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Abstract


This text aims to place nonhuman animals at the core of urban space and history to provide an insight into the life and materiality of dogs in Stockholm 1824-1920. The theoretical possibilities of more-than-human enquiries into history are discussed along with non-human animals as historical beings together with humans creating a common history (Ingold 2000, Whatmore 2002). Moreover nonhuman animals are discussed and incorporated in an exploration into using what is here discussed as a multispecies narrative and used as an analytical tool to try to avoid the pitfalls of representationalism. It is also introduced as a possible new methodology to approaching the urban landscape within the field of environmental history. The main empirical material of dogs in nineteenth century Stockholm are records from the city dog pound along with records of dog tax and rabies. Other than archive material a wide range of material contemporary to the research period such as art, photography and literature is used as part of a broad exploration of nonhuman animals as integral in materiality of Stockholm and as historical beings. Findings of the study confirm that dogs and other nonhuman animals hugely impacted both the spatial structure and social space of Stockholm and that this impact transformed over the research period defined by societal changes. More specifically the study shows that dogs played an important role as free roaming scavengers and were for this reason accepted as an integral part of the city in the nineteenth century in Stockholm. Later in the research period when the city became more regulated this role started to change and dogs were not accepted loose on the streets to the same degree and transformed into pets and symbols of social mobility and class. Regarding the use of a multispecies narrative the conclusion that can be drawn from this thesis is that is opens up for discussions on the materiality of urban space and history.

Keywords: Multispecies Narrative, Environmental History, Methodology, Urban Animal History, Dogs, Materiality, Urban Space, Stockholm, Nineteenth Century, Nonhuman animals, Complimentary Space, The Dwelling Perspective, Hybrid Geographies

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Introduction

“That one has found in Stockholm horses, dogs and cats since the first dwelling must be taken as certain.” (Lindin & Strindberg 1882: 545 – 551.). In the 1880s Claes Lundin and August Strindberg conducted a study of public memory of “old” Stockholm, and one of the assumptions made by them was that nonhuman animals are integral to the urban. This understanding of historical Stockholm is a prerequisite for this thesis where I will argue that the presence, movements and relationships of nonhuman urban dwellers influenced the materiality of Stockholm in the nineteenth century. The main argument I will make here is that multispecies relations are essential to the production of urban space and crucial to how the city is lived and preconceived as the urban fabric. Multispecies relations are embedded in the historicity of urban morphology and therefore an essential part of understanding the dynamics of the city. Urban space is enmeshed in history and produced as part of layers of multispecies relationships of agreement and disagreement, explicitly and implicitly, actively and passively in an on-going process. Thus nonhuman animals must be taken into consideration when studying the city - nonhuman animals must be considered as part of the city. Theoretically the study and analysis I present here can be placed within the field of posthumanism, moving towards writing a post-anthropocentric and post-dualistic ontology of urban history.

To be able to discuss the production of urban space as a multispecies process we have to remind ourselves of the obvious but perhaps over shadowed urban condition, that all cities are embedded in nature, all city dwellers need food and shelter, decent waste management and then some more. The city is always dependent on its hinterlands to supply its needs. In many western contemporary cities such as Stockholm this dependency of nature is very much concealed and out of mind for its dwellers in everyday life. A divide between the city and “the rest” is reproduced even though the non-urban and the nonhuman life and matter is an obvious precondition for the creation of urban space. This divide is not as clear-cut in all contemporary cities but could be argued to be part of what one might describe as the modern project. It is perhaps self-explanatory that cities are enabled only as a part of nature. On the other hand this prerequisite of urban space might be too complex to grasp, as part of everyday life in modern cities is part of a multitude of processes that are not possible to overview or understand. Why are we otherwise experiencing environmental problems caused by natural degradation that is putting our lives and environment at great risk? One way of understanding this on going state of embedding is to look at nonhuman animal presence and activity in the urban environment, as I will be doing in this thesis. Nonhuman animal presence and relations are integrated in forming the urban (Peter Atkins 2012:13). This is part of what I would like to do in this thesis, to understand what forms the urban and urban animals like me through everyday practice connected to the larger events and ideological currents in history.

I have chosen to focus this study on the dog in Stockholm 1824-1910, in a period when the urban space of Stockholm was transformed from a rural town to a modern one. The reasons why I decided to focus on the dog specifically has to do with the profound entanglement between people and dogs. The chosen research period 1824-1910 is the period from which I use primary sources referring to individual dogs. Within the chosen research period there is also a historical turning point in dog-human relationships as dogs went from being either working dogs lap dogs to the very rich, or feral dogs to become part of the project of the modern city by which dogs

1 Translation done by author.
morphed into pets and pedigree units. In the exploration of how nonhuman animals are part of an urban multispecies materiality the research period includes the nineteenth and early twentieth century. This coincided with a process where most other nonhuman animals, apart from those that can be categorised as pets, were being sanitised away from the city as part of what Atkins (2012 p. 46) call the great separation.

1.1 Purpose

In this study the intention is to make a broad exploration in the everyday of nonhuman animals in Stockholm in and around the nineteenth century and discussing how urban space and narrative could be constructed as a multispecies process. A part of this broad exploration I have also looked more specifically at the dog. The purpose is to acknowledge the material presence of animals in history and contribute to the understanding of nonhuman animals as integral in the morphology of urban space and narrative. Three interrelated objectives can be discerned in this thesis. Firstly my intention is writing a historical multispecies narrative of the production of urban space as part of a multispecies process with special focus on dogs. Secondly my objective is to raise questions of ontology of the role that nonhuman animals play together with people in the city. Thirdly my intentions are emancipatory aiming to move away from mere representationalism of nonhuman animals (Barad 2003) and from the obstructions of nature-culture dualisms to open up for a study of “...a world in which things do not so much exist as occur, each along its own trajectory of becoming.” (Ingold 2012 p. 14). This study wants to place nonhuman animals at the core of urban space and history.

1.2 Research questions

This thesis has two levels of investigation, which is reflected in the research questions. Urban space is a human concept however it will be argued here that it is produced as part of a multispecies process. One of the main arguments in this thesis and as explained above is that nonhuman animals and people need be approached as integral parts of society and the urban fabric.

- How did the relationship between dogs and people contribute to produce the urban space of Stockholm in the nineteenth century?
- Can dog-people relationships in nineteenth century Stockholm give perspectives on the more general question of how urban space is produced as part of a multispecies process?
- How can a historical multispecies narrative of nineteenth century Stockholm be constructed?

1.3 Delimitations

The study will centre on what the lives of nonhuman animals entailed with a focus on dogs in nineteenth century in Stockholm. Nonhuman animals that are commonly categorised as wild or vermin will not be included in the study to any larger degree even if a few of them are mentioned in passing, not also water living nonhuman animals and insects. To understand what life in the nineteenth century involved I have explored how nonhuman animals and dogs were viewed and represented in the research period, though it is not the main focus of the study and should be considered a compliment to my urban inventory of dogs and other nonhuman animals in the nineteenth to early twentieth century.
1.4 Previous research

In this section I will present related previous research to the topic of this thesis. In a thorough review of the field of urban animal history in the anthology Animal Cities (2012) the urban historian Peter Atkins asserts that little research has been undertaken on animals within this field. Urban animal history is a small field but emerging fields within animal history in general that is described “…as one of the hot topics of historical research in the 2010s” in JSTORE Daily in October 2014 (Breen). It is more and more acknowledged that more-than-human modes of investigations are important as nonhuman animals are becoming recognized as part of a posthumanist framework. Atkins (2012 p. 49) uses Noel Castrees argument to explain this development as part of the realization of the negative impact of modernity manifesting itself as complex environmental problems such reductions in biodiversity and climate change (idem).

In the research review carried out at the commencing of this thesis it stood clear early in the process that there is no research related to dogs in the particular research period and the geographic context as a matter of fact there has been no research at all conducted in Stockholm of nonhuman animals for all periods in history before the twentieth century. There are some archaeological findings done of nonhuman animals in Stockholm that has been excavated but it has not been used for analyses in the context of environmental history or urban animal history (Bergman 2015). When it comes to the dog in the nineteenth century there is related research on the dog in rural Sweden within the field of Ethnobiology and domestic animals. In the anthology “Människan och naturen” edited by Svanberg, Tunón and Pettersson 2001 several ethnobiological perspectives on the dog in Sweden are presented. Also the anthology ”Från renhållningshjön till modeaccessoar” edited by Gräslund & Svanberg (2014) within domestic animal studies has offered insights to the rural dog. In this publication it is asserted by Svanberg (2014 p. 112) that there is a research gap when it come to the urban dog in Sweden. At Uppsala University there is also an ongoing monthly seminar series Husdjursseminariet that is hosted by Ingvar Svanberg focusing on humanities research on nonhuman animals. The seminar includes researchers from many different fields in the humanities and can be said to be a hub for these types of questions in the Swedish research context. Currently there is research undertaken on wolf hybrids in the early twentieth century by Ingvar Svanberg and Anna Samuelsson at Uppsala University.

To get the wider context of the dog and other nonhuman animals in Stockholm around the nineteenth century there is some interesting research within cultural history dealing with particular practices connected to nonhuman animals in Stockholm within the time frame of the research period. Two of them are published by Stockholmia förlag owned by the city of Stockholm. “Oordning: torghandel i Stockholm 1540-1918” by Christina Nordin (2009), which discusses trade and marketplaces in Stockholm including information about livestock, hinds, meat and other animal products, and “I lokaltrafikens gryning: hästomnibusarna i Stockholm” by Back, S. & Bergman, J. (2005), which discusses the horse omnibuses that were the main transport in Stockholm during the nineteenth century. Furthermore there is “Kött & blod : slakthusområdet i Johanneshov 100 år: mat, människor och miljöer i Stockholms historia”, which is actually a cookery book that gives an extensive and well referenced introduction to the unregulated slaughter trade in the end of the nineteenth century. These books are somewhere in-between academic work and popular historical accounts, however give a rich insight into how people and nonhuman animals might have interacted in Stockholm in the past and how this interaction has shaped Stockholm. As stated before, this is an under researched area, therefore I take the liberty to include these non-academic works within the previous research. They provide useful references,
and perhaps foremost images of Stockholm town. These publications also offer insights on how nonhuman animals are seen within the field of history as nonhuman animals are mostly mentioned as enablers of culture and human agency. The different practices studied in these publications all entail nonhuman animals in a very high degree however they are not addressed. This stands out in particularly in Back and Bergman 2005 as the horses that pulled the omnibuses are addressed in passing even though the carriage animals must have been invaluable to Stockholm and its transport system before fossil fuels and electricity was used widely.

If we look to research from outside of Sweden with a similar research approach as what is intended in this thesis Helen Ritvo, Peter Atkins, Philip Howell and Neil Pemberton and Michael Worboys have the most relevant work within urban animal history from my perspective, I will therefore introduce these authors and their studies in detail below. Harriet Ritvo (1986, 1987) did some of the pioneering research within historical urban nonhuman animal-society relations on how the Victorian dog went from being mainly working dogs such as herding and hunting dogs in the country and streets mutts in the cities to pedigree price earners through the idle work of the urban middle classes. Ritvos (idem.) shows the new significant role of the dog in British society invented by the growing urban middle classes, who developed and reaped the benefits of urban industrialized society. The British dog was physically altered through breeding but also through its change of class from being defined by its functions by the working classes as for instance bulldogs and the dogs of the upper classes such as gun dogs and hunting dogs to becoming part of bourgeois culture of dog fancy and pet keeping. Neil Pemberton and Michael Worboys (2007) work deals with how rabies has impacted on how dogs have been perceived and treated in Britain since Victorian times and how being a rabies free country in Britain has been used to inflate a sense of pride in the dog as a symbol for nationalism in Britain and connected to gender. The anthology Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories edited by Peter Atkins (2012) produced in connection with the European Urban History Associations conference with the topic Animals in the City held in Stockholm 2006 offers an overview where different disciplines that study animals in an urban context are examined and related to each other and has a chapter by Philip Howell (in Atkins 2013) that offers insights on similar questions that the study in this thesis deals with on how the changing urban society changes and dogs become the subject to disciplined and are walked on a leash rather running loose. Jan Bondeson (2013) also has to be mentioned here as the publication Amazing Dogs, A Cabinet of Canine Curiosities gives insights to the dogs of the Victorian era in Britain that were seen to be remarkable by society and have therefore become part of myth and history and is yet another book bordering between academic research and popular history.

As I have shown in this review there is a small field of historic urban animal studies focusing on the dog and nonhuman animals in general that has been active since the 1980s however it has relatively little influence in other fields so in this study I have also had to draw on related fields. Under the umbrella of Humanimal Studies there are several developing related fields such as Animal Geography and Animal Sociology that are partially presented in the theoretic frame and on-going in the analysis.
1.5 Environmental History

Within Environmental History there are many approaches. Here I will discuss how a more-than-human approach to history can be used within environmental history. Within the field of environmental history my research interest is drawn towards the issue of coexistence of humanity with nonhuman animals, plants and the landscape within an urban realm. Where does the urban realm stop? Who is a city dweller? How do people relate to nonhuman animals? What might be included as nature within the urban setting? How does what is situated in the urban realm relate to what is perceived as outside of this realm? What does a city involve and how can it be studied? These are questions that will be urgent within the field of environmental history as long as we choose an urban environment as our dwelling, which is perhaps forever in the on-going story of humanity. In this thesis I propose that using a multispecies narrative is a way of approaching the questions asked above. However with sensitivity to that approaching nonhuman animals within environmental history can risk difficulties to differentiate what sets nonhuman animals apart from the environment from an instrumental perspective, as a container or backdrop saying something about society as something set apart from nonhuman animals and the environment.

The next question that needs to be addressed is if a multispecies narrative already exists within Environmental History? In my interpretation it does however it is grounded in the changes to landscape in connection to human interaction with the landscape often in deep time such as historical ecology as well as on a large scale. The field engages in studies of the urban on a scale of the urban realm that is often related to resource flows of matter and energy using a macro perspective such as World Systems theory and how this alters the landscape. On this level it is possible to deal with species and how they interact as populations in the world system as a whole. Also Human Ecology and Resilience Theory engages in research on cities however also from a systems perspective and on a large scale. Human ecology can however also be done on smaller scale. In the field of Environmental History my impression is also that there is a general understanding of the city as dependent on nature in regards of resources however the materiality of what lays within the city it is still theoretically conceptualised and discussed as separated from nature.

My approach going about developing a multispecies narrative is more related to the field of Ethnobiology, which is a field of studying the dynamic relationships among peoples, biota, and environments. The focus is on a level where it is possible to study relationships between groups of individuals in society and how they impact on each other and urban space. Explicitly what I want to explore, as part of a multispecies narrative is the possible to address not only people but also nonhuman animals pasts as part of history through playing a role in creating this history? Human history versus nonhuman history, is it really possible to make such a distinction? The following question was articulated in connection to the anthropologist Tim Ingolds meeting of the eyes with a seagull: "But what, exactly, is nonhuman history or non-gull history? Is it a history of everything barring human beings and seagulls?" (Ingold 2000: 185). Ingolds argument is that they both produce history through reciprocity and through their actions create the circumstances for the wellbeing and development of each other. There are many things that people do that affect other peoples lives, nevertheless there are also infinite examples of nonhuman animals impacting on the wellbeing and development of people and vice versa. Ingold (2000: 185) insists it is preposterous that there should be a divided history between human beings and nonhuman beings and argues that we share a common history, the social sphere of people together with the organic world. Some years later Ingold (2005) has developed this line of thought and adds that to overview the common interspecies history it is necessary to first break it down in small parts and that the common history does not only build on that the different component that constitutes the world enables development; it can also enable conflict and change that is hard and painful.

Within the field of environmental history there are many scholars today that try to explain the necessity to not only find ones sources in the archives and within the arts but also to get out into
the world to get a tactile understanding of what is being studied. I am greatly inspired by the environmental historian Oliver Rackham (1996) who urges us to write history sprung from the landscape rather than from the book, as this is simply not enough to make the world justice, the aim of this thesis is to follow the dog and the changes of urban space in Stockholm. Also within the programme, that is the context for this master’s thesis, there have been many calls for the necessity of having an interdisciplinary approach to environmental history and this study attempt to follow these calls. As Rackham asserts different academic fields read and decipher the landscape and writes history accordingly in disparate ways. The urban landscape, society and space has to be studied from within different fields and approaches and this thesis aspires to offer yet another perspective of Stockholm, the nineteenth century and the dog. An important point for realising a multispecies narrative within Environmental History is made by Dorothee Brantz (2010, p. 4) who acknowledges the problem of representation versus situatedness in the study of nonhuman animals in history. Animal history is often done through representation of animals by humans and seldom of the material presence of animals (Fudge in Brantz 2010: 4). Brantz calls for a shift in focus towards what is called hybrid relations by Henri Latour also used by Sarah Whatmore (2002) in the concept of hybrid geographies explained further in the theoretic frame. Attitudes towards nonhuman animals in society of course say much about people and society and are interesting from many perspectives but it is not the aim here, as stated in the purpose and research questions of thesis as surely this it not what constructing a multispecies historical narrative calls for. For instance the fact that dog tails were used for cleaning baking tables in Ångermland in Sweden (Hedlund in Lindin & Svanberg 2001 p. 286) tells us many things about the dog in society, not only of society as separate from the dog. Here the idea is to follow the dog to tell the story of the lives of dogs in Stockholm in the nineteenth century among and along other city dwellers. One of the main arguments in this thesis is that nonhuman animals and people need be approached as integral parts of society and the urban fabric as part of a multispecies narrative and that this is a perspective that potentially offers insights for the field of Environmental History.

1.6 Structure

The thesis is divided into six chapters in a fairly traditional way. Chapter 1. Introduction is straightforward and prepares the reader for the different elements included in the thesis. Chapter 2. Theoretical Frame and Methodology also includes sources and materials. In the theoretic frame previous research is referred to in places so to not repeat but rather to build on what has already been said. Chapter 3. The dog in Stockholm 1824-1910 is divided into three sections and several subsection. It consists of a first, a background to the study; second, the empirical study presented in the form of written analysis looking specifically on the dog in Stockholm and lastly making an analyses of dogs in society in general. Chapter 4. Constructing multispecies narratives is divided into two sections and several subsections and consists of first: a multispecies narrative of Stockholm incorporating secondary sources of several different nonhuman animals and results from the empirical study, second: a discussion on the use of multispecies narratives specifically in this thesis and more in general within Environmental History and Environmental Humanities as a whole. Chapter 5. Concluding chapter includes theoretical discussion of the results from the two levels of analysis of the empirical study and a conclusion as well as possible future research topics. Chapter 6. Summary.
Theoretical Frame and Methodology

The overall question that I am working towards to understand in the theoretical frame is how history and space can be understood and interpreted in a multispecies narrative and what the implications of different interpretations and narratives can be. I have decided to have both theoretical frame and a small subsection for methodology to clarify the different levels that need to be discussed to position this study regarding ontology and epistemology. What goes under theoretical frame and methodology is not clear-cut and can be moved around to make different points but I hope that the way I have decided to organise this section serves my purpose well.

2.1 Theoretical Frame

2.1.1 History

Nonhuman animals like dogs are historical beings not like humans but with humans as they are inextricably bound up with human activity (Haraway 2008 p. 33). This will be the point of departure along with Ingolds all-inclusive approach to history as presented in chapter 1.6 in the introductory chapter. This does not imply that there are no differences between nonhuman animals and people, different nonhuman animals and different people. Dorothee Brantz (2010 p. 3) makes a good point of that the emergence of the academic field of history was to juxtapose the dominating field at the time of natural science and emphasise the study of humanity that is in many ways a project of modernity. Therefore incorporating animals into the project of history is part of opposing the narrative of modernity. Also, Brantz (idem) asserts that an expansion of historical agents have emerged including groups that have been misrepresented in society in many ways due to a great interest in everyday practices within the field of history. Nonhuman animals are suggested to be part of the democratizing tendency within historical studies. (Ritvo in Brantz 2010 p. 5). This is a view that I share however there is a danger that this can be read as some kind of linear morality and emancipation with the underlying sense of that there is a point when all oppression is ended. The view of nonhuman animals as not possessing “the ability of directly transforming human structures and therefore cannot be considered historical agents.” (Brantz 2010: 8) is still the dominating view and practice within the field of history and urban history. Nonhuman animals in history have been the means of the human success story as a medium aiding what can be seen as the development of human societies. “After all how could human societies have revived without the food, materials, labour, and entertainment that animals have supplied?” (Brantz 2010: 2) What would history look like without nonhuman animals? The instrumentalisation of nonhuman animals in society has and is being reproduced within the field of history. What is being explored here is just that; how to not reproduce the instrumentalisation of nonhuman animals in society and what is needed to get out of that rut.
2.1.2 Urban Space

Urban space is often understood as the city, made and planned by people for people but it will be argued here through examples of the dog and other nonhuman animals here that the urban environment is not exclusively human oriented but as the geographer Sara Whatmore (2002: 3) has termed hybrid geographies - “the heterogeneous entanglements of social life”. The world is not of caught up in the a priori separation of nature and society. “Hybrid Geographies allies the business of thinking space” (Crang and Thrift 2000 as cited in Whatmore 2002: 3) to that of “thinking through the body” (Kirkby 1997 as cited in Whatmore 2002: 3.) Thus the production of urban space is not restricted to the bodies of people but all bodies, human as nonhuman, living as non-living - in other words people, cats, dogs, grass, wild flowers, buildings, rivers etc. The production of space in the hybrid geography is an on going process of becoming of the world in the sense of the meandering the river. Whatmore (idem.) has also introduced us to the more-than-human approach to the world which is inspired by Bruno Latours concept of actor-network-theory that in the simplest sense perhaps can be explained as an all-inclusive non-hierarchical approach to the world and left at that here.

To able to discuss the production of urban space as a multispecies process we have to remind our selves of the obvious but perhaps obscured urban condition that all cities are embedded in nature, as pointed out in the introduction the city is always dependent on its hinterlands to supply its needs as city dwellers all need food, shelter, decent waste management and more. In many contemporary cities such as Stockholm this dependency of nature is very much concealed and out of mind for its dwellers in everyday life and a divide between the city and “the rest” is reproduced even though it is an obvious precondition for the creation of urban space. In other cities such as Istanbul this divide is not as clear-cut (Joshi 2015). The city as embedded in nature can be explained further through the concept of socio-nature i.e. social relations are inherently ecological and that ecological relations are inherently social (Whatmore 2003). It is more common to use the concept of socio-ecological processes, however, I think socio-nature is a better concept, as it is not related to resilience theory and in my view the problematic concept of “ecosystem services” as this in my interpretation is a translation of socio-ecological processes into arbitrary categories of ascribed value. Food is in many ways the ultimate socio-nature as the species of plants and animals that humans eat are living things that have been bred and formed by humans (Whatmore 2003).

However, the embedding of nature consists not only of what is tangible but as Lefebvre argues it influences the rhythm of cities with the example how Mediterranean cities such as Istanbul that have no or little tidal influence, have a different pace of life and patterns of movements to cities by the Northern Sea that are heavily influenced by tidal rhythms, thus cultural practices are imbedded in nature (Lefebvre 2004 p. 94-106). This is perhaps self-explanatory that cities are enabled only as a part of the landscape however the environmental problems caused by natural degradation tells a different tale. A less common way of understanding the city as embedded in nature is to look at nonhuman animal presence and activity in the urban environment, as I am doing here. Is it fruitful to discuss the multispecies narrative of Stockholm in the nineteenth century from a rhythmanalytical perspective? For Lefebvre time and space is interrelated as rhythm and repetition encapsulates the everyday. Rhythm is as a tool of analyses and the body is a central for the rhythmanalyst as the body is “the point of contact” for coexisting biological and social rhythms where the body is the first point of analyses and at the same time “the tool for subsequent investigations” (Elden, S. in Lefebvre 2004 p. 6). From the perspective of Lefebvre (2004 p. 16) practices influence how we understand rhythm and repetition and practice as in the example of Mediterranean cities is connected to the pace of life and patterns of movements that are more or less impacted by the particular landscape that the production of space is integral to. The way the rhythmanalyst allows us to approach change and repetition is from my perspective potentially useful to apply to sense the different paces and practices of Stockholm in the nineteenth century and how they change over the research period.
Also here in the theoretical frame regarding the production of urban space as part of constructing a urban multispecies narrative I have found the ideas by Ingold useful in his arguments on that it is significant to distinguish between dwelling as living as part of a space and inhabiting a place, termed dwelling perspective versus building perspective (idem 2000: 173). The dwelling concept is part of a wider relational view of the organism where the human being is an organism among others constituted of “...a singular locus of creative growth within a continually unfolding field of relationships” rather than “a composite entity made up of inseparable but complementary parts, such as body, mind and culture.” (Tim Ingold 2012 p.) In plain text “...the person is the organism.” (Ingold 2000: 3). i.e that there is no Cartesian divide between a body and mind that needs merging or nature and culture as they are inherently unified. This is a relatively simple statement that is both hard to prove and to prove wrong however this is the case for all statements of ontology. What is special in Ingolds argumentation, or when it was published over a decade and a half ago, is that mainstream theory of the conception of the organism and population thinking in connection to Darwinian theory and population genetics makes it hard comprehend what it can mean. In Ingolds perspective every organism is a node in a field of relationships (Ingold 2000: 3). Ingold argues that it is not possible to live on one side of the divide between society and nature with non-human beings living on the other side. Just to be able to think such a thing is only possible for people already in an environment with both human and non-human beings dwelling together in the same world that is primarily entangled in processes of production rather then construction (idem p. 172). Thus the rift between dwelling and inhabiting could perhaps be thought of as the conceptual rift between a lived realm and a planned realm of the city. What Ingold has done is articulating a relational perspective that is not confined to a human sense of community and sociality. This has led on to a way new of thinking of organisms and their relations to the environment, a new ecology and a dwelling-perspective that builds on the idea that the world is not outside but integrated, being in the world. (2000: 173)

2.1.3 Animal

Susan J. Pearson and Mary Weismantel (in Brantz 2010 p. 17) asserts that despite all the efforts within animal studies as a whole “Animals still elude us.” and becomes “containers of human projections”. Therefore terming and categorising nonhuman animals is not a simple matter as the sociologist David Redmalm (2013 p. 21) asserts as it has consequences, for example ”the category of animal makes it possible to buy, sell, kill and eat nonhuman animals”. In this thesis the category nonhuman animals in used in an attempt to avoid such pitfalls and also to have one term for all the different potential categories that could be possible as all categories have implications. Using nonhuman animal is no way an ideal solution as it is a reproduction of the binary divide that we are culturally inclined to use between nature and culture and part of the on going homogenisation and hierarchy that this type of subject matter is subjected to on the whole and is very much related to category animal as discussed above, as resources within human society. However as I cannot argue for a better concept that stands outside this binary and as the objective in this thesis is to explore the possibilities of a multispecies narrative of urban space and history I still stand by using this category, as it is not too complicated to use this binary as I am on ontologically deep water as it is anyway. I need to use categorisation that is not to far from how I am used to understanding the world from the perspective of society as a mainly human undertaking.

When applying categories the risk is that the bearer of this category does not fulfil the expectations attached as for instance the pet. Redmalm suggests the pet condition as having one paw in nature and another in culture becoming boundary creatures in the lives of people with the role to confirm human identity and culture nevertheless also as “living beings taking place and acting in more-than-human contexts” (Redmalm 2013: 71) being unreliable and potentially disruptive of the order they are to uphold at the same time (idem p. 15, 70). So what kind of categories are better to use that does not make the subject of study part of a sharp dichotomy, or as mere re-
sources and symbol to say something of a society that is clearly human. Pearson and Weismantel (in Brantz 2010 p. 32) suggests that what is lacking in most of the approaches:

“is a developed concept of the social: the entire lived experience of quotidian an extraordinary interaction – embodied and imagery, material and symbolic – that occur within space and in particular locations, and involve humans and animals in multiple forms of engagement and exchange.”

From this perspective the question of how categorisation is not crucial but to point towards the diversity and the everyday of human-animal relationships and exchange. This perspective is encouraging as it confirms my intentions in the work of this thesis however it has been challenge assemble as it is working against grain every bit of the way. The “developed concept of the social” by Pearson and Weismantel is not to complicated to understand from a theoretical approach as it echoes Haraways (2008) perspective of nonhuman animals as historical beings not like humans but with humans and Pemberton and Worboys (2007) intentions to following the materiality of the dog rather than its symbolic values, as stated earlier. However to apply “a developed concept of the social” is challenging as it is inherently demands making broad and inclusive investigations into all aspects of lived experience in the quotidian realm ignoring what Kelsi and Johnson II (2013 p.21-22) terms the geographies of human imagination. The concept describes that there is particular expectations of the landscape that are revealed through how animals are viewed within society that is useful in exposing how people view nonhuman animals when perceived as out-of-place. To understand how it can be used it can be said that it is a take on the concept of imagined geographies used famously in post-colonial theory by Edward Said when exposing how the West creates its views of a particular area and culture that can be recognized as the Orient. The concept of geographies of human imagination is in my interpretation an analytical tool that has the potential to aid urban society to be able to identify that there are problem on multiple levels connected to the people-nonhuman animal binary that is part of the foundations of urban society. The developed concept of the social along with the concept of geographies of human imagination are useful in understanding what a multispecies narrative should include and how to apply it.

2.2 Methodology

In the process of understanding what type methodological approach that was needed to conduct a study of the production of space and history in an urban setting by nonhuman animals I have made use of a few different approaches from theoreticians that have been presented above. What can be described as my methodological baseline in the work mainly by two theoreticians, the geographer Sara Whatmore and the social anthropologist Tim Ingold. Whatmore (2015) is very useful for in understanding how to study nonhuman animals and urban space as one of her research aims to “developing 'more-than-human modes of enquiry that address” …” the material and ecological fabric of social life”. Ingold (2000: 185) has aided me to understand nonhuman animals historically as one of his main arguments is that the social sphere that people are part of together with the organic world constitutes our common history. Together they more or less sum up my methodological objectives in this thesis and have aided me to grasp how urban space and history can be approached on an ontological level. It is important to make this methodological point as it in my mind makes the thesis more constructive and comprehensible outside the comfortable realm of environmental humanities or at least this is my hope.
2.3 Sources and materials

What kinds of sources are available when studying the history of nonhuman animals? How do I “get to” the everyday of multi-species relations? Which nonhuman animals of the nineteenth century is it possible to find sufficient primary source material of? These were the three main questions that occupied me when conducting a broad investigation sourcing the background material to pin down the topic and possible research questions. The Brantz (2010: 2) asserts that there is a wealth of sources as nonhuman animals that can be found in countless of historical records such as legal documents, municipal records, medical records and diaries which are put to use in this particular study. This is of course true however the challenge has been to choose research questions that could not only fulfil my own research interests of studying the production of urban space and history from a more-than-human mode of enquiry and at the same time contribute to the field of environmental history. The challenge was also to find a topic where there is already some related research done, as another important concern for a thesis on master’s level is of course to choose a topic that could be realised within this frame. Therefore the choice of researching the urban dog in Stockholm had to do with both that there was a research gap but also because I assessed there was as a good chance of finding primary source material and some related research.

The urban dog is also of interest to me as the dog had the interesting role of having access to both the indoors of the mainly human domain as well as being loose in the outdoors multispecies context of the nineteenth century city. I was made aware of this different role of the dog in the nineteenth century in comparison to today in my initial background research where I studied artwork and photographs of Stockholm from the research period. I then noticed that most of the dogs represented were loose not unleashed. Then in other art works the dog would be found in doors, sometimes on top of furniture (see fig. 8). I am in particularly interested in nonhuman animals that can move more or less freely in the urban environment, negotiating space such as goats and cats. But as dogs are more regulated through tax and also are taken in “service” as working animals I considered it more likely that a study of dogs would yield sufficient primary sources and material to be able to make some conclusions. In the case of the dog there was also, as mentioned in the research review above, some research already done of rural Sweden and also on the Victorian urban dog that has been vital to understand the context of the urban dog in Stockholm and provided me with a starting point.

But why choose to get into both questions of the dog and a multispecies narrative in the same study? This thesis could have been disposed to make an even more in-depth study of primary sources of the dog however, it is my view that both the theoretical approach and the method of writing the dog into a multispecies narrative is essential to make a meaningful study that contributes to the field of environmental history and urban animal studies. Below I will present my main sources of data used in my analyses and how they will be used.

2.3.1 Archive material

To answer the research question regarding the lives of dogs in nineteenth century Stockholm I have made use of all sources related that I could locate in the city archives of Stockholm. The city archives of Stockholm were chosen as the main source for material as they also house the local police archives. The analyses of these sources are presented in the section “The dog in Sweden” 1824-1910, this particular range of years are defined by that the main primary sources that the study draws on are from between these years and is based on actual dogs and not just dogs in general. Earlier decrees about loose and sick dogs are used but the records from 1824 (Överståthållarämbetet, polissekreteraren, hundsjukdomar /FVI:1) of costs incurred for handling a rabies outbreak are the first records of actual dogs I can find, even if it is just the records of numbers killed and disposed of and incurred costs. Journals from the dog pound at Humlegårdsgatan 4 from the years 1896-1902, 1904-1906 with year 1903 missing (Överståthållarämbetet för
polisärenden 6, Stockholms stads hundstall /D:2) are the most extensive and also the most important records used in this study as they contain data of many different kinds and as they are quite detailed they have been drawn upon extensively in the analyses. The journals from the dog pound where relatively easy to locate and I found them early into my investigation of the city archives, however then followed a daunting period of searching the archives without much luck. My hopes was to find records of people that moved to and from Stockholm in records from the Governor General Chamber’ as people also needed to register dogs that stayed more than one month in the city. Unfortunately these records are noted as missing in the register in the records from Governor General Charge Chamber. I did however find the collected tax registration forms for dogs from 1862, which potentially gives an indication of the ratio of dogs in the city (Överståthållarämbetet, Stadskammaren, hundskattsdeklarationer /EI:7: 1862). In the police archives, also located in the Stockholm city archive I located records regarding what is called “hundsjuksdomen” from 1824 as presented earlier and also a register of court rulings over dog tax cases from the police court from the years 1904-1927 (Överståthållarämbetet, polissekreteraren, Divershandlingar /FXX:1: 1875-1923). The sources that are available from this time are mainly of the dog as a problem having to be controlled as will discussed in chapter 3.2.

My initial idea was to look for records of local and municipal dog tax and decrees and debates regarding dogs as well as records from the police regarding the dog pound and other records of incidents including dogs. I have stuck to this plan when it comes to the municipal records as even though they are scattered they contain data usually of at least one year. But when it comes to the police archives I soon learned that most data of dogs was too scattered to be able to pursue this line of inquiry within the frame of this thesis work. As mentioned above I did find records from the police court of the journals both from the dog pound and from the police court that contained useful data used for the study.

2.3.2 Other materials

Art and literature played an important role for the background research. I have used the digital archive Stockholmskällan and the collected digital archives from many museums in Sweden such as Nordiska museet all collected in the service DigitaltMuseum for drawings and art works depicting nonhuman animals during the 19th century. What I have found is that it is mostly dogs and horses that are depicted, horses as transport animals either waiting or walking with a carriage and dogs represented “in action” as barking or gnarling (see fig. 11 and 12). Other animals such as cats are not so commonly depicted and pigs, cows and goats are seen more rarely in representation as alive but more often as food goods for sale. This fact in its self indicates how these nonhuman animals were perceived and represented within the urban context in the research period. From written testaments and fictional descriptions of the city it is clear that there were more animals present in Stockholm than shown in most drawings and artwork of the time. Two important works used in creating an understanding for Stockholm within the research period is the fictional book “I mina drömmars stad”\textsuperscript{7} by Per Anders Fogelström (1960) and the ethnographic study Gamla Stockholm conducted by August Strindberg and Claes Lundin av (1882), especially the chapter: Flora och Fauna” p. 545 – 551. Furthermore I have made use of publications that are close or contemporary to the research period. Two such publications that can perhaps be seen as care manuals also listing the merits dogs offer, are Hund-läkaren eller handbok för wänner och älskare af hundar , without named author, from 1849 and Hundens vård by the veterinarian P. Heurgren from 1910 that have been useful for understanding. In the next chapter the material will be put to use and the findings presented along with an on going analyses.

\textsuperscript{7} In Swedish Överståthållarämbetets kammarkontor.
\textsuperscript{8} Eng. translation. In The City of Dreams. Translation made by author.
The dog in Stockholm 1824-1910

When studying how dogs were incorporated in the urban geography and social life of nineteenth century Stockholm, i.e. what a dog’s life involved in nineteenth century Stockholm, a simple initial reflection is that the records used from the Stockholm City Archives and the Police Archives are mainly of the dog as a problem or a public nuisance. This is of course not entirely representative of how dogs were perceived in general to the public. Dogs were much-loved creatures in all classes of society and part of the urban fabric of social life both outdoors in the streets and inside in public spaces such as restaurants and cafés but also inside the homes of people. This can be shown through the different art works, artefacts and photography used in this study. They were also useful in society and held many different roles as can be shown from the publication on dogs from 1849 and 1910 used below. However most of the records in the archives are of the dog as a threat to order and safety. This just reflects the role of the local authorities and police as the keepers of functionality and of law and order in Stockholm. In this study sources from the press archive are not used and records from the animal welfare movement is just mentioned but also these type of sources in general depict the dog as either a public nuisance or as a victim to cruelty. This is plainly a matter of that there is seldom good news reported in the newspapers and there is no need for a movement for well-treated animals. An exception is sources from dog shows that are mainly positive and stories of that of the faithful dog.

The ethnologist Ingvar Svanberg asserts that a dog’s life in many ways before the twentieth century was hard, which one the other hand is described by Staffan Thorman as the century of the dog as it is the time when the dog becomes an integral part of the family widely in Swedish society (Gräslund & Svanberg 2014: 22). The twentieth century is also the time of rigid control of dog behaviour and movements. The main part of the research period is the mid to late nineteenth century, which led up to this change. The end of the research period is in the beginning of the twentieth century, which is the dawn of the period of control. The study will mainly focus what led up to the change and how this affected the lives of the dog and the urban morphology of Stockholm but also what this new era entails. As presented in chapter 2 the empirical study is derived from records in the city archive and the police archive regarding the control of dogs in the streets and of rabies, records of dog tax and journals from the cities dog pound. The findings will be presented together along with an on-going analysis. As there is little previous research of the dog in the urban setting I have had to answer quite basic working questions such as: Were there many dogs in Stockholm? Did these dogs walk on a leash? Did people like dogs? Where did these dogs sleep? How were they fed? Did they scavenge on the street? How did dogs and people interact? There are no direct answers to these questions in the archive records but together with the other sources such as pamphlets and artworks it has been possible for me to contextualise and get a picture what life was like in the streets and fields of Stockholm in the nineteenth century to a reasonable extent. The findings of the empirical study are presented and analysed below.
3.1 The dog in Swedish Society

In the nineteenth century many things changed in Swedish society connected to the emerging industrialisation and urbanisation process also affecting the dog along with many other nonhuman animals. In the small publication *Hund-läkaren eller handbok för tänder och älskare af hundar* from 1849, without named author, the dog is described as a lovable creature and a friend of people with its merits including such as companionship, protection, as a beast of burden for gods and sometimes even people, a source of warmth, a tracker of vermin and prey as well as for its meat and fine skin for food and clothing. The dog is described as both a companion who after a life in service can still be useful and assist as food and clothing if taken care of well. The publication is thereafter dedicated to the different ailments a dog can suffer and how to treat and cure these to maintain a dog’s value as part of ones sustentation. (idem 1849).

Sixty years later a great deal has changed when Djurskyddet in 1910 publishes *Hundens vård* written by district veterinarian Heurgren from Örebro. In Sweden veterinarians were often very much part of the animal welfare movement (Dirke 2000 p. 201). In this publication the value of the dog is also central however in a different sense as it aims to fill the gap in the work of animal protection and welfare as the dog is said to have been overlooked until beginning of the twentieth century in this sense. In Britain it was much different as the nineteenth century was an era when pedigree dogs become an integral part of the growing urban middle classes (Ritvo 1986) and animal welfare concerns was also extended to dogs. There was even a Victorian slang expression, bow-wow mutton (Partridge 1984), referring to meat so bad it might be dog meat indicating that the consumption of dog flesh as being taboo in a British context. From the 1849 publication it is clear that this was not the case in Sweden, the practice of slaughtering dogs for their meat and hides is confirmed by Lindin and Svanberg (2001 p. 284). In their research on the dog in northern Sweden it is also shown that slaughtering dogs was done on a larger scale in some places and that wearing dog fur was in the mid nineteenth century in fact fashionable (idem). If this was also the case in Stockholm I have found no records of. The slaughtering of dogs was done by the knackerer who specialized in the slaughtering of horses and of other animals that were perceived as close to people. This job was viewed as dirty and undignified held by people that were on the margins of society for one or another reason (Lindin and Svanberg 2001 p. 285).

Also in Sweden pedigree breeding is a much later occurrence and not as common and integral to the growth of the urban middle classes as was the case in Britain (see 3.3.1). Animal welfare concerns in Sweden were more focused on the welfare of farm animals and the horse. It was a matter first discussed by the Swedish Parliament in 1844 and in 1857 an animal protection act was instated proclaiming it punishable to abuse animals regardless of ownership and violating this law could incur being fined, in 1900 the law was sharpened to also comprise a prison sentence of a maximum of six months (Dirke 2000: 195). This law however only concerned only livestock⁹ and it was not until 1907 livestock was changed into the general term of animal¹⁰ including also pets and wild animals (SOU 2011:75). Heurgren (1910: 5) was of a strong mind that the Nordic countries were the best place to lead a dog’s life and the publication reflects an nationalistic era when it was possible to gaze out on to the world through research, adventure stories and news asserting that that there is no place better than home. The dog was described by Heurgren (idem) to be treated badly in many places such as in the Arctic where indigenous people were said to subject the dog to cruelty turning the it into an evil creature referencing the Polar research of the time; In Germany, France and Britain the dog is said to be used as a beast of burden by craftsmen and at markets where the dog is required to work far too hard; In Islamic countries the dog was said to be treated badly however it was not protected but left to form packs of half wild dogs leading idle lives. (idem). It is clear that Heurgren had not himself travelled to

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⁹ In Swedish kreatur.
¹⁰ In Swedish djur.
these places, at least not Britain as the English had made the dog part of their national identity as a nation of dog lovers with a loud animal rights- and anti-vivisection movement and at least pedigree dogs were highly valued in British society (Bondeson 2011, Pemberton & Worboys 2007, Ritvo 1986). At the same time Heurgren (1910) was very concerned by how the dog is undervalued in Sweden looking back to prehistoric times asserting that the dog must have been valued highly as it is depicted in the caves of prehistoric people.

Fig. 1. Nineteenth century barbchoker. Bohuslänsmuseum.

Heurgren (idem) esteems the dog in a manner that most likely does not reflect the status of the dog in the rest of Swedish society asserting the dog to have soulfulness near human if it was not for the language barrier but is interpreted here as an indication of possible closeness in dog-people relationships more widely. Heurgren (idem) goes on praising the dog’s loyalty with the example of the small dog that is said to have resided on its owners grave for eleven years in the Maria Magdalena church yard in Stockholm. Even though the Nordic countries are claimed by Heurgren to be the best place for a dog to live the main concern voiced in Hundens vård is how to get more people to show kindness towards animals calling for each an very one to love and cherish ones dog, as Heurgren (1910, 27) writes:

"We may each, in our towns, inplant in our children, in schools, in the home, into our servants, yes even into ourselves the benefits and joy we have from the dog, which privilege oblige us to fell responsible for his care."

The publications from 1849 and 1910 are different not only because they reflect a changing society but also because of that of intent, which of course could partly be referred to as due to this change. The 1849 publication is mainly an instruction for the dog owner on how the dog should be treated if ill, mentioning its merits uses and role in society briefly. In the publication from
1910 the illnesses are only mentioned occasionally in passing and the main intent is to instruct how the owner should discipline the dog in a gentle way mainly so the dog would not become a source of disruption in the home or in the community but a well behaved and cared member of the bourgeois family or hunting pack. The 1910 publication also describes how to choose the right dog depending on what kind of dog one is after and the kind of circumstances it will live under from an animal welfare perspective. Heurgren (1910: 12) takes dogs with short legs as an example of a dog that one should not be kept in areas with much snow as this could hurt the teats of the bitch. Heurgren asserts strongly that how dogs behave reflects back on the character of the owner and that it is unnecessary to use choke collars with spikes on the inside “inhumanely” hard floggings, dark rooms and starvation to discipline ones dog. (Heurgren 1910: 12). From this list one can assert that a dogs life was not so great in the Nordic countries as have been the impression made earlier on in the publication. In the older publication from 1849 discipline and floggings are not mentioned. Is this because a dog’s life was easier in the mid nineteenth century than in later in Heurgrens days or perhaps dogs were not expected to behave orderly and be disciplined to the same degree earlier in the nineteenth century? Or was it so common and unproblematic to beat ones dog at this time it was not even taken up as an issue? Urban society in Sweden had changed a great deal since becoming industrialised in the mid nineteenth century with a great influx of people, nonhuman animals, rubbish, waste, hard surfaces and growing city cores. In 1849 all Swedish cities were still semi-rural. Heurgren (1910) writes from an apparent urban middle-class perspective and mentions, for example, that it is a bad habit dogs to dig in gardens and formal plantings. It might not have appeared as problem of the same degree in the mid-nineteenth century as the city centres were generally small and unsanitary and towns in general were largely rural and sparsely populated, and that the dog's different behaviours did not equal much trouble in such an environment as later when cities had become more formalised and at the same time larger, denser and hardstanding.

Figure. 2. Carl Akrel 1805. Stockholms stadsmuseum.
3.2 The dog in Stockholm

Just as in all other parts of Sweden the dog was also common in nineteenth century Stockholm. How did these dogs live in the city and how did they impact on the city. To understand their impact we first have to try to understand how many dogs there were living in the city. Unfortunately this is a question that could not be answered through the sources found for the research period. The earliest empirical material found of dogs is from an outbreak of rabies in 1824 when 158 dogs are killed and destroyed. The next record is of dog tax 1862 with 1400 registered dogs but these figures say little of the actual number of dogs. What can however be shown in the empirical study is that the dogs in general in Stockholm roamed freely and give us indications of the relationships that were formed with people.

3.2.1 Overview of Stockholm

To contextualise the study I will give a short overview of Stockholm coming up to and of the research period 1824-1910 using Lundevall 2006, Granberg 2008 and Wärneryd, Hallin and Hultman 2002. Stockholm is built on several islands between Lake Mälaren and an archipelago in the Baltic Sea. In year 1800 only 75 000 people live in Stockholm, which was still a preindustrial urban landscape. Apart from Stockholm's small dense core, the town consisted of semi-rural with dust-roads, smallholdings and wooden buildings with high risk of fire especially at Malmarna¹ (Wärneryd, Hallin and Hultman 2002 p. 108). At the outskirts of Malmarna tobacco plantations and vegetable gardens were spread out and the streets sometimes had more of the character of cow paths. Wolves were said to be prowling in these fringes of the city in winter (Lundevall 2006: 2). Droppings, road dust and ash were still used as fertilizers and left over food became animal fodder (Wärneryd, Hallin and Hultman 2002 p. 108). Stockholm was at this time a semi-rural capital that was poor and underdeveloped. To illustrate this Lundevall describes how an obstetrician in Stockholm in the 1830s is said to have thought the city as the perhaps most deadly city in Europe confirmed by that a third of the new-borns died before their first birthday to be compared with every seventh in the nation. This indicates that life in Stockholm was harder than in rural areas for many of the poor. The agrarian revolution had started in the mid eighteenth century but Sweden as a whole was still poor after a long period of economic decline recovering from the war effort in the seventeenth century and the Bovine Pest in the eighteenth century when large parts of the cattle died in some parts of Sweden. In Europe over 200 million nonhuman animals died all together (Statens Veterinärmedicinska Anstalt). The nineteenth century was also at the end of what is known as the Little Ice-Age, a period of approximately five hundred years that ended in the mid nineteenth century when the climate was approximately two degrees colder than today in the Scandinavian region. The cold climate was not however just a problem but enabled easier transportation in winter of people and goods using slays on ice pulled by horses (Trägårdh 1939 p. 16).

In places like Paris, Berlin, London and Amsterdam the industrialisation and booming urbanisation were already in full swing, a process that was reinventing and creating flourishing cities. In the mid nineteenth century the industrialisation process started also for Stockholm. Björn Granberg (2008 p. 18) asserts that the nineteenth century before this point in time was more related to earlier times and that everything that came after this point, such as water system, transport routes, buildings etc. would define Stockholm up until today. Many people saw a chance to employment and a better life by moving to Stockholm as part of the urbanisation process. This of course had a large impact on Stockholm that in the period became much larger and

¹ Malmarna are the closest surrounding large islands of Stadsholmen today known as Gamla Stan.
more city-like also at Malmarna\textsuperscript{12} that earlier had been used for grazing and fish farming. The more people that arrived in Stockholm, the more factories could be built, and the more infrastructure and housing needed to be built, which increased the resource flows going in and out of the city. The concentration of people required more nonhuman animals in the city for production and transport and many factories were erected on Malmarna. (Granberg in Fuehrer & Pettersson 2008 p. 18). It can be presumed that nonhuman animals were also needed to supply the growing amount of workers and the urban middle classes with food and clothes but also as pets. This period until the turn of the century could perhaps in the context of this study be best described as Peak Animal – the height and decline of the animal city.

The increasing urbanisation necessitated the practice of urban planning widely as a reaction to the chaotic and unsanitary situation that was commonplace in early industrial cities. In the plan for Stockholm from 1859 it was decided that at least 18 per cent of the urban area was to be utilised for parks motivated as a more healthy use of the land. The open surfaces that were made in to parks had earlier been often been used for small scale farming using animals droppings as manure. On Malmarna small-scale farming became scarcer and taller stone buildings and broader streets where built in a grid pattern, later a system for water and sewer was installed. (Wärneryd, Hallin and Hultman 2002 p. 43-45) The needs but also expectations of the city had changed and the structural shift discussed above impact also on the expectation on the urban dog as will be shown in the results of this study.

3.2.2 Regulating the dog

On the 3 of February 1908 a debate is held at the city council concerning “measures to be taken regarding the damage and nuisance made by free roaming dogs”\textsuperscript{13}. The most important questions discussed were: What is to be done with all the loose dogs? How high should the municipal dog tax be set? Is there to be a special force to catch the most unruly dogs? Are dogs to be allowed to roam freely? Are dogs to be allowed in shops and restaurants? Is it animal cruelty to keep dogs on a leash? Some of these questions put into a contemporary context indicate how much society has changed as for example many would view not having ones dog on a leash as neglect. In the debate Carl Hugo Hernlund cites an article in the municipal paper for Stockholm that he presents as somewhat exaggerated however illustrative of the problems that dogs pose in Stockholm, in Hernlunds words (SE/SSA/ 0566B):

“scaring horses and children, causing the elderly to fall over, attacking velocipede riders, digging out flowerbeds and lawns without anyone having the right to put a stop to them or put their owners responsible for the damage done”\textsuperscript{14}.

From this one can understand that dogs whether they are owned or not are allowed to roam freely in the city at this point in time but that those regulations are not followed. The City Council agrees on that dog tax was doubled to 30 kronor, not to 40 kronor as suggested by the city administration of Stockholm to cover its cost for the damage made to public plantations and lawns. Hernlund (idem) argues well for that having the pleasure of keeping a dog should not be reserved for only the rich but also reminds the council of that the former increase in tax from 10 to 15 kronor did not affect the number of dogs. Another point made by Hernlund (idem) is that the police should not be burdened with capturing loose dogs and that the proceeds from the increased tax should be used for employing persons for this purpose. Later that year Stockholm hundstall opened, a private institution not run by the police.

\textsuperscript{12} The large island surrounding Stadsholmen, today Gamla Stan.
\textsuperscript{13} Translated by author.
\textsuperscript{14} Translated by author.
The City Council agreed on the following new regulations on law and order in the city regarding dogs.

- The owners of a dog liable to not let it run loose in the city or the south part of Djurgården, if not under supervision, and make sure people are not harassed or public plantations are destroyed.
- Dogs that are found in public spaces not in accordance with what is stipulated can be brought to the city dog pound and if still remaining there after three days, to be killed. If collected the owner has to pay incurred costs for capture and keep.
- Dogs are not to be kept loose in marketplaces or other public places where food is sold or from April 1 to September 30 in public plantations, churchyards or the south part of Djurgården.
- Bitches on heat are to be kept inside.
- Loose dogs are to be kept with collar with owners name and address written clearly.\(^\text{15}\)

In the first draft for these new rules it stated that dogs were to be kept on a leash from April 1 to September 30 when outside in the city. This was however discussed as against the nature of the dog and taken out completely as a matter of welfare concern. Rule two was already put in practice at the dog pound at Humlegårdsgatan 4 since at least 1896, as there are records of this. The question is, does the legislation work this time around? The problems of the dog in the city presented at the city council in 1908 are not as one might think the problem of a city that has grown fast but it echoes something that the city had tried to deal with for a long time. Loose dogs had been conceived as problematic by the local authorities for centuries in several ways such as a public nuisance and as the potential bearers of rabies. During the mid eighteenth century six decrees were issued in 1735, 1739, 1745, 1747, 1748 it is stated in the decree from 1755 (Förnyad Kungörelse, Angående hundars innehållande och afstångande från gatorna\(^\text{16}\)) urging people to put on collars and keep their dogs inside at night or bound. In the decrees dogs are described as running in packs scaring and injuring people, in particularly children, and that it is not clear which dogs are wild or just out bound of their owners. This description is pretty close to what is said in at the City Council in 1908. In the eighteenth century decrees it is stated that those who do not take the measures in keeping large dogs close to home could very well have their dogs shot. It is clear that the measures repeated in the different decrees were not followed as the dog problem persisted.

\(^{15}\) In short

\(^{16}\) Eng. Translation. Renewed decree. Regarding the being and closing out of dogs from the streets.
3.2.3 Dog tax

A century later as a measure of control of how dogs were able to move around the city dog tax was instated on a municipal level in 1861. Thorman assert that there had been local regulations regarding dog tax since before the possibility of municipal dog tax was given in 1861 (Thorman in Svanberg 2014: 12). However I have not found any records of that this was implemented in Stockholm, the absence of records does however not rule this possibility out. There are records from the first year of 1862 in the archives from Governor General Chamber of 1400 registered dogs Stockholm. All dogs were to be registered and the cost per dog was 10 kronor initially. In the archives of Governor General Chamber the collected tax registrations from 1862 have been kept and this first year 1400 dogs where registered. This restricted legal ownership of dogs to those that could afford this cost (Thorman in Svanberg 2014: 12). However as Hernlund argues, dog tax did not affect the number of dogs but this should maybe be read as that it did not affect dogs kept legally.

There are no other records of dog tax between 1862 and 1896 in city archives to compare with the journals from the dog pound to compare with it is not possible to see if the amount of dogs that lived in Stockholm increased or not but as the population of people grew rapidly this has to be presumed. Then there is the question of if all dogs in Stockholm in 1862 were registered? The simple answer to this question is, probably not as approximately 116000 thousand people lived in Stockholm at the time (ref) and the registered dogs works out to be just over one percent of the population. Thorman (in Svanberg 2014: 12-13) asserts that it is likely that the possibility of municipal dog tax stemmed from problems with people not looking after their dogs responsibly. My
own hypothesis goes along with Thormans(idem) suggestion that there were free roaming dogs the living in the larger cities off the rubbish that was thrown in the streets can be confirmed in this study by the several decrees from the eighteenth and nineteenth century and reports from the city council in 1908.

Figur 4: Carl Wilhelm Swedman. 1837, Bayards källare. Stadsmuseet.

When studying paintings such as Bayards källare by Carl Wilhelm Swedman from 1837 my impression is that the dog is a common sight public spaces. The painting Bayards källare also shows that dogs were common inside restaurants as it depicts an interior of a drinking establishment located in Södermalmstorg 4 where people are drinking and eating without taking so much notice of that there are nonhuman animals at the establishment. In the forefront of the painting a hawker and three dogs and a cat are placed along with Erik Fohman, the owner of a tobacco factory, standing in the doorway. One dog is looking behind itself at Erik Fohman, which makes me think Fohman is the owner of the dog and that the pose held by the dog can be read as showing loyalty and attentiveness to its owner and benefactor. The dog in the middle of the room is perhaps part of the establishment, keeping rats other animals at bay. The third dog is begging at a table. Apart from this painting the only other graphic material with dogs seen in a public space such as a restaurant or drinking establishment of the whole research period is a painting by Elis Chiewitz from 1827 used within this study. This pictures the songwriter and poet Carl Michels Bellman character of Mollberg so the painting is really a depiction of the eighteenth century. In the 1908 debate at the city council dogs at restaurants are still discussed as a problem that the guests would be subjected to a dog staring closely at what was being eaten i.e. the problem was discussed as the nuisance begging dogs were when eating however nothing was said on the matter of hygiene.
3.2.4 The city dog pound records

The journals from the city dog pound at Humlegårdsgratan 4 from the years 1896 to 1902 and 1904-1906 available in the Stockholm city archives are a valuable source of information on dogs in Stockholm. In the first journal from 1896 it states on the first page that it is dogs without any apparent owner that have been brought in. However some questions relevant to the dog pound remain unexplored such as did the dog pound open in 1896? Where dogs collected before 1896? Some clues to these questions may be that in 1851 there was an outbreak of rabies and it is stated in a decree issued that loose dog were not allowed in the streets at this time and if still found in the streets they would stand the risk of being shot. In 1855 yet another Decree is issued along the same lines and in 1861 the possibility is given for municipal dog tax. These measures by the authorities are interpreted here as that the need to control the dogs in the street is closely connected to the rabies outbreaks. I have not been able to find records from before 1896 if dogs without owners where collected and kept by the police.

From 1896 the dogs that were brought in to the dog pound were described in detail in the journal with size, colouring but also gender if it was a bitch, occasionally gender is specified also for male dogs. Most common was to just describe size and colouring but many dogs were also described as being mongrels or specific types of dogs such as rat dog, lapdog and bird dog. Race was also specified but specification of race was less frequent in the early journals. Common races in the journals are tax, pudel and stöfvare and in the later journals also fox terrier became common. In a few instances age is mentioned, stating mostly if the dog was a pup. It is also stat-
ed in the records if the dogs carry a collar and tax tags and the year when the tag was issued. It is not so common for the dogs to have collars but some do but then it is often stated that these are without name. In no case can I find collars with addresses, which leads me to think that dogs with addresses must have been taken home directly to their owners and were not “punished” for bad behaviour by being taken to the dog pound. In no case is the condition of the dog mentioned such if it is starved or well fed, ill or healthy. Also temperament is not mentioned such as if the dog is aggressive or easy to handle.

Apart from the descriptions of the dogs it is stated when the dog was brought in and in what district it was found and the name of the police that brought the dog in. In some instances it is not the police but city carriers\(^\text{18}\) at in one instance a worker\(^\text{19}\). In the debate in 1908 this is one of the issues discussed that the police should not be bothered with this type of work. If the dog was lucky to be picked up by its owner this is dated with name and address and if not there is a date for when the dog was taken to the Veterinary Institute to be killed, often after around 3-5 days but sometimes longer. What happened to the dogs that were taken to the Veterinary Institute? In 1880 when a new Veterinary Institute was opened at Karlavägen in a description of these new facilities two rooms are mentioned as used as stalls for laboratory animals\(^\text{20}\), one for contagious diseases and one for non-contagious diseases (Vennerholm 1912). Could this have been the faith of the dogs from the dog pounds, before they were killed were they first used as laboratory animals before they were killed? The laboratories existed; the question is how they were used. As mentioned before Sweden is a little unusual in the way that veterinarians have had leading roles in the animal welfare movement. Where dogs used in these laboratories for the good of their kind and veterinary medicine?

In the journals there are few notations out of the ordinary but I will mention four dogs that contrast with most of the other dogs noted down in the journal. Number 36 year 1899 is described as a red and white poodle with a collar with a velvet lining without name and tax tag noted down as a run-away in pencil. It was perhaps written in pencil in the hope of retrieving the dog. How could one dog runaway? Or maybe the question should be rephrased to: How come only one dog ran away in the whole period of nine years? Were there more escapees but that were retrieved? Number 68 the same year described as large of wolfhound race with a chain around its neck was held for twenty days until it was collected at the same time as other dogs were sent to the Veterinary Institute to be killed. Was the wolfhound perceived as holding more value as to the mongrels but also to poodles and terrier dogs and other pedigree dog breeds? Then we have Tusse, a smaller yellow dog that was brought in on the 28 October 1905 and collected the same day by its owner. What is so special with this dog is that it has a name. Very few dogs have a name in the study let alone the journals from the dog pound. Number 98 year 1905 is noted down as “alive”, which is somewhat cryptic to what it means. It is not killed at the Veterinary Institute as the other dogs that are not collected by their owners. Does it mean that it is collected but if so why is it noted in this fashion? Or has someone adopted the dog and it is therefore alive? These small anomalies in the journals instigate questions that can aid the process of understanding what a dogs life in could have been like. There is however little more to build on as there is no description of how the dogs are kept at the dog pound. The dog pound is probably not a large space as only a few dogs at a time are held there most of the time. Nothing is said of how the dogs are taken care of: How are they fed or where did the dogs carry out their needs, were they taken for walks and exercised? Four out of nine years the caretaker at the dog pound is Y.F. Hallberg the other years the caretaker is not named. Was Hallberg the one that took no. 98 home and wrote alive?

\(^{18}\) In Swedish stadsbud.
\(^{19}\) In Swedish arbetskarl.
\(^{20}\) In Swedish försöksdjur.
The amount of dogs brought in varies from 80 in 1887 to 263 in 1904. Does this reflect how many dogs there are on the streets without a collar with name and address? - Probably not as the difference is big between the years. One should maybe not read too much in to these figures as the most likely reflect how busy the police was dealing with what else was going on in the streets. In the discussion in City Council in 1908 it is, as mentioned earlier, stated that police should not be burdened with catching loose dogs from the streets as the have so many things to do anyway according Hernlund (see above). Stockholms hundstall, the new dog pound that was not run by the police, opens in 1908 and would take care off around 300-400 dogs a year (as told by Ulf Uddman, managing director of Svenska Kennelklubben to Staffan Thorman in 2013 in Svanberg 2014: 13). This is a big overall increase and shows that the amount of dogs brought in by the police does not reflect the amount of dogs on the streets. However, if the increased figure gives a more accurate idea of the amount of loose dogs on the streets is doubtful as the amount of people in Stockholm had increased to approximately 340 000 in 1908. Can anything really be said based on the journals from the dog pound of the lives of the dogs living in Stockholm at this time? It can perhaps say something about the relationships between the dogs and people. The amount of how many dogs that are taken to the Veterinary Institute to be killed varies from 41 per cent in 1898 to 68 percent in 1902. This means that as much as 60 per cent of the dogs are collected by their owners some years. Some of the dogs live as far away as Liljeholmen and Enskede, south of Södermalm and it would have required considerable effort to come to the dog pound to find out if their dog was kept there. The telephone was still not something that many people had in their homes so those that had the possibility to call to the dog pound to find out if their dog was there was only the owners that were reasonably well off. Also I have not been able to find a phone number for the dog pound in the address calendars from close to the time period studied and I have also not been able to find records for what else was located at this address however it is likely that it must have been some type of a police station or other type of official place.

The routine that can be distinguished when analysing the journals from the dog pound is close to what is decided by the city council in 1908 where it was stipulated that dogs found loose in public spaces without anyone looking after them “can be brought to the city dog pound and if still there after three days, taken to be killed.” It also states that “If collected the owner has to pay incurred costs for capture and keep.” (see p. 26). It is not stated in the journals, if the owners that pick up their dogs up have to pay any type of fine or costs.

### 3.2.5 Mad dogs, dead dogs and ideas of sanitation.

Rabies also known as mad dogs disease and hydrophobia was perceived as a real threat in nineteenth century Stockholm as a dog bite always was a potential risk for the life threatening disease. Louis Pasteur discovered a vaccine in 1885 and rabies was eradicated in Sweden already in...
1886 (Statens Veterinärmedicinska Anstalt 2015). Upon till then it was a cause for great concern and probably for year to come, as it is only in hindsight we can say it was eradicated at such an early date from the vaccine. Rabies is commonly contracted through bites from infected animals and the virus affects the central nervous system. Commons signs of infection are abnormal behaviour and sounds as well as a low general condition and well being and increased body temperature. The abnormal behaviour could be aggressiveness but could also manifest itself as the dog being overly cuddly. Incubation was typically one to two months and then when the illness developed the dog would be dead within two weeks if not killed before (Statens Veterinärmedicinska Anstalt 2013). See figure 7. and 8. for dogs in a home environment.

Because it was common for dogs to be loose in the streets the owners would not be able to be aware of if their dogs had been in contact with any sick animals. Therefore the threat of rabies was not only in the streets but must have been a wide concern also in the home environment of people and played a role in how the dog was treated. To understand how many animals that were infected in an outbreak one can take the example of the outbreak in 1824, which is the only case that there are specific records sorted under the label Hundsjukdomen of in the city archives stating that 158 dogs were caught and killed by the city hangman assisted by the knacker to the cost of 560.16 riksdaler riksgälds²¹. To get some kind of an idea of how much this amounts to in 1824 I have compared what this sum equals today and comparing to the buying power of goods and services in a consumer price index it is equivalent to 54278 krona of today. This does not strike me as overly expensive however when relating it to the labour cost index for a male industrial worker of today the cost compares to approximately one and a half million kronor, the cost for five fulltime industrial workers (Edvinsson & Söderberg 2011). In the light of this it looks like a rather expensive business of finding and killing 158 dogs with rabies and shows the degree of the fear and concern for mad dogs in Stockholm as no expenses were spared by the local au-

²¹ The Swedish currency between the years 1789-1836.
authorities to encourage the hangman and the knacker to get on with the high-risk undertaking of cleansing the city from risk animals. In 1799 a royal decree was issued regarding necessary measures of caution regarding the current illness among the dogs.

In 1851 yet another royal decree regarding an outbreak of hydrophobia is issued and it is announced that free roaming dogs that are brought to the hangman or to Rådstufvuhäktet, located by Mynttorget on Stadsholmen, would be awarded. In early documents the disease has been reported as "hundsjukdomen" or the dog disease. In the records from 1824 it is still called hundsjukdomen however in the documentation from 1851 given the name hydrophobia. In the documentation from 1824 it is the hangman and the knackerer that are paid to find and kill the dogs affected by. It was also to the home of the hangman in Grindshage\textsuperscript{22} by Skanstull and Eriksdal at Södermalm that one was to take sick and dead dogs. In 1771 a Royal decree was issued forbidding the inhabitants of Stockholm to throw dogs into the straits or canals of the city. It stated that if ones dog was taken ill it must be removed to a designated place at Grindshage but if to far, to the fence dividing Norrtull and Pafchens trädgård at Norrmalm, dead or alive. Alive dogs would be taken care of and shot by persons employed for this purpose. A breach of these rules could result in a large fine of 10 silver Daler, the equivalent of approximately 20 000 kronor according to the salary index for a male industrial worker of today (Edvinsson & Söderberg 2011). These regulations were in place as a measure to avoid decomposing carcasses floating about in the waterways and on the shores adding to the pungent smell of Stockholm. In the first part of the nineteenth century bad smell was commonly considered as unhealthy along the theory of miasma, that sickness is air born through smell (Legné\textsuperscript{r} 2005: 169). This must have had an impact on how dogs were perceived and the regulations that where created around them as they are known to be smelly even as of today. Fumes from dogs, cemeteries, narrow streets, in and around slaughterhouses and close to the production of lead where seen as unhealthy. (Legnér 2005: 172).

3.2.6 The feral dog

It is clear from this study that there were many loose dogs on the street in Stockholm but were these loose dogs always owned or were some of them feral. Where there even “packs” of these dogs? Staffan Thorman asserts that dogs living close to people, as scavengers are no longer found but that they have been part of the cities of Sweden to a certain degree but that individuals that were very large or aggressive often were killed which impacts on the natural selection on what kind of feral dogs there might have been. (Thorman, S. in Svanberg et al. 2001: 45). All dogs are of the same species but have been domesticated to different levels and free roaming

\textsuperscript{22} Stockholms Tänkebok 1487
dogs that “rewilded” and become feral have lost the family pattern of the wolf and therefore would consist of a looser group of non-related individuals that can pass in and out of the pack more of less freely. The dog has a fantastic adaptability and can live mainly on the waste the modern society produces and at the same time keep the rat and snake population of the neigbourhood at bay and can be seen some kind of neighbourhood watch (Gräslund & Svanberg 2014 p. 12). Is this the reason for why it was not seen as a priority by the people of Stockholm to control the dogs more than they did even if the dogs could be frightening and cause accidents? Agrarian historian, Nicklas Cserhalmi (2002) argues in his work on the relationship between livestock, horses and people that there is a fine balance in the treatment between the requirement of production and that of compassion in the nineteenth century. For instance many people would have to work their farm animals hard for survival but this does not mean that they did not care for their wellbeing. This is from my perspective part of a viable explanation for the complacency for controlling the dogs in Stockholm. They dogs were seen to be doing a good job cleaning the streets from rubbish and nonhuman animals regarded as vermin and therefore their behaviour was not fretted about to any larger degree? Then when the city was shaped and formed in a more organised manner the skills of the scavenger were no longer needed and the free unruly urban dog morphed into the pet or even a pedigree dog. Yet again the dog co-evolved closely with people however now as a companion animal and alibi of refinement.

3.2.7 The performing dog

Dogs have been performing at least since medieval times at fairs and markets as either the chien savant23 as the acrobat or as both. In France and Britain in the eighteenth century there is evidence that there were dogs that were able to spell in front of an audience and earned their owners a good living. In the mid eighteenth century a dog with the stage name “The Learned English Dog”, who could spell through picking cardboard letters, even had its own autobiography published. In early nineteenth century Munito the Wonderful Dog, who was a medium sized dog trained by a Signor Castelli, performed in both France and England. It was claimed that Munito was fluent in Italian, French and also able to count, subtract and play dominos. These skills made Munito widely popular with the public (Bondeson 2011: 20). In 1830 Munito came to Stockholm to perform at Tawern Inn at Djurgården together with his keeper and stayed on several successful months before touring the provinces of Sweden. The popularity of the show can be seen in the fact that the price for a ticket was very dear (Bondeson 2011: 25-6). Is it possible for a dog to read, count, pick out cards and play dominos? Dogs are intelligent however there is evidence that it to a degree must have been trickery involved using smell and Bondeson has found at least two accounts that suggest this by a sceptical Finnish journalist and another by none other than Charles Dickens that had suggested this to Signor Cavalli who did not deny trickery. Munito inspired many dog artists and a surge of dog trainers and their performing dogs travelled Europe in the nineteenth century. There has also been some talking dogs that have made it into history and Bondeson (2011: 32) cites Joseph Taylor in Canine Gratitude from 1808:

“There was a speaking dog exhibited at Stockholm a few years ago, which could articulate and complete sentences, in French and Swedish; and Vive le Roy, he pronounced with much grace.”

Neither Bondeson nor I have found any evidence for that there was a talking dog in the early nineteenth century that performed in Stockholm in English and Swedish but it is still worth mentioning as will be discussed in the next paragraph in the . It was most likely ventriloquy24 act. Why was society in the nineteenth century fascinated by intelligent animals that seemed to par-

23 Savant used when talking of extraordinary talent in individuals one would not expect this of such as a child, persons with neurological disabilities or like in this case a nonhuman animal.
24 The art of speaking with little or no lip movement.
take in the human practices of talking and counting? Heurgren (1910) as mentioned earlier in this chapter esteemed the dog as having a soulfulness near human if it was not for the language barrier but this cannot be seen as representative for people in general. Was creating these amusements of amazing dog’s part of becoming urban and modern by training a beast of nature? Nonhuman animals making tricks were however as mentioned a common since at least medieval times.

3.2.8 Actual dogs and tales of dogs

There are not many accounts off particular dogs from nineteenth century Stockholm but there are some that will be mentioned here. One dog that has a story that is still accounted regularly is that of the dog that went through the ice and was saved by its owner and his friends on February 21 in 1851. (Klintberg in Svanberg 2014: 85) The story goes that some friends decided to walk to Lilla Essingen from Kungsholmen over the ice when the dog that was part of the group walked into a hole in the ice and fell into the dark waters of Lake Mälaren. The dog was saved by Erik Pontin and to honour this memory the owner of the dog Johan Engström invited the same group of friends for dinner and Sällskapet Februariigubbarna was formed a society that still meet once a year until this day. (Klintberg in Svanberg 2014: 85) What is interesting when reading up on this society is that there is little mention of the dog, sometimes it is described as black, other times as brown and its name is not remembered. There is however a wealth of information of what the society has talked about and what they have eaten as most of the members throughout the centuries as these records were donated by the society to the Royal Library (ediffah.org). One might draw the conclusion that the dog has never been the centre of commemoration but the heroic act performed by Pontin and later a reason to meet and have a good meal together with other prominent male members of society. Another dog that has gone to history is the small dog named Fidele which has been depicted by Carl Stephan Bennett mourning its owner at Maria Magdalena church yard. Fidele has most likely not really existed and lived in Stockholm but is a part of a nineteenth century tradition of depicting dogs sentimentally as endlessly loyal to their owners. (Klintberg in Svanberg 2014: 86-87) One of the most famous faithful dogs is Greyfriars Bobby of Edinburgh who’s tale allegedly started on 1858 when the grave of a famer was closed as small Skye terrier remained on the grave unable to be convinced to leave living in the grave yard until 1872 when he died in the care of one of his benefactors. A monument was erected that still stands today. There are many popular legends with a similar theme of the loyal and sometimes also morning dog. Bondeson suggest we should interpret these stories as Victorian sentimentality the will of people to be the target of such affection by our canine companions. (Bondesson 2013 p. 146)

3.2.9 The urban dog

Here I will discuss the findings of the study and the urban dog in nineteenth century society in general terms making comparisons with Britain mainly in connection to dog-fancy practices and the animal rights movement. Both dog-fancy and the animals welfare movement saw the dawn in the nineteenth century as the result of the hard work of the urban middle classes to define themselves as will be shown below. It is mentioned in the section on previous research in the introductory chapter that much of the research of this period concerning the urban dog is British or
deals with a British context but offers insights to the Swedish context as well. Britain and Sweden have a similar outset and attitude towards how to restrict illnesses like rabies as both countries that are isolated from mainland Europe and have used this as part of its national identity and narrative. However the big difference is that Sweden is industrialised almost a century later than Britain. The journals from the city dog pound does indicate that most dogs brought in are mongrels of different kinds even if race types such as Fox Terrier and Poodle become more common at the end of the period studied. Also so called traditional dog types such as harriers\textsuperscript{25} are relatively common. The term mongrel, blandras in Swedish plainly translates to mixed race and indicates the pure breed dog as an ideal at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1886 the first dog exhibition was held in Stockholm so pedigree dogs and dog fancy practices were not uncommon in Stockholm however were not practiced as widely in Stockholm as in many larger British cities where dog shows where common.

In the work of the Victorian dog by Helen Ritvo (1986) Pride and Pedigree: The evolution to the Victorian Dog Fancy close connections are made between class and how the life of the dog in the urban environment changed in many ways and below I will give summary of her findings in relation to the findings of this thesis. Before the nineteenth century the British dog types were based on function rather than on physical appearance. Pedigree breeding had before only dealt with livestock to increase takings and with horses for functionality and was reserved to rural gentry and aristocracy. Bourgeois pedigree breeding of dogs applied to an entirely different rationality than earlier pedigree breeding as it relied purely on aesthetics unrelated to function. It was not that pet keeping was new in British society but it had been a privilege of the courts and aristocracy (idem). This is also the case in Sweden, which can be seen in the many portraits painted including what would be described as lapdogs.

In the time of the British urban industrialisation the growing urban middle classes that had reaped the benefits of this large societal change needed to define themselves from the working classes. One way of manifesting their success of social mobility in society was through the practice of dog fancy. This new bourgeoisie did not have class specific traditions for leisure, as did the working classes, the gentry and aristocracy so practices for leisure had to be invented. Consequently the new bourgeoisie stayed away from crude activities such as soccer and bullbaiting and appropriated the working classes leisure activities by reinventing them and making them presentable (Ritvo 1986). In the search for their own defining leisure practices the bulldog was appropriated by the bourgeoisie went from being a working class bull-baiting dog into becoming a well natured pedigree dog and a national symbol for being British. This development is not as pronounced in Stockholm as in London but it is only a little more than twenty years earlier that the first really large dog show is held in Chelsea in London in 1863 (idem).

Neil Pemberton and Michael Worboys (2007: 7) has studied the dog in the same period as Ritvo (1986) and argues that it is also a shift between the Georgian era when Englishness was associated with aggression and tenacity and blood sports were enjoyed by men of all classes including the bullbaiting where dogs were trained to attack bulls or animals and fight. The Victorian era is on the other hand associated with mild manners and tamed temperament of the urban middle classes who took pride in their sensitivity towards animal cruelty, Britain became a nation of dog lovers in the Victorian era. It was from this new sensitivity that the animal welfare movement sprung. As mentioned further up it was taboo in Britain to eat dog or at least this is how I have interpreted the Victorian slang expression of bow-bow mutton whereas it was not in Sweden. The animal rights movement were part of a larger emancipatory wave and had close connections to the women liberation movement both in Sweden and in Great Britain. One of the strongest voices of the time belonged to the Swedish British anti-vivisectionist and suffragette Lizzy Lind-af-Hageby. The first animal protection law in Sweden was pushed through in 1857 and campaigns for animal welfare were widespread at the end of the nineteenth century. (Dirke 2000). Another reason for the rise of the animal rights movement apart from being part of a time

\textsuperscript{25} In Swedish stöfvare.
of emancipatory movements could be that during the nineteenth century animal practices that were cruel to animals on a systematic level such as large scale animal handling and vivisection\textsuperscript{26} had come in place.

3.2.10 Conclusion
The study of dogs shows that dogs played an important role as free roaming scavengers and were for this reason accepted as an integral part of the city in the nineteenth century in Stockholm. It is also likely that there were feral dogs subsisting on the streets of Stockholm throughout the nineteenth century especially close to areas with many businesses dealing with slaughter and meat. Also another point that is made is that whatever rules in place to to regulate nonhuman urban dwellers they can and will only be enforced by people if they are seen as necessary. As shown in this case loose dogs were seen as beneficial to the city as scavengers so it was not until the were no longer useful in the more orderly and modernised city that the rules were followed. Perhaps one could say that the geographies of human imagination as part of the everyday that were in practice in the nineteenth century were of the dog as integral to the urban as well as many other nonhuman animals and that there were no other expectations of the dog to be calm and obedient. Then when the city later in the research period became more regulated this started to change and dogs were no longer accepted loose on the streets to the same degree and transformed into pets and symbols of social mobility and class. From a planning perspective there had long been a wish to regulate the dog however this could only change along with the city. When the city changed, the dog changed. Another conclusion made is that people plainly valued and loved their dogs which there are many indications of in both the art and photographs used in this thesis but also because so many dogs were collected from the dog pound on a regular basis. Also in the publications of the care of dog from 1849 and 1910 it is clear that care and kindness are important both when the dog was a free moving scavenger as well as later as a pet.

\textsuperscript{26} Vivisection is a practice when live animals are cut open and examined in studies of the functions of the organs in physiological experiments. For the animals to be still they were bound or given paralysing substances. Pain relief was not given, the reason for this is most likely the cartesian view of animals as animata, machines that were not being able to feel pain but responded by reflex.
A large amount of nonhuman animals had their place of dwelling in Stockholm in the nineteenth century impacting immensely on the morphology and space of the city. Nineteenth century Stockholm looked, sounded, smelled and felt much different to what it does today not only because it was smaller and less populated but because it was lived in a manner that was much different for both people and nonhuman animals. In this chapter the objective is to discuss the production of urban space as multispecies process and attempting to construct a multispecies narrative of Stockholm. The multispecies narrative is situated in the materiality of the historical layers that constitute the morphology of the city and emerges through the practice by people and nonhuman animals as part of socio-nature. This type of narrative is already inherent in the materiality of the city and does not have to be positioned; it is more of a matter of finding and articulating it. Amazing large structures such as the pyramids, the Eiffel Tower or the Taj Mahal are not only awed for their beauty but also for being built by sheer muscle power however every city dated before and well into the twentieth century could be said to manifest an immense multispecies effort. All buildings and other structures that have been constructed and built such as buildings, roads, bridges, palaces etc. has relied on the manual labour of people and nonhuman animals. The morphology of most cities that are not very young is engrained by nonhuman animals so one could argue that it is only fair enough for them to be given some credit, not only for the potential benefit this could pose to nonhuman animals, but for the sake of human dignity.

Figur 10: The building site of the departmentstore NK (Nordiska Kompaniet) on Hamngatan 1913. Stockholms stadsmuseum
4.1 How to go about constructing a multispecies narrative?

Below I will make an initial attempt to unfold a multispecies narrative of Stockholm in the nineteenth century. There are of course many ways of doing this and this is only one way. I could have chosen to only look at dogs but I felt it was important to articulate a context the study could be understood within. Mainly it is the impacts of nonhuman animals on urban space that will be discussed as part of a multispecies narrative and the also particular areas and institutions in the city that had a high concentration of nonhuman animals on a regular basis. To aid the process of unfolding but also the interpretation process for the reader I will try to apply questions regarding perspective in the discussion.

4.1.1 The day-to-day in animal cities

The streets of nineteenth Stockholm compared to today were narrow and buildings had animal stables in the backyards to accommodate nonhuman animals. There is a sensory and tactile closeness in what Peter Atkins (2012) calls the animal city between the different species that has the city as their abode: the touch and smell of all different urban animals living closely together. People and nonhuman animals worked and lived closely as part of everyday life both in the pre-industrial and the industrialised city up until the twentieth when the mechanisation of urban life made the city less directly dependent on nonhuman animals. Chickens, goats, pigs and cows where kept for meat, eggs and milk and horses were kept for transport, cats and dogs held nonhuman animals regarded as vermin at bay and were also appreciated as companions, dogs were also commonly kept for security and because they would eat scraps and waste. Another aspect of keeping cats and dogs was for warmth in the cold season.

At the end of the eighteenth century the veterinarian Peter Hernquist (1994: 139) wrote an instruction on how to care for household animals in the best way also including the city household. Saying that the care of the household animals "influence so well country as city household wherefore the eldest master of the house and even God held their esteem high, as kings." If nothing else this confirms the rural nature of cities at the end of the eighteenth century, as Hernquist lists the most needed animals in a household as horses, oxen, cows, goats, pigs, geese, ducks, chickens and turkeys. This is rather a long list for anything but a farm by today’s standards. Some animals such as the horse and the cow had a very prominent presence in the city as they could be seen in high numbers and were large animals taking up a large amount of what Torsten Hägerstrand (in Kärrholm 2010) terms complementary space in the meaning of "the space at disposal for movement". As every individual was large compared to people and other nonhuman animals on the street their complimentary space would have had a large impact on the day-to-day practices that took place in the streets. Hägerstrand also gives us the term of next-to-each-otherness (in Kärrholm 2010), which is simply stating that that "all things on earth are materially connected". This makes sense in a multispecies narrative when looking at the day-to-day in animal cities to say that the materiality of the horse or the cow is materially connected to the production of urban space and that this everyday has a role in history (Pearson and Weismantel in Brantz 2010 p. 32). Hägerstrands terms are probably also interesting relating to smell and sound, at least smell was an important issue in relation to the idea of miasma, that sickness is air born through smell (Legnér 2005: 169) mentioned further up. The dog will have had a large complimentary movement if not in the street in the homes in terms of smell. Also the rubbish and waste on the streets would have had a large complimentary space in regards to smell and

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27 Reprinted in 1994
28 Translated by author.
implicitly then also the dog in its role as a scavenger. In the study of dogs I have not come ac-
counts of smell related to the dog from the research period. Also excrements have only been lift-
ed in regards to horses and indirectly sparrows, see further on in this chapter. In terms of sound
what has been explicitly said regarding barking as a nuisance is only that Arthur Hazelius the
founder of the outdoor museum of Skansen tried to have guard dogs by the traditional houses
from different areas in Sweden but apparently this became too authentic as the dogs would bark
so much it disturbed the visitors (Svanberg 2014 p. 109). Implicitly on the other hand many dogs
seen in paintings from this time look like they are barking, which indicates that the complimen-
tary space in the streetscapes most probably had a steady presence of dog sounds as barking,
whimpering and gnarling (See fig. 4, 5, 11 and 12). All the elements of the day-to-day of the
animal city will have a degree of next-to-each-otherness that together can be said to be part of
the multispecies production of urban space. I will now go on and give some accounts of the day-
to-day of some of the nonhuman animals such as horses, cows, cats, dogs and sparrows. The
horse was the main means of transport apart from walking and the cow would be herded into the
city in large groups from the country passing through the tolling stations or arriving from the
docks or the train station. Also dogs were a common sight as discussed in the previous chapter.
All nonhuman animals in the city are argued here to be part of the production of space however
as stated initially when defining the study wild animals will not be included here to any larger
degree.
Bure Holmbäck asserts that society up until the beginning of the twentieth century was formed by a culture that was centred on the horse and describes Stockholm in the nineteenth century as defined by the strong bodies of horses used for all types of transport of people, other nonhuman animals, goods, buildings materials and waste.

"...the sound of hoofs on roads and paving, but also the neighing and frustration and of the rolling wheels; the smell of passing horses; the sight of heavy working horses, lighter hackneys and elegant riding horses; the feeling of touching a horse, its shoulder or flank or the unimaginably soft skin around its nostrils" 29 (Bure Holmbäck 1990: 9)

The overall sense that is put across by Holmbäck is that the role of the horse in how society has developed up until just a century ago must not be forgotten as their role for society can not be overstated. The legacy of horse culture is all around us however it is seldom articulated. Horses have not only contributed to the morphology of the city by transporting all the building materials and workers but also through their needs, limits and size. The dense nineteenth century
stone city which is a direct result of horse culture still today serves as a city ideal in Stockholm and the current city plan is called The Walkable City as a direct reference, thus the influence of horse culture could to be said to be on going. The transition into becoming a modern city for Stockholm was at the same time a loss of what is described by Holmbäck as 4000 years of horse culture. It was on many levels a tactile and sensory change of the everyday but mainly large change in how complimentary space was distributed across the streetscape (see figure 5). The horse went from being a working animal and an integral part of the everyday production of urban space to becoming part of a novelty in the city. It was not however only horses that “pulled their weight” around Stockholm as surely also people, oxen, donkeys and sometimes even dogs were employed for means of transport (Hundläkaren 1849) but the horse did the lion share of all heavy transportations in Stockholm.

Food and other goods from the coastline and surrounding islands along with heavy building materials such as sand, gravel, stone and timber came mainly by boat. After the railway was built in the 1850s and 60s it was easier to move heavy goods longer distances. All larger goods that came by boat or train still had to be reloaded, most often on to horse carriages to be transported to its final destination within the growing city (ref).

In the nineteenth century the cow was kept on all levels in society from landowners, cobblers, schoolteachers, lenghtmen to sometime also by agricultural labour and industrial workers thus it was not only to be found in the rural setting but also in the semi-rural urban landscape that defined Stockholm throughout large parts of the research period. The cow was of great importance for supporting a household but was also important for maintaining stature in society. To have at least one or two cows was common even for the poor and there was one cow to three people. Rural Sweden was brimming with on the farms, in smallholdings, on the road on their way to the market, grazing by the road or in the woods. (Martin 2006). As mentioned in the overview of Stockholm the growth of the capital was very slow up until the mid eighteenth century when

Stockholm was still at a preindustrial stage but this was starting to change at this point. When the change of becoming an industrialised city came it was fast with a large influx of people, non-human animals, goods and factories mushrooming at Malmarna but at the beginning of the industrialisation it was not uncommon for the new factory workers from the country to hold a few farm animals for subsistence. This practice was however pushed out by the building of factories and houses before the 1870s when the industrialisation went into a new stage of efficiency. Hallin Cows were mainly held for their ability to make use of little resources through rumination converting it into milk but also for other requisites such as manure and eventually also for meat and hides for the household and not for production on a small scale. When the cities became industrialised and started to grow this common smallscale practice of keeping a few cows changed both in rural and semirural areas as a demand for milk to make butter for export and to the cities demanded larger scale production. (Maartiin 2006).

Per Ludvig Lindgren (in Nordström 1945-46: 12) who had worked most of his life at the end of the nineteenth century on ships or in the harbour of Stockholm and who later became an animal caretaker because of the more stable character of employment tells a story of cat-eating Italians from the ship Isabelle of Trieste. "Either the Stockholm diet suited them or not, the cats went missing for the old women from Glasbrukargatan. When they had worked out, their darlings had gone missing to, they gathered to pour their anger and grief over the navigating officer, who with the most lovable southern smile nodded with a kind face – si, si signora – unable to understand the details of speech but well aware of the meaning". Without knowing what really happened it is likely a classic xenophobic tale of the foreigner as someone with strange and uncivilised habits. There was an idea that animal cruelty was common among South Europeans at least in the British context and it is likely that this idea also was part of the Swedish perception of foreigners and other countries. (Ritvo 1990 p. 127 in Cserhalmi 2003) Heurgren (1910) as mentioned in 3.1 who was an apparent dog lover had a strong idea that people from abroad such as other northern Europeans, indigenous people from the polar areas as well as from Islamic countries were all cruel or indifferent to dogs which confirms that these type of ideas existed in Sweden. Cserhalmi uses Ritvos conclusions on how the urban middle classes in Britain used animal rights as to show not only the national character but also moral superiority towards the working classes. Saying that the account in Nordström (1945) about the missing cats is an interesting tale to recite in its own right as it tells us that there were a few old ladies that grieved their cats they had been bereaved of. Glasbruksgatan was at this time part of a poor area so this story tells us that it was not only the aristocracy and the bourgeois that had loved pets but also regular workers. On the other hand these cats most likely not mere pets but skilled rodent and bird killers. In nineteenth century Sweden it was not only rodents that were perceived as vermin but also the common sparrow that was seen as a pest and called the flying rat as it competed with people for food in society that was heavily reliant on grain. It was immensely common in the cities as horse were often fed with oats and some would pass through the horse unprocessed which left plenty of food for the sparrows on the streets. (Sveriges ornitologiska förening) The more horses, more sparrows so at the time of what I have called here as Peak Animal around the 1870s-1880s must have literally been the heyday for sparrows. Therefore the cat must have been a much valued bird killer.

30 Translated by author.
4.1.2 Animal places in Stockholm

When exploring how to construct an urban multispecies narrative one way of thinking can be to look at institutions and areas explicitly involving nonhuman animals on a regular basis. These urban spaces are defined directly by the presence and actions of nonhuman animals and at the same time profoundly intertwined with urban cultural practices. Below a few such areas and institutions will be put into a multispecies narrative.

The main routes into the city were particularly crowded by nonhuman animals especially if there were bridges creating bottlenecks there would be a high concentration of nonhuman animals on their way to different addresses, marketplaces, places of slaughter etc. In Pär Anders Fogelström (1960) in the book I mina drömmars stad the story of a youngster from the countryside arriving to the city of his dreams is told and takes place between the 1860s and 1880s. The following quote can give an idea of what one of the main roads in Södermalm was like during the research period. In the story a carriage have just passed the tolling station at Hornstull and is most probably going up what was then called Besvärsgatan, which was the main passage that crossed through from Slussen to Hornstull and the route to Köttmarknaden, the name of the main meat market, and to the southern slaughterhouse.

"The country road stretched far into the city, as to make a stranger used to all that was new. It took a while before the gravel path became uneven stone paving, pastures and hills disappeared and were replaced with lush gardens and low building behind red fences. The boy twisted and turned to be able to see all and almost fell of the cart when it shuddered going over one of the many drains in the street. And the buildings grew to stone walls with gaping doorways leading on to the stables and huts in the backyards. Outside the inns, horse carriages stood ready for travellers made late by food and snaps, by the farmers quarters for farmers mixed with horse traders and city herdsmen. This was where the life of the city was at."  

(Per Anders Fogelström 1960).

When the steam engine became widely used for transport with boat and train this changed the movements of nonhuman animals and the rhythm of the Stockholm in the sense Lefebvre refers to rhythm as rhythmnomologies of the everyday (2004). In the beginning of the century markets where held at particular days of the week and farmers used to herd their animals to Stockholm and over the hang bridges leading on to the polling stations on Södermalm which flanked all passages to the city from the south. From the north there were no difficult bridge crossings to get into Malmarna however for those wanting to sell their goods at Köttmarknaden situated by Stadsholmen, today Gamla Stan, towards Lake Mälaren would have to cross the waters of Norrström. The areas close to the meatmarkets and slaughterhouses were covered in blood and tissue from the corpses covered in flies and maggots together with bodily waste, such cesspits where dotted all over the city and called flugmötet, which translates to something similar as the fly-assembly. By Köttmarknaden and Mälartorget it was particularly horrible. Riddarfjärden (the inlet of lake Mälaren) was at the time known as Guldfjärden for its golden water coloured by the seeping cesspools and all other waste that was dumped into the waters of Stockholm (Fuehrer, P., Petersson, R. 2008).

As mentioned earlier nonhuman animals and other goods that had been transported to the city by train or boat needed to be transported to the their final destinations by either horse and car-

\[31\] Eng translation: The city of dreams. Translated by author.  
\[32\] Today Bergsundsgatan, Hornsbruksgatan and Brännkyrkagatan.  
\[33\] In Swedish lajdare.  
\[34\] Translated by author.
riage or on foot so animals and there were also new types of goods that needed a wide net of distribution such as beer and milks so nonhuman animals where at this time more common than ever in the city. (Trädgård 1939). Also at this time of the mid nineteenth century the regulations for slaughter are absolved and it becomes free for all persons to practice slaughter and an area in the east of Södermalm becomes a cluster for slaughter in the city with an array of small businesses represented (Brundin, Johnson & Kroon 2012 p. 24-25). This area was in the vicinity to the Galloway just outside the Skanstull the tolling station and was described as a grim and smelly part of city where blood and guts would spill out into the street. Another place that is described as a dirty place is Skinnarvikken on the other side of western Södermalm where the production of hinds had its centre. The handling of dead animals is conceived as a low profession and the areas used for this purpose were the homes to the poorest people dwelling in Stockholm (Kallenberg 2003). When slaughter yet again becomes the target regulation and the new slaughter area was opened in Enskede in 1912 ((Brundin, Johnson & Kroon 2012 p.) one was no longer allowed to keep horses and most other animals freely within the city limits the amount of non-human animals is still high but from now on it is mostly horses owned by the royals, the cavalry, breweries, the milk central and some entrepreneurs and free roaming animals such as dogs and cats that frequent the streets of Stockholm as part of the city’s rhythm.

Bild

Thorman also assumes that the galloways and places of slaughter must have been important sources for food, this is however not confirmed in this study but I can only agree that this is likely even though it would have been less people executed than in earlier times. Especially in the period from when the trading deregulation of.. until when anyone was allowed to practice slaughter. The Galloway at Skanstull was however not used in to the same extent as in earlier times so was probably no longer of substantial meaning for the subsistence of feral dogs as much as the abundant slaughterhouses. Another area that must have attracted dogs feeding is the Meatmarket and Mälartorget where the boats from the islands of Lake Mälaren would more and animals brought off for sale and slaughter. Also areas around the several other marketplaces such as Hötorget at Norrmalm and Nytorget at Södermalm.

Another area were many nonhuman animals were kept on a regular basis was Djurgården, today a park island by the inlet to Stockholm from the archipelago that is filled with historical layers of multispecies production of urban space. In the nineteenth century people of all classes and from all around the city would come there to spend their leisure time. Djurgården has housed nonhuman animals that are not indigenous to the island for centuries as it was once the hunting grounds for the Royals. In the 1850s until the beginning of the twentieth century Stockholm Tivoli had a stationary menagerie and in En oumbärlig handbok för tivoli-besökare (1891) it can be read:

“Boys, men and old men, girls, matrons and ladies - they can all be found here looking jolly, either they are throwing pieces to the hungry polar bears, teasing the monkeys, taking a ride in the giant balloon swing, throwing rings, shooting hoops, watching Couprants wonders, dancing or doing nothing but letting your gaze glide over the different groups.”

The outdoor history museum of Skansen that was opened in 1891 at Djurgården, today also a zoo. Other parks in the city such as Kungsträdgården and Mosebacke only allowed well dressed people and wellbehaved pets. In the advert for Blanch’s Café in Kungsträdgården how people and nonhuman animals were expected to behave. The only nonhuman animal present in the advert is a dog in the forefront stading still as if on a leash. It is not clear even zooming on closely it this is the case. This is thirty to forty years before the debate in the city council 1908, presented in 3.2.1, where dogs on the leash was discussed as animal cruelty.

The advert is written in English, German and French apart from Swedish and indicates that it either was or wanted to be a meeting place for successful people in an international community. If we go back to Djurgården and the historical layers of multispecies urban space another interesting area is Lejonslätten\textsuperscript{36}, still named this today however there are no signs of its unusual past as there is nothing more than a large monoculture lawn there now. In the eighteenth century lions that were given as gifts from kingdoms in North Africa for the Swedish king were housed there from 1732 to 1792. One of the lions from Djurgården is said to be the taxidermy lion preserved and kept at Gripsholmsslott in Mariefred. (Svanberg 2014 p. 32-34). The lions were used for animal baiting which was a much-liked royal amusement however there is no evidence that this was still practiced in the nineteenth century. The tradition of keeping animals at Djurgården persisted in the nineteenth century however this was the time of the menageries showing performing and exotic animals that at this time had become a common pleasure. An early menagerie in Stockholm was Gauthiers showing monkeys, parrots, dogs and an elephant and in the 1820s a German menagerie showed wildebeests, zebras and tigers. It was however not until the introduction of the railway that the menagerie’s had their heyday. Later in 1918 they were banned for concerns on animals welfare. Another place relatively close by on is counted, as northern Djurgården is the animal cemetery at Kaknäs founded in the 1870s. (Larsson & Rosén in Svanberg: 445-446). In the Biological Museum that is a museum of the fauna found in the Nordic countries taxidermy nonhuman animals are staged in natural setting in a 360 degree diorama and the painted backdrop is made by one of the most famous painters of the national romantic movement Bruno Liljefors.

\textsuperscript{36} Eng. translation. Lion Flats.
Another institution where taxidermy animals were on display was the Naturalia collections of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences that were open to the public located in Westmanska palatset on Wallingatan 2 in what is today Vasastan. It was located there in 1831 and stayed there until the collections were moved to their present home at the Natural History Museum at Frescati in 1916 (www.nmr.se). Other areas and institutions that have already been mentioned from the dog pound at Humlegårdsgatan 4, the Veterinary Institute at Karlavägen which opened in 1880 where the dog were taken to be killed, Rådstuvuhäktet at Mynttorget where loose dogs were taken in before the dog pound was opened and the fence by Norrtull and Pafchens trädgård and Grindshage by Skanstull and the Galloway where the hangman lived and where sick and dead dogs were taken. The practices, areas and institutions presented here are not extensive and does not represent everything that could be argued should be part of a multispecies narrative but should be viewed as the commencement of a large undertaking that would perhaps best be explored further as part of a larger research project. Some questions that need to be addressed at this point from my perception are as follows: Which are the uses for an urban multispecies narrative? Does this broad investigation into animal places serve any real purpose? The objective here is to apply a developed concept of the social, as suggested by Pearson and Weisman (see 2.1.3) and include different institutions and areas where an everyday exchange between nonhuman animals and people and can be placed in a multispecies narrative of Stockholm and give evidence of how nonhuman animals are part of the production of urban space.
4.2 Narrative and Ontology

An important point that cannot be repeated to many times is that what is argued here is that the morphology of the city does not include both the concept and the materiality of urban space as a joint venture but that it has always been a case of an inseparability that does not exist outside of itself. This however does not exclude the matter that urban space to a large degree has been produced as part of a practice and context of the separation of concept and materiality. Cities have and are been built, planned and lived as-if different plains of being could be discerned and divided and this type of practice is perhaps what the concept of the building practice but also what will here be called a narrative of separation. I will argue here that this practice failed as the production of urban space as a multispecies process is on-going regardless narrative. This does not say that the narrative and practice of separation goes on too and impacts on the morphology of urban space as simply “How we imagine space has effects.”(Massey 2005: 4). The difference between practicing within a multispecies narrative and a separation narrative is that the latter needs narrative as driver and that the former is practiced if a narrative is not actively produced. Looking back from the twenty-first century it can be argued that the narrative of separation has been widely successful and impacted vastly on how most cities are perceived, planned and to a certain degree lived. Today cities are part of complex processes of multi-scale environmental degradation. The narrative of separation could be argued to hold a large role in this development. It is this chain of thought that has brought me to the conclusion that there is a need to identify a narrative that is not contrived but allows the multispecies practices that are and have been on going to be given a frame and voice. In the narrative of separation what is thought of as nature and animal is often casted and discussed of as in a supportive role to human agency as discussed in connection to Pearson and Weismantel (in Brantz 2010 p. 17) in the theoretical frame. This can be related to many practices of oppression and is perhaps the mother of oppressive practices. Consequences for nonhuman animals in cities is that if they are not perceived as integrated in the social practice of pets can have the misfortune to be perceived as alien or anomalies, some species might even be regarded as vermin and thrash. As Kelsi and Johnson II argue that nonhuman animals commonly are perceived as out-of-place, undesirable and disposable in particular natural or human-built environments as thrash animals. Thrash is used in the sense as dirt as used by the anthropologist Mary Douglas (1966: 44-45 in Kelsi and Johnson II 2013: 5) as”...the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter insofar as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements.”. At the end of the research period Stockholm had both a water and sour system. Both a new dog pound and a slaughter area were founded outside the city. All grazing on Malmarna had ceased. The streets were cleaner; the city was more orderly than ever however now the dog and many other nonhuman animals were perceived as out-of-place if they did to behave in orderly manner.

The main finding in the study of constructing a multispecies narrative is that it is possible to make studies of nonhuman animals and make place for nonhuman animals at the core of urban space and history. This type of narrative enables the environmental historian to understand urban society within an unfolding narrative rather than having to apply a forced narrative that excludes large parts of what constitutes the urban environment.
Concluding chapter

In the concluding chapter the findings in the study on urban dog and the exploration of a multispecies narrative approach to urban space and history will be discussed further relating to the theoretic frame and the research questions.

5.1 The reconceptualization of the urban

To be able to reconceptualise the urban we need to know what we are talking about. What can be said to be part of the urban realm? Where does the concept of the urban begin and where does it end? In the narrative of separation it is simple, the city stops where nature begins. Hinchcliffe (1999 p. 138) “Town and cities are not "spaces where nature stops!"” which is one of the first writings I came across that I felt articulated something that coincides with how I experience and might describe the city. When I first started to take interest in questions of identity and nature it was from the sense of being a city dweller at the core since generations however no less natural than any one else I knew. However I sensed a narrative that made me alien both inside and outside the city. In the light of environmental awareness the city-dweller faces hard-knotted existential issues due to the environmental havoc cities can be argued to be the cause of.

The city caught in the narrative of separation could perhaps be argued to act like self-destructive self-harmers and a serial offender that does not understand how to exist without destroying the life sustaining processes that supports a society within nature. If we are to make any sense of many of the environmental problems my belief is that we have to see cities for how they reveal themselves to their dwellers with a sensitivity to that it depends on what sense they understand and interact with the city as part of a multispecies narrative. What is it that happens when the seagull outside the window is caught by Ingold in the act of watching him? It can be described as that the world unfolded as part of a production process of meaning and the revelation of the seagull as a genuine being presented itself. The urban realm is a multispecies living environment full of genuine beings and the world that we live in is in constant formation as our respective lives. Even an environment predominantly created by people, such as a garden is not more artificial than an environment that does not show any human presence at all. Ingold argues that it is only the primary producer that differs and that no environment can be more or less natural (2000: 185). In this line of thought it might be suggested that the concept urban is no longer inherently an antonym to rural. Does this dissolve the need for these concepts? If nonhuman animals are found at the core of the urban as part of multispecies narrative what is the meaning of urban. The question is what can replace urban as a concept? Is it not a risk that we are simply making another contrived narrative then? Is it not only the narrative of separation that forces urban and rural to be antonyms? In a multispecies narrative these concepts would perhaps no longer be antonyms. I am fully aware that there is something called an urban-rural gradient and perhaps this is a better concept to use within a multispecies narrative.

One of the conclusions made in this study is that it is likely that dogs were seen to be doing a good job cleaning the streets from rubbish and nonhuman animals regarded as vermin and therefore their behaviour was not seem as annoying to any larger degree as part of the day-to-day in the streets? Later when the city more regulated at the same time as the horse was gradually being replaced by machines and streets became cleaner the skills of the scavenger were no longer needed and the free unruly urban dog was at last, from the perspective of the local authorities, also frowned upon also by people, which led to its transformation into the pet we know of today.
This does not mean that the dog stopped being unruly and played the role of the pet. Brantz (2010: 3) asserts that many animals have not “played along” and that the instrumentalisation of nonhuman animals has not unchallenged. Unruly or placid; nonhuman animals are all part of history however it is mostly instigators to disrupting the order that are actually possible to place in history. One question to be observant of however is: can dogs not play along? In people terms the dog or any other nonhuman animal that does not obey the order in society can be perceived as a problem. Can a dog own a problem? Well of course not. Personally I do not find this type of argumentation useful of nonhuman animals as “not playing along”. Is my view of this a reductive way of viewing non-human animals? Not from where I am sitting. This is the dilemma that is described by Pearson and Weisman (in Brantz 2010 p. 17) as being caught “...between the Scylla of anthropomorphism and the Charybdis of anthropocentrism...”. On what level should we address the fellow animal urban dweller?

5.2 Utopia and Agentic Realism

“To think about alternative possibilities we need utopias – the search for a place that does not yet exist” “Utopias are discredited however essential to think about the future” (Henri Lefebvre 1996 p. 20 and p. 21)

The multispecies narrative is not explored here as utopic but as the possibilities of a methodology within Environmental History that can help grapple the complexities of cities. However without a vision of where to look for such as methodological approach I have consulted utopic ideas of a more-than-human egalitarian city. It is however with great caution that I have done this as it needs a sympathetic reading but I was encouraged to see that Lefebvre had this approach when formulating some of the most influential perspectives on urban space of today. It is exciting to deal with utopic ideas because this is where the fun is at, in a sea of possibilities. This is also where perhaps where the problem lies that utopias only can be consulted for direction within a research context, not for answers and there is a risk of mixing it up.

When dealing with the analyses of human-animal relations it is always the risk that the low stature of nonhuman animals in society throws a shadow upon oneself. Perhaps this is why urban animal history is a tiny field forever in an emerging state. However I have a niggling feeling that this is no longer the case lets say in another decade and half considering that it is then approximately 30 years since Ingold would have published the “The perception of the environment: Essays in livelihood, dwelling and skill” (2000) formulating the all-inclusive approach to history and the dwelling perspective. Ingolds theoretic approach to the world is today no longer on the margins of academia but could be said to have become part of the posthumanist theoretical “...response to the philosophical and political question of the ontological status of the social and the role of the nonhuman within the humanities.” (Åsberg, Hultman & Lee 2012 p. 12).

This essay is also part of a posthumanist theoretical and methodological approach however as its is still grappling with the different analytical tools trying to understand the implications of putting them to use. Therefore it is mostly what Karen Barad (2003 p. 803) terms the representationalist trap that has been dealt with in the methodological approach that has been put to use in the thesis. Barad explains the representational trap as the assumed distinction between presentations and entities to be represented and argues to “allow matter its due as an active participant in the world’s becoming, in it’s ongoing intractivity.” (Barad 2003 p. 803). In place of the system of representationalism Barad proposes agental realist ontology as an alternative which that moves away from words into discursive practices engaged in on-going relations as “This casual relationship between the apparatuses of bodily production and the phenomenon produced...” (idem 814). This study has explored the day-to-day of dogs and other nonhuman animals and studied how they are part of the materiality and the morphology of urban space and how the pro-
cess of becoming in the unfolding of the world and have actively taken measures to move away from the representationalist trap and to move into an agential realist ontology.

5.3 Conclusion

In broad terms I have argued here that nonhuman animals and people form multispecies relations that forms the materiality of urban space, directly or indirectly. It has also been argued here that when trying to understand the urban environment and the production of space within the planning realm it is futile to try to reduce the city to human sociality and needs, as the nonhuman dwellers will make their presence noticeable anyway as part of the materiality of the urban realm as shown in the case of the dogs. There are of course differences between the different dwellers of a city, people have the ability to plan the city to suit their needs whereas nonhuman animals do not however they still dwell and some are more successful than others depending how well they can adapt - this however goes for both people and nonhuman animals. Conclusions possible to draw on a general level are that both the spatial structure and social space of Stockholm was hugely impacted on by dogs and other nonhuman animals but that this impact transformed over the research period defined by societal changes as part of the geographies of human imagination. More specifically the study shows that dogs played an important role as free roaming scavengers and were for this reason accepted as an integral part of the city in the nineteenth century in Stockholm. It is likely that there were feral dogs living on the streets of Stockholm through out the nineteenth century. Regardless of what rules there are to regulate nonhuman urban dwellers they will only be enforced by people if they are seen as necessary and in this case loose dogs were seen as beneficial to the city as scavengers so it was not until the were no longer useful in the more orderly and modernised city that the rules were followed. Therefore later in the research period when the city became more regulated this role started to change and dogs were not accepted loose on the streets to the same degree and transformed into pets and symbols of social mobility and class. Another conclusion is that people plainly valued and loved their dogs.

In the introduction I say that I will argue that the presence, movements and relationships of nonhuman urban dwellers influenced the production of urban space and the morphology of Stockholm in the nineteenth century and I hope that I succeeded to a certain degree at least. Now I would like to continue this line of thought and argue that the non-presence, non-movements and non-relationships of the materiality including nonhuman animals influences the production of urban space as part of agential realism ontology. Lastly it can be concluded that the thesis has benefited from developing and using the methodological approach of constructing a multispecies narrative that allows for a developed concept of the social as part of the investigation of urban space and history. Following the traces of dogs and other nonhuman animals through nineteenth century Stockholm as part of a multispecies narrative has strengthened my conviction in that it would be a suitable methodological approach to develop further within Environmental History and Environmental Humanities.
5.4 Possible Future Research

The question of how history and urban space is produced as part of a multispecies process is as shown as an under studied research area so there are endless topics that would be relevant to shed light on in the field of historic animal studies? During the work with the thesis three topics struck me as obvious extensions of this study. The first would be simply use the archaeological findings of nonhuman animals in Stockholm that has already been excavated (Bergman 2015) and integrating these into a multispecies narrative of Stockholm developing this “more-than-human modes of enquiry”. Secondly as part of reassessing what urban space entails my view is that studies of free roaming nonhuman animals in the urban environment in both contemporary and retrospective studies are particularly interesting as free roaming nonhuman animals potentially can bridge conceptual divides as private-public, inside-outside, domestic-wild etc. Conducting such studies are likely to prove difficult, as there are not many records of free roaming urban animals however potentially fruitful for developing a deeper understanding of multispecies narratives as a tool for understanding the complex relationships that enable the city. Lastly a particular topic that I view as important for developing the field of urban environmental studies is to map and visualise nonhuman animal places and movement patterns to visualise the multispecies historical layers in the urban space. I am personally very interested in Stockholm of the nineteenth century perhaps focusing on horses. This type of visualisation would make the multispecies narrative stand clear and show how urban space is shaped by the complimentary space of nonhuman animals and people interacting through incorporating maps of different dates as well as information on how animals moved, lived and died would useful to make nonhuman animals matter in historical studies using GIS. Animal City is a similar project at Stanford University that I am encouraged to see under way 37.

37 Animal city
https://web.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/project.php?id=1047
Summary

This thesis has put and examined nonhuman animals at the core of urban space and history to provide an insight into the life and materiality of dogs in Stockholm 1824-1920. The theoretical possibilities of more-than-human enquiries into history are discussed along with non-human animals as historical beings together with humans creating a common history. Moreover nonhuman animals are discussed and incorporated into an exploration into using what is called here a multispecies narrative as an analytical tool to try to avoid the pitfalls of representationalism. It is also introduced as a possible new methodology to approaching the urban landscape within the field of environmental history. In addition it can potentially be used as part of an emancipatory practice.

Questions answered by the study are the following: How did the relationship between dogs and people contribute to produce the urban space of Stockholm in the nineteenth century? Can dog–people relationships in 19th century Stockholm give perspectives on the more general question of how urban space is produced as part of a multispecies process? How can a historical multispecies narrative of nineteenth century Stockholm be constructed? The empirical study is focused around sources from the city archives in Stockholm, Stockholm City Museum and the National Library of Sweden. Focus has been to source empirical material of actual dogs which has mainly been available from archive records from the Governor Generals Chamber in Stockholm and the police but also debates, pamphlets, art, advertising, fiction and historical accounts have also been important in the study of how dogs and other nonhuman animals lived and moved about in Stockholm in the nineteenth century as integral to urban space and morphology. The results from the study are derived from two analytical levels one that is a traditional empirical study using archive material, and another exploring the possibilities in developing and applying a particular methodology an incorporating also the results from the first analytical level.

Conclusions possible to draw on a general level are that both the spatial structure and social space of Stockholm was hugely impacted on by dogs and other nonhuman animals but that this impact transformed over the research period defined by societal changes and the geographies of human imagination. More specifically the study shows that dogs played an important role as free roaming scavengers and were for this reason accepted as an integral part of the city in the nineteenth century in Stockholm. It is likely that there were feral dogs living on the streets of Stockholm throughout the nineteenth century. Regardless of what rules there are to regulate nonhuman urban dwellers they will only be enforced by the people if they are seen as necessary and in this case loose dogs were seen as beneficial to the city as scavengers so it was not until the were no longer useful in the more orderly and modernised city that the rules were followed. Therefore later in the research period when the city became more regulated this role started to change and dogs were not accepted loose on the streets to the same degree and transformed into pets and symbols of social mobility and class. Another conclusion is that people plainly valued and loved their dogs. Lastly it can be concluded that the thesis has benefited from developing and using a methodological approach that allows for a developed concept of the social as part of the investigation of urban space and history.
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