

The Old Grey Mare
America's Old Brown Dog

**Misogyny and Medicine:
Anti-Vivisectionist Women**

Arahshiel Rose Silver

“I am not, it is true, a student or graduate of medicine; but the fact that I am, in the first place, one of your own sex, interested as you are in the advancement of true science, and in the progress of the human race; that, secondly, I was one of the first originators of the American Society for the Restriction of Vivisection (the only such Association in existence in the United States), and that, thirdly, for years I have given this subject of experimentation upon animals careful and serious student, reading without reserve both sides of the question, will, I hope, entitle what I now say to respectful consideration at your hands.”¹

Caroline Earle White

To the Graduates of the Twenty-Third Commencement of the Woman's Medical College, 1886

The nineteenth-century United States folk-song, “The Old Grey Mare,” was a symbol of the affection people could feel for animals. The song, originally written by Thomas Francis McNulty for the campaign of Baltimore’s Mayor Ferdinand Latrobe, was said to refer not only to Latrobe, but also for his beloved old grey horse; and the song was largely credited for Latrobe’s victory. Unfortunately, for women, and the women who defended animals, of any age, victories would be harder to come by. Considered America’s ‘Frances Power Cobbe,’ Philadelphia’s Caroline Earle White was one member of the trio of reformers that founded societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals in the United States, and the only woman. However, even though she founded the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, she would not lead it. Undeterred, White founded Woman’s Branch of the Society, and would later taking on a leading position within another organization of her creation: the American Anti-Vivisection Society. White was a woman who raised concerns regarding a multitude of animal and human rights issues that would still be haunting us for decades to come. She would present her cases in Congress and around the world. In order to fully understand Caroline Earle White’s work, it is essential to understand the perception of women by culture, by the leading advocates

¹ Caroline Earle White, “An Answer to Dr. Keen’s Address Entitled Our Recent Debts to Vivisection” (Philadelphia: American Society for the Restriction of Vivisection, 1886)., 3

of medicine at that time, and, ultimately, see in this a reflection of a societal view of marginalized groups of all kinds, whether animal or human.

Born in Philadelphia in 1833, Caroline Earle White would later speak of how she, at about seven years old, would deliberately avoid busy Penn Square so she would not have to witness the abject cruelty that was prevalent toward the mules and other beasts of burden. The child of adamant reformers and abolitionists, the young White would find herself attuned to the suffering of others at an early age. As were many other prominent reform-minded women of the era, she was brought up in a Quaker family and she had an advantage over women in other parts of the country (especially the south) who were more deeply embedded in a patriarchal society. While White was active in a number of charity groups, in 1867, in her early thirties, White would make a name for herself as the founder of one of the first three humane societies in the United States, along with Henry Bergh and George Angell. She then founded the Women's Branch of the Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in 1869. Reflective of her childhood experiences, one of her initial and most passionate endeavors was to address the condition of the horses of the city. Over the years, she would be responsible for the initiatives to install watering stations and ensure more humane treatment for the horses around Philadelphia. In 1871 she played an integral part in getting the "Twenty-Eight Hour Law" enacted, which sought to ease the suffering of cattle and other animals destined for the dinner table by limiting the amount of time they could be transported by rail without food, water or exercise. She would also focus a great deal of work on the ethical treatment of stray animals, while also finding time to encouraging other causes including: encouraging women to stop wearing fashions which threatened the extinction of birds and petitioning entertainment industry representatives regarding the treatment of animals in circuses and in film.

However, no cause with which White was involved garnered as much opposition as that work which she began when she founded the American Anti-Vivisection Society (AAVS). White's AAVS, established in 1883, would stir up some of White's most virulent opponents, especially those in the medical profession, and the ethical justifications of such practices remain hotly debated today. It would be through this work that White would confront a number of prominent doctors. Her concerns about the unregulated practices of vivisection did not remain restricted to that conducted on animals; warning others that those who started with unregulated and cruel experiments on animals might move on to "The Next Step": human beings. As the backgrounds of some of her more virulent pro-vivisection opponents and the progression of their medicine would reveal, her warnings were anything but the words of a "poor stupid creature," writing letters 'filled with nauseous fraud.'

Although White's relationship with her husband was one of mutual affection and respect, not every woman was so fortunate. Mona Caird, a Scottish novelist and women's rights activist of the nineteenth century, would compare the state of the married woman to a chained and neglected dog. In her book, *The Morality of Marriage*, Caird would attack the "binding of women to the evil results, in their own natures, of the restrictive injustices which they have suffered for generations." She analogized the arguments of how the restraining of women was akin to the owner that chains his dog. Women needed to be chained for their own good, and a free woman was a danger. Such a restriction was beneficial because, "'Oh! he is accustomed to it; he is suited for the chain; when we set him free he runs wild.'"²

² Mona Caird, *The Morality of Marriage and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Woman*, 1897, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:bookfulltext:Gerritsen-G438.1. , 64

The late nineteenth-century United States was no exception to the misogyny so prevalent in Western civilization, nor were the doctors of the time immune to the bias. Misogyny runs rife through the histories and writings of some of the doctors who were the most virulent against the anti-vivisection movement. Donna Haraway, in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, asserted that misogyny was embedded into the very culture of the laboratory – from their humor to the design of equipment.³ Reformers like Massachusetts’ Edward Clark published books such as *Sex in Education*, which insinuated that women who received too much education were not only a moral abasement, but that such education also led to female illnesses.⁴ It was the time of *The Yellow Wallpaper* and of ‘the rest cure,’ with hysteria as the diagnosis a la mode. It was a time when Dr. Agnew, subject of Eakins’ famous “The Agnew Clinic” painting, would resign from his position with the Pennsylvania Hospital rather than lecture to women. Hysterectomies were not unusual, with Dr. Harvey Kellogg, a leading physician of the time (who was also rather famous for creating Corn Flakes to prevent masturbation) openly suggesting that there was a connection between ovarian disorders and insanity.⁵ Upper-class women were considered more susceptible to hysteria because, some physicians said, they were “more egocentric, narcissistic, and impressionistic.”⁶ While it is unknown if such a concept was invoked specifically toward Caroline Earle White’s work, it was certainly a criticism of her gender and class.

"To-day, the American woman, is, to speak plainly, too often physically unfit for her duties as a woman."⁷
S. Weir Mitchell

³ Greta Gaard, ed., *Ecofeminism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 69

⁴ Catherine Clinton, “The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century” (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999), [http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004035227 CN - HQ 1410 .C441 1999](http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004035227%20CN%20-%20HQ%201410%20.C441%201999), 130

⁵ Richard Zacks, *History Laid Bare* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 385

⁶ Clinton, “The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century,” 151

⁷ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Wild Unrest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 124, 123

One of White's virulent opponents was S. Weir Mitchell. Mitchell, as students of United States women's studies will recognize, was the inventor of 'the rest cure' and his 'cure' would partly inspire the classic feminist semi-autobiographical text, *The Yellow Wallpaper*. Mitchell would publicly challenge White's decision not to hand over dogs from her organization's pound for experimentation at his request. While her board and legal opinions vindicated White's refusal, (after all, it was rather unreasonable to expect an organization founded on preventing harm to animals to comply with such a request), Mitchell not only questioned her authority to make the decision, but was one of many who would falsely impart to the public the idea that White valued the lives of animals more than those human beings. It would be a charge she would continually have to refute throughout her life.

Mitchell was an unapologetic believer in the separate spheres for men and women, and he wasn't afraid to justify his beliefs via 'science.' "The woman's desire to be on a level of competition with man and to assume his duties is, I am sure, making mischief..." This is science, wisdom and, of course, therefore, truth," quoted Charles W. Burr in his tribute to S. Weir Mitchell.⁸ To Mitchell, education, unchecked emotion, lack of exercise and biological inferiority were all to blame for female problems. Teenage girls, he suggested, should not study for more than three to four hours a day; the rest of the time she should be exercising and preparing for her future duties as a child bearer. Mothers were to encourage their daughters to participate in sports and remain physically fit⁹. The picture of the young American woman as an active amazon bears an uncanny resemblance to Hitler's Valkyrie women, and, considering the fact that eugenics truly took root first in the United States at this time, such a similitude shouldn't be surprising. In

⁸ Charles W. Burr, "S. Weir Mitchell, Physician, Man of Science, Man of Letters, Man of Affairs" (Philadelphia: College of Physicians of Philadelphia, 1920). , 31

⁹ Horowitz, *Wild Unrest*. , 130-1

future decades, Weir's contemporary, White opponent and Nobel Prize winner, Dr. Alexis Carrel would not only openly advocate for eugenics, but would provide an approval for it at the request of a German textbook publisher.^{10, 11}

In addition to dealing with misogynistic views of the female body, women also had to deal with the fact that the medical profession preferred itself a patriarchal organization. The idea of women being examined by men in private was distasteful to many, including Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell and many feminists, who felt that a woman examined was a woman fallen.¹² Dr. Blackwell, who was a physician, a feminist, and an anti-vivisectionist would fight her own battles regarding her gender and her ability to get a medical education. Traveling to Europe and graduating from medical school there in 1849, she returned to the United States in 1851, and would remain an avid supporter of women in medicine.¹³ The furor over the Contagious Disease Acts in nineteenth-century Britain, acts that subjected women to medical examination at the discretion of the law, was just one of many reasons that women could be distrustful of medicine. They also had every right to be concerned that the complications in childbirth went up after medical men pushed midwives out of their positions as the primary assistant to child delivery. As Abby Wilkerson states in *Diagnosis: Difference: The Moral Authority of Medicine*, "The sociopolitical function of medicine was also operative in nineteenth-century notions of puerperal or childbed fever." While male doctors attributed the fevers to female weakness of body and

¹⁰ Andres Horacio Reggiani, *God's Eugenicist: Alexis Carrel and the Sociobiology of Decline* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2007). , 71

¹¹ Carrel's own legacy would be dismantled during protests in modern-day France, with protestors crediting him with the creation of the Holocaust.

¹² Athena Vrettos, *Somatic Fictions: Imagining Illness in Victorian Culture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995). , 94-95

¹³ Clinton, "The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century." ,83

mind, in truth, the illnesses were due to the lack of sanitary practices of the physicians.¹⁴ In 1888, news emerged that a Dr. Finger had experimented on women shortly after they had given birth, a fact that the American Humane Association would use as an evidence of the prevalence of human vivisection.¹⁵ Even as recently as 1974, doctors were known to promote the idea that women were biologically inferior, with Robert A. Kinch publishing his theory that “[P]remenstrual tension produces an oppressive, cyclic cloud which prevents women from functioning in a smooth, logical, male fashion.”¹⁶

Nor had intense and speculation (and mutilation) regarding women’s sexual organs yet been declared off-limits for male medical professionals. The time saw a period of clitoridectomies, promoted largely by British gynecologist Isaac Baker Born, whose work would cause him to be driven from British practice in 1866, but, oddly, would remain in vogue in the United States for at least another thirty years.^{17, 18} Gynecologists theorized on everything from the color of the genitals (red or itching genitals were proof of masturbation) to the size (an enlarged clitoris could be interpreted as an indicator of lesbianism).¹⁹ The case was worse for women of non-Caucasian extraction. The historical record shows articles with names like the

¹⁴ Abby L Wilkerson, *Diagnosis: Difference: The Moral Authority of Medicine* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), [http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004007207_CN - RA 778.2 .W541 1998.](http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004007207_CN_-_RA_778.2_W541_1998.), 17

¹⁵ American Humane Association, *The Reality of Human Vivisection: A Review of a Letter by William W. Keen, M.D., LL.D., Late President of the American Medical Association* (Boston, 1901). , 14

¹⁶ Wilkerson, *Diagnosis: Difference: The Moral Authority of Medicine.* , 30

¹⁷ Clinton, “The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century.” , 152

¹⁸ Even S. Weir Mitchell, who would be the (in)famous inventor of the ‘rest cure’ for women and who would become an avowed opponent of the anti-vivisection movement, considered the practice “primitive.” However, his program of forced isolation and immobility was far from sophisticated.

¹⁹ Chiara Beccalossi and Ivan Crozier, eds., *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Age of Empire* (Oxford: Berg, 2011), 117

"Account of the Dissection of a Bushwoman,"²⁰ and documents the tragic exploitation of the "Hottentot Venus," Saartjie Baartman.

"With easy access to women's bodies, surgeons became an obvious target as characters in scenarios of illicit sexuality,²¹" says Ellen Bayuk Rosenman, in her book, *Unauthorized Pleasures: Accounts of Victorian Erotic Experience*. Coral Lansbury began to explore this intersection in *The Old Brown Dog*, and while most of the erotic literature was focused in England and not in America, there would certainly be exceptions. Texts such as *The Amatory Experience of a Surgeon* would focus on the adventures of a surgeon who stated that medical men like himself "are not ignorant of the secret pangs and unruly desires which consume the bashful virgin."²² In *My Secret Life*, one of the characters presented himself as a surgeon to seduce women. According to Rosenman, Holywell Street, in England, was home to bookstores of both an academic and amorous nature, and that "recent feminist critics such as Jacqueline Rose and Coral Lansbury have pointed out the alliance between Victorian pornography and medical theatres and dissecting rooms."²³

Publishers and authors of such pornographic texts would go as far as to claim they were practicing science, as did Ashbee when he claimed his compilation of the lists of 'prohibited books' was scientific. He also claimed that his books were meant to be horrifying and educational, however, it is hard to avoid seeing his real intentions in the following quote: "As little, it is my belief, will my book excite the passions of my readers, as would the naked body of a woman, extended on the dissecting table, produce concupiscence in the minds of the students

²⁰ Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985). , 88

²¹ Ellen Bayuk. Rosenman, "Unauthorized Pleasures: Accounts of Victorian Erotic Experience" (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), <http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004320474>. , 30

²² Ibid. , 31

²³ Vrettos, *Somatic Fictions: Imagining Illness in Victorian Culture*. , 94-95

assembled to witness an operation performed about her."²⁴ Such a description seemed to parallel, or at least resemble, another trend of literature of the time: the woman as exquisite corpse, a concept to which even Edgar Allen Poe subscribed.

“The horrendous series of murders of women in Whitechapel in 1888, the work of 'Jack the Ripper,' occasioned widespread concern about the dangers of unrestrained male sexuality in which doctors, especially vivisectors, figured strongly.”²⁵ So speaks Mary Ann Elston in her study of vivisection and its history. White herself spoke of it in a letter to the editor of the *Tribune*. What was the “underlying cause of that mysterious outbreak of homicide among young physicians revealed by the criminal record of 1892?”, she queried, and for good reasons. Aside from what is arguably the most famous example of such a criminal, Jack the Ripper, the United States was host to a number of murders committed either by members of the medical profession or those who admired and had access to their trade. Consider the following:

1888 Jack the Ripper Crimes

1892 Dr. Cream found guilty of poisoning young women.²⁶

1892 Dr. Graves said to have committed murder by poison in Colorado. ²⁷

1892 Dr. Lamson said to have poisoned his brother.²⁸

1892 Dr. H.M. Scudder said to have poisoned his wife’s mother.²⁹

1892 Dr. Robert W. Buchanan of New York said to have poisoned his wife.³⁰

1893 Carlyle Harris, medical student, executed for the murder of his wife: praised vivisection as beautiful.³¹

²⁴ Ibid. , lxx

²⁵ Mary Ann Elston, “Women and Anti-Vivisection in Victorian England, 1870-1900,” in *Vivisection in Historical Perspective*, ed. Nicholas A. Rupke (New York, NY: Routledge, 1987), 259–294.

²⁶ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* II, no. 8 (1893). , 124

²⁷ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* VI, no. 6 (1897). ,68

²⁸ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily.” , 124

²⁹ Ibid. , 124

³⁰ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily.” , 124

³¹ Ibid. , 68

1894 Dr. H.H. Holmes arrested: confessed to 27 murders, mostly women.³²

1898 William Durant executed for the murder and dismemberment of two women.³³

"For, under various names, such as 'sentimentality,' 'emotionalism,' 'morbidity,' 'hysteria,' we are twitted with our humanity when it revolts against the treatment to which the lower animals are subjected; and if we happen to be women, we must be prepared to have our very sex flung in our faces by those who had no more choice in the matter than we had ourselves..."

Address of Lady Grove to the American Humane Association 1899³⁴

Criticisms of the women (and the men, who would be labeled effeminate) of the anti-vivisection movement often included the suggestion that an emotional nature was a handicap to their reliability. While Mary Lovell of the AAVS would praise women for their ability to love, saying that society would be more advanced “had mother-love been a broader sentiment” and that it was “impossible for the woman who is indifferent to the suffering of animals to love her child,” not even all women would agree that emotion was a benefit to them. Frances Power Cobbe, the founder of the first Anti-Vivisection Society in Britain, and White’s inspiration for her organization, would condemn one of anti-vivisectionist allies, Dr. Anna Kingsford, for reinforcing “the notion of the overly emotional woman”³⁵ when she offered herself for experimentation in place of an animal. Cobbe’s work indeed varied from White’s in this respect, with Cobbe’s work far more intimately intertwined with feminism and women’s suffrage. White also distinguished herself from famous United States feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton after Stanton stated that “there seems to be no reason that painless vivisection and subsequent

³² Roger. Lane, “Violent Death in the City: Suicide, Accident, and Murder in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia” (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), [http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/000298922_CN - HN80.P5 L26](http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/000298922_CN_-_HN80.P5_L26_). , 85

³³ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* IV, no. 7 (1895). , 74

³⁴ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* VIII, no. 7 (1899). , 77

³⁵ Anita Guerrini, *Experimenting with Humans and Animals: From Galen to Animal Rights* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). , 91-92

painless death should not be used in the interest of science.”³⁶ While White was not opposed to women’s suffrage, what she did object to was the fact that so many quietly trusted the medical profession to follow the guidelines for painless and ethical experimentation when there were several accounts which indicated that this implicit trust was unwarranted.

"Dr. Eccles, I think it is, who has recently brought heavy charges against women. They are, he says, illogical and conservative, and have always stood in the way of the world's progress. Have Frances Willard and the millions of women behind her blocked the way to a higher good? Are Josephine Butler and Elizabeth Blackwell standing in the way of the world's progress when they strive to hold the race back from social perdition?"³⁷
Dr. Amanda Hale, Speaking for the American Anti-Vivisection Society, 1898

Taking it one step further were the anti-vivisectionist critics who would lay the charge that women were a barrier to progress of all kinds. An article in the medical journals of the time stated that “Women in all ages and at all times have taken a more active part in hindering the world's progress than men... Though the whole past history of the world we find them on the wrong side of every question,” and that “It is, then, not surprising to learn that the moving and directing power of anti-vivisection is found in women.”³⁸ It was integral to deny the vote to women, according to a Mr. Churchman in a 1915 issue of the Worcester *Gazette*, because if they were enfranchised they would end vivisection, “as they already threaten to stop war.”³⁹

Dr. Hale would not be the only female doctor who would challenge the practice of vivisection. White’s Quaker City would be the host to the first medical college for women in 1850.⁴⁰ Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell was not only an advocate for female doctors for female patients, but she, too, opposed vivisection. According to an issue of *The Journal of Zoophily*, a Dr. Kate

³⁶ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* V, no. 1 (1896).

³⁷ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Supplement to the Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* (1898). ,22

³⁸ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* VI, no. 10 (1894). , 110

³⁹ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* XXIV, no. 6 (1915)., 180

⁴⁰ Harold J Abrahams, *Extinct Medical Schools of Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), <http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/001558048> CN - R 746 .P46 A158. , 23

Bushnell would report that Blackwell has said that if the female doctors of the United States did not begin to move more strongly against vivisection, “she should never be able to forgive them, and should be almost sorry she had ever done anything to help open the way for them into the profession.”⁴¹ Sarah Ellen Blackwell, sister of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell spoke of how women should not only seek to move against vivisection, she also encouraged them to refuse to learn from a professor who taught using the method. In this way, pro-vivisectionist professors would no longer be elected to become chairs and humane minded professors would prevail. She looked forward to the advent of women in leading societal positions. “We want them,” she stated, “to redeem medical science from inhumanity and from the consequent distrust which is gathering against it.”⁴²

Caroline Earle White was a relentless advocate for the powerless throughout her life. As one of the “scribbling-women,”⁴³ as Nathaniel Hawthorne would have called her, White opened her first novel, *Love in the Tropics* (1890), stating that she hoped she could at least “bring home to the minds of my readers what I believe to be certain truth, that as warm a heart, as noble a nature, and as bright an intellect may be found under a yellow, or brown, or a black skin as under a white one.”⁴⁴ She cared not only for animals, but for all of the helpless or vulnerable, which sometimes, included women. Despite the obstacles arrayed against her, including her gender discrimination, she was tenacious and resolute. Some of her fountains still stand on the streets of Philadelphia, and the Women’s Humane Society and AAVS continue her work in her honor. While many theories have been made in respect to the apparent ‘weakening’ of the animal rights movements in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth- centuries, the question is far deeper than a

⁴¹ American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* VI, no. 8 (1897). , 85

⁴² American Anti-Vivisection Society, “Journal of Zoophily,” *Journal of Zoophily* II, no. 4 (1893). 58

⁴³ Clinton, “The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century.” ,48

⁴⁴ Caroline Earle White, *Love in the Tropics* (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott, 1890). , iii-iv

simple transference of interests as a result of World War I. As the medical profession organized and as the idea of “inhumane humanitarianism” emerged hand in hand with Social Darwinism, White’s warnings against “The Next Step” went unchecked, and would manifest itself horrifically in the experimentation conducted on prisoners, minorities and other disenfranchised group, perhaps, most famously, those of the Holocaust or the Tuskegee Airmen. Although she died in 1916, the spirit of her work remains with us, inviting us to continue the work of advocating for compassion and assistance to our “Gentle Friends.”

Abrahams, Harold J. *Extinct Medical Schools of Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966. <http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/001558048> CN - R 746 .P46 A158.

American Anti-Vivisection Society. "Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* II, no. 8 (1893).

———. "Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* II, no. 4 (1893).

———. "Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* VI, no. 10 (1894).

———. "Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* IV, no. 7 (1895).

———. "Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* V, no. 1 (1896).

———. "Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* VI, no. 6 (1897).

———. "Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* VI, no. 8 (1897).

———. "Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* VIII, no. 7 (1899).

———. "Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* XXIV, no. 6 (1915).

———. "Supplement to the Journal of Zoophily." *Journal of Zoophily* (1898).

Association, American Humane. *The Reality of Human Vivisection: A Review of a Letter by William W. Keen, M.D., LL.D., Late President of the American Medical Association*. Boston, 1901.

Beccalossi, Chiara, and Ivan Crozier, eds. *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Age of Empire*. Oxford: Berg, 2011.

Burr, Charles W. "S. Weir Mitchell, Physician, Man of Science, Man of Letters, Man of Affairs." Philadelphia: College of Physicians of Philadelphia, 1920.

Caird, Mona. *The Morality of Marriage and Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Woman*, 1897. http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:gerritsen&rft_dat=xri:gerritsen:bookfulltext:Gerritsen-G438.1.

Clinton, Catherine. "The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century." New York: Hill and Wang, 1999. <http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004035227> CN - HQ 1410 .C441 1999.

Elston, Mary Ann. "Women and Anti-Vivisection in Victorian England, 1870-1900." In *Vivisection in Historical Perspective*, edited by Nicholas A. Rupke, 259–294. New York, NY: Routledge, 1987.

- Gaard, Greta, ed. *Ecofeminism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.
- Gilman, Sander L. *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Guerrini, Anita. *Experimenting with Humans and Animals: From Galen to Animal Rights*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Wild Unrest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Lane, Roger. "Violent Death in the City: Suicide, Accident, and Murder in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia." Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.
<http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/000298922> CN - HN80.P5 L26.
- Reggiani, Andres Horacio. *God's Eugenicist: Alexis Carrel and the Sociobiology of Decline*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2007.
- Rosenman, Ellen Bayuk. "Unauthorized Pleasures: Accounts of Victorian Erotic Experience." Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003. <http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004320474>.
- Vrettos, Athena. *Somatic Fictions: Imagining Illness in Victorian Culture*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- White, Caroline Earle. "An Answer to Dr. Keen's Address Entitled Our Recent Debts to Vivisection." Philadelphia: American Society for the Restriction of Vivisection, 1886.
- . *Love in the Tropics*. Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott, 1890.
- Wilkerson, Abby L. *Diagnosis: Difference: The Moral Authority of Medicine*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998. <http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004007207> CN - RA 778.2 .W541 1998.
- Zacks, Richard. *History Laid Bare*. New York: Harper Collins, 1994.