious through the Medieval and Early Modern period.
[344] Depictions of the hellmouth are another fantastic example of the fear of bodily consumption, with the leviathan being an easy visualisation of this. See Gary D. Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eighth Century Britain to the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1995) for a broad overview of this theme.
[345] Genesis, i.28 and Genesis ix. 2-3. This covenant was reconfirmed by God after the Great Flood, Genesis xi:13-22).
[346] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England* (London, 1984), location 279 or 13411 available from: Kindle Books (accessed 21 October 2019).

text – Christ serving up his own body and blood to his disciples. The comparative instances of animals and beasts consuming human bodies is an inversion of the normal order of God's will. In Delumeau the author wrote that the 'sin of mankind extend[ed] to nature'[347] and chroniclers contemporary to Gascoigne sought out evidence of this perceived sinful nature of the wild world. Andrew Willet in *Hexapla in Genesin* wrote that it was humans who were meant to eat animals, rather than vice versa, a belief echoed in Henry Ainsworth's *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses*.[348] William Perkins wrote 'when we see any creature that is hurtfull and noisome vnto man, and would rather deuoure then obey him; it must put vs in mind of our sinne.'[349] Such writings ensured that wolves who ingested the dead were considered all the more abhorrent as wolves eating the battlefield dead went against the laws of man and God and reminded man about his fallen state. The destruction of all the wolves in England, while making the country much safer (at least in terms of predation of livestock and humans), might have had the effect of creating a space in which the English could feel further removed from their perceived sin, and thus closer to God.

In times of war normal social arrangements broke down and communities became more vulnerable to thievery, murder, and animal predation.[350] The threats inherent in war (pillaging, rape, scorched-Earth policies, etc.) were compounded by additional threats from which the population had no escape. Lorraine Daston wrote, in reference to prodigies and monstrous birth, that 'in times of plague, war, or religious schism, the two-headed cat which might otherwise have aroused only a little interest provoked anxious interpretations as a portent.'[351] There is no reason to assume that the same is not also true of biological animals, whose normal activities and behaviours may have been altered drastically during wartime. Wolves and their association with human consumption served an additional purpose in rural communities; the incredibly high value placed on women who were capable of bearing children may have made women anxious to find scapegoats in the case of infant mortality and miscarriages.[352] Witches, wolves, and supernatural

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[347] Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of the Western Guilt Culture 13th-18th Centuries* trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: 1990), 136.
[348] Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin…* (Cambridge, 1633), 15, available from: EEBO library, (accessed 27 October 2019) and Henry Ainsworth, *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses*… (Conehill, 1627), 39, available from: EEBO library, (accessed 27 October 2019).
[349] Perkins, 'An Exposition of the Symbole, Or Creed of the Apostles' in *The Works Volume 1* (1595) Volume 1, p.151 cited in: Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beastly in Early Modern English Culture* (London, 2000), 38.
[350] W.M.S. Russell and Claire Russell, 'The Social Biology of Werewolves', in: J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell (eds) *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge, 1978), 158.
[351] Lorraine Daston, 'Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe', *Critical Enquiry*, Vol 18 No 1 (1991), 101.
[352]Allison Coudert, 'The Myth of the Improved Status of Protestant Women: The Case of the Witchcraze', in: Jean R. Brink, Alison P. Coudert, and Maryanne C. Horowitz (eds) *The Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Kirksville, 1989), 87.

occurrences[353] could be blamed for the early loss of a baby or child, and the propagation of wolves as murderers of children and babies was well suited to the needs of a woman who had to lie and redirect blame for the sudden death of an infant. Connections between witchcraft and infanticide were often made, even by the women themselves, often with the hopes that a pact with the devil would alleviate a woman out of poverty; forcing them into infanticide as an act of desperation.[354]

Richard Lassels, a Roman Catholic priest and ofttimes tutor to the English nobility, wrote in 1670, '[*p*]*oore yong girles* finde por|tions either for husbands or nunne|ries, according to their choice; *In*|*fants* whom cruel & vnlawfull mothers, like wolfes, expose to death...' comparing women who expose their children to wolves, rather than blaming wolves for the death of the children themselves.[355] The story of Gelert, recorded in the Aarne-Thompson Index as tale type 178A, is an early oral example of the imagined need for protection against wolves killing babies.[356] In the story, the hound Gelert defended his master's infant son against an attacking wolf, only to be killed in turn when the master returns to find the cradle upturned and the dog covered in blood. By the time of the witch-trials in England the imagined requirement to protect children against wolves must surely have more to do with the insecurities of parenting rather than a real threat from an outside agent like the wolf. As for infanticide, the issue of women who destroyed bastard children was dealt with in the legal document, "Act to Prevent the Destroying and Murdering of Bastard Children", passed in 1624, 'Whereas many lewd women that have been delivered of bastard children, to avoid their shame, and to escape punishment, do secretly bury or conceal the death of their children, and often, if the child is found dead, the said women do allege, that the said child was born dead…. Be it enacted … in every such case the mother so offending, shall suffer death as in the case of murther, except such mother can make proof by one witness at the last that the child . . . was born dead.'[357] The necessity of such a law is not the point of this essay, but it is worth noting that it was enacted in order to circumnavigate the muddy waters of how and when an infant may have died (pre- or post-natal).

The persistent belief in wolves attacking infants and children across Europe is not unfounded, as the 2002 study by the Norwegian Institute of Nature Research indicated that 90%

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[353] Willem de Blecourt has covered the relationship between wolves and witches very ably in his paper 'The Werewolf, the Witch, and the Warlock: Aspects of Gender in the Early Modern Period', in: Alison Rowlands (ed) *Witchcraft and Masculinities in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2009), 191-213.
[354] See Louise Jackson, 'Witches, wives and mothers: witchcraft persecution and women's confessions in seventeenth-century England', *Women's History Review*, 4:1 (1995), 63-84 for an excellent review of this theme.
[355] Richard Lassels , *The voyage of Italy, or, A compleat journey through Italy in two parts : with the characters of the people, and the description of the chief towns, churches, monasteries, tombs, libraries, pallaces, villas, gardens, pictures, statues, and antiquities : as also of the interest, government, riches, force, &c. of all the princes : with instructions concerning travel* (London, 1670), available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019).
[356]See Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York, 1946), 288-293 for an in-depth overview of the tale type index.
[357] Jac. I, c.27, 'Act to Prevent the Destroying and Murdering of Bastard Children', cited in: Arlie Loughnan, 'The 'Strange' Case of Infanticide Doctrine', *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies,* Vol. 32, No. 4 (2012), 685-711.

of wolf attack victims were children under the age of 18, and in many cases under the age of 10. In those recorded cases where adults were killed, the victim was almost always a woman.[359] This is consistent with hunting strategies in which the weakest member of a particular population is targeted.[360] Children were also more likely to be left unattended in medieval and Early Modern Europe, tasked with collecting wild plants and watching over livestock in pasture, and were much more likely to confuse a wolf with a dog.[361] Of course, statistically the numbers sound quite daunting, but 90% of all wolf attacks included in the N.I.N.R. paper are from a recorded total of all non-rabies related deaths by wolves pre-1750, for which only 480 records remain.[362] The paper also mentions oral and historic records of wolves attacking humans, but claims that these so-called records appear with too great a frequency across too great a range to be considered as credible historic instances of wolf attacks.[363] The authors also wrote that 'being killed by a wolf is a very unusual event (and) it is unlikely that it would be used in cases where the true cause of death was trying to be hidden… In other words, priests or administrators would have little to gain by claiming somebody was killed by a wolf when they weren't.'[364] Without trying to abbreviate the careful and critical work done by the French historians on the wolf attack data, the problems with this assumption are two-fold: one is that priests and administrators did not examine the body in every instance and so were at the mercy of those who reported the death, and the second is the difficulty in determining death by wolf attack even with modern forensic technique. In many ways the historic-record is largely made up of clever guess work but this does not impact the initial problem of the cultural impact of consumption by wolves beyond what is already to be expected in an historic analysis. England did not exist in a vacuum and wolf attacks in France and elsewhere on the continent reached the English people via printed text.

Wolves & Narrative:

A common school text, *Aesop's Fables*[365] were filled with morality tales enacted by mice, frogs, lambs, foxes, and wolves. Beast fables played an important part in elementary education,

[359] Keeping in mind that this data is skewed nationally – i.e. in France it was more likely that young women would be shepherdesses in the 17th and 18th centuries and so more likely that they would be attacked by wolves.
[360] J.D.C. Linnell, et. al., 'The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on Humans', *Norsk institutt for naturforskning*, [website], 2002, http://www.wwf.de/fileadmin/fm-wwf/Publikationen-PDF/2002.Review.wolf.attacks.pdf, (accessed 12 August 2015).
[361] Will Graves, *Wolves in Russia: Anxiety through the ages* (Exeter, 2007), 88.
[362] J.D.C. Linnell, et. al., 'The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on Humans', [website], 2002, *Norsk institutt for naturforskning*, http://www.wwf.de/fileadmin/fm-wwf/Publikationen-PDF/2002.Review.wolf.attacks.pdf, (accessed 12 August 2015).
[363] J.D.C. Linnell, et. al., 'The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on Humans', [website], 2002, *Norsk institutt for naturforskning*, http://www.wwf.de/fileadmin/fm-wwf/Publikationen-PDF/2002.Review.wolf.attacks.pdf, (accessed 12 August 2015).
[364] J.D.C. Linnell, et. al., 'The Fear of Wolves: A Review of Wolf Attacks on Humans', [website], 2002, *Norsk institutt for naturforskning*, http://www.wwf.de/fileadmin/fm-wwf/Publikationen-PDF/2002.Review.wolf.attacks.pdf, (accessed 12 August 2015).
[365] For the purposes of this essay we will rely on the Latin translations of the Greek *Aesop's Fables*. The first extensive translation of these stories into Latin was by Phaedrus in the First Century.

and in the medieval period the fables were paraphrased, abbreviated, or more fully elaborated by students of Latin.[366] The *Fables* were used to instruct in Latin, as they were simple to read, grammatically uncomplicated, and included a satisfying reason a student might continue his translation from start to finish; the conclusion of the story. The *Fables* are especially important to this study because they are a written source for children, a population from whom we very rarely receive any information, and the instruction children may have received from these stories could have influenced their overall world view. The antiquity of the fable in England can firmly be traced back to the 12th century; Christ Church library in Oxford contained (according to the catalogue of 1170) *Avianus cum multi aliis* among its school texts and the middle century Dover-bible contains illustrations of the fables of the wolf and the crane, and the cock and the fox.[367] The first fable collection produced in England was the *Novus Aesopus* of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217),[368] and so the tradition of young scholarship had certainly been well entrenched by the 16th and 17th centuries. Mann writes (referencing the fable of the wolf and the lamb) in *From Aesop to Reynard* that from the moment the wolf and the lamb appear side-by-side, a narrative expectation is established, and, paradoxically the narrative expectation is even stronger in fables which begin with animals wanting to act unnaturally because it is obvious that an attempt to do so must come to grief.[369] Regarding the fables in which the wolf appears with domesticated dogs, Garry Marvin writes that 'Aesop taps into the anxiety that many have expressed about the possible close affinity between (dogs and wolves)… The fear is that the power of original wildness could destabilize the fragility of domestication.'[370] The correlation between the behaviour of a wolf on paper and the behaviour of the predator in the wild, what was typical and what was abnormal, could have resulted in a prolonged belief in supernatural behaviour exhibited by wolves who were not deemed to be acting in a normally acceptable way. Especially when juxtaposed against the behaviour of the dog, representative of civilization, domestication, and people's dominance over other species. The importance of education, and its role in entrenching societal values in youth, was not lost to Nicholas Caussin:[371]

> One of the greatest benefits which man can re|ceive at Gods hands,
> is the favourable bles|sing of good education... The Historie of
> *Germanie* telleth us, that heretofore a child was ta|ken in the forrests,
> which was presented to *Henrie* Landgrave of *Hassia.* From four
> years old he had been bred among wolves, the wolves taught him to

[366] Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 6.
[367] Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 100.
[368] Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 11.
[369] Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 39.
[370] Garry Marvin, *Wolf* (London, 2012), location 414 of 2351, available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 27 October 2019).
[371] A French Jesuit and confessor to Louis XIII. His work *The Holy Court in Five Tomes*… was addressed to Henriette-Maria of Great Britain, to the King of France, and to the French Nobility.

> go on four feet as a bruit beast, he went a forraging with the wolves, he divided the prey with the wolves, he slept amongst the wolves to be the more warm; to conclude, he wholly became wolf. When he came to be made tractable and tame, they were enforced to tie his hands to staves, to teach him to go as men do, yet did he break all to return to the condition of a wolf: so powerful is the force and tyrannie of edu|cation.
>
> (*The holy court in five tomes* by Nicholas Caussin translated into English by Sr. T.H. and others, 1650).

Caussin's example of a small boy being raised by a family of wolves – not only in his infancy (as in the Romulus and Remus narrative) but until he was four years old, is remarkable. While it is not without precedent, such an example is a rarity. In fact, an example like Caussin's negates many of the characteristics that are typical in descriptions of the wolf. And unlike the Roman foundation myth, the wolves in this example were not divinely inspired to protect and care for a child whose destiny it was to do great things. Caussin was using the wolf-child to demonstrate the value of education and of all the creatures under God whom he could have used to aptly demonstrate what the lack of human socialisation will do to a baby, he chose the wolf. It may be that he decided on the wolf (for it is unlikely to the point of certainty that he did witness for himself a child raised by wolves) because of its negative characteristics. Much like the Francis of Assisi narrative, in which the wolf is used to demonstrate the holiness of the Saint, the wolves may have been used to demonstrate the glory of proper education and civility. The enduring appeal of a child being raised by wolves would be a fascinating study in its own right – from ancient Rome to Modern England, as it seems that there is a definite popular cultural appeal in a remarkable child being raised by a pack of wolves, for good or ill. In this the discursive and cultural representation of the wolf did not change much after his extinction in Early Modern England.

The existence of wolves in these seminal scholarly and academic texts in medieval and Early Modern England is indicative of an ongoing and consistent belief in the predominantly negative predatory traits attributed to the biological wolf – over and above other predators.[372] In Aesop's fable of the wolf and the lamb the predator is assigned a negative role, but the predator is assigned a positive role in the fable of the mouse and the frog. Predatory behaviour is a 'given' within the animal world and so thus must be placed within a context that makes it meaningful to humans.[373] The predatory behaviour of wolves is only meaningful if humans place it within a contrived context – that is, to give the wolf agency and thus a wilfulness to cause suffering via

[372] This may be a product of the desire to prioritise ancient textual authorities when describing nature, which we see in the bestiary too.
[373] Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 35.

loss of human life or human livelihood. Although Mann writes that the resistance of animal nature to change also works to close off direct judgements – a student may call a wolf cruel, but there is no point in criticizing the wolf for his traits since they are naturally determined[374] - the argument might be tempered by writing that while there may have been no point in criticising the wolf in fable or in life, his traits were no more desirable for being naturally predetermined.

When medieval philosophers observed complex behaviour in animals they were forced to stretch for a logical explanation – why do sheep run from wolves, as there is nothing inherently frightening in the appearance of a wolf? So they gave the animal a sixth sense, estimative, that could perceive intentionality; the sheep could sense the wolf's malice, and run away.[375] An obvious complication arises when one questions why the sheep did not perceive the intentionality of the men who would eventually eat them, but the point is valid here because once again it was the inherently evil, or malicious, nature of the wolf that was perceived by the sheep. In England, where the wolf was no longer a threat to sheep, this sort of intentionality continues in the guise of coded language; a wolf is 'more craftie (if more may be) than the Fox or any other beast'[376], and 'when they are hunted they will take all their aduantages.'[377] Gascoigne is not unusual in this type of language, as human attributes like intentionality are often credited to wild animals in medieval and Early Modern writing. The perception of the wolf's intentionality does not credit the sheep with any special intelligence, but it does hint to a notion of forethought in the wolf – the wolf must plan and therefore make intentions towards eating the sheep. This is a type of coordinated and linear intelligence not often credited to animals, and deliberately or not, by creating a perception that the wolf was capable of predetermination philosophers emphasised that the wolf was both greater than and more worthy an adversary than other predators.[378] This goes hand-in-hand with previous examples of wolves making extraordinary efforts on behalf of human infants and children to nurse them and keep them fit and hale until human could restore order.

The image of the wolf as a pre-dominantly gluttonous trope character was reinforced in popular literature for the purposes of behaviour control and manipulation – especially of children. Though of course there is no direct evidence for the multitude of disciplinary measures parents might have relied upon before the Victorian penchant for printing and publishing proper parenting guides, but based on the popularity of fairy tales like Little Red Riding Hood - a global phenomenon with similar stories in Europe, Asia, and Africa - a modern historian can guess with

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[374] Jill Mann, *From Aesop to Reynard* (London, 2010), 33.
[375] Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, (London, 1994), 6.
[376] Gascoigne, George. *The noble arte of venerie or hunting…* (London, 1575), 206, available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019).
[377] Gascoigne, George. *The noble arte of venerie or hunting…* (London, 1575), 206, available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019).
[378] As we have seen in the previous chapters, the wolf was in fact not considered an adversary worthy of the chase, like the hart and the boar. And yet it was not uncommon for the wolf to be featured on a family crest or in a family name. This only adds to the complicated relationship humans had with the natural world in Early Modern England, and specifically with the wolf.

some certainty that the wolf would have featured in bed-time narratives.[379] Hints can be found in documents like *A new primmer, wherein is demonstrated the new and living way held forth by way of question and answer, as from a child's enquiry after truth, to be informed by the father*, by William Smith and printed in 1665, in which the so-called father figure explains to the child, 'and these are Wolves, Child, that are let loose amongst the Lambs, to rend and tear them; and they have Places builded in their se|veral Parishes, which they call Churches.' The entire purpose of this text is to act as an educational guide, though it is impossible to know if it was actually read aloud to children.[380] A smaller, but more powerful suggestion as to how wolves were used for the purposes of manipulating and terrifying children can be found in *The holy court in five tomes*, written in French by Nicholas Caussin and translated into English by Sr. T.H. and others in 1650. In this rather lengthy text, a single phrase stands out: '[t]here was no infant so little, in the arms of the nurse, who hearing *Attilas* named, did not think he saw a wolf.' The throw-away manner in which Caussin mentioned infants and wolves, and the familiarity assumed on behalf of the reader of his text, leads this historian to believe that it would not have been considered uncommon for wolves to be used in the role of bogey-man in childhood narrative, even as a stand-in for real-life figures.

Frightening figures like dogs and wolves were 'invented by adults for the purpose of controlling children's behaviour with little or no belief in the existence of the figures on the part of the adult.'[381] This is not dissimilar to the huge number of portents and prodigies which existed in Early Modern Europe, with stories of being disseminated as lessons or warnings.[382] Of course oral narrative and non-textual history is complicated by the lack of evidence for its use, but inferences can be made in some instances. 'In using a threat of this kind the adult avoids meting out physical punishment' and 'transfers the onus of correcting the bad behaviour to some external agency.'[383] Children would have been regularly exposed to biblical narratives of the wolf, and certain children would have experienced the wolf via *Aesop's Fables* or even through exposure to livestock or poultry predation by predators like foxes and wild dogs. Of course the mental maturity of children in Early Modern England cannot be directly compared to children in the 21st century, the ability of the brain to process complex ideas surrounding ravenous and gluttonous

[379]The universality of certain fairytale themes, like the trickster wolf in Little Red Riding Hood, always cast the local top-predator as a serious threat to societal norms and expectations. Predators in fairy-tales were easy villains and the threat of a menacing wolf was one that could be easily grasped and reinforced to a small child.
[380] It was very likely to have been read to children – the text is basically a catechism which is a question and answer learning document.
[381] J.D.A. Widdowson, 'Animals as Threatening Figures in Systems of Social Control', in: J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell (eds) *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge, 1978), 134.
[382] In the early years of Reformation era England, prodigies and monstrous births were universally acknowledged to be a portent of God's wrath, a warning for all people to convert and rededicate themselves to God. Laura Knoppers and Joan Landes (eds) *Monstrous Bodies / Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, 2004), 24.
[383] J.D.A. Widdowson, 'Animals as Threatening Figures in Systems of Social Control', in: J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell (eds) *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge, 1978), 135.

behaviour will not have significantly differed; it makes sense to consider that children created the image of the big bad wolf in their own imaginations in order to reinforce the idea of the English wolf. The longevity of the big-bad wolf narrative, even if the historian only looks to the rather thin evidence of religious discord, lends some weight to the idea that wolves featured in bedtime oral narrative. With caution, we can look to more modern renditions of the big-bad wolf narrative and perhaps draw some conclusions as to how the wolf was relied upon before these stories were recorded.

Wolves in religious texts & moralising tales:

Alexandra Walsham wrote that 'Dame Nature was a notable focus of clerical hostility'[384] and while the hostility of the Church to nature is a very generic statement, especially as the natural world was seen to contain the imprint of God's plan (and indeed this was the message of the bestiary), this viewpoint was created within the context of a conservatively religious world outlook and has rightly contextualised this subsection of the dissertation. Walsham continues, 'rural vicars had to work hard to replace [their] parishioners' materialistic trust in a self-evolving universe with due and grateful respect for the dispensations of providence.'[385] At the same time that men and women in England were urbanizing their country and moving away from the countryside in unprecedented numbers, along with an ever-increasing population, the Church was preaching the belief not only in the divine will of God as paramount but also that reliance on the forces of nature was improper, and indeed that natural occurrences were also under the laws of providence.[386] G. Koolemans Beynen wrote in *Animal language in the Garden of Eden* that in the bible the Good Shepherd is only ever applied to Yahweh or Christ, and 'the exclusive usage of the biblical expression Good Shepherd is yet another indication that in the ideology of Genesis only Yahweh is the ruler, or manager.'[387] Yahweh and Christ are literally written into the Bible as civilizing agents, thereby implying that the natural course of humanity was to move away from the woods and into the fields and finally into the cities. The Cistercians were certainly associated with an ideology to tame the wilderness and transforming wasteland into gardens in order to fulfil the divine mandate. Civilizing elements like the Good Shepherd in the Holy Bible, coupled with those narratives emphasising the devilish wolf, must have had an impact after local extinction

[384] Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 22. Walsham does not elaborate on whether it is nature itself or the interpretation of nature that is the focus of clerical hostility, but she implies that it is indeed the interpretation, as vicars had to work to reinterpret nature to their parishioners. The challenge faced by Calvinist clergy is rooted in their desire to undermine belief in (a sometimes personified) nature that appears to downplay divine and providential intervention in the world. Walsham is using sources which are not the same as those that I gravitate towards.
[385] Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 23.
[386] Although Ronald Hutton's work argues that rural festivals with strong connections to the land in the later 15th and 16th centuries were at the heart of parish life, this does not necessarily detract from the Church's teachings, but merely reinforces the difficulty in untangling popular culture and the natural world.
[387] G. Koolemans Beynan, 'Animal language in the Garden of Eden: folktale elements in Genesis', in: Roy Willis (ed) *Signifying Animals: Human Meaning in the Natural World* (London, 1994), 49.

events like the extinction of the wolf; and one might assume the impact to have been celebratory as the English revelled in their distancing themselves further from natural predations by large mammals. An historian can read something of the influence of the church in texts like *The hunting of the fox and wolfe because they make hauock of the sheepe of Christ Iesus* (1565) by William Turner.

The hunting of the fox and wolfe… relies heavily on an anthropomorphised and metaphorical representation of wolves – using wolves as an allegory to accuse the ministers of England of the spiritual murder of Christ's flock. Turner had a great deal of interest in the natural world, having also published books of botany and herbalism and this makes his work a reasonable choice as being representative of religious writing. He had also published previously, making good use of metaphoric language with *The Huntyng & Fyndyng out of the Romishe Foxe* in 1543. In 1555 *The Huntynge of the Romyshe Wolfe* a folding print depicts the savage slaughter of Hooper, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, by 'the Wolf of Winchester [and] his fellow bloody Bonner.'[388] In this folding print the cleric was depicted with a wolf's head, though in the body of text it is very clear that Turner does not intend his audience to confuse the Bishop with a werewolf. Dangerous people and failure were often connected with negative nature,[389] like a priest's bounty which was equal to the bounty on wolves in Ireland. This is an oft used narrative tool, being utilised in the New Testament as Christ gave his sermon on the mount: 'Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.' (Matt. 7:15) and in Paul's address to the Ephesians: 'For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock.' (Acts 20:21). It was not unusual for medieval and Early Modern authors to lend their own writing an air of authenticity by using biblical narrative and form;[390] the lupine terminology could not have had anything but a metaphorical meaning to the English – by Turner's time the wolf was extinct in England, but because the imagery of the wolf had already proven itself to be so effective within scripture there was no need for innovation. As the stereotypes were so unceasingly negative, and the wolf was not present to counter this image, the negativity persisted and became associated with the wolf as an inherent quality. Use of wolves to illustrate the cruelty and subhuman nature of that which is not Christian (or, to be more specific, neither Catholic nor Protestant as the case may be), gave both the author and his message a touch of righteousness; of innocence and civilization compared to the wilderness of the unfaithful. This language within the literature of the Church(es) made a

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[388] Malcolm Jones provides a succinct and well researched review of this very image in Turner's *Romyshe Wolf*… in his article 'The Lambe Speaketh…An Addendum' in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* Vol. 63 (2000), 287-294. He postulates that Stephen Gardiner, the fox of Turner's earlier work, is the Wolf of Winchester in this folding print (p.291).

[389] Gerhard Jaritz, 'Nature Images – Image nature visual representations and their function in the late middle ages', in: Jozsef Laszlovszky and Peter Szabo (eds) *People and Nature in Historical Perspective* (Budapest, 2003), 54.

[390] See the Venerable Bede's *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* for a good example of this style.

direct comparison between wolves and the unholy – and so sympathy towards these predators became less and less likely, for to show sympathy to a wolf was to show sympathy for the devil.

A schole of wise conceytes vvherin as euery conceyte hath wit, so the most haue much mirth, set forth in common places by order of the alphabet, was translated out of the Greek and Latin by Thomas Blague in 1569. Blague is an appropriate addition here as he has made extensive use of both classical and Renaissance authors (including Erasmus) in his scholarship. Interestingly, Blague was also a native of Gloucester, one of the wooded areas to which Edward I's wolf-killer Corbet was assigned. *A schole of wise conceytes*… gives numerous examples of wolves in a variety of moralising tales – one of the most impressive of which is *The first Fable, of the Penance of the Wolfe, the Foxe, and the Ase*. In this story, the fox, wolf, and ass are on their way to Rome to seek forgiveness from the Holy Father. The wolf's sins include eating a sow who had wandered away from her piglets – to punish the sow for her poor maternal instincts. Then, in sympathy for the little lost creatures, the wolf gobbled up the piglets too. Significantly, and in keeping with the fables of Aesop, it is the ass who in the end is cruelly slain by the fox and wolf as his sins are deemed to be most heinous. The wolf is shriven, for his sins are only those inherent to his nature, and thus he could not have acted otherwise.[391] At first glance this fable almost makes a modern reader believe that there was some compassion to be found for the natural wolf, but this text merely reinforces the image of the wolf as a killer – out of sympathy the wolf killed the piglets, twisting an otherwise endearing human characteristic in order to justify what amounts to a whole-sale slaughter. Though no blame is assigned, the wickedness of the wolf is not lessened by his survival at the end of the narrative but is merely accepted as inherent and unchanging. In direct contradiction to this, Gascoigne wrote that wolves themselves valued kinship, and if the pups 'chance to meete their syre or dam at any time after, they wil fawne vpon them and licke them, and seme in their kind greatly to rejoice. A good example for sundry euil disposed children, which become ungrateful to their parents, which bring them up carefully.'[392] This is one of the few passages in which a wolf is given positive value and used to offer careful moral instruction. Swiftly undermined as Gascoigne also wrote 'when a wolfe findeth a litter of pigges, or a flocke of sheepe, he will (by his wil) kill them all before he feede vpon any of them.'[393] Gascoigne's inclusion of piglets in addition to lambs (not a standard motif in the bestiaries or contemporary writing) could theoretically have been a result of his familiarity with the Blague fable.

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[391] Thomas Blague, *A schole of wise conceytes…* (London, 1569), 1-3, available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019).
[392] Gascoigne, George. *The noble arte of venerie or hunting…* (London, 1575), 204, available from: the EEBO Library, (accessed 21 October 2019).
[393] Gascoigne, George. *The noble arte of venerie or hunting…* (London, 1575), 206, available from: the EEBO Library, (accessed 21 October 2019).

Wolves in natural histories or hunting guides:

While religious documents like *The hunting of the fox and wolfe because they make hauock of the sheepe of Christ Iesus* by Turner and *A schole of wise conceytes* by Blague demonstrate the amount of propaganda distributed by the Catholic and Protestant Churches to criticise heretical and fallen religion using a familiar symbol (the rapacious wolf), it was with secular documents that the point of the wolf's complete cultural saturation as a malicious predator is made most obvious. *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* is an Early Modern English example of a natural history, largely adapted from *The Master of Game*. In both *The Noble Arte* and *Master of Game* the authors illustrate what they consider to be the best hunting practices for stalking and killing wolves in Ireland, while also including several paragraphs on their nature and properties.[394] Gascoigne and Norwich both leave the reader with the final word on wolves as 'malicious', reinforcing the unfavourable image of the biological predator. English reactions to the wolf as a naturally occurring predator who behaved outside of normal expectations can be reinterpreted within context of well written natural histories using *The Noble Arte* and *Master of Game*. These two hunting texts are good examples of the longevity of the wolf tradition in England, even after the extinction of the species. And because they were meant to be considered practical guidebooks, a modern historian should be questioning why either author thought to include a fanciful narration on hunting an extinct predator at all.

Hunting was a multi-faceted exercise in Early Modern Europe – with some hunting being regulated to the purpose of conspicuous consumption, some for eradication of vermin, and some for sport. Important differences in classifying 'the hunt' need to be laid out here; the natural world of the hunt reflected a highly stratified social structure – the hunt went beyond signs to a symbolic control over nature and other humans. Henry VIII worried about the force and power of mastiffs so he had them all hanged, 'because they durst presume to fight against the lion, who is their king and sovereign.'[395] The nobility associated with the hunting of certain animals, including the wild boar, the hart, and even the hare (particularly the prerogative of noble ladies) was restricted to a certain class of person, as well as being particular to certain animals. The wolf, the animal to which an entire chapter is dedicated in both York and Gascoigne, was not an animal hunted by the nobility or the aristocracy; though wolves were fierce and presumably notoriously dangerous while travelling in packs neither York nor Gascoigne discuss the harrowing nature or the thrill inherent in such a hunt, unlike the hunting parties associated with hart and boar. The waters are further muddied by Baldassar Castiglione who noted that hunting should be restricted to certain

[394] Though it is entirely likely that there were still wolves in the Highlands of Scotland, this was obviously not the opinion of the author, who only mentions hunting wolves in Ireland. I will take Gascoigne's text in context and ignore modern theoretical speculations on the existence of wolves in Scotland into the 18th century.
[395] William Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. George Edelin as cited in Charles Bergman, 'A Spectacle of Beasts: Hunting Rituals and Animal Rights in Early Modern England', in: Bruce Boehrer (ed) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissnace, Volume 3* (Oxford, 2007), 59.

animals, and he used the 'the chief hunting of the valiant Greeks' to prove his point. The Greeks hunted 'the lion, the leopard, the tiger, the wild swine, and the bear, and sometimes the wolf, and the hart.'[396] Magnanimously, Castiglione allowed for the situation in England and 'that in the hunting of red deer and fallow, might be a great part of similar exercise, used by nobleman, especially in forests...'[397] In the case of the lion and the bear, it seems obvious as to why these creatures were not hunted in England, but the exclusion of the wolf from noble sport may have been complicated both by the association of the wolf with devilish and demonic entities, as well as the very real practicality of hunting a pack animal. [398] That the wolf no longer existed in England by the time of Castiglione's writing need not have mattered overmuch, as it was still unclear to the people living in England at the time whether the wolf had been made extinct and wolves still existed in Scotland.

There could hardly be a neater comparative study of the wolf than the wild boar. Though hunting was well established from at least the Anglo-Saxon period and certainly by the end of the 11th century, by the time of Gascoigne's writing, 'hunting was becoming an important social marker for a rising bourgeois class'[399] with Elizabeth I being an ardent hunter herself. Wild boar feature in popular literature, with Richard III being referred to as a wild boar (a play on his emblem linked to York's heraldry) in the plays *Henry VI* and *Richard III,* and Edward Berry insists that the boar was the most dangerous animal to hunt and the death of a boar was a rite of passage for young male nobles 'infused with sexual content because is both the symbol of death and of dangerous virility.'[400] Though Edward Topsell wrote that hunting the boar could be as dangerous as hunting the ravening wolf because of the excess of seed in the boar, for the purposes of this paper it is merely worth noting that the hunting of the wild boar was not at all the same as hunting the wolf.[401]

Modern scholars have researched the wild boar in France and Germany, but hart or deer are often favoured. Where the boar does feature in a 21st century academic text, it is normally in reference to the out-of-season hunt. Emma Griffin, author of *Blood Sport*, is one of the few academics to give a detailed analysis of the wild boar hunt in isolation of the deer or hart although even Griffin does not relate the boar back to the larger cultural impact of this animal on Early Modern England or the people's relationship with the natural world. The lack of scholarship around the boar hunt is all the more surprising because, as Griffin wrote, boar hunting was one of

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[396] Quote taken from James Williams, 'Hunting, hawking, and the early Tudor gentleman', *History Today* Vol. 53 Issue 8 (2003), 21.
[397] James Williams, "Hunting, hawking, and the early Tudor gentleman" in *History Today* Vol. 53 Issue 8 (2003), 21.
[398] Deer, male boar, bears, tigers, and leopards do not live in family groups. The only exceptions in the list are the wolf and the lion – only one of whom could be hunted in England.
[399] Charles Bergman, 'A Spectacle of Beasts: Hunting Rituals and Animal Rights in Early Modern England', in: Bruce Boehrer (ed) *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissnace, Volume 3* (Oxford, 2007), 57.
[400] Cited in Pia F. Cuneo, *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (Abingdon, 2014), 195.
[401] We will encounter Topsell again later in this same subsection.

Henry VIII's favourite pastimes 'and it may have been Henry who added the boar to the list of protected animals (set aside for hunting by the king).'[402] Much like the wolf, the wild boar was largely extinct by the 15th century, so it was obviously a popular quarry and unlike the wolf was actively sought as an animal of some significance by the upper strata of Early Modern society.

The reintroduction of the wild boar into the forests of England by King James should have elicited any number of papers on the selection of which species were considered valuable in Early Modern England.[403] But a thorough search did not return any scholarly debate or book-length analysis of this remarkable feat of English forest and environmental management. The decision to reintroduce the wild boar into the royal forests of England was a decision based on the royal prerogative, but it is a demonstrable appreciation for the nuances of local extinction and the possibility of animal disappearance from the English landscape. There can be no doubt that the English understood wild boars could not be found in England after the 15th century and felt compelled to reintroduce them from France. We can therefore assume that the English had a thorough understanding of the extinction of the wolf from England, and what local extinction meant in a purely modern sense.

The boar features in Gascoigne quite a few chapters before the wolf. In chapter 49 Gascoigne described hunting the boar at length, though he does not give the impression of being particularly keen on the hunting of wild boar (perhaps because Elizabeth would not have been so impressed with the hunting of boar). He does not recommend chasing the boar with hounds, as it is more than likely the hounds will be injured by the boar; instead, he recommends mastiffs. On page 151 Gascoigne wrote, '[s]ometimes a Bore will wander farre out of the Forrestes or thicke couerts to seeke feedyng: especially in time of the vintage in suche Countries as wine is made.'

Edward of Norwich wrote in *The Master of Game* '[a] wolf is a common beast enough and therefore I need not tell of his make, for there are few men beyond the sea, who have not seen some of them.'[404] In early 15th century Ireland, in Wales, perhaps on the borders of Scotland, and most likely in France, Edward might have encountered wolves though he does not say so in *The Master of Game*. Being a translation of *Le Livre de la Chasse*, Edward very likely copied this passage directly from the original, but interestingly did not copy the chapter on reindeer as he believed it held no relevance for an English audience; unlike the wolf. *The Master of Game* should therefore not be thought of as a slavish copy of the original but was more akin to a thoughtful translation of what Edward believed would be valuable to English hunters. Perhaps this passage on the commonness of the wolf is merely in reference to the prevalence of wolf in the English imagination, rather than to actual sightings made, or the role of the wolf in Aesopian fable

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[402] Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (London, 2008), 20.
[403] Umberto Albarella, 'Wild Boar', in: T. O'Connor and N. Sykes (eds) *Extinctions and Invasions: A Social History of British Fauna* (Oxford, 2010), 65-67.
[404] Edward of Norwich, *The Master of Game*, chptr 7 page 60, [website], 2013, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/43452/43452-h/43452-h.htm, (accessed 4 October 2019).

(which of course Edward would have had access to as a child of the royal family) and religious texts. If, as an historian, we were to take Norwich's bold statement at face value, we would have to assume that not only were wolves much more prevalent in 15th century England than they are in modern Europe or even in North America (where there numbers are relatively stable) but that they were common beyond all ecological reasoning.[405] If the argument were to be made that wolves are not so shy that they avoid cohabiting in near proximity to humans[406] one might determine that wolves were more visible and perhaps more common, but this is making a huge assumption about the behaviour of wolves and still falls short in explaining how a wolf population with so few numbers could have possibly been considered 'common'. But considering Norwich's audience, there would indeed have been few men who had not encountered wolves in literature or in art. This particular passage might also speak to the idea of nature in Early Modern England – that is, just because an animal has not been seen is no indication that it does not exist, an idea which we will explore further in the second chapter of this essay with the werewolf.[407] The idea of permanence as opposed to the realization that concentrated hunting of any species would eventually cause their numbers to dwindle and finally for the animal to disappear is part of the distinction between what Early Modern authors considered as *extinction* and *disappearance*. In 1572, only a century after *The Master of Game*, George Gascoigne wrote 'the wolf is a beast sufficiently knowen in Faunce and other Countries where he is bred: but here in England they be not to found in any place. In Ireland (as I haue heard) there are great store of them.'[408]

Both *The Master of Game* and *The Noble Arte*, though perhaps not originally intended as a natural history, provide clear insight into the Early Modern English appreciation (or lack thereof) for the natural world. A more exacting natural history was written by Edward Topsell in his work *The History of Four-Footed Beasts* (1607), which relied heavily on Conrad Gessner's *Historiae animalium* (1551-58). Edward Topsell (1572-1625) became the perpetual curate of St. Botolph's in Aldersgate in 1604. As he was a cleric rather than a naturalist, Topsell relied on both ancient and more contemporary sources (including Gesner) for his natural histories, a methodology with a

[405] It is very unusual to see a wolf in the wild, and a common Native North American phrase is "If you have seen a wolf once, he has seen you a thousand times." Based on simple ecology, it is unreasonable to expect that wolves were so prevalent that they would have been considered 'common'. There are simply not enough prey species to support such a massive wolf population. In this case, it makes sense to assume Edward was exaggerating.

[406] In *Wolves and the Wilderness* Pluskowski argued that in medieval northern Europe, the wolf responded to the distribution of permanent human activity by selecting sheltered and relatively inaccessible environments. But recent research by David Mech et. al. seems to indicate the opposite however, that wolves are increasingly becoming comfortable denning and living nearer to major human establishments like cities and motorways. This argument is complicated by the fact that modern humans have expanded into territory previously occupied solely by wolves, which would have been much less the case in Early Modern England.

[407] Two good and obvious examples are the dragon and the unicorn – neither of which are mentioned by Edward or Gascoigne, but which were still believed to have existed well into the 16th century (Elizabeth 1st paid £10 000 for a unicorn horn discovered in Canada).

[408] Gascoigne, George. *The noble arte of venerie or hunting…* (London, 1575), Chapter 75, available from: the EEBO Library, (accessed 21 October 2019).

long and distinguished history, in keeping with most authors before him and contemporary to him. On the first page of ten pages dedicated to the wolf, Topsell wrote that a wolf shares a common name with all animals who tear men to pieces and devour them: 'Alfbah is a common name for all Four-footed beasts which do feed on men, killing and tearing them to pieces, devouring them with their teeth and claws, as a lyon, a Wolf, a Tiger, and such like…'[410] Wolves are not often likened to lions, but certainly the connection with the tiger is an interesting one as both animals have been persecuted for their (real or imagined) predation of men, women, and children. Like *Master of Game* and *The Noble Arte* in *Four-Footed Beasts*, Topsell wrote that a wolf will eat human flesh, but claimed that a wolf will not eat the flesh of a living man unless he has previously tasted it of a dead man.[411] Topsell goes into some detail to provide an etymology for the term wolf, and to describe some of the European histories surrounding wolves, including the story of Lycaon and Zeus,[412] bringing the werewolf to life in his natural history in a way that York did not, but Gascoigne also did. Topsell carries on his description of the wolf by assuring his reader that the fur of the wolf is full of vermin and worms (this may go some way to explaining why the economic viability of hunting wolves for their fur was nil). Topsell even records pack herding behaviour, hunting strategies which have been witnessed by 21st century biologists (though of course that is not to claim that Topsell himself ever saw such activities). Much and more of what Topsell wrote was repetitive and almost nothing was added to the natural history of the wolf in his work. Despite this, Topsell's late addition to the traditional methodology of natural history writing can neatly be mirrored by a newer, more accurate (though no less contentious) writing style: evidence-based inquiry. Looking at Topsell's natural history, it is easy to see how the wolf could have been perpetuated as a merciless killer, in all his most negative associations – Topsell's reliance upon previous literature was perfectly normal for the time, but with no new inquiries being made into the wolf's behaviour it meant the wolf's malicious associations remained stable.

Within one hundred years the wolves had disappeared entirely from England. The unlikelihood of an animal disappearing so quickly (without the assistance of modern methods like clear-cutting and massive building programs) leads a modern scholar to believe that there were certainly not enough wolves in the 15th century for Edward to remark upon them being common. The culturally engrained expectation that Edward was expounding is illustrative of how nobility perceived the wolf – a predator who was so immersed within the English mind-set that he did not have to be physically present in order to be well known and understood. Even local extinction could not change the way the wolf was perceived. But perhaps a more international re-

[410] Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts,* [website], 2014, https://archive.org/details/historyoffourfoo00tops/, (accessed 6 October 2019), 569.
[411] Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts,* [website], 2014, https://archive.org/details/historyoffourfoo00tops/page/572, (accessed 5 July 2019), 572.
[412] Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts,* [website], 2014, https://archive.org/details/historyoffourfoo00tops/page569, (accessed 5 July 2019), 569.

interpretation of the wolf would change the Early Modern understanding of nature and the natural environment?

Wolves in North America:

A comparative study of attitudes towards wolves in the so-called New World will complete this chapter on the extinction of wolves in England, the ramifications that extinction had on the natural world, and man's appreciation of those ramifications (or lack thereof). The New World will narrowly focus on those areas to which the English were immigrating – especially to New England and New York. As this thesis focuses on the cultural impact of wolves and their disappearance from England in the 15th and 16th centuries, it would be odd not to include the travel writings of those men who went to New England and New York and returned both with tales of horror and monstrosities, but also of wolves who were easily managed and rarely seen. William Wood, who wrote *New England's Prospect* published in 1634, wrote that '[t]he woolves bee in some respect different from them of other countries: it was never knowne yet that a Wollfe e/ver set upon a man or woman. Neyther do they trouble hor/ses or cowes;' this description is a far cry from how a wolf had been cast in England and in continental Europe. "A Wolf in the Garden", written by Alec Brownlow, is a study of the reintroduction of wolves into the Adirondacks, but Brownlow discusses the history of wolves in the area, citing chronicler James Sperry who noted 'among the trials of the first settlers, there were none more irritating than the destruction of sheep and swine by … wolves … [O]ften whole flocks of sheep would be slaughtered in [a] night.'[413] A very different writing of the wolf than Wood. These conflicting treatments of wolves in the New World makes an interesting study in the overall opinion of the wolf in Early Modern English culture especially as a comparison between the cultural memory of the wolf in England itself. This will make for an interesting study, as to my knowledge a comparison of wolves in the New World with the wolf free lands of Early Modern England has never been undertaken.

Part of what makes a study of wolves in New England and America so fascinating is the incredible divergence of ideas, both from the traditional writing of the wolf (as seen above) and between the authors themselves. This can in some instances be excused by the motivation for writing; William Wood was working toward the end-goal of inspiring men and women to immigrate from England, which could hardly have been achieved with stories of roaming wolf packs devouring livestock and children. Other excuses can be made for those authors who have obviously included information from their European bestiaries rather than eye-witness accounts. Alec Brownlow included a passage by early chronicler James Sperry, 'among the trials of the first settlers, there were none more irritating than the destruction of sheep and swine by … wolves…

[413] C. Mau, *The Development of Central and Western New York* (Rochester, 1944), 136. Cited in Alec Brownlow, 'A wolf in the garden: Ideology and change in the Adirondack landscape', in: Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (eds) *Animal Spaces, Beastly* Spaces (London, 2000), 144.

[o]ften whole flocks of sheep would be slaughtered in [a] night.'[414] And in his writing on the early Adirondack settlement, Byron-Curtiss wrote 'often after a settler had, by several seasons' patient breeding, obtained quite a flock of shepe, or a number of cows… his plans and calculations were upset by some nocturnal visitor from the woods.'[415] This is in stark contracts to Wood's assertion that 'Woolves bee in some respect different from them of other counties; it was never knowne yet that a Woolfe ever set upon a man or woman….'[416] And while Wood follows this description (contradictorily) with a more traditional characterisation of wolves as 'ravenous rangers' who 'most frequent' the English settlements in the spring following the deer, with their 'dangerous teeth', he concludes his description of wolves in New England with a brief anecdote in which an Englishman grabbed the wolf by the tail, inhibiting the wolf from roaming further, and the triumphant English killing the beast.[417] This amusing story very much echoes the traditional Aesopian Fables, and might have been included to reassure the reader of both the superiority of the English settler over the wilderness of New England, but also to reinforce the likeness of the New World to what was familiar to the Early Modern English man or woman. In fact, there is not a single account that this researcher has been able to find of wolf predation on the settlers in New England, although all chroniclers seem to admit some small predation of livestock, and all hint at human fatalities with their inclusion of the methods Englishmen have developed to combat the threat of wolves. Bearing in mind that the men and women immigrating to the New World had almost certainly never seen a live wolf before, but will no doubt have been indoctrinated into the religious reimagining of the wolf, it is difficult to interpret whether they were prepared to leave England for the colonies because of the assertion that wolves in the New World were harmless, or in spite of the long-held view that wolves are rapacious and malicious.

Unlike in Europe, wolf-skins became an economically viable commodity in New England, with a single black wolf pelt being sold to the 'Indians' for as many as 40 beaver skins. While this may not be surprising to a modern researcher,[418] it must have come as quite a shock to Early Modern Europeans, who placed a high value on the beaver skin and very little value on a wolf fur.[419] It is from Thomas Morton (1564-1659) who recorded the most complete account of this

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[414] C. Mau, *The Development of Central and Western New York* (Rochester, 1944) cited in Alec Brownlow, 'A wolf in the garden: Ideology and change in the Adirondack landscape', in: Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (eds) *Animal Spaces, Beastly* Spaces (London, 2000), 144.
[415] A.L. Byron-Curtis, *Life and Adventures of Nat Foster, Trapper and Hunter of the Adirondacks*, (Harrison, 1976) cited in Alec Brownlow, 'A wolf in the garden: Ideology and change in the Adirondack landscape', in: Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (eds) *Animal Spaces, Beastly* Spaces (London, 2000), 144.
[416] William Wood, *New England's Prospect…* (Corne-hill, 2nd edn. 1634), 260, available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019).
[417] William Wood, *New England's Prospect…* (Corne-hill, 2nd edn. 1634), 260, available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019).
[418] In the freezing New England winter, a wolf pelt would have been terrifically valuable as water does not condense and freeze on wolf fur. This is not to argue that was its sole value (as obviously the colour had some import to the First Nations people), but that would have given it real economic currency.
[419] In the small sampling of records included in this study, 3 of the 5 authors used all mention the value of a black wolf pelt.

transactional value: '[t]he skinnes are used by the Savages, especially the skinne of the black wolfe, which is esteemed a present for a prince there… the Savages will willingly give 40 beaver skinnes for the purchase of one of these black Wolfes skinnes: and although the beast himselfe be a discommodity, which other Countries of Christendome are subject unto, yet it is the skinne of the black wolfe worthy, the title of a commodity, in that respect that hath bin declared.'[420] The newfound monetary value of the wolf was clearly a surprise to the settlers, based on the frequency which it was commented upon.

Finally, it is worth noting that questions were raised by some thoughtful scholars on the very nature of animal distribution globally – pertinent to this essay which deals exclusively with local extinction. Questions surrounding animals existing on multiple continents, continents which were separated by a vast body of water, demonstrate an increasing awareness of environment and the natural world, even if this awareness was still heavily influenced by the human-centric view. John Ogilby questioned in 1671 (admittedly late in this study), 'for the Domestick and other Crea|tures fit for Humane use and Sustenance were thus brought thither [the New World]: Yet how comes it to pass, that Voracious and Wild Creatures are also found there, such as Wolves, Tigers, Lions, and other Beasts of Prey?'[421] He allowed that tame and domestic creatures were transported by men (most by the Spaniards), but he asks again, 'who would load their Ships with Lions, Tygers, Bears, Wolves, Foxes, and other Serpents and Voracious Beasts? it is certain that some may be tam'd before they were shipped.' Alec Brownlow concludes in his chapter that the wolves were considered 'out of place', an easier argument to make in light of Ogilby's questions – if the beasts were not placed there by the Almighty at the time of creation, and had not survived destruction in Noah's Ark, then surely it was acceptable to eradicate them – if they had been brought to the New World by humans, they could easily be displaced by humans and replaced with more valuable animals. Brownlow goes on to write that 'the very presence of livestock hastened and facilitated a domesticated and pastoral characterisation of the region… demands were placed upon the defence of livestock from wolves, but perhaps of greater consequence upon the defence of this new meaning of place.'[422]

The existence of wolves in New England only challenged the English notion of nature and the natural in-so-far as they struggled to create another landscape suitable for livestock and agriculture. Between the testimony of those authors who had travelled to the New World and their own preconceptions around animals and their habitats, it seems (with the benefit of hindsight)

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[420] Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan, or New Canaan containing an abstract of New England, composed in three books…*(London, 1637), 79, available from: the EEBO Library (accessed 21 October 2019).
[421] John Ogilby, *America: being the latest, and most accurate description of the new vvorld containing the original of the inhabitants, and the remarkable voyages thither, the conquest of the vast empires of Mexico and Peru and other large provinces and territories…* (London, 1671), 8, available from: the EEBO Library (accessed October 21 2019).
[422] Alec Brownlow, 'A wolf in the garden: Ideology and change in the Adirondack landscape', in: Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (eds) *Animal Spaces, Beastly* Spaces (London, 2000), 147.

inevitable that opinions surrounding the natural world would simply migrate with the settlers rather than evolve to suite the new environment.

Conclusion:

This concludes a chapter which has dedicated itself to the question of how the extinction of wolves in England could have changed the cultural impact of this animal on discursive and literary representations. Based on the similar extinction stories of the lynx and the bear, and then the red kite, the wolf should have disappeared from the literary record and slowly been regulated to the distant past. But that is not what happened; shockingly, the wolf became an even greater villain once he disappeared from England, and not in the guise of a werewolf as happened on the continent, but in his true biological form. This cannot all be attributed to the role of the wolf in his biblical form, as serpents and bears also adopt anthropomorphic tendencies in the bible and do not suffer the same ignominious treatment as the wolf. Use of the wolf during the Reformation and Counter Reformation – as a symbol of false prophets at a time of religious conflict and uncertainty – may have been responsible for elevating the wolf above those of other species.

Though the oral narrative was recorded for the first time too late for inclusion within the main body of research for this thesis, Garry Marvin analysed the Little Red Riding Hood narrative of Charles Perrault. About that story he wrote, 'the wolf has gone beyond a wild animal that might kill and eat people. The wolf that was feared as rapacious in terms of appetite now becomes a potential rapist.' Marvin continues, '[t]his characterisation of the wolf was clearly not drawn from what natural wolves do but rather emerges from a concern for what men are or what they might become.'[423] This summary of the victimisation of the wolf in one particular late 17th century narrative is exactly how the biological animal, after his local extinction in Early Modern England, continued on in the literature and imagery. Despite having no wolves in the natural landscape, a permanent space was created for the wolf within the lexicon of coded human language, and it was an important space as it relied on wolves to contextualise human behaviour.

[423] Garry Marvin, *Wolf* (London 2012), location 738 of 2351, available from: Kindle Book edition (accessed 27 October 2019).

Werewolf

Introduction

Werewolves have a long history in Europe; the first instance of human transformation into wolves being noted by Herodotus in *The Histories* written in the 450's B.C.E.[424] The longevity of the mythology boasts of a consistency not often found in histories or stories of the supernatural and seems to suggest that werewolves are a subject that both fascinate and terrify regardless of era or location.[425] This stability of narrative form, a human who transforms bodily into a wolf, has continued even into the 21st century despite post-modern scepticism regarding all things religious and paranormal.[426] This chapter will explore the myth of the werewolf at the very cusp of, and immediately following, the wolf's local extinction in England. Such a study will enable us to better understand how the myth evolved to suite a country with no natural predators of a similar model.[427] In the 16th century a seismic shift occurred in England regarding the believability of the werewolf: in an appeal to scientific and enlightened thinking, the werewolf ceased to be considered a man who might bodily transform and rather became a human being who suffered from the disease of lycanthropy. While such a drastically different way of considering a very old idea can hardly be said to have been universal or even novel, the royal and clerical elite were focussed in their resolve to redefine the werewolf in order to better suit their growing apprehension surrounding bodily transformation.

Did the medieval and Early Modern world believe in monsters like werewolves? The short answer is yes.[428] Belief in monsters is primarily a matter of definition – how were monsters defined by Early Modern men and women in Europe? Within the 'considerable study of the etymology of the term monster there is little discussion… with its present scholarly meaning. Modernity would generally define a literal 'monster' as that which is horrible but does not actually exist.'[429] For the purposes of this paper, that which is horrible will be used to reference that which invokes fear, if not necessarily horror. Pamela Gravestock wrote that the most 'useful way to approach the problem of imaginary animals is to hypothesize that medievals knew quite

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[424] Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. Aubrey de Selincourt (Toronto: 1996), 105.
[425] An excellent, and somewhat stereotypical, comparison can be made between werewolves and vampires – vampires experienced a drastic evolution from the Classical to Early Modern and Romantic literature, nothing like the stability of the werewolf mythology.
[426] *Skeptics in the Pub* has become a regular feature in English towns and cities. The British Humanist Society hosts public conferences to debunk popular mythologies like vampires, and magazines like *Anomaly* include articles on the scientific argument against the paranormal.
[427] Iceland is the region with the most prolific werewolf narratives but has no indigenous wolves at all. Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, 'The Werewolf in Medieval Literature', [website], https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/08b9/76ea7d791565566c0d14698570626cd08c4e.pdf, (accessed 20 September 2019).
[428] Asa Mittman, 'Notes', in: A. Mittman and Peter Dendle (eds) *The Ashgate Research Guide to Monsters and the Monstrous*, (New York, 2013), 4.
[429] Asa Mittman, 'Notes' in: A. Mittman and Peter Dendle (eds) *The Ashgate Research Guide to Monsters and the Monstrous*, (New York, 2013), 5.

well that these animals did not exist …' but that 'the creatures served a didactic purpose.'[430] Though this argument merely speculates that medieval peoples did not believe in monsters (that cannot be empirically proven) it certainly does not take into consideration the grey area which must always be accounted for in arguments of belief; as Lorraine Daston points out, 'churches had long displayed curiosities of no particular religious significance, such as a giant's bones, ostrich eggs, and unicorn horns…Until the late seventeenth century the category of the preternatural… defied tidy attempts to divide it in half down the line of natural versus supernatural causes.'[431] It therefore seems unlikely that people invested in this without acknowledging the validity of the zoological identity ascribed to these products. We must be especially cautious with cases of human transformation, as men and women were tried and executed for the crime of being a werewolf during the witch trials and such judgements would tend to denote true belief;[432] indeed, Caroline Oates identifies that one of the key themes of a werewolf (as opposed to a wolf) attack is a required belief in the existence of werewolves.[433] One of the central aims of this chapter will be to query whether anyone in England still believed in werewolves and, if so, whether that belief influenced the discursive and cultural representation of wolves. During the French-Lorraine werewolf trials there were an unprecedented thirty-three men and women tried and convicted of witchcraft and for having the ability to shapeshift into a wolf. However, a modern scholar must be cautious not to overemphasise the importance of these trials – their very popularity might indicate their rarity rather than their prevalence and they must be situated within the emerging procession of witchcraft in the Swiss Valais and Vaud; and the French context (when it emerges) is different in some ways and not in others. Foreign examples of werewolves in England hint not only at a particular view of the Continental witch trials (there were no reported cases of werewolves being burned or tried in England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland), but also perhaps at an added entertainment and 'shock value' not to be found in more local narratives, akin to the wonder tales and travel dialogues of the medieval world.

A True Discourse Concerning the Damnable Life and Death of Stubbe Peeter was printed in England in 1590 and outlined the crimes and trial of the German Peeter Stubbe. In this discourse, Peeter Stubbe is convicted as a werewolf, tried, and

> judged to have his body laid on a wheel, and with red hot burning

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[430] Pamela Gravestock, 'Did Imaginary Animals Exist?', in: Debra Hassig (ed) *The Mark of the Beast*, (London: 2000), 130.
[431] Lorraine Daston, 'Marvelous Facts and Miraculous Evidence in Early Modern Europe', *Critical Enquiry*, Vol 18 No 1 (1991), 106.
[432] Martin Rheinheimer, 'The Belief in Werewolves and the Extermination of Real Wolves in Schleswig-Holstein', in: Patrick Masius and Jana Sprenger (eds) *A Fairytale in Question*, (Cambridge, 2015), 40. Though of course we must be cautious in making sweeping generalisations as these trials were not universal and judgements were contested.
[433] Caroline Oates, 'Metamorphosis and Lycanthropy in Franche-Comte, 1521-1643', in: Michel Feher et al. (eds) *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, (Cambridge MA, 1989) cited in: Garry Marvin, *Wolf* (London, 2012), location 574 of 2351, available from: Kindle Book edition (accessed 27 October 2019).

> pincers in ten places to have the flesh pulled off from the bones, after that, his legs and arms to be broken with a wooden axe or hatchet, afterward to have his head struck from his body, then to have his carcase burned to ashes.[434]

The trial of Peeter Stubbe is often mentioned in modern scholarship, being something of a sensational example of the werewolf trials in Europe – and there can be little doubt that it caused a sensation even at the time, as it was printed in England shortly after the events themselves. Whether this was taken as a true account or as a fictionalised version of events is beside the point of this particular chapter – it is the representation of the werewolf in literature and text and how he was perceived culturally with which we are concerned – and certainly the trial of Peeter Stubbe sets the scene very nicely for just what the expectation of an Early Modern werewolf was, and what his punishment should be.

A chapter dedicated to werewolves in a thesis on wolves after extinction in England may seem out of place. But Sarah Higley makes a good case for the relationship between wolves and werewolves: '[the] double view of the wolf has everything to do…. with the difference between the wolf pack and the omega wolf, the one an image of martial ferocity and the *espirit de corps* and the other an image of solitude, lawlessness, and skulking, which contributed to the complex history of the [werewolf].' And again, this 'difference could explain how acquiring the empowering virtues of a wolf became… entrapment and punishment. In the Renaissance, it merged with the pathology of lycanthropy which had its roots in late Greek and early medieval medicine.'[435] Higley is correctly pointing out the inseparable relationship between wolves and werewolves both in the literary and historic records, like the hunting manuals included in this thesis and in the more fanciful narratives out of Classical Antiquity, encountered in the wolves chapter. But she fails to account for the Icelandic literature, a country which did not have any wolves (like Early Modern England) and yet enjoys an abundance of werewolf narrative. Part of the goal of this thesis is to discuss the predominantly negative opinion of the wolf and his unfavourable role in English text and image. The nearly-human wolf of fairy tale and oral narrative (of which we only have later and written editions), and from Isengrim in the Reynard cycle, is not so far removed from the 'werewolf of folklore, which in turn may have been based on the wild behaviour of humans who had been bitten by wolves and infected with rabies.'[436] The werewolf is surely the culmination of the wolf as a ravening and rapacious creature who is neither fully animal nor fully human.

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[434] Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader* (Syracuse, 1986), 75.
[435] Sarah L. Higley, 'Identity Monstrosity, Expulsion and the Werewolf', in: Tom Shippey (ed) *The shadow-walkers: Jacob Grimm's mythology of the monstrous*, (London, 2005), 339.
[436] Joyce Thomas, *Inside the Wolf's Belly: Aspects of the Fairy Tale*, (Oxford, 1989), 115.

De Blécourt wrote, '[w]erewolves cannot be comprehended on their own, but need to be seen as part of the ever-changing relations between humans and animals...',[437] between man and nature, and between man and the biological wolf – who was a representative of the animal and natural world in a great many stories.[438] Of course the werewolf's classification can be debated,[439] and was debated even in Early Modern England, as Reginald Scott wrote that a werewolf was none other than a man who was stricken by 'a disease proceeding partly from melancholie, wherebie manie suppose themselves to be woolves, or such ravening beasts.'[440] Scot's interpretation of lycanthropy closely resembled William Perkins' notion of human-ness.[441] Perkins's definition of the difference between human and animal was 'the proper subjects of co[n]science are reasonable creatures, that is men and Angels. Hereby consience is excluded… from bruit beasts: for though they haue life & sense, and in many things some shadowes of reason, yet because they want true rason, they want consience also.'[442] Less than fifty years previous to Scott, George Gascoigne (who was borrowing from Edward of Norwich) wrote the following: 'such Wolues are called *VVarwolues,* bicause a ma~ had neede to beware of them.'[443] But Erica Fudge argued that the child and the werewolf come dangerously close to being considered animals in her own definition.[444] The ability to transform bodily was a point of strong contention throughout most of Northwest medieval Europe with leading clerics denying the possibility of human transformation while the laity would seem to have clung to the notion, but certainly by the 17th century the pendulum had begun to sway towards the side of mental illness rather than physical change. And yet England did not live in a vacuum and still received reports of werewolves from the continent,[445] and obviously still discussed the issue of human transformation as it is written about in major texts relating to demonology and witchcraft. Joseph Glanville (1636-1680),[446] an Anglican clergyman in the 17th century, 'shared Jean Bodin's belief that it

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[437] Willem Blecourt, 'The Differentiated Werewolf: An Introduction to Cluster Methodolgy', in: Willem De Blecourt (ed.) *Werewolf Histories,* (London, 2015), 18.
[438] For more on the theme of wolves as an elemental creature in fairy tales see Sarah L. Higley, 'Identity Monstrosity, Expulsion and the Werewolf', in: Tom Shippey (ed) *The shadow-walkers: Jacob Grimm's mythology of the monstrous*, (London, 2005).
[439] Caroline Walker Bynum's work on hybridity and/or metamorphosis, especially 'Shape and Story', the final chapter in Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity*, (Brooklyn, 2001).
[440] Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, reprinted edn.1886), Book 5 Chptr 6, page 81, available from: https://archive.org/details/discoverieofwitc00scot/page/n5, (accessed 21 October 2019).
[441] Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beastly in Early Modern English Culture* (London, 2000), 54.
[442] William Perkins, "A Discourse of Conscience" (1596), in *The Workes of That Famovs and Worthy Minister of Christ in the Vniuersitied of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins (1616-18)*, Volume 1 (1616), 517. Cited in: Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beastly in Early Modern English Culture* (London, 2000), 54.
[443] Gascoigne, George. *The noble arte of venerie or hunting VVherin is handled and set out the vertues, nature, and properties of fiutene, sundrie, chaces together, with the order and maner how to hunte and kill euery one of them* (London, 1575), 206, available from: the EEBO Library, (accessed 21 October 2019).
[444] Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beastly in Early Modern English Culture* (London, 2000), 34.
[445] Reginald Scot writes about 2 French werewolf trials and the case of Peter Stubbe was printed in England in 1575.
[446] Glanville has been dubbed the leading propagandist for the approach of the English natural philosophers of the later 17th century by Richard S. Westfall, *Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England,* (New Haven, 1973), 18.

(werewolfism) was a real transformation of a man into an animal,'[447] but Bodin and Glanville were in the vast minority. Gascoigne and Norwich provide evidence for an understanding of werewolves and the terminology amongst the so-called cultural elite. And of course, anthropomorphised wolves feature heavily in oral narrative, fables, and fairy tales.[448]

Willem de Blecourt summed up the entire problem when he wrote '[t]he werewolf is not a biological species, nor is it an afflicted human (though it is often mistaken for one), and one of the problems is translation...'[449] Even in English, the problem of translation comes up again and again, from Latin to Old English to the more recognizable English in Early Modern England. Werewolves are largely defined and redefined based on language and geography. De Blecourt's chapter focusses on the issue of categorisation of the werewolf, the fictional werewolves of literature and imagination as compared to the genuine werewolves of court documents and historical records. The point being that to contest whether a werewolf is an animal or a human, real or imagined, while academically quite satisfying, will always be inconclusive as the creatures do not exist to offer some finality to the question of their status. For the purposes of this chapter, we need only to appreciate that the werewolf was an indeterminate beast that sometimes existed in the realm of animal, but that a werewolf was different to a normal wolf.

Classical and Medieval Werewolves:

The prevalence of werewolves in Graeco-Roman literature, and the regurgitation of those same stories throughout Europe, ensured the survival of the werewolf in his Classical form but inhibited further re-imaginings. Richard Gordan wrote that 'there are no other were-wolf stories that are to be dated later than Petronius' in Antiquity, and that 'there was ... no motive within the literate class to elaborate that particular fantasy.'[450] In most Classical examples, the majority of which are Roman, the werewolf was a cursed human and a creature to be feared or pitied. This was probably a result of the Greek and Roman preoccupation with animal transformation as a punishment or a divine message from the gods.[451] The Greek and Roman intellectual ideal, moving away from so-called animalistic behaviour towards a more Roman (and therefore more civilized) representation of humanity was another reason to portray men who were aggressive and beastly in their mannerisms and behaviour as actual beasts.

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[447] Christa Tuczay, 'Animals', in: Golden (ed) *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 40-42 cited in Rita Voltmer, 'The Judge's Lore? The Politico-Religious Concept of Metamorphoses, in the Peripheries of Western Europe', in: De Blecourt (ed) *Werewolf Histories,* (London, 2015), 169.
[448] Later in this chapter I present an argument for the relationship between fairy tale wolves and werewolves.
[449] Brackets are the authors own. Willem De Blecourt, 'The Differentiated Werewolf: An Introduction to Cluster Methodology', in: De Blecourt (ed) *Werewolf Histories*, (London, 2015), 1.
[450] Richard Gordon, 'Good to Think: Wolves and Wolf-Men in the Graeco-Roman World', in: Willem De Blecourt (ed) *Werewolf Histories*, (London, 2015), 47.
[451] Examples of which include Lyacon into a wolf, Europa into a bull, and Arachne into a spider.

Interestingly, while animal-human hybrids are always negative in classical literature, the biological wolf does have a firm place in the rather spectacular Roman foundation myth. The Romans had a special affiliation with wolves; the historian Livy recorded that the mythological founders of the city, Romulus and Remus, were suckled by a she-wolf.[452] Ovid wrote about King Lycaon, who was transformed by Zeus; Lycaon 'ran in terror, and reaching the silent fields howled aloud, frustrated of speech. Foaming at the mouth, and greedy as ever for killing, he turned against the sheep, still delighting in blood. His clothes became bristling hair, his arms became legs. He was a wolf but kept some vestige of his former shape. There were the same grey hairs, the same violent face, the same glittering eyes, the same savage image.'[453] In *Wolf*, Garry Marvin makes an argument for the pastoral world of sheep, shepherds, and wolves as being the context from which 'the earliest stories of human-wolf metamorphoses as a form of punishment are drawn' and making a comparison to the Christian parables of wolves in sheep's clothing.[454] The Classical werewolf, like Lycaon, was not dissimilar to the Early Modern wolf as he was understood within the religious literature and language of the time.

Early Modern authors would have been more aware of the Classical examples of werewolves than perhaps the werewolves of Old English text. This is not to say that werewolves did not exist in other forms in other cultures, as they surely did exist in Icelandic and Norse saga, but that the werewolf of later Early Modern English literature was dominated by the Ovidian creation. Of the Norse tradition, Christa Agnes Tuczay wrote,

> In the saga-literature the famous battle-frenzied warriors
> the berserks change into so called were-animals: humans deliberately change
> into animal shape and transform into a stronger predatory animal because
> they have to do battle and combat. Besides the functional aspect for warriors
> in combat, the Northern tales of the animal transformation demonstrate a
> very interesting aspect that can be seen as a relic of an archaic belief-system
> in doubles and wandering souls.[455]

There are a great many examples of shared culture between Anglo-Saxon England and Northern Continental Europe.[456] In the 13th century Völsunga saga, the wolf is closely associated with the familial line of the Völsungs with 'the most frequently cited episode (being) where Sigmund and Sinfjötli find enchanted wolf pelts in the forest which transform them into wolves for ten days.' These characters are heroes, and their connection with wolves has 'been interpreted in relation to

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[452] Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, trans. Audrey de Selincourt (London, 1984), 1.4. The Latin for she-wolf also translates as whore, so this story could also be a tongue-and-cheek retelling of the foundation myth.
[453] Ovid. *Metamorphosis*, trans. David Raeburn (Toronto, 2004), Bk 1 199-243.
[454] Garry Marvin, *Wolf* (London, 2012), location 480-580 of 2352, available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 27 October 2019).
[455] Christa Agnes Tuczay, 'Into the Wild: Old Norse Stories of Animal Men', in: Willem De Blecourt (ed) *Werewolf Histories* (London, 2015), 61.
[456] See Pluskowski's *Wolves and the Wildnerness* for a more thorough treatment of this idea.

the ancestral role of Óðinn, as well as a symbol of the untamed, wild power that brings victory. At the same time, the transformation of Sigmund and Sinfjötli is also one of uncontrolled savagery which the heroes gladly relinquish.'[457] The medieval werewolf informs the Early Modern English literature, with nods from both Edward of Norwich and George Gascoigne to the werewolf legend and the acknowledged monstrosity of the werewolf in relation to biological wolves. Later authors interestingly hearken further back to the (rather ambiguous language) of men who may or may not transform literally, but certainly have mentally transformed – whether due to a divine touch or to madness.

At the end of the 12th century the werewolf of fable and *lais* (like *Bisclavret* in Marie de France) followed the Norse suite and emerged as a primary protagonist in stories which revolved around the werewolves themselves; in fable, *lais*, and travel dialogues. These werewolves were not the Ovidian creatures of *Metamorphosis* – men who transformed into hairy brutes, villains fit only for killing;[458] by the high Middle Ages readers might encounter werewolves who chose to transform of their own free will and who were the sympathetic heroes; or portrayed as educated men and therefore receptive to some further civilizing influence, Arthur and Gorlagon are a good example of this theme. In some instances, the characters were purely fictional, including Bisclavret from the *lais* of the same name. Often characters such as these were written as having lived in a distant time, or an unknown part of the country; like Arthur's Gorlagon. Though King John of England, the youngest brother to Richard the Lionheart, is an example of the western European belief in men becoming werewolves after they died, and an example of a man connected to a time and place in an historical context.[459] While one might expect that werewolves would be removed geographically and chronologically from the listener, this is often not the case and werewolves (like Bisclavret) are written (or narrated) as members of the very classes from which the audience was coming. The aristocracy in France, and certainly those in England, were relatively safe from predation by wolves or humans, and so the rich men and women found it titillating to imagine the werewolf as a member of their own social strata, and to 'pursue stories of hidden identities.'[460] The French and English cultural tradition included werewolves in the literary and oral narrative from the 12th century well into the Early Modern period.

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[457] A. Pluskowski, 'Before the Werewolf Trials: Contextualising Shape-Changers and Animal Identities in Medieval North Western Europe', in: Willem De Blecourt (ed) *Werewolf Histories* (London, 2015), 97.
[458] Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, trans. David Raeburn (London, 2004), I:199-243.
[459] King John of England is said to have gone about as a werewolf after his death. An old Norman chronicle states that the monks of Worcester were compelled by the frightful noises proceeding from his grave, to dig up his body and cast it out of consecrated ground. "Thus the ill presage of his surname Lackland was completely realized, for he lost in his lifetime almost all the domains under his suzerainty, and even after death he could not keep peaceful possession of his tomb" Kelly's book is partially a collection of werewolf stories from around Europe, and so the veracity of this legend cannot be obtained, however, it would seem that the inclusion of King John is to partake in the vilification of this historical figure after his death. Walter K. Kelly, *Curiosities of Indo-European Tradition And Folk-lore*, (London, 1863), 261.
[460] Sarah L. Higley, 'Identity Monstrosity, Expulsion and the Werewolf', in: Tom Shippey (ed) *The shadow-walkers: Jacob Grimm's mythology of the monstrous*, (London, 2005), 350. An important differentiation needs to

A long history of inclusion of werewolves in narrative like *Arthur and Gorlagon* and the story of the brothers Gwydion and Gilfaethwy in the *The Mabinogion* does not denote absolute belief in transformation of man into wolf. The prevalence of werewolves in Classical poetry like the *Metamorphoses*, and in medieval romances like *Bisclavret* and *Roman de Guillaume de Palerne* cannot be considered as evidence for a universal acceptance of werewolves; especially as these examples were written as *lais*, or fiction. However, the consistency of werewolves in Icelandic, Scandinavian, and North-western European literature, and the frequency with which they appear even in non-fictional accounts within the European judicial records during the trials,[465] lends credence to the idea that werewolves were not a phenomenon to be lightly dismissed. Even if an argument can be convincingly made that the English population did not believe in the existence of werewolves as living creatures, that the accounts of werewolves persisted from Classical Antiquity through the medieval era and into Early Modern Europe should at least be considered in terms of the preference for the werewolf to be relied upon as a narrative technique or for pure entertainment.[466] An argument can be made for the continued representation of a cultural form in specific types of literature. The transformation of a man into a wolf fascinated consistently even when the transformation of man into other forms of much more local wildlife did not.

The English Werewolf:

In England, where the wolf had disappeared sometime in the 14th century, there is a deficiency of werewolves in narrative compared to the romances on the continent. This is not surprising as the likelihood of encountering dangerous wolves diminished and the memory of wolves, or wolves as they appeared in literature and bestiaries, seem to have adopted a much more metaphorical association with poor morals, impiety, and malicious behaviour. Yet two authors – Edward Norwich and George Gascoigne both saw fit to reiterate the werewolf myth. Edward Norwich wrote in his *Master of Game*, 'they are called wer-wolves, for men should beware of them,'[467] referring to those wolves who had become enamoured of the taste of human flesh. Norwich is the first English naturalist (for want of a better term) to narrowly define the werewolf in such practical terms. It is not until *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* that the sentiment is

be made here between 'hunting' and 'predation'. Being killed in pursuit of an animal is vastly different from being stalked and eaten.

[465] See Robin Briggs' history of the French-Lorraine werewolf trials, Robin Briggs, 'Dangerous Spirits. Shapeshifting, Apparitions and Fantasy in Lorrain Witchcraft Trials', in: Kathryn E. Edwards (ed) *Werewolves, Witches, and Wandering Spirits. Traditional Belief & Folklore in Early Modern* Europe (Kirksville, 2002), 1-24.

[466] Gerrard Breen tackled this problem for the Berserkers, which is largely a literary phenomenon: Gerrard Breen, *The Berserker in Old Norse and Icelandic Literature* (Cambridge, 1999).

[467] Edward of Norwich, *The Master of Game*, [website], 2013, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/43452/43452-h/43452-h.htm, (accessed 4 October 2019).

repeated: 'such Wolues are called *VVarwolues,* bicause a ma~ had neede to beware of them.'[468] Gascoigne's definition is quite obviously taken directly from Edward's text, as is his entire section on wolves. It is appropriate to focus this chapter on werewolves around Gascoigne's passage as *The Noble Arte* is the first and last Early Modern text to take this stance on the nature of werewolves – those authors who follow (including Reginald Scott and King James) reinterpret and redefine werewolfism as lycanthropy, a disease of the mind. Gascoigne was writing just as the biological wolf was hunted to extinction in Scotland, and that his work hearkens back to *The Master of Game* makes it a final snapshot of attitudes towards wolves in England while wolves were still alive on mainland Britain. Whether or not the English believed in the existence of real werewolves, both Norwich and Gascoigne felt compelled to address the issue of werewolves in otherwise innocuous hunting treatises. Neither author offers any sort of pseudo-explanation for the other fantastic predators believed to exist in 15th and 16th century continental Europe. The question to address is: why was the monstrosity of wolves considered to be so abhorrent that it required either a mythologised account of human transformation, or else to be addressed by the gentry to refute older superstitions?

The word werewolf, and its variations, appeared primarily in literature[469] but also (though in fewer instances) in documents meant to provide specific information, like the *Master of Game* and *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*. In "Identity, Monstrosity, Expulsion and the Werewolf" Sarah Higley provides an excellent etymology for the word werewolf; it is not within the scope of this paper to reproduce her research here, but only to offer a brief summation.[470] It is worth repeating this information within this dissertation in order to contextualise the later Early Modern research – the recognition of the name werewolf. The connotations inherent within the language are worth recognizing and elaborating on; it is these meanings that authors like Gascoigne may have been influenced by and aware of and will help the reader to appreciate the weight of the language and meaning surrounding references to both werewolves and wolves. In medieval and Early Modern England, the word werewolf could have been used by authors and orators as a clever alliterative tool to describe irreligious persons or the devil, or outlaws and thieves, as in the Laws of Cnut. The term wolf or wolf's head was used to mean outlaw in the laws of King Cnut, Edward the Confessor, and Henry I.[471] Depending upon both the text and the narrator of the message, werewolf might conjure up only a vague sense of disquiet for the state of one's soul, or a

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[468] Gascoigne, George. *The noble arte of venerie or hunting…* (London, 1575), 206, available from: the EEBO Library, (accessed 21 October 2019).

[469] See Gervase of Tillbury *Otia Imper*. 1.895, Malory *Morte d'Arthur* xix.xi.793, W. Kennedy *Flyting* in P. Bawcutt's *Poems* W. Dunbar I.208, M. Drayton *Man in Moone* in *Poemes* sig. G8, Aesop's *Fables Trials of Fox*, LD. Bernertr *Bk. Duke Huon of Burdeux* cliva. 602, and W. Rowley *Birth of Merlin*, sig. G3 for just a small sampling.

[470] This chapter sits within the text Tom Shippey (ed) *The shadow-walkers: Jacob Grimm's mythology of the monstrous,* (London, 2005). See specifically pages 336, 354, and 356.

[471] Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, (Syracuse, 1986), chapters 1-3

very real terror of brigands along the road. 'In England, there are nine discrete instances of wearg in thirteen Anglo-Saxon bounds mostly relating to places where criminals were executed, with the earliest dating to 891 and the latest to 1046. Old English wearg became codified as wolf's head by the eleventh century and continued to be used, with its variant warg , as late as the mid-fourteenth century.'[472] Legally it would seem, the terms werewolf and warg had their roots in predominantly negative behaviour, associated with criminality.

The history of the werewolf in Britain generally, and England specifically, is both long and messy. The word appears at somewhat random intervals and in vastly different texts, being recorded by authors who likely had little or no knowledge of previous works including werewolves. Though Gascoigne took the passage regarding werewolves directly from the Duke's text, the term werewolf predates *Master of Game* in the English language by at least 300 years. The Duke of York was probably unaware that the Old English *wer-* meant *man* and so he defined the compound word in Middle English terms. While the word werewolf was still known in the 14th century, the meaning had been lost, or distorted.

The first recorded instance of werewolf is in the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of King Cnut (1017-1035):

> "Therefore must the shepherds be very watchful and diligently crying out,
> who have to shield the people against the spoiler, such are bishops
> and mass-priests, who are to preserve and defend their spiritual flocks
> with wise instructions, that the madly audacious were-wolf do not
> too widely devastate, nor bite too many of the spiritual flock."[473]

Cnut's Laws and Ordinances were largely drafted by Wulfstan, the Bishop of London, Bishop of Worcester, and Archbishop of York. Wulfstan often styled himself *Lupus episcopus*[474] in the letters issued in his role of Bishop of London. In the passage quoted above, the term werewolf is meant metaphorically, to describe demonic or irreligious activity. The first element has been identified with the Old English *wer*, or man, 'but the form *were-* in place of *wer-* and the variants *war-*, *var-* make this somewhat doubtful.'[475] It would seem that Wulfstan invented the word *werewolf*,[476] because *were-* to refer specifically to a man was not used again until the Lambeth Manuscript in c.1175. It could be argued that Wulfstan invented the word werewolf as it is written in the English language. The meaning of the word though did not originally refer to a man transformed into a wolf. In fact, as Wulfstan frequently referred to himself as *Lupus*, his usage of werewolf might

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[472] A. Pluskowski, 'Before the Werewolf Trials: Contextualising Shape-Changers and Animal Identities in Medieval North-Western Europe', in: Willem De Blecourt (ed) *Werewolf Histories* (London, 2015), 93.
[473] B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (Cambridge, 2012), 160-61.
[474] *Lupus episcopus* translates to the Bishop Wolf. Patrick Wormald, 'Wulfstan [Lupus]', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30098, (accessed 13 October 2019).
[475] 'werewolf', *Oxford English Dictionary*, (2019), http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/227846?redirectedFrom=werewolf#eid, accessed (8 September 2015).
[476] Spelt here as it appears in the original Old English text.

have referred much more narrowly to wayward members of the clergy, in a clear parallel to his own Latin pseudonym. In the second version of Cnut's laws the use of werewolf as written by Wulfstan was corrected to read wolf – 'perhaps by a scribe who wanted it to sound more in-line with biblical writing.'[477]

Writing over a century after Wulfstan, in 1187 Giraldus de Barri, or Gerald of Wales, completed his travel dialogue *The History and Topography of Ireland*. This text was read aloud publicly in Oxford in 1188.[478] Gerald set his work apart from a *lais* or a folkloric account as he boasted that he did not rely upon any written sources for his text.[479] Such a proud assertion is not unlike Marie de France's claim that her tale was true and the reader should not doubt her – but whether or not Gerald hoped to inspire true belief is the subject of further research.[480] Within the larger body, Gerald included a passage on two werewolves who have been transformed or punished by a saint and cursed to wear the skin of wolves for seven years. Importantly for this study, Gerald was referencing a creature which could perform an act of physical transformation – rather than the metaphorical connotations in the original Wulfstan text.

Gerald edited *History and Topography of Ireland* many times between the first publication and his death in 1223, going through at least four recensions in order to fully explain and justify his inclusion of werewolves and hearken back to a Christian and biblical message.[481] The wolves even greet the priest in Gerald's narrative with the declaration of Gabriel to Mary, 'Do not be afraid!'[482] In *The History and Topography of Ireland* Gerald recorded the priest as encountering the two wolves:

> a wolf came upon them and broke into these words "Do not be afraid! Do not fear! Do not worry! … We are natives of Ossory. From there every seven years, because of the imprecation of a certain saint… two persons, a man and a woman, are compelled to go into exile not only from their territory but also from their bodily shape.[483]

[477] Sarah L. Higley, 'Identity Monstrosity, Expulsion and the Werewolf', in: Tom Shippey (ed) *The shadow-walkers: Jacob Grimm's mythology of the monstrous*, (London, 2005), 361.
[478] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John O'Meara (London, 2006) 14-15.
[479] Typically folklorists and those recounting epic tales of the past will rely upon prior accounts in order to bolster their own story. See chapter 'Tales in Theory', in: Stephen Benson, *Cycles of Influence* (Detroit, 2003) for information on this element of folklore.
[480] Caroline Walker Bynum's *Metamorphosis and Identity* includes a detailed analysis of Gerald's text. Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity*, (Brooklyn, 2001).
[481] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John O'Meara (London, 2006) 15.
[482] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, 52. Analysis from J. Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (Basingstoke, 2006), 86.
[483] Gerald of Wales, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John O'Meara (London, 2006), 52.

From that point, the priest accompanies the werewolf to his dying wife, who has requested the last rites before she expires. In order to remove all doubt from the priest's mind as to the true nature of their transformed state, the she-wolf pulls back her wolf-skin to reveal a human body beneath.[484]

Gerald's revisions began with an analogy between the monstrous form of the wolf-man and the hybrid nature of Christ.[485] However, in the first edition the bodies of the Irish werewolves were compared to the flesh of the Irish race, under siege by Henry II – under their wolfskins the werewolves were just like the Irish, treacherous and driven by the prospect of plunder.[486] The transformation of the villagers into wolves was an ideal opportunity not only to discuss the political and physical back-water of Ireland, but also to demonstrate that the classification of Christ's body can be compared to the wonders of nature, like wolves; though presumably we are not meant to literalize the analogies by thinking of Jesus as a monster.[487] The supernatural and the miraculous had yet to be argued by Aquinas as being two separate phenomenon and Gerald created a mythology in which they were one and the same – the werewolves had come about as result of God's condemnation, issued via a saint. A similar story was recorded in the life of St. Patrick in the thirteenth-century Norwegian *Konungs skuggsjá*, where an Irish tribe was transformed into wolves as a punishment from God.[488] The intervention of the saint in Gerald's tale might have more to do with God's indirect involvement in the world via saints and the Pope by the 12th century, as well as being a powerful political commentary on the Irish, who were often affiliated with Saint Patrick. Gervase of Tilbury wrote in the *Otia Imperialia* of men who changed under lunar influences, and he observed: '[i]n England we have often seen men change into wolves [*homines in lupos mutari*] according to the phases of the moon. The Gauls call men of this kind *gerulfi*, while the English name for them is *werewolves*, *were* being the English equivalent of *uir*.'[489]

After *The History and Topography of Ireland* came the 14th century Latin version of *Arthur and Gorlagon* in which King Arthur sought out King Gorlagon, who was once transformed into a wolf by the wickedness of his wife who used harmful magic to change her husband.[490] The tale bears striking similarities to *Bisclavret* and adheres to many of the traditional folkloric archetypes:

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[484] Gerald's insistence that these 'werewolves' were in fact just humans with wolf skins over top contributes to the ongoing debate over the nature of werewolves – man or beast? Obviously for Gerald, a man of the cloth, it was important that these creatures were human first.
[485] Robert Mills, 'Jesus as Monster', in: Bettina Bildhaur and Robert Mills (eds) *The Monstrous Middle Ages* (Toronto, 2003), 15.
[486] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (Basingstoke, 2006), 86-87.
[487] Robert Mills, 'Jesus as Monster', in: Bettina Bildhaur and Robert Mills (eds) *The Monstrous Middle Ages* (Toronto, 2003), 34-35.
[488] Guðmundsdóttir, 'The Werewolf', 291 cited in A. Pluskowski, 'Before the werewolf trials' in: Willem De Blecourt (ed) *Before the Werewolf Trials* (London, 2015), 96.
[489] Gervaise of Tilbury. *Otia Imperialia*, trans. S.E. Banks and J.W. Binns (Oxford, 2002), 87-89: I.15.
[490] The full Latin text is available here: George Lyman Kittridge, *Arthur and Gorlagon* (Boston, reprinted edn. 1903), available from: https://archive.org/stream/cu31924027098072/cu31924027098072_djvu.txt, (accessed 26 October 2019).

chivalry, a wicked-wife, a benevolent 'wise-man' or king, and finally the fairy-tale happy ending for the hero. The etymology of the name Gorlagon is expanded from *Gorgol*, 'Old Welsh *Guruol* or *Guorguol*, the first syllable of which is cognate to Latin *vir* and Anglo-Saxon *wer*.'[491] King Arthur encounters yet another werewolf in the later *Le Morte D'Arthur*, written by Sir Thomas Malory in 1470 – 'bitrayed with his wyf for she made hym seuen yere a werewolf.'[492] The continuation of the theme of werewolves over a period of more than a century, and transcending language barriers including Welsh, Latin, Old and Middle English, is indicative of (if not belief) then certainly a willingness to engage with narrative of human transformation. Though these individual cases do not add up to a coherent acceptance of werewolves as an absolute (and thus, the historian will inevitably enter the murky waters of the werewolf myth in England in the medieval and Early Modern eras) they do hint at a universally acknowledged idea of human and animal transformation; primarily, that the transformation into a wolf is not to be desired by god-fearing, honest members of the population and the transformation follows a prescribed route from man to wolf and back again, typically involving clothing as the tropes of humanity vs. bestiality. The popularity of the Arthurian legend in England and Wales and the persistence of the Arthurian tradition in the early and high Middle Ages in England meant that the werewolf tale would necessarily be repeated in a specific context. Unlike Bisclavret in Marie de France's *lais*, Gorlagon attacks livestock and humans, even killing two toddlers within the castle grounds. The werewolf of *Arthur and Gorlagon* was not the werewolves which were encountered by Gerald of Wales, for though he had the capacity to act as a man and did eventually regain his compassion when confronted by a younger, wiser king, he raged with the savagery of the wolf.

By the time of Malory's writing *Morte d'Arthur*, Edward of Norwich had already penned his *Master of Game*. Based on the history of the werewolf in English narrative and literature, a relatively safe assumption can be made that Norwich was writing for an audience who had a full understanding of what a werewolf was – either a man who transformed into a wolf (for whatever purpose), or, at the very least, an imaginary beast meant to conjure up the reality of demonic temptation. A werewolf was not a pleasant idea, but it was firmly rooted in the human world; a werewolf was impossible without human agency. And yet, despite this long tradition, Norwich wrote that werewolves were nothing more than wolves of which one should be especially wary. Undoubtedly, this play on words only works in English, a language in which *were-* and *ware-* are phonetically identical. Though Norwich was translating *Livre de Chasse*, Gaston Phoebus did not include anything on werewolves. The etymology of the term werewolf aside, the continued usage of the name in English text, literature, and narrative clearly indicates both an appreciation for the

[491] Etymology as described by Alfred Nutt in Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, (Syracuse, 1986), 7.
[492] Malory*, Le Morte Darthur*, trans. John Lawlor and Janet Cowen (London, 1969), 793.

descriptive nature of the word as well as a cultural appropriation of a somewhat singular passage in a legal ordinance issued in the 11th century.

A richer idea of the understanding of the word werewolf becomes clearer upon reading the laws of King Cnut, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, *Morte d'Arthur*, the *Master of Game,* and finally, the medicinal and religious texts of the 17th century. By the 16th century, Gascoigne was the last author of his generation to refute the notion of werewolves as actual living beasts capable of transformation, but rather to limit the creatures to their biological counterpart – wolves. After Gascoigne the most prominent authors to refer to werewolves in their texts almost universally characterise werewolfism as lycanthropy – a disease of the mind rather than diabolical possession or illusionary transformation.

It is not possible to argue for or against belief in werewolves in England based on the few sources which remain. The sources referenced in this chapter differ in both the date published, location of publication, and language. The likelihood of Giraldus de Barri, writing his text in Latin, ever having read Cnut's ordinances, written in Old English, is minimal at the very best. It is much more likely that Gerald took his information on werewolves from the classical texts he would have been familiar with from his clerical studies.[493] The problem then becomes the issue of language and the translation of werewolf from Latin, Celtic, Old English, and English. How to tease out the tangle of translation from one text to the next should be the first step for any scholar hoping to trace an absolute belief in the werewolf in England. The impact of the transformative state did not always mean that the audience was conditioned to a specific response –tales like Thomas Lupton's *A Thousand Notable Things* were typical of the wonder tradition, which presented prodigies and oddities as 'intrinsically interesting facts to surprise and entertain the reader, rather than to acquaint him with imminent apocalypse and judgement.'[494] The impact of werewolves on popular cultural in Early Modern England thus becomes very difficult to determine. Certainly, at the very least a modern scholar can anticipate the term having a negative impact in whatever context it was used, simply by definition of wolves being associated with greedy and ravaging behaviour. In this thesis the best argument that can be made is that the people of England perpetuated the conscious and unconscious continuity of the werewolf and that a shared cultural understanding surrounding what the world werewolf meant had been firmly developed by the 16th century. A werewolf was obviously negative, usually demonic, and increasingly considered unreal. But why were the educated men of England still writing about werewolves in the 16th century, and what does it mean that scholars began to promote the medical case of lycanthropy over magical, bodily transformation into wolves?

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[493] *The Satyricon* and *The Metamorphoses* are two excellent examples of ancient literature which feature werewolves as important characters in the narrative.
[494] Laura Knoppers and Joan Landes (eds.), *Monstrous Bodies / Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, 2004), 36.

Early Modern English Werewolves:

In *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* George Gascoigne saw fit to mention the belief in werewolves on the continent and in England. Though of course it would not do to over-inflate the importance of this figure, it is worth mentioning that Gascoigne's is the only surviving hunting manuscript of his century, with the only other contemporary text to either Edward or Gascoigne being the *Boke of St. Albans*, printed in 1486. Gasciogne's inclusion of the werewolf myth, and his final word on the character of wolves: 'but for all that he wil neuer leaue his malicious nature' would seem to indicate a gradual shift away from the belief in wolves as having the capability transform into monsters out of mythology, but still in keeping with a *monstrosised* natural predator. Gascoigne is writing 12 years before the distribution in England of the Peeter Stubbe werewolf trial and Scot's publication of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft.* It would be another 22 years before King James published *Daemonologie, In Forme of a Dialogie, Divided into three Bookes* and rebutted the entire notion of human transformation into wolves - King James VI of Scotland explained the existence of 'lycanthropes' as a kind of delusion.[495] Gascoigne's complete removal of the human from werewolves is different from Reginald Scot's assertion that lycanthropy on the continent was a disease rather than a physical transformation.[496] These three contradictory texts highlight the dichotomy between belief in human transformation and the adoption of a more scientific approach to natural history. Gascoigne, who was a poet, is a good example of an author who was caught between these two worlds.

Man-eating wolves was a well-used trope in oral narrative, pamphlets and texts, as well as in legal and religious discourse. So well used in fact, that one wonders if it had not become cliché by the time of Gascoigne's writing. Particularly vicious wolf attacks, attacks by outlaws or threat of the devil, were often exaggerated as being the result of werewolf activity.[497] In medieval Denmark and Germany, wolves were sometimes hung at the gallows beside a human thief (and later, particularly a Jewish person) to compound his shame and to highlight his criminality.[498] Animals were defined by their behaviour – they were called beasts because of their violence, and wild because they were accustomed to freedom; they do not abide by the social expectations of humans, and their violence was irrational.[499] An element of monstrosity can often be found in outrageous human behaviour – in order to separate oneself from the perpetrator of a particularly heinous act (cannibalism, infanticide, incest, etc.) the criminal was made to be less than human. An historian can see such distancing over and over again in the werewolf trials of the French-

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[495] Darren Oldridge, *Strange Histories* (New York, 2005), 93.
[496] Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, reprinted edn.1886), available from: https://archive.org/details/discoverieofwitc00scot/page/n5, (accessed 21 October 2019).
[497] In France the French-Lorraine werewolf trials are a good example of belief in werewolves run awry. In England, the laws of King Cnut specifically reference werewolves – probably meaning outlaws in this instance, but a strong association between deviant behaviour and wolves was therefore established.
[498] Benjamin Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* (Cambridge, 2012), 160-161.
[499] Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, (London, 1994), 5.

Lorraine (see below), and, more locally in the treatment of witches in England and Scotland, like in the North Berwick witch trials of 1590 in which the women (some peasant, some elite) were culturally distanced from the rest of the Puritan population.[500]

By virtue of Gascoigne's inclusion of the word werewolf, a modern scholar must assume that the men reading the hunting treatise would have had a working knowledge of what the word meant. This is bolstered by the fact that at no other point in his hunting text does Gascoigne engage the reader with academically rigorous vocabulary. Enough evidence for the horrific nature of human transformation of man into wolf exists, that by the 16th century there can have been little doubt that a werewolf was indeed referencing a man transformed. In context, Gascoigne could only have been referring to the idea of wolves transformed into men. The religious definition (which had largely fallen out of use by this time) would not make sense in the context of the hunting manual. An argument might be made that Gascoigne could have been arguing for the definition of werewolves as brigands or outlaws – but this does not hold up to scrutiny as Gascoigne does not reference peasants or the low born anywhere else in his text, which is solely about the pursuit of wild game. A wolf to beware of is no less dangerous or terrifying in the woods than an outlaw or brigand and so he surely would have specified that a werewolf was merely a thug. There is no benefit to adding even more alliteration by not specifying if he had been referring to wolves in a metaphorical sense – it is therefore most likely that when Gascoigne wrote 'wolves to beware of' he indeed meant the four-legged variety. An outlaw in the wilderness is equally as terrifying as a wolf (more so, considering that a man in Early Modern England was infinitely more likely to encounter an outlaw than a wolf) so why not simply offer the definition as a werewolf is merely a man to beware of? The term *wer-* as meaning *man* had long fallen out of use, and Gascoigne was probably unaware of it ever having done so. Gascoigne could hardly have meant anything other than a supernatural creature when he wrote that a werewolf was a wolf to beware of as opposed to man transformed.

There is a possibility that Gascoigne only included the brief passage in accordance with a desire to copy exactly from Edward. But because *The Natural Arte* was written with the express intention of impressing the Queen of England and the Master of Hound, it is unlikely Gascoigne would have included anything which might have brought him into (further) disrepute. And as we shall read below, there are other passages which Gascoigne added or omitted from Norwich's text; it becomes clear that he was not merely rewriting *The Master of Game* by rote. Gascoigne included the passage on werewolves because he considered it relevant to his text with the intention of reassuring the English country gentleman that the mythology surrounding wolves was not the 'done thing' amongst the upper classes. And he did not blame the transformation on an

[500] Lawrence Normand and Gareth Roberts, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Scotland: James VI's Demonolgy and the North Berwick Witches* (Liverpool, 2000), chapters 2 and 9.

illusion of the mind but rather upon a much more natural explanation because it suited his hunting treatise to create a particularly vicious wolf rather than a particularly deranged human. Not only did this create the illusion of wolves as being much more vicious than they typically are, but it ensured Gascoigne's hunting treatise stayed firmly rooted in the natural (rather than human) world. In doing so, Gascoigne's natural explanation prefigured the various attempts by later scholars to determine a natural explanation for the phenomenon of werewolfism.

Gascoigne was writing his hunting treatise at a time when the language of monstrosity was starting to be applied inwardly, rather than to outward manifestations or the deformed. It was especially useful in propaganda.[501] It is not hard to find the propaganda in Gascoigne's hunting treatise – certainly he wrote the entire thing in order to please Queen Elizabeth. But even more specifically, in the werewolf text Gascoigne included the following passage on the Irish:

> In Ireland (as I haue heard) there are a great store of them [wolves]:
> and bycause many Noble men and Gentlemen, haue a desire to bring
> that Countrie to be inhabited and ciuilly gouerned (and would God
> ther were moe of the same mind) therefore I haue thought good to set
> downe the nature and maner of hunting at the Wolfe according to
> mine Author.[502]

At the time of Gascoigne's writing Elizabeth's government was pursuing an uneasy treaty with Shane O'Neill and aggressively displaying the English military power via her vassal Sir Henry Sydney.

Gascoigne's attitude toward the Irish was not unusual, and we have seen it before within this very chapter – Gerald of Wales set his *History and Topography* in Ireland not only to usurp the place of the far East as the primary location for exotica and magic, but also to emphasise the apparent political backwater of Ireland during the campaigns of Henry I. In both cases wolves were used as the primary propaganda of monstrosity, though several centuries apart. Gascoigne could not have adopted his attitude towards the Irish from Edward, because Norwich did not mention Ireland at all. Though of course Gascoigne's association of wolves with the Irish was metaphorical and Gerald's was literal (in that he wrote the Irish as werewolves) in opening his passage on wolves with the brief passage on the Irish he immediately associated the Irish with the long cultural history that was already associated with wolves. Many of the English already saw the Irish in a similar light to that in which they saw wolves and wild animals; according to the Elizabethan Barnaby Rich the Irish 'lived like beasts' and Sir William Petty wrote that they lived

[501] Kathryn M. Brammall, 'Monstrous Metamorphosis: Nature, Morality, and the Rhetoric of Monstrosity in Tudor England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (1996), 6.
[502] George Gascoigne, *The noble arte of venerie or hunting …* (London, 1575), available from: the EEBO Library, (accessed 21 October 2019), chptr. 75, 361.

'in a brutish, nasty condition.'[503] It is with statements like these that Early Modern scholars hearkened back to Greek and Roman authors, who also (and to a larger extent) associated the foreign with particular beasts – including wolves.

But Gascoigne was the last of a dying breed when he wrote about werewolves as biological entities rather than lycanthropy as a disease of the mind. In 1590, only fifteen years after Gascoigne's hunting manual, Henry Holland wrote in *A Treatise Against Witchcraft*, that 'I denie not, but wiches may haue also sundrie such Sathanaicall delusions in many, which abounde in melancholy, but no reall transformations indeede' – focussing here on the act of transformation and the melancholic state to which Holland refers.[504] And John Deacon and John Walker, colleagues of Samuel Harsnett, wrote that lycanthropy was linked with 'disordered melancholy… mania… the epilepsy… lunacy' in *Dialogicall Discourses of Spirits and Devils*, published in 1601.[505]

In *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* Reginald Scot[506] wrote extensively to disprove Jean Bodin, the foremost European scholarly voice on the likelihood of human transformation. Scot denied the possibility of outright transformation, in direct contradiction to Bodin's assertion that human transformation was a distinct possibility. In Book V of *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Scot wrote 'it is absolutely against the ordinance of God (who hath made me a man) that I should flie like a bird, or swim like a fish, or creepe like a worm, or become an asse in shape' and 'what a beastlie assertion is it, that a man, whom GOD hath made according to his own similitude and likenes, should be by a witch turned into a beast?'[507] Despite his heavy reliance upon the image of God and the impossibility of man changing his shape – even by the will of God – Scot does not at any point in his treatise regulate the existence of werewolves as being a strictly biological (but ferocious) wolf, in the manner of both Gascoigne and Norwich. Instead, he blames first the imagination of his contemporaries and earlier scholars, and then discusses lycanthropy as a disease of the mind, rather than a deformation of the body. In Book VI, 'to conclude, I saie that the transformations, which these witch-mongers doo so rave and rage upon, is (as all the learned sort of physicians affirm) a disease proceeding partlie from melancholie, whereby manie suppose themselves to be wolves, or such ravening beasts.'[508]

King James I of England, in a written conversation dialogue between two colleagues, had them discuss haunted houses, wraiths, and 'war-woolfes.' He wrote, 'but to tell you simplie my opinion in this, if anie such thing hath bene, I take it to have proceeded but of a naturall super-

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[503] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England* (London, 1984), location 794 of 13411 available from: Kindle Book edition.
[504] Henry Holland, *A Treatise Against Witchcraft*, Cambridge, 1590 in Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beastly in Early Modern English Culture* (London, 2000), 54.
[505] Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beastly in Early Modern English Culture* (London, 2000), 54.
[506] Printed by William Brome in 1584.
[507] *The Discoveier of Witchcraft* cited in Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, (Syracuse, 1986), 124-125.
[508] *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* cited in Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, (Syracuse, 1986), 126.

abundance of Melancholie … it hath so viciat the imagination and memorie of some, … that they have thought themselves verrie Woolfes indeede.'[509] King James wrote *Daemonologie, In Forme of a Dialogie, Divided into three Bookes* in 1599, as an academic text, written for scholars, but he was still King of Scotland and so the beliefs and intellectual contexts which shaped this work would have been influenced by his experience in this role. And James's texts must be taken with the proverbial grain of salt as he still believed that witches consorted with the devil and could fly. It is worth noting though that King James could stretch his imagination to incorporate air-borne hags enjoying various licentious affairs with the Prince of Darkness, but human transformation from a man into a wolf was a step too far (although werewolves were commonly associated with witchcraft in Northwestern continental Europe).[510] This may be as simple a matter as the scarcity of wolves as compared to the population of women, 'Goodwives,' and 'Gammers' in Scotland and England.

For Scot and King James werewolves ceased to be a threat and were instead reduced to the medical condition of lycanthropy. This (despite James's claim otherwise) is not a term that was used in English or in French sources up until the end of the 16th century. It was however, familiar in the Graeco-Roman world: 'Marcellus of Side in the early 2nd century AD, no doubt relying on earlier authors, described a melancholic condition named lycanthropy ('Wolf-man syndrome'), whose symptoms included "behaving like wolves and dogs" (whatever that might mean) and skulking at dawn in cemeteries, we find claims that dried wolf's liver helps the "moonstruck" (lunatics) and the mad, as does a wolf's tooth; the roasted heart consumed on an empty stomach helps lycanthropes.'[511] In his list of frenzies in *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), Robert Burton includes 'wolf-madness' (4:160-64).[512] As a medical term, *lukanthropos* appeared in Late Antiquity to describe a man who might have a ravenous appetite, like a wolf.[513] Lycanthropy as a transformation, or werewolfism, was also present in Classical literature but went unacknowledged by King James and Scot. The sudden re-emergence of lycanthropy as a medical condition completely undermined the tradition of associating wolves with supernatural monstrosity. Authors contemporary to Scot, James, and Gascoigne were writing about wolves and werewolves, but by the end of the 16th century we begin to see the term werewolf being used as allegory and metaphor, rather than to denote literal belief. It will only be another 100 years before usage of the term almost completely ceases to have anything other than a figurative meaning, a common alliterative tool to remark upon negative character (this is not unlike the term wolf,

[509] *Men-Woolfes* cited in Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, (Syracuse, 1986) 128.
[510] Jane P. Davidson, 'Wolves, Witches, and Werewolves: Lycanthropy and Witchcraft from 1423 to 1700,' in *Journal of the Fantastic Arts* Vol. 2 No 4 (1990), 47.
[511] Richard Gordon, 'Good to Think: Wolves and Wolf-Men in the Graeco-Roman World', in: Willem De Blecourt (ed) *Werewolf Histories*, (London, 2015), 31
[512] Sarah L. Higley, 'Identity Monstrosity, Expulsion and the Werewolf', in: Tom Shippey (ed) *The shadow-walkers: Jacob Grimm's mythology of the monstrous*, (London, 2005), 357.
[513] Gary Melhorn, *The Esoteric Codex: Shapeshifters* (Lulu, 2015), 431.

which we explored in the previous chapter). It is interesting to note that while rational man moved away from belief in classical monsters like werewolves, the monstrosity that werewolves imbued – that is, the metaphorical monstrosity of bestial behaviour and ravenous tendencies – were transferred onto the mentally distressed. Only Gascoigne, of all the 16th century authors writing about werewolves and lycanthropes, considers wolves as the original perpetrators of the vicious acts supposedly done by werewolves. The medical explanation and Gascoigne's explanation make equally as much sense, it is not unreasonable to believe that both responses to werewolves were correct. However, the medical explanation insists that the werewolf is he who is human but acts like an animal – the monstrosity therefore becomes a creature acting out of character for its species. This is not out of keeping with the tone of this thesis, as the very nature of a lycanthrope is to act as a wolf and thus become a monster (if only a monster transformed in his own mind). Werewolves were always the product of the imagination, so while King James and Reginald Scot wrote about lycanthropy, Gascoigne reiterated Edward of Norwich's statement that it was indeed the wolves who were monstrous, but such was their very nature. This was a theme which we encountered earlier when we saw the wolf in his most literary form – the Aesopian fable. The wolf in these fables came most often to ruin when he acted out of character. It suggests that popular understanding of the natural world in Early Modern England relied upon engrained and well defined, trope characteristics in order to create a very well-structured and anthropomorphised animal kingdom.

Reginald Scot was a writer from the wolf-free parts of Britain who interpreted continental werewolves as sufferers from a lycanthropic delusion.[514] But only King James I mentions werewolves as a historic phenomenon; 'there hath indeed bene an old opinion of such like things, For by the Greekes they were called *lykanthropoi* which signifieth men-woolfes.'[515] Neither author made any mention of werewolves in England, Scotland, or Ireland. This is not to say that they were ignorant of the written texts, dialogues, and stories out of these countries involving werewolves, but could be as simple as not wishing to acknowledge and debase their academic texts with fiction. The impression is certainly given that werewolves are indeed a continental problem and not the sort of beast one would encounter in England. The idea of a werewolf as embodying not only the monstrous, but also the foreign was not unique to King James I or to Reginald Scot. Gascoigne, though he references werewolves only briefly, and in a completely different vein than the other two authors, also makes a tenuous link between the bestial and the other.

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[514] W.M.S. Russell and Claire Russell, 'The Social Biology of Werewolves', in: J.R. Porter and W.M.S. Russell (eds) *Animals in Folklore* (Cambridge, 1978), 170.
[515] *Men-Woolfes* cited in Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, (Syracuse, 1986), 128.

Werewolves Abroad:

In direct contradiction to the events in England, continental Europe, and especially the French-Lorraine, experienced a century of unprecedented persecution in the real world against those accused of being a werewolf. The werewolf trials in the Lorraine, as recorded by Robin Briggs and Sabine Baring-Gould, lasted from 1520 to 1620; a century of werewolf activity in the area in which three hundred and seventy-five individuals were recorded to have been tried and accused, thirty-six of whom were first accused of being werewolves.[516] The French-Lorraine trials saw an unusually high number of men hanged or burned as werewolves, as well as some women hanged or burned for the same crime.[517]

The events in France have relevance here because they foremost serve to underscore the possibility of absolute popular belief in werewolves – the prosecution and burning of men, women, and children for the crime of human transformation is incredibly strong evidence for belief in literal transformation. But more importantly for the purposes of this paper, the trials in the French-Lorraine were well recorded and commented upon by prominent scholars at the time. The witch-trials were neither small nor isolated, and neither were the French-Lorraine werewolf trials. English authors contemporary to the trials referenced the Lorraine werewolves directly and by name and therefore must have been aware of the judicial proceedings.[518] From the peasant's rebellion to the well-defined parameters of what it meant to be a werewolf, in France belief in werewolves was popular and relatively consistent.[519] Additionally, we have a record of the French-Lorraine werewolf in English with Reginald Scot mentioning the trials directly in his text. Finally, the werewolf trials in France are relevant in their use as a comparative study against England, where there was no tradition of the werewolf narrative. In keeping with the overall argument for this paper, the French-Lorraine witch trials are an interesting mirror to reflect what cultural and discursive representation of wolves in England might have been had they been made locally extinct even 100 years later.[520]

The sudden increase in accusations of horrific transformation, despite the doctrine that shape-shifting was a trick of the devil, came partially as a result of civil unrest in France. In 1525

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[516] Robin Briggs, 'Dangerous Spirits. Shapeshifting, Apparitions and Fantasy in Lorrain Witchcraft Trials', cited in 'Witchcraft Trials', in: Kathryn E. Edwards (ed.), *Werewolves, Witches, and Wandering Spirits. Traditional Belief & Folklore in Early Modern* Europe (Kirksville, 2002), 4.
[517] Even when women are accused, the association is made between a vicious crime or attack (on livestock or people) as opposed to crimes more commonly associated with witch-craft (impotence and crop-failure).
[518] Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, reprinted edn.1886), available from: https://archive.org/details/discoverieofwitc00scot/page/n5, (accessed 21 October 2019), book 5, chptr. 1.
[519] 'Consistent' in that werewolves were being treated as actual living threats into the 17th century, unlike in England, where the historic record is murky and unclear how werewolves were ever viewed popularly.
[520] Although part of the issue with the werewolf trials is that they are very unevenly spread in Continental Europe, irrespective of wolf populations – although it seems that to have werewolf trials you need local wolves, but local wolves do not always (or even in most cases) produce werewolf trials. In comparison to witchcraft trials, including magical attacks on animals (stealing milk from cattle or causing them to become ill) werewolf trials are a tiny proportion. (Private comment, A. Pluskowski, The University of Reading, 9 September, 2019.)

the German Peasant's Revolt spread beyond the borders of Germany into the French-Lorraine region and in 1529 the population of France revolted for food. The economic reality was that at the end of the Spanish-French war, both Spain and France were in debt, leading to an increase in taxation and strain on an already struggling population. The monetary crisis turned religious, setting Catholics against Protestants and vice versa. In Romans, a town in Dauphine, the Protestant peasantry revolted and massacred the Catholic upper class, offering bits of their flesh for sale. The cannibalistic imagery is interesting as it is one of the images associated with the werewolf.[521] Cannibalism was not uncommon in Europe as a result of sheer starvation, in sieges, and serious famines – it occurred on a large scale in the terrible famine of 1315-17, and werewolves were often cannibals in traditional European witchcraft literature.[522] These rebellions are also indicative of a distinct hierarchy within the peasant communities which would become significant during the werewolf trials as the literate classes began to diverge from the popular belief in horrific transformation.[523]

At the heart of the quarrel regarding literal or illusionary transformation lay the power of demons on earth. For the majority of scholars, a demon should not know how to modify the universal order set out by God and, with the exception of Jean Bodin in France,[524] most did not believe that God would impart transformative powers to Satan. Although in 1605 Richard Rowlands wrote, 'were our ancestors vsed somtyme in steed of man … were-wulf. This name remaineth stil knoun in the Teutonic, & is as much to say a man-wolf, the Greeks expresing the very lyke,'[525] his statement could very much be read as an endorsement of literal transformation. But apart from Bodin and Rowlands, the argument amongst scholars was that the soul was incapable of assuming the body of a wild animal, any more than the soul of a horse could inhabit the body of a lion.[526] The fundamental argument regarding demons and their earthly influence lay in the fear of unalterable and incomprehensible change. Any ability demons had to physically alter, or create an illusionary transformation, encroached upon the boundaries that had been established by God and encompassed all men. The vastly unlikely scenario in which Satan would choose to work evil in the world through the whims of aged men and woman did not escape the notice of scholars in the 16th century; the strong-female presence who represented the witch in

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[521] Adam Douglas, *The Beast Within* (London, 1994), 140.
[522] Jane P. Davidson, 'Wolves, Witches, and Werewolves: Lycanthropy and Witchcraft from 1423 – 1700', *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts 2*, no. 4 (1990), 47.
[523] For more on unrest and hierarchy within the peasant community, see pages 165 to 200 in: Peter Schofield, *Peasant and Medieval Community, 1200-1500* (Oxford, 2002).
[524] Jean Bodin wrote *The Demon Mania of Witches* in 1580 and was the chief exponent of the idea that the devil had the power to transform a man into a wolf. Jean Bodin, *The Demon Mania of Witches*, trans. by Jonathan L. Pearl (Toronto, 1995) Bk 2.6.
[525] *Restitution of Decay'd Intelligence, vol. 4* cited in: Montague Summers, The *Werewolf in Lore and Legend* (New York, 2003), 3.
[526] Robin Briggs, *The Witches of Lorraine* (Oxford, 2007), available from https://witchcraft.history.ox.ac.uk/, (accessed 21 October 2019), 185.

biblical passages had her counterpart in 'poor silly contemptible people … we now hear talk of this old Gammer and that old Goodwife. It seems the kingdom of darkness is quite altered in its Politicks.'[527] The status of the werewolf was greatly diminished too, as he went from a noble knight, to become a hermit or vagrant.

In 1608 Marion Flandrey of Le Faing de Ste Marguerite transformed into a wolf and killed three sheep.[530] She denied all charges and withstood the torture, so she did not have to produce any explanation from her point of view.[531] While being able to withstand the torture was impressive, this was not the same as an outright acquittal. It was not recorded in Briggs, Baring-Gould, or elsewhere if Flandrey was ever accused again, whether her neighbours accepted the decision of the judge that she was not a werewolf or whether she was forced to relocate. It is unlikely that after the immense strain and social pressure to bring Flandrey to trial that reintegration into her local community would be smooth. But since Flandrey was only accused of killing sheep, not people (like all the other convicted werewolves), perhaps this was regarded as a less serious instance of horrific transformation.[532]

Whole families could be accused during the trials. In 1602, fifty witnesses convicted Mengette Cachette, whose mother had already fled. Her husband was tried the next year. Accused by a host of community members who participated in her trial, transformation into a wolf featured among her many crimes. Mengette was accused of having killed a horse fifteen years earlier, and of having taken the form of a wolf to bring on illness to a young boy and kill another horse. In her confession, Mengette admitted to strangling the horse, 'in the form of a werewolf… but she reckoned it was her master (the devil) who had done the harm and that he made her believe that it was her doing.'[533] While Mengette was a self-confessed werewolf, this charge did not take prominence in her trial, and her admission implied a sophisticated awareness of the confusion surrounding physical transformation.[534]

Though England did take part in the witch trials, there was never a recorded instance of a man, woman, or child being tried or condemned as being a werewolf. This is despite the fact that wolves were still believed to inhabit Scotland and the borders, as well as and Ireland; wolves were

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[527] John Wagstaff, *The Question of Witchcraft* cited in: Clive Holms, Popular Culture? Witchcraft, magistrates and divines in early modern England (Berlin, 1984), 95.
[530] The following passages are quoted from J. Monteith 'The Werwolf Trials in the French-Lorraine', by J.Monteith, MA Thesis, Laurentian University, 2012, 52.
[531] Robin Briggs, *The Witches of Lorraine* (Oxford, 2007), available from https://witchcraft.history.ox.ac.uk/, (accessed 21 October 2019), 125.
[532] The trial record can be found: *Witch 338, Marion Flandrey*, [website], http://witchcraft.history.ox.ac.uk/pdf/w338.pdf, (accessed 15 October, 2019).
[533] Robin Briggs, *The Witches of Lorraine* (Oxford, 2007), available from https://witchcraft.history.ox.ac.uk/, (accessed 21 October 2019), 125.
[534] The trial records of both members of the Cachette family can be found: *Witch 108, Jean Cachette*, [website], http://witchcraft.history.ox.ac.uk/pdf/w108.pdf, (accessed 15 October, 2019); *Witch 107, Mengette Cachette*, [website], http://witchcraft.history.ox.ac.uk/pdf/w107.pdf, (accessed 15 October, 2019).

not a foreign element in 16th century England. But werewolves were not considered enough of a threat that they should be pursued in the same manner as witches.

Conclusion:

A research paper focussed on the villainy and perceived monstrosity of wolves must surely include a chapter on werewolves and the central question of this thesis, namely, did the local of extinction of wolves in England change perceptions of the natural world, is better served by the inclusion of an analysis of the werewolf in England. While the wolf himself did not disappear from text or literature after his extinction in the 14th century, the werewolf never enjoyed much celebrity in England despite the continued presence of both wolves and werewolves in France and Germany, and the obvious communication between these nations and England. While it remains to be proved whether perceptions of the natural world changed as a result of the extinction of the wolf, the focus of this final chapter queried the connections between the extinction of a natural species and the consumption of stories about the werewolf.

Foreign werewolves, well established by the end of the 16th century, reached their peak popularity in the publication of *A True Discourse Concerning the Damnable Life and Death of Stubbe Peeter* printed in 1590 and 'truly translated out of the Dutch, according to the copy printed in Collin, brought over to England by George Bores ordinary post, the 11th day of … June.'[535] Peeter Stubbe was:

> judged to have his body laid on a wheel, and with red hot burning pincers in ten places to have the flesh pulled off from the bones, after that, his legs and arms to be broken with a wooden axe or hatchet, afterward to have his head struck from his body, then to have his carcase burned to ashes.[536]

This broadside was printed in London for an English reading audience. The text was printed alongside gruesome images of Stubbe as a werewolf and then being subjected to his various tortures. There is every reason to assume that this short series of pictures was intended for the illiterate audience in order to increase 'readership' of the discourse. And though it is impossible to know how many of the English people consumed the trial record, the very fact that it came six years after Reginald Scot's disputation against Jean Bodin and belief in horrific transformation, and in popular print, is telling of the popular climate for werewolf literature in the 1590's. Though for some the werewolf may have been relegated to the dim and distant past, the general populace was less inclined to forget the werewolf altogether. In terms of literal belief the pamphlet does offer tantalising hints as to the mood of the English people on this matter; in the introduction the

[535] Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, (Syracuse, 1986), 69.
[536] Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, (Syracuse, 1986), 75.

author wrote: '[i]n the reading of this story, therfore I doo first request refor|mation of opinion, next patience to peruse it, because it is published for examples sake...' and in the conclusion, 'warning to all Sorcerers and Witches, which vnlaw|fully followe their owne diuelish imagina|tion to the vtter ruine and destruction of their soules...'[537] The author is clearly not in any doubt as to Stubbe's transformative abilities – or rather, lack thereof. Using words like 'example' and 'imagination' it seems as though the English were not prepared to believe in physical transformation, but still found the idea of the foreign werewolf exotic and entertaining.

The result of this research on English werewolves is disappointingly inconclusive – although werewolves existed (for lack of a better term) in England, belief in werewolves can neither be proven nor disproven. Compared to the continent stories and literature around werewolves is noticeably sparse, but this is to be expected after the extinction of the wolf. The purpose of this chapter was to discuss the werewolf in terms of how he added (or took away from) the cultural representation of the wolf in England. Despite the lack of clear language and definitive answers regarding whether or not the werewolf was human or animal, it is undoubtedly true that the werewolf played a role in the anthropomorphism of the wolf after his extinction.[538] The need for scholars to clearly define, in medicinal and religious texts, what a werewolf *was*, the inclusion of werewolves in prominent hunting guides written by members of the elite classes, and the publication of foreign werewolf trials, are all hints to the relevance of the werewolf in Early Modern England. Coupled with the very real humanisation and demonization of the biological wolf, it seems unwise to totally discount the werewolf in any consideration of the cultural and discursive representation of the wolf after extinction in England.

[537] Charlotte F. Otten, *A Lycanthropy Reader*, (Syracuse, 1986), page 1 and 19.
[538] This is not to discount the influence of other notable characters, like Isengrim.

Conclusion

Part of the central aim of this thesis was to attempt to gauge the effect of the extinction of a key-stone species as a result of human interference on cultural and discursive representation during a rapid rise in the production of written texts. If the point of this essay was to argue whether the extinction of wolves in Early Modern England influenced cultural and discursive representation, then the answer must surely be a resounding *no*. But while there was very little (if any) change to how men, women, and children viewed and engaged with the natural world (excepting only those writings meant to promote the New World for the purposes of immigration) the real question of this essay became *why*? *Why* did the extinction of the wolf not change anything about how this predator was coded into the language and literature of Early Modern England? The inclusion of wolves in historical and religious texts and in natural histories and hunting manuals has allowed this historian to examine the cultural discourse surrounding the wolf and decide whether it altered significantly after the extinction of the animal; and try to understand why attitudes, language, and representations of wolves remained unceasingly negative after extinction. Relying on printed texts and the rapid rise in literacy and the availability of those texts I attempted to map the characterisation of the wolf in Early Modern England and to understand why even after all threat of wolf attacks had been removed from the English countryside the animal continued to occupy a negative space.

Several answers present themselves to the central question of why cultural and discursive representations of wolves did not soften like the bear's, or lessen like the lynx's; it could be that the wolf was such a trope character and had already become so engrained in the culture and the literature of Early Modern England that it was impossible to separate him from the perceived rather than literal view of the natural world, or that the notion of local extinction was completely at odds with the Early Modern understanding of the world and creationism, or perhaps there was a real cultural shift and men and women of Early Modern England changed their perception of the wolf in the natural world to match the imagined wolf as he was envisioned in text – the biological wolf was obliterated by the wolf created by human language and use. It is my belief that all these answers are partially correct and that to disentangle them from one another would merely be to complicate the issue needlessly and perhaps to assume overmuch about the hearts and minds of Early Modern peoples. The strata and hierarchies of English people necessitated various opinions, levels of engagement, and even cultural awareness of the natural world – therefore it would be an impossibility to point to any single answer to the question of the wolf's extinction. The reality of the wolf in Early Modern England was inclusive of the wolf's perceived image in text, his local extinction but global continuance, and thus his shift from the biological animal of the woods and

fields to become the animal of the page and story, and all of this was in turn influenced by the English-person as an individual.

This Early Modern reality of the wolf is consistent with the wolf as we perceive him in the 21st century. Alec Brownlow and John Knight have both researched modern perceptions of the wolf as symbolic of the wilderness for many urbanised peoples in locations where wolves have been either hunted to extinction or else have been forced to relocate, misrepresentations of the wolf which are not necessarily in keeping with the genuineness of the biological animal. And when the wolf is not being misconstrued as emblematic of so-called wild nature, he is often portrayed in literature and in film as the characteristic big bad wolf, a rogue who enjoys a long history in film; his earliest appearance in the cartoon short *The Three Little Pigs* released in 1933,[539] and with one of the most damning and unrealistic recent portrayals being in the film *The Grey*.[540][541] Preconceived views of nature and the wilderness influence perceptions of animals and wild spaces. Modern interpretations of the wolf are in keeping with Early English natural and religious writings, with a clear anomaly being the suitability of wolves for religious documents which redefined the wolf in Protestant literature in direct reference to anti-papist sentiments, as a trope character and a stand-in for The Devil – but may have been better served by using an animal with which the English people would have been familiar like a fox or a domestic cat. It is entirely unusual to find a realistic model of the wolf as a predatory species in any manner of fiction or non-fiction outside of purely academic research. And (as discussed already in the Literature Review and touched on again below), even academic research is often biased toward a specific field of study, rather than relying on multi-disciplinary practices to include the many different nuances of the wolf, inhibiting a more robust perception of the animal.

Modern anthropological studies have linked the fear of wolves in the landscape with poorly educated rural populations but not necessarily limited to those who are in engaged with farming. Re-emergence of wolves in Norway has been challenged 'by a range of rural interests. Sheep farmers, hunters, forest owners and others formed an anti-carnivore alliance to campaign against what they regarded as ill-conceived interference in rural affairs…'[542] and in Scotland the the Scottish farming lobby stands in opposition to any large carnivore introduction and is even in opposition to sea eagle populations.[543] Linked to the rise of conservationism and over half century

[539] Directed by Burt Gillet and released May 1933.
[540] A 2011 film starring Liam Neeson, produced and directed by Joe Carnahan. In the film wolves track and harass a group of plane crash survivors, completely at odds with the behaviour of natural wolves. The film has been derided by naturalists as being misleading and misrepresentative of wolves.
[541] These two examples are of the biological wolf, where there is no transformative state. There are even earlier examples of the werewolf in film, including *The Werewolf* produced by Universal Studios in 1913, and considered a lost film.
[542] Garry Marvin, *Wolf* (London, 2012), location 1923 of 2351, available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019).
[543] Bob Carruth, 'Union Calls for Clarity on Species Debate', *NFU Scotland*, [website], 2015, https://www.nfus.org.uk/news/news/union-calls-clarity-species-debate, (accessed 25 October 2019).

old is the movement toward including major predators as part of the natural-nature, encouraging their return into the ecosystem[544] but with very little appreciation for those reasons which caused the local extinction of wolves in the first place.[545] Although this has come hand in hand with a plethora of complicated issues, including increased urbanisation, increased reliance on offshore production, and a lack of ready-access to wild spaces, it has also given rise to conservationist policies of the EU, the Re-wilding Europe project, the Large Carnivore Initiative (which is supported by policy makers), and the argument for healthy biodiversity which necessitates the presence of large carnivores. It was not the point of this paper to include these or any 21st century complications, but they do offer some insight into what hard constraints may be necessary for human beings to live peaceably with the top predators in their ecosystem, especially with the added complication of island ecosystems.[546] Men and women, especially agricultural workers who have some experience of livestock loss or indeed loss of human life, usually oppose the wolf's return, and strict government enforcement and compensation is necessary to ensure an amicable co-existence. A very recent example of this clash is in Norway, where wolves have once again migrated and caused tension and public opposition.[547] Though of course a contemporary comparison is imperfect, it serves to highlight an ongoing amenity between human populations and wolves.

The extinction of the wolf and cessation of wolf attacks in England removed men, women, and children from the natural world in a way that could not be replicated in continental Europe with its access to migration routes from Russia and beyond. This led to what became an early example of a 21st century, or modern, phenomenon; the isolation of humanity from death by predation in England,[548] although depredations on humans increase at this time on the Continent. The people of England were not to be subject to predation again until they began immigrating to the New World, as covered briefly in the Wolf Chapter in this thesis. It is unforgivably arrogant for a modern historian to superimpose 21st century environmental conservationist philosophies onto the 15th-17th centuries, nor would it be appropriate – it is impossible for the vast majority of us in the heavily industrialised countries of the world to imagine human loss due to predation. The

[544] The Yellowstone wolves are an excellent example of this.
[545] For more on this idea see Alec Brownlow, 'A wolf in the garden: Ideology and change in the Adirondack landscape', in: Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (eds) *Animal Spaces, Beastly* Spaces (London, 2000).
[546] "Reduced land area, dispersal barriers, and biota with insular adaptations and low population sizes make island biotas sensitive to environmental, climatic and anthropogenic pressures and therefore particularly susceptible to extinction." Jamie R. Wood, et. al., 'Island Extinctions: processes, patterns, and potential for ecosystem restoration', *Environmental Conservation*, 44 (2017), 1.
[547] Garry Marvin, *Wolf* (London, 2012) location 1916 of 2351, available from: Kindle Book edition, (accessed 25 October 2019). Additionally, *The Atlantic* has done an excellent write up about the ongoing dilemma: Michelle Nijhuis, 'The Most Political Animal', *The Atlantic*, (April 17, 2019), https://www.theatlantic.com/science/archive/2019/04/norway-divided-over-countrys-wolves/587302/, (30 August 2019).
[548] With the caveat that small island nations like Madagascar had probably already enjoyed many years without violent death by predation, but without written eye-witness accounts these findings are very difficult to verify.

complete removal of a predatory species from the local environment must have been a dramatic shift both economically and psychologically – to live without fear of being consumed or having one's livelihood consumed must have been a relief we can scarcely imagine.[549] One of the few significant changes in the literature when writing about wolves and predation comes from the sense of this apparent victory, as when Gascoigne wrote that wolves are only found in places where war is fought, and the evidence which would indicate that wolves were reduced to bedtime terrors in order to inspire particular behaviour in children.[550] But by the 16th century and the time of these author's writing it largely seems to be a matter taken for granted that biological wolves do not inhabit England, nor should they. However even this tiny re-evaluation of the cultural representation of the wolf; that he was a predator from which England was remarkably free, harkens back to the notion of the wolf as a vicious animal whose value lay only in his absence.

Methodology:

Part of the methodological approach to this paper was to include research conducted within and outside of the field of history in order to provide a well-rounded approach to the natural history and local extinction of the wolf in Early Modern England. Part of the failing of other natural histories and ecological historical research has been the unwillingness of the author to use scientific inquiry to enhance their study. I did not think it was possible nor was it responsible to write a paper on the local extinction of the wolf and the impact such an extinction had without the use of scientific enquiry; it is so rare in the histories to be able to rely on modern academic research that it was with some excitement that I undertook the challenge of relating historic impact to modern interpretation of wolves and their behaviour. I relied on modern biological and sociological research contrasted against the primary historical records in order to provide a detailed understanding of the wolf's place within the natural environment and within the human lexicon of 15th-17th century England. My research field included social sciences and biological sciences, as well as archaeological reports. Within the humanities I utilised works from English Literature and historical research. A major frustration in the research I conducted was bearing witness to the instances when collaboration between disciplines would have enhanced a study; this is true of both the humanities and the sciences, when it was clear that a more thorough understanding of the subject would have been achieved had the researcher consulted either a historian or a biologist.

I do not think a thesis on the local extinction of the wolf from Early Modern England could have been written using only historical research; it required a broader spectrum of material. I was not simply asking a question of whether the wolf disappeared but rather was asking what the

[549] Remembering that this fear was superseded by the psychological fear of being devoured by demons and sin.
[550] See page 73 of this thesis.

impact of that disappearance was and how did Early Modern people understand the disappearance of the wolf; what was their lived experience of that loss? Part of the justification for my reliance on modern scientific research was an attempt at understanding the wolf's true role in an ecosystem and the potential impact such a loss can have, and to utilize modern (and superior to Early Modern) fieldwork to make inferences about wolves in medieval and Early Modern England. Beyond just providing an insightful and interesting bent to my research, this also helped me to appreciate the characteristics of both wolves and Early Modern people in order to enhance my study of the cultural perception of the wolf and the reality of wolves in England. Modern comparisons can be made via the social and biological sciences (though it is not normally the done thing in an historical thesis), as we see local extinctions of wolves and top predators from urban environments and can study in real-time the effects those extinctions have both on the local population of humans as well as the local and global environment. It is never going to be a possibility to take a modern example and superimpose it exactly onto a foreign time or context but part of the justification for this thesis was its impact and relevance to modern environmental pressures on top predators, including the wolf in Europe. This relevance would not have been possible if the paper had been written in isolation of the wider literature, especially using modern research into wolf attacks in Europe and into modern extinction patterns.

Summary of Chapters;

The chapter on wolves dealt specifically with the cultural impact of the wolf after his local extinction in Early Modern England and his subsequent rediscovery in the New World. The chapter included: a brief and general discussion of the history of the wolf in England, wolves and consumption, wolves in religious texts and moralising tales, and wolves in natural history texts, and finally, a comparative survey of wolves in the Americas. By focussing the lens of attention directly on the actual extinction of the wolf and the aftermath of his disappearance I hoped to determine the cultural and discursive impact of this loss on the English people.

The first few pages of the first chapter gave a brief overview of the late history of wolves in England and their gradual decline leading inevitably to their extinction. It was worth touching on ever so slightly to properly set the rest of the chapter and the remainder of the thesis in context. Further research into wolves in Late Medieval Europe has been admirably conducted elsewhere so there was no need to delve further into this particular aspect of the wolf's place in Early Modern England.

Using Edward of Norwich's *The Master of Game* I went on to discuss the prevalence of the wolf in England, whether real or imagined, and came to the conclusion that the men and women of England already thought they knew what a wolf was, and so it ceased to be important if the wolf in his most biological state was being accurately represented in the literature – it was a presumption made by the masses that a wolf was *this* and nothing else. The cultural impact of the

idea of what a wolf *was* and the damage a wolf could do (perhaps ideas lifted from reports on the continent and from misrepresentations in English text) informed the larger population and ensured the continued persecution of the wolf, resulting in its eventual extinction. This chapter also examined some of the goings-on in England that led to the wolf's extinction, including deforestation and a boom in agriculture.

The bulk of the first chapter of this thesis focussed on the disappearance of wolves and the impact their disappearance had. Wolves are by far the best example of a predatory species being made extinct in England for a cultural historian as we have so many texts from which we can view the wolf from an Early Modern perspective. Wolves should demonstrate whether the extinction of a major species had an impact on the way people lived their lives and thought of the natural world. After years of research it came as something of a shock to discover that the extinction of the wolf had almost no effect on the literature, even fairy tales or fables, about wolves.

As a final case study within the Wolves chapter we followed those English men and women who made their way to the New World and returned to England to tell the tale. The New World focussed on those areas to which the English were immigrating in the Early Modern era – especially to New England and New York. William Wood, who wrote *New England's Prospect* in 1634, wrote that 'the woolves bee in some respect different from them of other countries: it was never knowne yet that a Wollfe e/ver set upon a man or woman…' compare this to Gascoigne's description of the man-eating wolf's 'malicious nature.' In this interesting case study the natural histories of the Early Modern Atlantic world drew upon an English lexicon to describe an animal – re-encountered for the first time since its extinction – and apply it correctly to something that they encountered in the Americas.

This chapter attempted to answer the question of how the local extinction of wolves in England could have changed the cultural impact of this animal on discursive and literary representations. It served as an overview of what the wolf was perceived to be in Early Modern England, whether the literary animal or the living and breathing biological organism in the New World. It was in this chapter that the question of how the wolf might have changed after his extinction was answered, and where I discussed why there was no change in the discursive thought surrounding the wolf after the extinction event occurred. The wolf was synonymous with villainy and immorality, and usage of the wolf in this trope characterisation was so effective that it was simply unnecessary to change the message. The wolf in England underwent something of a transformation after all, from an animal who could be encountered in the real world and thus observed and whose behaviours could be identified, to a literary creation of pure language and fiction from whom only very specific messages could be garnered.

Chapter two examined wolves in their most monstrous form: the werewolf. Though entirely a creature of fiction in its most literal sense, the two elements necessary for the existence of the werewolf – specifically humans and wolves – do exist in the real world. The werewolf is an

important contributing factor to both the longevity of the malicious wolf trope, and to the language surrounding the wolf in Early Modern England. Knowledge of the werewolf and an understanding of the monstrosity of the werewolf helped inform the reaction to the wolf both when it was reencountered in the wilds of North America and when it was described in text and imagery within England.

In the second chapter I explored the myth of the werewolf at the very cusp of, and immediately following, the wolf's local extinction in England. This study enabled a better understanding of how the werewolf myth evolved to suit a country with no natural predators of a similar model. One of the goals of my thesis was to discuss the predominantly negative opinion of the wolf and it would have been odd to have ignored the werewolf in this argument. The nearly-human wolf of fairy tale and oral narrative was not so far removed from the 'werewolf of folklore, which in turn may have been based on the wild behaviour of humans who had been bitten by wolves and infected with rabies.'[551] The focus of this particular chapter was to query the connections between the extinction of a natural species and the consumption of stories about the werewolf.

There is no evidence in the texts that the people of England literally believed or disbelieved in physical transformation of a man or woman into a wolf, but it was quite obviously an entertaining idea as foreign reports of werewolves (like Peter Stubbe) were printed and distributed in England. This no more denotes belief than the production, distribution, and sale of modern cinematic instances of werewolves in film and perhaps the entertainment value is comparable. But there is ample evidence, as provided by this thesis, that the people of England used coded language to literally transform the biological wolf from a natural predator in their environment to something *other*, be that a representation of Satan, a rake, or a villainous trope fairy-tale figure. The werewolf is merely the most extreme extension of this transformation.

Despite it having been written about by historians of witchcraft, there is further need for future scholars to clearly define in natural history texts what a werewolf *was* to the people of Early Modern Europe, in order to place the werewolf more precisely within the natural or human environment. A study which is independent of the witch trials would be useful. It is undoubtedly true that the werewolf played a role in the anthropomorphism of the wolf after his extinction, even if it not clear in the primary source material whether werewolves were human or animal, or whether lycanthropy was a physical or mental ailment. The inclusion of werewolves in prominent hunting guides written by members of the elite classes and the publication of foreign werewolf trials are all hints to the relevance of the werewolf in Early Modern England. Coupled with the very real humanisation and demonization of the biological wolf, it is unwise to totally discount

[551] Joyce Thomas, *Inside the Wolf's Belly: Aspects of the Fairy Tale*, (Oxford, 1989), 115.

the werewolf in any consideration of the cultural and discursive representation of the wolf after extinction in England.

Further Work:

There is a very real need for further study into historical ecology, natural history, and the impact of extinctions on both the human population in the immediate vicinity and the local and global environment. Keith Thomas challenged future historians to carry on his work after writing *Man and the Natural World* and this call-to-arms has only been partially taken up. I fear some of this reluctance may be the necessity for cross-disciplinary research and the reliance of the more traditional historians to base their findings exclusively in text based primary research. The very changeability of the natural world, further amplified by humanity's continued intrusion into wild spaces,[552] necessitates the use of archaeological, biological, and even geological research. But an appreciation for history can also enhance scientific understanding of nature as we have read in this very thesis – Gascoigne's record of wolf behaviour, for which evidence was not available until nearly 450 years later when the BBC managed to record the activity in an Arctic wolf pack. This is an amazing example of how historians and naturalists can work together to further enhance our understanding of predator/prey relationships and the family units of wolves. David Mech, who has worked tirelessly to study the wolf in its natural habitat,[553] has recorded examples of wolves denning within sight and earshot of human habitations and major motorways,[554] making it entirely plausible that Early Modern peoples in England could very easily have lived side by side with wolves even with an increase in urbanisation on a relatively small land mass, but the crown and leading nobles actively chose to exterminate this predator.

There is scope for a comparative study of local extinctions caused by human interference with other similar countries like Japan, an island with a lack of connecting ecological corridors and mainland populations. Wolves were made extinct in Japan under the Meiji Restoration after an outbreak of rabies brought wolves into direct conflict with humans and a wolf-killing policy was instituted.[555] A fascinating comparative study could be made not only of the varying timelines (with the appropriate cultural contexts in place, of course), but also the attitudes surrounding wolves in a non-Christian yet agriculturally based culture like Japan. The cultural and discursive

[552] Though our species is also part of the global ecosystem, our modern ability to inhabit wild spaces which would have otherwise been inaccessible has created a population boom which can qualify as an intrusion – two extreme examples are the scientific research facilities and tourist holiday's to Antarctica and the increasing presence of humans in the sky, with the BBC even releasing a documentary series *City in the Sky* in June 2015 to highlight the increase in air traffic (over 1 million people in the air– certainly qualifying that population to be considered a city).
[553] Mech has published eleven books, c. 380 scientific papers, and 100 articles on wolves and other wildlife.
[554] Richard P. Thiel, Samuel Merril, and David Mech, *Tolerance by Denning Wolves, Canis lupus, to Human Disturbance*, [website], 1998, https://www.wolf.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/268tolerance_english.pdf, (accessed 17 October 2019).
[555] See Brett L. Walker, *The Lost Wolves of Japan*, (London, 2005) for more on the history of wolves in Japan.

representation of wolves in Japan was surely different than in Early Modern England, and yet the real-world outcome for the animal was the same. A thorough study would reveal whether the cultural and discursive attitude toward the wolf in Japan followed the Early Modern English example. Reintroduction has not been officially mandated in either Japan or in England, and yet rumours of reintroduction are rife in the 21st century. Amateur research and scientific inquiry into the possibility of wolves or wolf-dog hybrids is already underway in Japan, and it would be entirely appropriate to reference and analyse this enthusiasm for wolves in Japan against the historic backdrop of their extinction and the conflicting ideas for reintroduction in Scotland.[556] Historically, a comparative study between the local extinction of the wolf in Japan and in England could only increase our appreciation for the nuanced relationship between human beings (of whatever nation) and the natural world, especially when conflicts arise between two competing species – in this case, people and wolves.

The enduring appeal of a child being raised by wolves would be a fascinating study in its own right – from ancient Rome to Modern England, it seems that there is a definite popular cultural appeal in a remarkable child being raised by a pack of wolves, for good or ill. A recent photographic study of feral children entitled *Feral: The Children Raised by Wolves* by Julia Fullerton-Batten was published in part on the BBC website in February of 2015.[557] While fascinating and disturbing to both read and view, the photo project merely highlights current cases of displaced dependency as a result of neglect and does not delve into historical instances of feral children. "Feral and Isolated Children: Historical Review and Analysis" was written by Mary Charles McNeil, Edward A. Polloway, and J. David Smith and published in *Education and Training of the Mentally Retarded* in 1984[558] and while this is a scholarly publication, it is outdated in its language and the focus is on the reintegration of these children into society after living with animals or in isolation. The study by McNeil et. al. does not mention the enduring fascination (despite the horrific circumstances that prompt living wild) amidst the general public. It would be particularly interesting to see a historical survey of all recorded cases of children living with wolves, whether fictional or no, with a thesis built up around the enduring appeal of such tragic circumstances and how these stories may have influenced the perception of the wolf.

And finally, any further research into local extinctions historically could make a comparison to the extinction of top predators in the modern world, to contrast the cultural and environmental impact and whether attitudes have changed. Though historians often shudder at the notion of relying on contemporary research in order to inform the past, a comparative study

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[556] William Park and Johanna Airth, 'The hunt for Japan's 'ghost' wolves', *BBC Future*, 17 October 2019, https://www.bbc.com/future/article/20191011-the-hunt-for-japans-ghost-wolves (accessed 17 October 2019).
[557] Julia Fullerton-Batten, 'Feral: The Children Raised by Wolves', *BBC*, (2015), http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20151012-feral-the-children-raised-by-wolves (accessed 30 August 2019).
[558] Mary Charles McNeil, Edward A. Polloway, and J. David Smith, 'Feral and Isolated Children: Historical Review and Analysis', *Education and Training of the Mentally Retarded*, Vol. 19, No 1 (February 1984.) 70-79.

between historic local extinctions and modern examples might serve to inform current policy regarding hunting and culling practices, agricultural policy, and reintroductions. There has been work on extinction in the Holocene and in the more recent past, with a focus on gauging the level of human involvement over that of climate, genetics or other factors – but in this instance it would be useful to draw direct comparisons between extinction events like that of the wolf from England and the impact this had on the animal's discursive representation and how another such extinction may impact a similar local population. Such a study would primarily focus on the overall impact to the natural environment, looking at prey species and agricultural development; using the information garnered from past instances of local extinction a research could make educated observations about the result of more modern local extinctions, like the tiger in the Indian provinces of Tripura, Nageland, Mizoram, Meghalaya, and Gujarat, or the African Wild Dog from 25 of the 39 African countries in which it traditionally inhabited.[559]

Final Thoughts:

The perception of the wolf in England did not change in order to accommodate its absence. The local extinction of such a major predator as the wolf was perhaps well intentioned, with the end goal of creating safe space for agriculture and travel in England; it was also the result of an elitist desire to monopolise the wild game in England for the purposes of privilege and status, and the elite's monopoly over natural resources. The extinction of the wolf from England was a victory in terms of humanity's triumph over the natural world and exerting a 'civilizing' influence over the landscape. Yet the cultural memory of the big bad wolf so strong that even its extinction did not change attitudes – the wolf remained an unappealing and threatening trope character long after its disappearance. Though it was not a major focus of this research paper, part of the relevance of historical ecology lies in its modern impact; 21st century extinctions (both local and global) do not garner much attention from a mass audience, though contradictorily they are often, if not celebrated locally, then treated as a matter of course or a natural progression – much like in Early Modern England with the wolf. The evidence would indicate that modern populations have a limited cultural awareness that there are not more of these animals 'out there somewhere.' Learning from past instances of local extinctions and the long-drawn effects of the disappearance of a major predator should be a priority when conducting ecological history.

I would like to conclude this thesis with a quote from Barry Lopez, author of *Of Wolves and Men*, who is neither a historian nor a scientist and who wrote his book for a public audience:

[559] *African Wild Dog*, [website], https://hesc.co.za/species-hesc/african-wild-dog/, (accessed 17 October 2019).

> The human mind entertains itself with such symbols and metaphors, sorting out the universe in an internal monologue, and I think it delights in wolves. The wolf is a sometime symbol of evil, and the mind dotes on distinctions between good and evil. He is a symbol of the warrior, and we are privately concerned with our own courage and nobility. The wolf's is also a terrifying image, and the human mind likes to frighten itself.
> *Of Wolves and Men*, 226

Which this quote, I think Mr. Lopez captured what wolves have encapsulated for so many people, both their mystery, ferocity, and the meanings they have had thrust upon them, and importantly he has done so with the intention of writing to inform an audience outside of the realm of academia. In my efforts to conduct an academic enquiry into the extinction of the wolf from England and the impact such a local extinction had on people's views of the natural world, I have endeavoured to be purposeful in my studies and keep in mind for whom this research could have an impact – writing for the purposes of informing (or at least reflecting) current cultural and discursive representation. The historic loss of a native species to an island nation has long term effects on the environment and the people, and it was to this end that I began my research into wolves in England: to be a reflection on what the wolf *was*, *is*, and *could be* again.

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